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# China Report

RED FLAG

No 16, 16 AUGUST 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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## OVERCOME THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF SMALL PRODUCERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The structural reforms and current modernizations require us to transform our outdated traditional concepts, including the one of small producers' natural economy, which is the most important point, so that we can emancipate our thinking from the trammels of the concept.

Since China has long been affected by a feudal society based on small-scale farming by individual farmers, the traditional concept of natural economy has struck deep roots in China. Not only does it influence the masses, but it also still profoundly affects party members and cadres. Therefore, it is a heavy ideological burden for us. Problems developed in the course of reforms, such as: Ideologically, sticking to old ways, being content with things as they are, and not daring to explore and make innovations; economically, looking down on commerce, closed-door type operations, egalitarianism and departmental selfishness; patriarchal thinking and class concepts in social life, bureaucratism and the practice of shirking responsibilities in the leadership's work; and so on, are often directly or indirectly linked to the traditional concepts of small producers. The natural economy is the opposite of the commodity economy. At present, what hinders us from greatly developing the commodity economy is the traditional concepts of small producers' natural economy, as well as force of habit.

To overcome the traditional concepts of small producers is an important task in improving the quality of party members and cadres, and making them satisfy the needs of reform and the four modernizations. The tasks of achieving modernizations and developing the socialist commodity economy require the leadership to become active in thinking and give quick responses. They should unswervingly follow the correct orientation and consciously observe discipline. They should also be good at making judgment, remain calm during changes, and be capable of handling issues in a flexible and efficient way. Also, they should have far-sighted thinking, and be good at coordinating and handling relations between the whole and the part. They should have a widened field of vision and extensive knowledge, be specialists in one trade while also knowing other trades, be efficient in assigning jobs to people commensurate with their abilities, learn others' strong points, and not be

proud of little achievements or depressed over little setbacks. However, the traditional concepts of small producers are not compatible with these requirements. If a man's thinking is fettered by the trammels of the concepts, he will inevitably find it difficult to accept new concepts and new things, and he will not stand at the forefront of reforms for promoting innovative development. Even though he is pushed to the forefront by the tides of reforms, he may not be able to go all out in his work of opening up and invigorating. He will be apt to hesitate in his work when encountering difficulties and setbacks. Therefore, we must break away from these traditional concepts in order to continue to make progress.

The traditional concepts of small producers is a popular persistent ailment formed over a long period. It is not easy to overcome or change it. Rather, we should take a patient and scientific attitude toward it and use the correct method. The basic point is that we should first educate party members and cadres, particularly leading cadres, on the necessity and urgency of fully understanding the reasons for overcoming the traditional concepts of small producers. We should also educate them on improving cultural and scientific standards, as well as consciously establishing new concepts which conform to the modernizations and development of the socialist commodity economy. For examples, they are the concepts of opening up, efficiency, forming combines and competition, information, science and technology, qualified personnel, and so on. Cadres at all levels must really think about it in a serious way, and ask themselves if they have any manifestations of the traditional concepts of small producers. Then, they should actively overcome the concepts and make their thinking and moves conform to the situation. In the wake of the in-depth development of reforms and the development of the commodity economy, in many places a large number of enterprises and specialized households have emerged which are good at producing and exchanging commodities. Their experience provides us with live teaching materials for overcoming the traditional concepts. We must make good use of the experience and examples. By showing facts and reasons, we should guide the cadres and masses to overcome the narrow-minded viewpoint and thinking of small producers, and to make strides on the road to greatly developing the socialist commodity economy.

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## SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON PARTY BUILDING DURING THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86 pp 3-11

[Article by Bo Yibo [5631 0001 3134]; a speech which Comrade Bo Yibo gave at the CPC Central Party School on 8 July 1986 and which he abridged and revised before publication--passages within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] I. Strive To Build Our Country Into a Firm Core of Leadership for the Socialist Modernization

1. As the historical tasks and positions of our party have changed since the proletariat seized state power, the question of how the party in power is to strengthen its own organization has become a very important problem. So far, we have not yet entirely solved this major problem. Soon after the October Revolution, Lenin paid attention to this problem and gave some very important opinions on it. For example, in 1919, he put forth the idea that it was necessary to "remove from the party those who only want to enjoy the advantages of being members of a ruling party but are not willing to work selflessly for the party." Later, he put forth the issue of opposing bureaucracy, and other matters. But he died too early and did not have enough time to elaborate on these ideas. On the eve of the birth of the new China, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the principle of "preventing erosion" in a speech that he gave at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee. This has played an important role in strengthening our party building since our party came to power. In the report on revising the party Constitution that Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered at the Eighth CPC National Congress on behalf of the CPC Central Committee in 1956, he gave some very important viewpoints and ideas on strengthening party building after our party had come to power. He pointed out that the ruling party was in danger of being divorced from reality and the masses of people, stressed that strict supervision and education had to be carried out for our party organizations and members in order to enable them to acquire the work style of serving the people, shouldering responsibility for the masses, discussing everything with them and sharing weal and woe with them. He also stressed the implementation of the mass line and the strengthening of democratic centralism and opposed personality cults. It was a pity that later we failed to act according to these viewpoints and ideas. After 1957, the emergence and development of the "leftist" mistakes in our party's guiding thoughts which finally caused the 10 years of civil disorder, gave rise to huge losses to our country's socialist modernization as well as

seriously undermined our party building. When Comrade Hu Yaobang met Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, a few days ago, he said the following: "Since the founding of new China, we have suffered setbacks, which have made us realize that socialism is still to be practiced; therefore, there has been no fixed pattern for the way to achieve socialism, nor can we find any ready-made solutions to our problems in books. Only by integrating the fundamental principles of Marxism with practices in the country and only through continuous new probing can a party maintain its own great vitality and thus achieve continuous development." I think that these words have very satisfactorily summed up the basic historical lessons that we have drawn on from our country's construction since the founding of the CPC. These historic lessons will also provide us with valuable enlightenment on the issue of how we should strengthen and consolidate our party as a ruling party.

2. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was a great historic turning point for both our country's socialist construction and our work of party building. The CPC Central Committee reestablished the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines, made the strategic policy decision of switching the focus of the work of the party and state onto socialist modernization and formulated a series of major principles and policies concerning opening up to the outside world, enlivening the economy at home, and carrying out reform in our economic, political and other systems. At the same time, in the sphere of organizational work, it has made new cadres cooperate with veteran ones while replacing veteran cadres throughout the party and country. All this marks the entry of a new development period of our socialist cause. All this has laid a satisfactory foundation in various spheres and provided satisfactory conditions for satisfactorily carrying out the work of party building in the new period. The 12th party congress put forth the idea that we "have to build our party into a firm core of leadership for our socialist modernization." This is the basic guiding thought for the work of party building in the new period. It can also be regarded as a basic program. We can firmly believe that as long as we follow this guiding thought and program and as long as we do various aspects of work of party building in a down-to-earth manner, our party will surely be able to have new features and greater combat effectiveness in leading the people all over the country and in carrying out the historic cause of socialist modernization.

3. The 12th CPC National Congress decided to carry out an overall consolidation in our party organizations in 3 years, which would focus on solving the serious problems of impurity in thinking, in work style and in organizations inside our party and the problem that a vast number of cadres and party members fail to meet the requirements of the new situation and tasks. It also decided to regard this as a new starting point in intensifying the work of party building in the new period. All these decisions were made very correctly in very good time.

The party consolidation has now been under way for over 2 years since the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee adopted the resolution on party consolidation. By now, party consolidation work in the organizations at and above the county level has been completed all over the country



and work in rural districts and townships below county level will soon be completed too. Next winter and summer, party consolidation work will be carried out in an all-round manner at village level. The work of party consolidation in the past 2 years has been successful. Compared with the period before the party consolidation, we have made substantial progress in unifying our thoughts, rectifying our work style, imposing our party discipline and purifying our organizations. Our central ministries and commissions and our provincial, regional and municipal leading organs which took part in the first stage of party consolidation, have scored relatively clear results in correcting the guiding thoughts over their vocational work, further emancipated people's minds and clarified the orientation of reform. This has enabled them to more satisfactorily switch their leadership work into the orbit of serving the work of creating a new situation in our socialist modernization and serving the basic level. Generally speaking, the first stage of the work of party consolidation developed healthily, but we cannot deny that some departments and areas failed to do adequate work in fulfilling in an all-round manner the four tasks of party consolidation and a small number of them even did the work perfunctorily. The units at prefectural and county level that took part in the second stage of party consolidation learned from the experience gained at the first stage and solved some problems better. In particular, they relatively satisfactorily grasped the education in party spirit. They have selected a group of party organizations and units as fine models of good party spirit, work style and work achievements. At the same time they vigorously grasped the examination of major and important cases. All these played an important role in bringing about a turn to the better in our party work style. According to the opinions of the comrades in various areas, as our understanding of the importance of party consolidation has been improved and as we have accumulated some experience in carrying out party consolidation, and in addition, as we have made relatively sufficient preparations, very probably, we will do our rural party consolidation work even better. The difficulties in carrying out this party consolidation are not small. However, as our party has learned from the experience and lessons gained from political movements in the past, it will prevent the previous practice of acting and criticizing people rashly, firmly implement the basic principle of "preventing confusion while pursuing solutions to problems," adopt measures from the top downward, adhere to the educational method of using positive examples and enlightenment, have a clear guiding thought that in carrying out the party consolidation, we must ensure and promote the development of reform and economy, and prudently adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts in meting out organizational punishment. Therefore, we will relatively soundly and appropriately do the work of party consolidation. What is more valuable, through the practice of party consolidation, is that many party organizations and party cadres have begun to learn new methods of handling inner-party relations and developed quite a lot of experience in this sphere.

People have shown much concern about the problems related to our party work style. We should admit that there were shortcomings in carrying out the first stage of party consolidation, namely, we failed to discover many large or important cases of typical bad examples with serious problems and we failed to promptly and thoroughly solve the problems even if we discovered some of

these cases. The CPC Central Committee has begun to pay close attention to this matter since the beginning of last year. At that time, the second stage of party consolidation was being started and the Central Party Consolidation Guidance Commission clearly pointed out that this had to be regarded as a prominent problem and had to be solved. In the beginning of this year, the CPC Central Committee held a meeting of 8,000 people from central organs, set up a group to lead the work of correcting party style, started its work by examining major and important cases, and thus continued to carry out the work of correcting our party work style. Comrade Deng Xiaoping regarded it as a matter of such great importance that it would determine whether we succeed with our reform and construction. Now, we have begun to score achievements in grasping this work. As long as we persist in grasping it, we can expect great success. However, it is impossible to remove all of the dark side in our party through one party consolidation. The party has also emerged in the society. Our inner-party life will continue to be linked in many ways with our social life. As the situation develops, after we have removed some unhealthy things, some others will often emerge. Therefore, when this party consolidation is finished, the party organizations at all levels will continue to grasp the work of consolidating themselves daily and should not relax their efforts.

4. At present, the economic and political situation throughout the nation is heartening, being one of the best since the founding of the PRC. Satisfactorily grasping party consolidation from beginning to end is precisely aimed at promoting and ensuring the continuous development of this satisfactory situation. However, even in this good situation there are indeed quite a few problems and difficulties. Last 10 May Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out in a speech: "Historical experience has told us that we should not be boastful and should do our work in a down-to-earth manner." When he listened to a briefing on economic work on 10 June, he again spoke about the necessity of paying attention to the three issues related to grain, the foreign trade deficit and political structural reform. He stressed that we should not relax our efforts to produce grain, that we must think of ways to put an end to foreign trade deficits as soon as possible, and that we should make political reform a priority in our work in order to meet and promote the development of economic structural reform. Although these matters were often mentioned by central leading comrades in the past few years, they are not platitudes, but are very important new issues. From the point of view of the current situation, it is of even greater significance and even more profound content. I think the general spirit of these opinions is that all the comrades in our party and all the people in our country, in particular leading cadres at various levels, should remain clear-headed under the good situation and pay attention to promptly studying and solving the problems and overcoming the weak links in the course of our progress. Only by so doing can we maintain and develop the good situation of reform and the four modernizations. We must observe and analyze the situation in an all-round and scientific manner. This means that our analysis must conform to objective reality and should not be one-sided. Our analysis will be wrong and one-sided if we only see problems but fail to see achievements or if we even exaggerate problems that have emerged and thus belittle or even negate our achievements. It will also be wrong and

one-sided if we only see achievements but fail to see problems and report only good but not bad news. Through many years of observation I have summed up an experience, namely, some comrades are often apt to commit the former kind of one-sided mistakes when we run against relatively many and great difficulties and are often apt to commit the latter kind of one-sided mistakes when there is a relatively satisfactory situation. In the 37 years since the founding of the PRC, we have taken a zigzag course, a path which is smooth at the end and beginning but has twists and turns in between. This historic course has enabled us to even more profoundly realize that the party's correct leadership and maintaining a correct guiding thought are fundamental guarantees for the success of our undertaking of socialist construction. The more vital the juncture that the development of our revolution and construction is at, the less should we be careless, and the more should we see our difficulties and think about our problems. For where there is precaution, there is no danger. Generally speaking, the better the situation, the easier it is for comrades inside and outside our party to see our achievements and progress. Under this situation, of course, our leaders at various levels have the duty to guide people in fully confirming our achievements and strengthening their confidence in forging ahead, but they also have the duty to guide people to see the problems and difficulties that they may encounter in their advance and reduce the blind optimism that may be given rise to by the relatively good situation. If we are blindly optimistic, we will not be able to see new problems or to put forth new opinions. As a result, problems cannot be discovered or solved promptly and we will thus fail to consolidate or develop the good situation. Examining more frequently the difficulties that may emerge conforms to the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts and is necessary for us to remain clear-headed under a relatively good situation.

The tasks of reform on our shoulders are very heavy and arduous and it will take quite a long time for us to fulfill them. The progress and achievements of our reform are mainly determined by the earnest efforts that we make in our work and on the quality of our work rather than by a high growth rate for a short time. We should have reserve strength for the development of our four modernizations. The answer to the question of where we should get this reserve strength is that we should get it from our reform. While satisfactorily grasping our economic structural reform, we should also grasp our political economic reform. Just as we do in our economic structural reform, in carrying out our political reform, we should also first intensify our study, make necessary and satisfactory preparations and then carry it through steadfastly in a planned and systematic manner. Our economic and political structures are closely linked with and supplement each other. Therefore, these two structural reforms must coordinate with each other. If we carry out economic reform without political reform, we will in fact be unable to carry through our economic reform. Our political structural reform in fact involves quite a few problems. I find that first we should study and solve the following two problems: 1) We should solve the problem of failure to separate the functions of our party from those of our government. 2) We should solve the problem of the overstaffing in our organs. The goal of our political reform is to go a step forward in establishing a socialist political system that is highly democratic and that has

a perfect legal system and high efficiency. This political system should be suited to the new economic structure and should have Chinese characteristics. Therefore, it should also better facilitate improving and strengthening the party's leadership. In both our economic and political structural reform, there are no existing schemes or experience to follow. The only method is to explore our way and sum up our experience while carrying out our reform. No matter what difficulties and turbulence we may encounter, we must undauntedly adhere to our course and resolutely persist in carrying them through to success. If we succeed in fulfilling the great tasks of reform, we will lay the foundation for the sustained and stable development of our country in the coming 50-70 years. We should precisely ensure the success of our reform and four modernizations and the development of our democracy and legal system through intensifying our party building work. Therefore, under the new situation striving to build our party into a firm core of leadership for our socialist modernization program is an urgent historic task for the comrades in our party.

## II. Several Issues That We Must Pay Close Attention To in Intensifying the Work of Party Building in the New Period

1. /We should treat Marxism with a scientific attitude and conscientiously study, adhere to, and develop Marxism./

Studying and mastering Marxist theory is a task of first priority in intensifying the work of party building for the ruling party. In his speech to the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping stressed: "I hope that the CPC Central Committee will make a feasible decision to enable the cadres at all levels in our party, first of all, leading cadres to spare some time in spite of their heavy workload in order to study and become familiar with fundamental Marxist theory. By so doing, we will heighten the sense of principles in our work, make our work more systematic and improve our foresight and creativeness. Only by so doing can our party adhere to the socialist road, build and develop a socialism with Chinese characteristics and achieve our final goal of communism." All the victories that we won in the past were the consequence of integrating the fundamental principles of Marxism with China's actual practice. In order to fulfill the new historic tasks of the four modernizations, we cannot now dispense with the guidance of Marxist theory. Without integrating fundamental Marxist principles with China's actual practice of socialist modernization, we cannot talk about building a socialism with Chinese characteristics, nor can we talk about intensifying or doing a good job of party building. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has put forth a series of new principles and policies. Have they come out of the blue? No, they have all come through integrating Marxism with the practice of China's socialist construction. Practice has shown that these new things are not only Marxist, but have also creatively developed Marxism.

Under the current new situation of reform, opening up to the outside world and enlivening the economy, countless new things and problems will continue to emerge. This urgently demands that our party members and party-member cadres should intensify their study of theory and apply the stand, viewpoints

and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in guiding our practice and solving actual problems. In order to profoundly understand and correctly implement the series of principles and policies of reform, opening up and enlivening that we are carrying out now, we can by no means dispense with some understanding of the theory. We should closely integrate the fundamental principles of Marxism with the actual practice of China's revolution and construction and thus correctly decide the tasks of the revolution and construction and formulate correct strategy, tactics, principles and policies. This is a basic magic weapon and a basic experience that we have gained to help us overcome various kinds of "leftist" and rightist mistakes and to continuously push forward and win victories in our revolution and construction. We will fail if we only have theoretical knowledge but cannot link it with practice and if our theory is divorced from practice. So will we fail if we focus only on our actual work and do not have the guidance of theory. Marxist theory is not a theory, but is a guide for our actions. While guiding revolution and construction, it should continue to absorb experience and nutrition and continue to enrich and develop itself. The reform that we are carrying out is a process of groping our way to make progress; therefore, we must be guided by the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Without this guidance, we will act blindly. At the same time, both in theory and practice, we must bravely make breakthroughs and blaze new trails. Otherwise, we will not be able to free ourselves from the fetters of the traditional construction pattern that is not suited to the development of our socialist cause, or from the fetters of some old conventions and experience. Then it will be impossible for us to succeed in our reform. In short, on the one hand, we should persist in regarding Marxism as the guide in carrying out our reform and on the other hand, we should also develop Marxism while carrying out the reform. If we do not develop Marxism, we will not be able to adhere to it. On the other hand, if we do not study, master or apply the basic principles of Marxism and if we do not have these principles as our foundation, we will not be able to develop Marxism. This is the relations of dialectical unity between "adherence" and "development." In the course of the struggle to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should persist in continuously studying and creatively developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and thus be able to integrate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the actual practice of reform and socialist modernization at a new and higher level. We should do so in consolidating our party itself as well as in our reform and modernization. In order to intensify and satisfactorily do the work of party building, on the one hand, we should continue to carry on and develop the fine tradition and experience of the work of party building in the past; and on the other hand, we must creatively develop the theory and practice of party building in the light of new historic conditions and the experience gained from our new practice. This requires us to first satisfactorily study the basic theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought concerning the construction of the ruling party.

2. /We should continue to intensify the work of party building related to the leading groups of the party organizations at all levels./

In consolidating our party, in particular, our party organizations, we should always grasp the work of consolidating the leading groups at various levels. The reason for this is very simple. Leading groups are headquarters for the fighting; therefore, the quality of leading groups and leading cadres determines the success or failure and the orientation of the development of our party's cause.

Most of the leading groups and cadres in our party organizations at various levels are good or relatively good. But there are also a fairly large number of leading groups and cadres that fail to meet the requirements of the four modernizations and the development of democracy and legal system. In some areas, the minds of the cadres in basic-level party organizations are still fettered by the concept of natural economy and the ideology of small-scale production, and they are therefore unable to make progress in carrying out the reform. Some of them have as yet failed to understand the necessity of developing the socialist commodity economy. There are also some areas where some of the leading cadres still lack a correct and full understanding, having only a one-sided understanding of the party's policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening the economy at home and of the work of introducing technology from abroad and setting up joint ventures with joint capital with foreigners. There are still quite a large number of people who do not know scientific management and who do not understand the principle that first we should carry out our construction and second we should have a legal system. They do not respect the opinions of the masses of people and quite often violate the principle of democracy. We have not yet thoroughly put an end to the work style of staying at the higher level to direct the work by issuing documents and listening to briefings without going deep into the reality. Therefore, continuing to intensify the work of party building in our leading groups at various levels remains a very important task.

In order to build our leading groups at various levels into firm cores to lead the masses in carrying out the four modernizations program, I think that at least we should satisfactorily grasp the following aspects of our work: 1) We should make efforts to heighten the ideological and political level and improve the work competence of our leading cadres. 2) We should earnestly change and improve the work style and methods of leadership. 3) We should firmly establish in our minds the idea of closely linking with the masses and the idea and feeling of loving the masses of people.

Another key issue in intensifying the work of consolidating our leading groups is that we must correctly and satisfactorily select the people who are to be promoted into our leading groups. In selecting, promoting and employing cadres, we must adhere to the principle of selecting those who have both ability and political integrity. This is the only correct principle for our party in selecting competent and virtuous cadres and it will never be outdated. In selecting and promoting cadres, in particular, members of leading groups at various levels, we should carefully check and

pay attention to both their "political integrity" and "ability" and should not emphasize one of the two at the expense of the other. Moreover, we should always put "political integrity" first. The CPC Central Committee has also put the task of "making our cadres more revolutionary" first in the task of the "four transformations of cadres." We should see that in the work of selecting and employing cadres at present, there is a trend of putting ability before political integrity in some areas and departments. We should pay great attention to this problem. In our actual work, this problem is shown in the fact that in applying the standard for the "four transformations" of cadres, we sometimes only pay attention to the latter "three transformations" and neglect or regard only as supplemental the "first transformation" which requires us to make our cadres "revolutionary." We must correct this tendency, otherwise, we will bungle major matters. In the work of "rejuvenation," there has been the practice of pursuing "uniformity," while in the work of making our cadres "educated" and "professionally competent" an unhealthy tendency of judging cadres' educational level and competence merely by certificates has emerged. All these problems must be conscientiously solved in the future in consolidating our leading groups.

3. /We should earnestly perfect and vigorously develop inner-party democracy./

Our party has been established according to the principle of democratic centralism. Perfecting and developing inner-party democracy is of extremely great significance for the implementation of the correct centralism on the basis of full democracy, for ensuring the formulation and implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, imposing party discipline, consolidating party unity, and preventing some party-member cadres from acting arbitrarily and from becoming lords over rather than servants of the people.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the political life in the party's Central Committee has been democratic and healthy and democracy has also to some extent recovered and developed in our basic-level party organizations. This is a major achievement in our efforts to bring order out of chaos.

What is healthy and full inner-party democracy? Is there a mark for it? I think there is. It is what Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article "Situation in the Summer in 1957": "We should create a lively political situation whereby there is both centralism and democracy, whereby discipline is imposed while people have freedom and whereby there is both unity of will and personal peace of mind." Historical facts have proved that it is very difficult to actually create such a lively situation of inner-party democracy. Almost at the same time as Comrade Mao Zedong raised this issue, our party committed serious mistakes of expanding the scope of the anti-rightist struggle. Later, it committed another mistake of "fighting against so-called right deviationism" and finally it committed the all-round "leftist" mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution." For nearly 20 years, we not only failed to make any progress in creating the political situation

for our inner-party democracy, but also seriously undermined the originally basically normal inner-party life. Now, we are making progress toward that goal in improving our inner-party life. But we should point out that even today, there are some areas and units where the inner-party life is still abnormal. This is shown in the fact that a small number of leading cadres there continue to be eager to maintain the patriarchal system and their monopoly of the power and they even regard the units under their charge as their independent realms; that some areas continue to handle things and employ people in the light of their relations to the cadres and appoint people by favoritism and even substitute this vulgar practice for the principle of party spirit, turning the relations between comrades and between people and organizations into a relation of appendage; that some new leading groups have been established, but often there are still people who refuse to carry out the decision made by the new leading groups through discussion but continue to implement the "instructions" from their "former leaders"; and that some leading cadres are fond of speaking highly of their achievements, are willing to listen only to good news but unwilling to listen to bad news, do not tolerate different views and at the same time, some people who are good at flattery act in a way that the leaders like, closely watch the leaders' expression to say what the leaders want to hear, do not speak the truth, tell the leaders only good news but cover up the bad news and some of them even deceive the upper levels and curry favor with them in order to gain fame and promotion. There is nothing about them that is similar to the characteristics of a CPC member! If we fail to resolutely correct these negative phenomena, the party's leadership and combat effectiveness will inevitably be weakened.

Therefore, we must adopt vigorous measures in the spheres of thoughts, work style, discipline and organization and strive to improve our inner-party democracy. We should eliminate the patriarchal system, the monopoly of power by leaders, the relations of personal appendage and other remnant poisonous influences of feudalism. This is an indispensable and radical way to improve our inner-party democracy. We should pay attention to conscientiously correcting the unhealthy trend in the sphere of our political life. We must criticize and fight against all words and deeds that run against the principles governing our inner-party political life. We should normalize the regular activities of our organizations. All cadres, including leading cadres, should take part in the activities without exception and conscientiously carry out criticism and self-criticism. An important yardstick to check whether inner-party democracy is normal is whether there is an atmosphere of conscientious criticism and self-criticism in our party organizations. Difference of opinions inside our party is normal. We should not discriminate against the comrades who hold views different from ours, even less should we allow the practice of persecuting and retaliating against people who hold different views. Our party organizations at all levels should always pay attention to improving the measures and methods to develop inner-party democracy and turn it into a system.



4. /We should persist in administering our party strictly./

Comrade Chen Yun time and again stressed: "The issue of the party style of the ruling party is a vital issue for the party." There are many reasons for the serious problems in our party work style. One of the most important reasons is our failure to administer our party strictly. The major tendency now is weakness!

Here, I am going to particularly expound on the question of being strict and lenient. In ancient or modern times in any society and any country, a common experience for administering the society and country well is to combine strictness with leniency, in other words, to coordinate strict and lenient measures. Of course, as the nature of societies and countries varies, so do entirely the scope of strictness and leniency and the degree and ways of the strictness and leniency, in other words, the social scope and contents of the strictness and leniency. But there should always be the principle of combining strictness with leniency. Only by being strict where we should be strict and lenient where we should be lenient can we guarantee the normal order of the life of our state and society. Reversely, being lenient only but never strict or being strict only but never lenient and thus committing the mistake of excessive strictness or excessive leniency is not a good way to administer our country. Our country is a socialist country with a people's democratic dictatorship; therefore we should be lenient to our people; while we should adopt economic, legal and dictatorial means to severely punish criminals who have committed economic and other crimes and all counterrevolutionaries who oppose the people and socialism. This is our way to combine strictness and leniency in administering our country. As at present, the main defect in our inner-party life is that some party organizations are not strict enough and are too weak in handling the problems that must be handled severely; therefore, we should place particular emphasis on the necessity of administering our party strictly.

First, we should improve the quality of our party members in totality. In the process of the party consolidation, we found that some cadres' political, ideological, moral, cultural and vocational quality is not high and that of some of them are very poor. Quite a few party members do not join the party in order to fight for the ideal of communism but in order to obtain the "status" as the member of the ruling party so that they can become officials and pursue their personal gains. These people are absolutely not qualified as party members. A party member should have ideals, be moral and educated, and observe discipline. We must make great efforts to improve the quality of our party members. We should earnestly intensify our various kinds of education among party members, in particular education in party spirit. We should vigorously urge our leading cadres to play the role in setting examples for other people. Those who cannot do so are not qualified for leading posts.

Second, we should severely handle the problems among our party-member cadres and party members of seriously exploiting their power to pursue their private ends and seriously violating law and discipline. We must realize that those who seriously violate law and discipline and exploit their power of office

to pursue their private ends have seriously harmed the interests of the party and people for their personal interests or for the interests of the small groups such as their units and departments. They have thus seriously undermined the reform and economic construction and the relations between the party and masses. This has yielded extremely bad consequences and influence. We should teach our party members to bravely stand out, adhere to principles, have the courage to tackle difficult problems and to resolutely fight against these activities. They should also have the courage to fight resolutely against decadent thoughts that erode the party. Only by so doing can they sternly and resolutely maintain the communist purity of communists and the advanced nature and combat efficiency of our party organizations. At the same time, we should teach our party members to fully realize that correcting unhealthy practices and cracking down on the crimes is long-term work. In the process of opening up to the outside world and enlivening our economy at home, surely some bad things will emerge. We should try to correct unhealthy practices and crack down on criminal activities for as long as we continue to carry out our policy of opening up and enlivening. Only by so doing can we ensure the correct implementation of these policies. Otherwise, our opening up and enlivening will go astray.

Third, we should strictly impose party discipline. Failure to administer the party strictly is often to a very great extent shown in our failure to strictly impose party discipline. For example, we are often too lenient to some party members who have committed serious mistakes and failed to mete out due punishments. Being strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishment is an important policy for the administration of our party and state. If we fail to be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishment, we will not be able to make a clear distinction between rights and wrongs or genuinely convince people. Lenin said that we had to "pay attention to improving the quality of our party members and expel those who 'have wormed their way into our party.'" He also said that there would rather be fewer but better party members. Why should we keep in our party those who have already become unqualified as party members?!

### III. Quality and Work That a Party Member Should Have in the New Period

In the years of the revolutionary wars, it is difficult to be a pioneer fighter for the proletariat, but today it is also very difficult to be a member of the ruling party. The great socialist modernization cause requires all party members to consciously intensify their tempering of party spirit and their training to foster lofty qualities and work style. Stalin once said that a communist was made of "special materials." In the period of socialism, a communist is by no means "special" in being superior to other people or in being able to exploit the power in their hands to pursue their personal ends, but should be special in displaying everywhere the lofty quality and work style of always fighting for the interests of the people. What quality and work style should a party member have in the new period? In the light of the stipulation of clause 8 of the party Constitution and taking into all-round consideration of the quality and work style displayed by the fine party members on various fronts, I think that there should be the following 10 aspects:

1. /A party member should have firm party spirit./ The party spirit of a party member is shown in various spheres including thoughts, politics, work style and observation of organizational discipline. Its most fundamental aspect is to serve the people wholeheartedly. A member of the ruling party must always adhere to the principle of serving the people. Today, he should pay particular attention to the following: First, he must always remember the loftiest principle of "establishing the party for the public" and "administering the government for the people," correctly exercise the power granted him by the people to pursue most people's interests, and always refrain from lording over the people. Second, at any time, he must carry on the spirit of being the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy comfort, and the idea of fearing no hardship and being willing to suffer hardship for the party's and people's interests. Third, under no circumstances can a member of the ruling party have the mentality to enjoy "comfort" and he should make up his mind to fight selflessly all his life for communism.

2. /He should have a firm faith in communism./ In the history of our party's struggle, countless CPC members have died, shed blood and devoted all their energy, even their lives, for the struggle. The fundamental reason for this was that they had firm faith in communism. Today we are assigned with the heavy historical task of realizing the four modernizations of our motherland; therefore, we also demand that all our party members must have firm faith in communism. This faith is not empty words on his lips, but must be displayed in his actions throughout his life.

3. /A party member should have the spirit of studying diligently and working hard./ In the course of our socialist modernization, there are many things and problems that require us to use our brain and to assiduously study and probe. A party member should conscientiously study Marxist theory and study and master modern knowledge of science and technology, administration and management know-how and other professional knowledge in order to become professionally competent. Moreover, as our reform and four modernizations program are arduous and complicated social projects, all our party members, in particular leading cadres, must learn the skills to work in a complicated environment. This means that he should have a relatively good mastery of skills to apply materialist dialectics, understand the necessity of analyzing things in an all-round manner and the necessity of drawing clear demarcation lines between various things, and understand Marxist strategy and tactics. Only when he has these skills can he correctly and effectively resolve various kinds of contradictions and problems and continue to lead our modernization to victory. In 1941, in his "Preface and Postscript to Rural Surveys," in the light of the complicated historic environment of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong especially expounded on the reasons why a CPC member should know how to work in such an environment and the significance in doing that. This article is worth our reading once more.

4. /He should have the work style of bravely blazing new trails and quietly immersing himself in his work./ The historic task of a communist is to continue to push history forward and achieve all-round social progress. This task itself determines and requires that in the historic periods we are in,

all of us communists must follow the direction pointed out by the party's line, principles and policies, be brave in blazing new trails and accept and create new things and oppose the conservative thoughts which favor following the beaten path. At the same time, while blazing new trails and forging ahead, he must do his work in a down-to-earth manner, quietly immerse himself in his work, not make empty talk, do more actual deeds, and become a pragmatic worker rather than idle talker.

5. /He should always be ready to take up cudgels for a just cause and selflessly and bravely uphold healthy revolutionary trends./ In the revolutionary war years, many communists were neither corrupted by wealth or rank nor subdued by poverty or force and thus displayed their integrity and uprightness as revolutionaries. Today, in the various kinds of difficulties that have emerged in our four modernizations, we should also carry on the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither death nor hardship. In the face of the erosion of the various kinds of decadent thoughts and unhealthy trends, we should consciously resist them, bravely fight against them and really manage to be entirely invulnerable. In his article "Inscription for Mr Yan's Shrine," Fan Zhongyan praised Yan Ziling, a scholar in the Eastern Han Dynasty, for his uprightness, which could "move corrupt people and make them honest and move cowards and make them brave." This was what uprightness was in feudal times. In serving the interests of the people, we communists are even more obliged to be upright. "A little uprightness will serve as a wind that sends our ship a thousand miles away." A communist should set an example for the masses of people wherever he goes.

6. /He should set an example in seeking truth from facts./ Whenever a CPC member or a cadre who is a CPC member considers or does anything, he should persist in investigating and studying, proceed from reality in doing everything and seek truth from facts. He should dare to speak the truth, follow only the truth rather than instructions from above, and start from reality, think independently, and adhere to principles. He should never ignore facts. He should never echo other people's views, boast, make empty talk or tell lies.

7. /He should be good at maintaining close ties with the masses of people./ Every party member or cadre who is a party member should always think about and serve the masses of people and should never forget or be divorced from them, even less should he lord over them. If a communist becomes divorced from the masses and has lost their support, he will lose the ground under his feet and will never be able to succeed in anything. He should always remember this. He should never forget this because he has power in his hands. He should know that if he acts against the masses' will and encroaches on their interests, they will be justified in finding ways to take back the power from him.

8. /He should bravely adhere to truth and correct mistakes./ A communist is magnanimous and selfless. He should have the courage to carry out criticism and self-criticism against any shortcoming and mistake of his own or other people's and strive to overcome and correct it. However, at present, liberalism and the habit of never offending other people is still

much in vogue among some of our comrades. They clearly see the mistakes but think that it is better to say nothing. Others conceal their own faults for fear of criticism, dare not disclose their own shortcomings and mistakes and want to cover them up. Still others cannot endure the least criticism; they bear grudges when they have been criticized by other people and wait for an opportunity to retaliate. These all run counter to the principle of adhering to truth and correcting mistakes and they must resolutely overcome these wrong attitudes.

9. /A party member should consciously observe discipline and law./ The party's discipline embodies the will of the whole party and the state's law embodies the will of the people all over the country. All party members including party-member cadres, no matter how high their posts, how great their merits or how great their seniority, should act within the scope of party discipline and state law and set an example in observing law and discipline. We do not tolerate any one party member who refuses to be restricted by party discipline, nor do we tolerate any one citizen who refuses to be restricted by state law. At any time, we must sternly examine and punish and must never be lenient toward party members and cadres who seriously violate law and discipline.

10. /A party member should be "prudent when he is alone."/ A communist should continuously carry out self-cultivation. I suggest that we all review Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "On the Self-Cultivation of a Communist Party Member." The self-cultivation of a party member means that he often measures his own words and deeds by Marxist viewpoints, the principle of party spirit and the criteria for party members. The self-cultivation of a party member is by no means a practice of "thinking about one's own faults alone at home" but is a conscious practice of party spirit. "Doctrine of the Mean" in "The Book of Rites" says: "There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute." Therefore, the superior is watchful over himself when he is alone. It roughly means that even in most concealed places one should not do what he should not do; therefore, "the superior" should be very prudent when he is alone. Every CPC member and party-member cadre should always be as good as his words and be modest and prudent in public or in private, no matter what his job is and no matter whether his boss is present or not.

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## RECTIFICATION OF PARTY STYLE MUST GO HAND IN HAND WITH REFORM

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[Article by Han Guang [7281 0342], executive secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission]

[Text] The present situation in the rectification of party style is better than a few years ago. We have initially opened up a prospect of the whole party grasping party style. The drive of correcting unhealthy trends is developing in depth. A new breakthrough has been effected in dealing with big and important cases. The work of providing education in party spirit and party style has been done in a more profound and consolidated way. There has been a good beginning in strengthening discipline. Practice of the past 6 months has shown that as long as leading organs and leading cadres at all levels conscientiously grasp party style, they will achieve true results. However, we should not overestimate the achievements we have made. We should say that it is only a good beginning, and that a number of problems remain to be solved. At present, we should correctly understand and handle the relations between rectification of party style and reform. This issue is of primary importance and merits our attention.

### Rectification of Party Style and Reform Complement Each Other

Two years ago, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "'Relaxing' the principle in the party spirit and party discipline is out of the question. Without a good party style, it is impossible to do well in reform. Whether during the period of doing underground work, or during the period of ruling the country, a communist party should stick to its discipline." Party style is a matter which concerns the life and death of the party and the success or failure of reform. The resolution on "Strengthening the Work of Discipline Inspection To Ensure Smooth Progress in Economic Structural Reform" adopted by the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission in 1984 explicitly expounds the guiding thought that discipline inspection work should serve reform and clearly explains the relations between party style rectification and reform. However, in practical life there are still some confused ideas and erroneous views on these relations. Now there is a prevailing view that maintains that the work of rectifying party style and correcting unhealthy trends will "hamper the initiative of reformers." Such a view is not tenable theoretically, and is harmful in practice.

The strategic guiding principle of the party has demanded that while grasping reform, we should grasp party style. This is a guiding thought of "grasping the two civilizations together." While firmly grasping the building of material civilization and reform, we should firmly grasp the building of spiritual civilization and the rectification of party style, so that they can be well integrated and coordinated and march forward hand in hand. Generally speaking, units that have done well in reform might have a better party style. Better rectification of party style in units concerned will, in turn, promote and ensure healthy development of reform. Some enterprises started the work of grasping reform earlier, and have done a good job in this regard. However, the situation has changed in this year. They have found it difficult to develop the reform in depth. Why? There are many reasons for this. However, it is absolutely not because of the work of rectifying party style and correcting the unhealthy trends. We should make a specific analysis of the specific problems. Reform is a systematic project which is great, complicated, and arduous. It is a very profound social change. It is characterized not only by replacing the old system with the new one, but also by the confrontation of ideas between the new and old concepts. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: "Reform is a self-improvement of the socialist system and a revolutionary change to a certain degree within a certain scope." Therefore, it will inevitably encounter obstacles and interference from various quarters. It is wrong to attribute rectification of party style to some problems occurring in reform. The purpose in rectifying party style is precisely to remove obstacles standing in the way of reform, eliminate interference, and create a good social and political environment to promote the development of reform. In the meantime, through reform we should further improve and perfect various systems, plug various loopholes in management, and overcome long-standing abuse which hampers the development of productive forces. All this will effectively prevent and reduce the occurrence of unhealthy trends and corrupted phenomena. In early June, I visited some units such as the electrolytic aluminum plant in Taiyuan, the machine tool fittings plant in Hothot, the knitting sportswear factory in Tianjin, and so on. A host of facts have shown that party style and reform should at all times not be separated and that they should not be set against each other. If we fail to grasp party style while carrying out reform, reform will be impeded and harmed. Comrades in these units said that good party style was a guarantee for healthy development of reform. Only by doing well in rectifying party style will the masses feel perfectly happy, be of one heart, and be full of drive to promote reform and production. The prefectural party committee of Cangzhou has persisted in the work of "grasping party style and reform together" and has achieved good results in both party style and reform. They have realized in practice that grasping party style and carrying out reform are a general aim and task put forward by the 12th party congress and that their relations are like "two wings of a bird," which cannot be separated from each other. Only by flapping the two wings will the great undertaking of the four modernizations greatly rise. Successful reform and good party style should, and can, coexist, promote each other, and go hand in hand to make progress. Of course, they cannot replace each other, because they have their own separate field. The problem lies in whether we have "truly exerted our efforts" in reform or merely "employed trickery." If we have truly exerted efforts, reform will be well coordinated with the rectification of party

style, and make progress together. If we have "employed trickery" by engaging in speculation and profiteering, employing dishonest methods, earning extra incomes, and scrambling for ill-gotten wealth, what we have done will conflict with the party style and be utterly irreconcilable with the party interest. The true obstruction and obstacle to reform and opening up to the outside world do not lie in the rectification of party style, but in the violation of law and discipline, economic crimes, and unhealthy trends. In the process of reform, opening up to the outside world, and enlivening, unhealthy trends will inevitably occur. This is because in the course of reform, dragons and fish jumble together, and the capitalist decadent ideology and way of life will sneak into our ranks. This will corrupt some weak-willed people. Therefore, we should rectify the party style and correct unhealthy trends as long as we implement the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy. Rectification of party style should run through the whole course of reform. We should correct unhealthy trends amid reform, and do well in promoting reform in the course of correcting unhealthy trends. Only thus can we ensure the correct implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy.

To handle well the relations between grasping party style and carrying out reform, we should conscientiously and effectively solve the following two problems: 1) We should be mentally prepared for the problems, difficulties, and "throes" occurring in reform. We should dare to do things that are in accord with the line, guiding principles, and policy of the party, promote the development of social productive forces, and conform with the immediate and long-term interest of the party and the masses. We should dare to shout encouragement for, and uphold, them. "As long as we stand upright, our shadows will not be tilted." "Only the selfless can be fearless." We should not be overcautious, or refuse to carry out reform again and do things that should be done because we once made efforts to correct unhealthy trends, hear some gossip, feel wronged, and are complained against by some people. We should on no account turn back the clock. To do so means that we lack profound understanding of reform and that we are not firm enough in reform. 2) We should pay close attention to distinguishing right from wrong and to drawing a line of demarcation in the policy. We should neither regard all things as unhealthy trends nor deal with the problems of crimes within the range of party style. We should do our best to avoid one-sidedness in method of thinking and hesitance in handling problems. For example, in industrial production, various departments need a fairly great quantity of means of production. Apart from supply according to plan, some amount of means of production is supplied on the basis of negotiated prices. According to contracts concluded by both sides, the negotiated price for means of production supplied in this way might be high or low. We should pay for certain necessary expenses which are needed in operations. All these belong to legal economic activities. They are different from, and should not be lumped together with, the malpractices of a small number of units and individuals who are guilty of exploiting an advantage to stir up trouble, abusing power to seek private gains, reselling goods at a profit, profiting from illegal trade, embezzling, offering bribes, and taking bribes. We should stick to the former because they are needed by the development of productive forces, whereas we should ban the latter because they are not allowed by party discipline and



state law. While protecting the enthusiasm of our reformers, we should attach importance to the work of rectifying party style. While making unswerving effort to correct unhealthy trends, we should pay attention to drawing a line of demarcation in the policy and work methods. As long as we persist in doing so, our socialist reform and party style will supplement each other and make progress hand in hand.

#### Discipline Inspection Work Should Help Reformers Free Themselves From Anxieties and Solve Difficulties

Reform is a process of unceasing exploration, opening up, and blazing new trails. With the profound development of reform, opening up, and enlivening, a new situation and many new problems will inevitably occur. The new situation and problems should be solved by relying on a correct policy. Ours is a big country with complicated conditions. The spirit of the central authorities and the policy of the state cannot be worked out so concretely. In addition, our law, policy, rules, and regulations should be further improved and perfected. Therefore, in our practical work, many distinctions are still obscured. All this has set a new task for our discipline inspection work. In other words, discipline inspection departments should go deep into the realities of life, institute investigations and studies, and pool the wisdom of the masses. Regarding some obscured matters occurring in reform, they should cooperate with the relevant sections to study and formulate a correct policy, and draw a line of demarcation in policy. In Zuoyun County of Yanbei Prefecture in Shanxi Province, small coal mines run by towns and townships have been developing very rapidly over the past 2 years. Many new matters obscure to the masses occurred. Without waiting for the higher authorities (to draw up a set of rules), relying (on the experiences of others), and blaming (the higher leadership), under the leadership of the prefectural party committee, the discipline inspection commission of the prefectural party committee transferred 25 cadres from the relevant departments in the county to organize 5 investigation groups to carry out investigations in 10 coal mines run by townships. Proceeding from the actual conditions of the county, they drew up 10 specific rules and regulations defining mines that could be exploited and mines that could not be exploited. They also told people what work they could do and what work they could not do. Good results have been obtained in the trial implementation of these rules and regulations. In doing so, a specific criterion can be established to distinguish right from wrong so that evil practices of "robbing, occupying, and stealing" and abusing power to forcibly occupy the mines can be stopped. All this has removed obstacles to reform and promoted the development of production. Facts have shown that under the new situation of reform, opening up, and enlivening, new problems have emerged one after another. Our cadres responsible for discipline inspection have never encountered many of these problems. They do not understand and are not familiar with them. Therefore, some defects and mistakes will inevitably occur in their work. To vigorously promote the development of reform, it is requested that our cadres responsible for discipline inspection conscientiously study and master the party's strategic intention of carrying out economic construction and the guiding principle and policy for reform. They should be familiar with the actual conditions of the local economic construction and reform and continuously eliminate the influence of force of habit in their

minds and the fetters of feudal traditional concepts. Only by having a thorough grasp of the spirit of the central authorities and understanding the situation at the lower level can they enhance their work efficiency, distinguish right from wrong, differentiate between truth and falsehood, and promptly and truly help reformers free themselves from anxieties and solve difficulties.

Reform is a revolution. Some people praise and support it. Some people find fault with it. Some people make things difficult and undermine it. Some people fish in troubled waters in order to reap some profit. Under such complicated circumstances, our cadres responsible for discipline inspection should keep a clear head, take a clear-cut stand to support reformers, stand in the forefront of reform, help reformers free themselves from anxieties, and be their powerful backings. They should enthusiastically support and resolutely protect those comrades who are carrying out reform wholeheartedly. Nobody is allowed to attack and frame up comrades who are engaged in reform. Once such cases are discovered, they should be immediately investigated and handled. This is the most direct protection and most powerful support for reformers. Regarding those comrades who committed faults and mistakes in their work because of the lack of clear rules and regulations, the obscurity of lines of demarcation in the policy, or the lack of experiences, our emphasis must be placed on educating them and helping them sum up experiences so that they can correct their mistakes and enhance their ideological level of understanding the policy. We should not randomly affix the responsibility of the individuals concerned. It is difficult to completely avoid mistakes occurring in the process of exploration and blazing new trails. They are completely different in nature from unhealthy trends. As for those who made achievements in reform, and also did things violating party discipline and state law, we should not use their achievements to cover up their mistakes or praise their contributions alone without exposing their mistakes. Their achievements and mistakes should be treated as the case may be. The rights and wrongs of the matter should be clear. For example, the Dongfang guesthouse in Guangzhou has truly done well in reform. This should be affirmed. However, one of its managers violated the law, and the case has been handled according to law. As for persons who seized the opportunity of replacing the old system with the new one, availed themselves of loopholes under the pretense of reform, abused power to seek private gains, and were guilty of unhealthy trends and violating the law, we should conscientiously investigate and severely handle their cases. Everyone is equal before party discipline and state law. Their offenses should be handled as the case may be. In so doing, we will defend the authority of party discipline and state law. This is a true protection for reformers. People's concepts on the legal system will thus be strengthened and their consciousness of going about things according to law enhanced. If we let various malpractices of violating law and discipline and unhealthy trends spread unchecked, a world full of corruption and bribes rather than a vigorous situation of reform beneficial to our country and people will be in front of us.

One of the important things we should do in order to support, protect, and promote reform is that we should have a good grasp of the policies. We

should on no account use oversimplified methods to handle complicated problems. It seems that oversimplified methods can save efforts and trouble. However, it is impossible for us to obtain good results and win popular support by adopting oversimplified methods. In the course of reform, inconsistency in theories and conflict in understanding will frequently occur. Regarding such problems, we should adopt a prudent policy. We should on no account jump to conclusions or take a hasty action to handle the problems. It should be pointed out that most contradictions inside the party are nonantagonistic and that only a very small number are antagonistic. The antagonistic contradictions characterized by opposing the party and socialism are very rare. Therefore, we should strictly differentiate and correctly handle these two kinds of contradictions, which are different in nature. This is an important line of demarcation in the policy which should not be confused. While considering problems, we should keep a cool head. We should adopt a prudent policy in order to handle the problems well. Regarding complaints about some people, active reformers in particular, we should not heed and trust one side only, and avoid making subjective and groundless conclusions. We should listen to opinions put forward by various quarters, including the opinions of the persons concerned. On the basis of distinguishing right from wrong and differentiating main aspects and secondary aspects of things, we can decide whether we should support or educate them, or investigate and handle their cases. We should uphold the principle, take a clear-cut stand, and adopt proper methods. We should make every effort to prevent the following tendencies: 1) Once some people say that there are obstacles to the implementation of the policy of reform, opening up, and enlivening, we stop the work of handling the cases of violating the discipline and offenses, which ought to be dealt with, for fear that some people might complain that what we are doing will interfere with reform. 2) When we learn that some localities are handling so many big and important cases, we become hotheaded, wrongly regard faults and mistakes occurring in reform as cases of violating discipline, and treat flexible measures permitted by policy as unhealthy trends. In a word, we should seek truth from facts, and do things in a practical and realistic way. We should not compete with others in figures, speed, and a show of strength. It is not the work style of the party to "rush headlong into mass action," "retreat in a hubbub," and "demand conformity in everything."

#### We Should Pay Attention To Summing Up New Experiences in Grasping Party Style Amid Reform

At present, the tasks confronting us are: On the basis of consolidating the achievements in grasping party style and carrying out reform, we should be firm and unshakable in continuing to deepen the work of rectifying party style and carrying out reform well. To advance in a better way, it is necessary for us to look back in order to conscientiously sum up new experiences in grasping party style.

Reform is a revolution, and an extremely profound social change. It is unprecedented in terms of scope, influence, and contents. It vigorously started in our country's rural area and has greatly aroused the enthusiasm and creativity of the broad masses of cadres and people, cleaned up the

conservative ideas and old traditional concepts in people's mind, and changed people's ideological concepts, mental outlook, and thinking method. An eye-catching achievement has been made within a short period of time. Rural economic structural reform has influenced and promoted the profound development of the entire economic structural reform with emphasis on cities, and has increasingly demonstrated the great vitality of reform. However, reform means breaking paths unexplored by people before, and there is no ready experience, or existing experience, to go by in this regard. We advance in the course of making exploration in practice. We should take one step and look around before taking another, and proceed with caution. On the path of making exploration and opening up, we have achieved some successful experiences and inevitably committed mistakes and defects. Very often, favorable and unfavorable situations occur alternately. After implementing the policy of opening up and enlivening, some negative things will inevitably be brought into our country. If we fail to deal with them conscientiously, our policy of opening up and enlivening will take an evil way. Therefore, rectifying party style is a long-term work. In the course of grasping party style and carrying out reform, we should sum up experience after we have "fought each battle." We should scale new heights, find out laws of development of things, enhance our consciousness, and reduce our blindness. We should frequently review the path we have explored and constantly sum up experience in order to preserve achievements and overcome mistakes, carry forward merits, and overcome defects. It is absolutely necessary for all comrades to do so, leading comrades in particular, in order to rectify party style and do well in carrying out reform. On this historical stage of reform, the masses have created many new experiences. We should sum up these positive and negative experiences so that they can guide our work. The significance and role of so doing should not be underestimated.

The Central Discipline Inspection Commission has recently held several separate discussions in institutions directly under the central authorities, state organs, and various provinces and regions to sum up the experiences in grasping party style and carrying out reform. The main experience we have achieved is that the party committees should attach importance to party style and the whole party should grasp it. This is a basic guarantee for the rectification of party style. We should stick to the practice of "grasping reform with one hand and party style with the other," and shoulder the two great tasks simultaneously. Profoundly conducting education in party spirit, party style, and party discipline is an essential way for effecting a fundamental turn for the better in party style. Implementing the responsibility system of "three fixes and one contract" (fixing leaders, working personnel, and timetable, and assigning tasks based on contract) is an effective measure for handling big and important cases. We should also adopt "comprehensive methods" to grasp party style and work style of the people, resolutely overcome unhealthy trends in trades and services, and strengthen discipline. These experiences are varied and many, rich in content, and feasible. Some of these experiences are tantamount to "legislation" in minds, some are tantamount to supervision by the organizations, and some others are tantamount to guarantee in system. Practice has shown that as long as we conscientiously sum up experience, our perceptual knowledge will be raised to the level of theory. We can thus make new theoretical generalization and work out new measures so

that our system and policies will be constantly perfected. In so doing, we will gain the initiative in leading work. Leaders must integrate with the masses, and the upper levels must integrate with the lower ones. We must pool the wisdom of the masses, and regard the process of summing up experience as a process of grasping party style and carrying out reform by the masses. In such a way, we will be able to devise strategies, ensure our success in the complicated social changes, and avoid detours. Even if we have taken a roundabout course in work, our defects can be easily corrected. Correctly summing up experience is an effective method for enhancing the level and capability of leadership. As long as we persist in doing so, we will be able to constantly find out new things, accumulate new experiences, and solve new problems.

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## TAKE A DIALECTICAL VIEW OF YOUNG CADRES' STRONG POINTS AND WEAKNESSES

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[Article by Li Kan [2621 0170], Xingtai Prefectural CPC Committee secretary]

[Text] Much gossip has been going on about the strong points and weaknesses of young cadres since a large number of them were placed in leading posts. Some people see more of the strong points of young cadres and neglect their weaknesses, but others, including some old comrades, often see more of young cadres' weaknesses in evaluating them. This has affected the sincere cooperation between new and old cadres, impeding young cadres in giving play to their enthusiasm and creativity. As a long-standing veteran cadre, I have a deep understanding through practice in recent years that it is very important to take a dialectical view of young cadres' strong points and weaknesses so as to handle well the contradictions between new and old cadres.

According to materialist dialectics, it is primarily necessary to fully understand the strong points of young cadres in evaluating them. Young cadres are the new rising forces of our cadre contingent. Their coming up has added vitality and vigor to the leading bodies. Since structural reform was carried out in Xingtai Prefecture, nearly half of the leading cadres of party and government organs at county level are newly promoted young comrades. As a result of the close cooperation between new and old comrades who have united and fought shoulder to shoulder, Xingtai, which was originally a backward area in Hebei, has made rather great progress. Today, Xingtai ranks top in the province in cotton production and the developing rate of enterprises in towns and townships, and the per capita annual income of the prefecture has increased by more than 130 yuan within 2 years. In the practice of developing economy and invigorating Xingtai, young cadres have fully developed their role, and vividly demonstrated their particular strong points. First is their advantage in age. The process of metabolism is an irresistible objective law, and every man will go through the process from youth to old age. The more advanced in age old comrades grow, the more they find it difficult to take up burdensome work, while young cadres are in the prime of their life and energetic and can fulfill their tasks even if they are a bit heavy. It is often the case in our work that in order to solve a problem as quickly as possible, cadres are required to go wherever the situation requires, working 24 hours on end. Generally speaking, old comrades will find it difficult, while young cadres

can make it. Second, the advantage in culture. Generally speaking, because of the difference in objective environment and social educational conditions, old comrades are inferior to young cadres in accepting systematic modern cultural training. Practice has proved that comrades with a wider range of knowledge are better than comrades with a lower educational background in summing up and absorbing experiences with a nature of guidance and regularity. And third, a stronger enterprising spirit. Young cadres are full of vigor and vitality and active in thinking. They have less conventional ideas and a stronger sense of blazing new trails, making progress, and rendering meritorious service. Since 1985, we have unfolded among cadres throughout the prefecture "activities in drawing up targets for struggle, setting up records of actual accomplishments, and implementing the system of awarding prizes for meritorious services," which provides an arena for young comrades to work with originality. A young cadre of a unit directly under the prefectural authorities was sent to work as county CPC committee secretary in a county where the natural conditions are the poorest in the region. The county in question has long been poverty-stricken and backward, and quite a few comrades had lost confidence in changing its backward features. Through investigation and research, and scientific demonstration, he proposed a plan for development with specific measures conforming to the actual conditions and worked out a "responsibility pledge for fulfilling certain targets during term of office, which was made public for the supervision of the masses. Moreover, he appointed cadres based on their actual accomplishments, promoting path-breakers and removing losers from office, which has boosted the morale of the cadres contingent and reinforced the confidence of cadres and the masses in changing the backward features. This fully demonstrates the young cadres' spirit of blazing new trails and making progress.

When we affirm the strong points of young cadres, it does not mean that we are denying their weaknesses. Neither failure to see their strong points nor indifference to their shortcomings is the attitude of a dialectical materialist. Based on my observation in practical work, I find that young cadres' weaknesses can be summed up as a whole in the following aspects: 1) They are not as firm in their political faith as old comrades. Young cadres have a comparatively shorter work experience, lacking enough time for tempering in an arduous environment and personal experiences in comparing the new and old social systems. They have more book knowledge of scientific socialism than practice, and some have not even made systematic study of the theories in books. Therefore, when some practical problems crop up, they are often not as steady and firm as old comrades, and they waver. 2) Their attainment in party spirit is not as mature as old comrades. Most young cadres have been recruited in the party organization since the "Great Cultural Revolution" and have not gone through strict tempering of inner-party life. Some young cadres are not on a par with old comrades in their sense of organization and discipline, style of arduous struggle, and self-consciousness in remolding their world outlook. 3) Their leadership is not as all-round as that of old comrades. Generally speaking, leading cadres should acquire ability in four respects: ability to understand things, ability to handle affairs, ability to handle all kinds of relations, and ability to comprehend. Young cadres are weak in some of these respects. For example, a young leading cadre who has had more contacts with me

erroneously confused the normal handling of human relations with exchanging favors and flattery and going in for establishing "connections." There is some gap between young and old comrades in the breadth and depth of understanding the whole course of certain matters, in handling complicated contradictions, organizational coordination, taking care of the overall situation, as well as making resolute decisions. 4) They are not as sensible in their work methods as old comrades. Many of the young cadres used to be professional or technical cadres, unfamiliar with the all-round leadership and administration at grass-roots units. For example, when some comrades take up the chief responsible posts at county level, they continue taking care of everything, become occupied all day with routines, and fail to grasp the focus of work as a result. Such comrades need to learn from old comrades in building ties with the masses in breadth with ease, mastering the rhythm of work, steadily performing their work without getting into a muddle, operating from a strategically advantageous position, as well as drawing inferences about other cases from one instance.

The correct attitude regarding young cadres' weaknesses is seeking truth from facts and giving them enthusiastic assistance. However, some of our comrades are exaggerating things one-sidedly, reproaching young cadres irresponsibly, and even indulging in gossip. If we probe the reasons for this, we will find that aside from the long-term leftover effects of feudal ideology, such as "the aged are respectful, the young lowly," "the young are not steady in handling affairs," there are also such outmoded concepts as considering qualifications and arranging ranks according to seniority and the life tenure system, and also selfish ideas. Individual old comrades lack the due broad vision, and they are afraid that the young cadres might catch up with them and render greater meritorious service. Others believe that it is they themselves who have selected and promoted the young cadres, so they have the say, in matter of personnel in particular; once their personal will is countered, they say the young cadres "have become conceited." Some even fail to understand that things are changing, that rules and regulations should continuously develop to meet the new situation, while stressing "conventional rules must be followed," and when young cadres have reformed the backward old rules and regulations they were used to, they say the young cadres had "negated them" and "turned everything upside down." What is more serious is the metaphysics in the way of thinking. Some comrades deviate from the view of dialectical materialism when evaluating young cadres, and exaggerate and make absolute some of their weaknesses, resulting in the one-sidedness in understanding. All this is not favorable to giving play to young cadres' strong points and will hinder their doing practical work, blazing new trails, and forging ahead to make progress.

"The replacement of personnel, the coming to, and removal from office is a rule in history as well as today." Fulfillment of the cooperation and substitution between the new and old of the cadres contingent is an important strategic decision of the Central Committee based on the dialectics of historical development. Correct understanding and handling of young cadres' strong points and weaknesses is a new topic proposed under the new historical condition to our old cadres, those still taking up chief responsibility in particular, and an important essence in correctly handling inner-party



contradictions. Based on Marxist theory of cognition, we should ponder over this question in the following respects.

First, it is necessary to take a dialectical view of young cadres, with the concept of the unification of opposites. The law of unification of opposites tells us that contradictions exist in any matter. The mutual opposition, connection, restriction, and conversion of the opposites of a contradiction push ahead the development and progress of matters. Young cadres' strong points and weaknesses are different from, but connected with, each other. Such a dialectical relation exists in the entire course of their growth. Only when we have a clear understanding of this relation will it be possible for us to have an overall understanding of young cadres and to deal with them correctly. First, we should see the difference between their strong points and weaknesses. An objective evaluation should be made on what their strong points are, and what their weaknesses, what is major and essential, and what is minor and nonessential. We should not confuse them, nor should we turn things upside down; neither should we exaggerate things, nor underestimate them. Otherwise, we will lose our principle and prejudices will result. And second, which is more important, it is necessary to see the close link between strong points and weaknesses. Young comrades' strong points and weaknesses are often interwoven, which should not be isolated and separated. If we see only young cadres' strong points, we will become not so enthusiastic about giving them necessary assistance, which will not help their healthy growth. But if we see only young cadres' weaknesses, it will result in suppressing the growth of qualified people, which in turn will affect our great cause. "Outstanding qualified people" in reality are often remarkable for their strong points, while their shortcomings are as conspicuous. The following situation will often emerge in the course of evaluating them: Some characteristic is regarded as a shortcoming from one angle, but a strong point from another angle. So long as we make an overall analysis, it will not be too difficult to draw a correct conclusion. In the course of promoting a young cadre to a county-level office not long ago, two diametrically opposed opinions emerged: Some people believed him to have the spirit of blazing new trails, with outstanding accomplishments in work, and a rare qualified person; others believed him to have too strong a character, a quick temper, and be liable to hurt others. And they concluded that he was not suitable to take up the chief responsibility. Through overall analysis, we did not make his shortcomings shadow his virtue, but placed him in an important post; at the same time, we sincerely pointed out his weaknesses. After this comrade took office, he accepted the criticism and help of his comrades, attached attention to bringing forward his strong points and overcoming his weaknesses, and soon created a new situation. This example tells us that young cadres' strong points and weaknesses may be mutually converted under given conditions. True, their strong points are the inner cause for their becoming qualified people, but without excellent external conditions, such strong points would fail to be given play. Likewise, their weaknesses will not remain unchanged; so long as we are good at giving them guidance, their weaknesses can be overcome. Zheng Banqiao, a scholar of the Qing Dynasty, wrote in one of his poems: "The young bamboo is taller than old, relying solely on the support of the old trunks." The old comrades in new leading bodies are to bring forward the spirit of a

"human staircase," supporting young comrades selflessly, cooperating with them in sincerity, being good at adroitly guiding action according to circumstances, helping young comrades to bring forward their strong points and to overcome their weaknesses, and reminding them what they have overlooked, creating a fine objective environment for them, so that they may undergo tempering and become mature with each passing day in the course of fully giving play to their wisdom and intelligence. This is our solemn political task above all else.

Second, making concrete analysis of specific questions. At present, it is especially necessary to stress making concrete analysis of specific questions the living soul of Marxism in acquiring a correct view on young cadres. Under different given social environments and historical conditions, the roads of development of new and old cadres are different. Hence, the difference in their thinking habits, modes of behavior, work styles, and leadership styles. We cannot require our young cadres strictly to follow the example of old comrades and mold the younger generation in our own image. Even young cadres themselves have different characteristics; we should see what is common in them, but more so should we see individuality. It is not difficult to see that they are of diversified categories. In spiritual state, some are bold at blazing new trails and making progress, and they have an indomitable spirit, but sometimes they do not attach attention to the scientific nature of things. Others are responsible in their work, meticulous and steady, but they lack originality. Regarding their professional level, some are familiar with party work, others are familiar with one aspect of economic work. But on the whole, most are keen on certain specialities, but few are developed in an all-round way. In leadership style, some are bold and resolute, doing things in a big way, and are quick in making a breakthrough of the situation; however, they are not tenacious enough. Others are steady in their work, do not like to act the swashbuckler, but work in a down-to-earth manner; however, they lack boldness of vision. Therefore, in practical work, it is necessary to attach attention not only to grasping well the training of young cadres in Marxist-Leninist theories, administrative knowledge, and method of leadership, but also guiding them in accordance with their aptitude, dividing them into different categories, and helping them give play to their strong points and overcome their weaknesses through diversified forms and channels, so that they may upgrade their qualities and improve their intelligence and ability. Besides, attention should also be attached to making differentiation in the following two respects: First, it is necessary to differentiate the entity and the part. When we say that young cadres have specific strong points and that their weaknesses can be overcome in the course of making progress, this is referring to the entity. Of course, there are some individuals whose selfishness and personal desires have expanded so seriously that "once they are in power, they will abuse it," and went so far as to violate the law and discipline. We should not place such people in important positions even if they are "extraordinarily talented, and men of immense and multifarious learning." It is not strange that certain similar "substandard goods" should emerge, neither will it affect the whole situation; all we must do is replace them. And second, it is necessary to differentiate between a mistake made by chance and the consistent behavior of young cadres. To understand and examine cadres historically, truth-seekingly in an all-round

way, and to correctly evaluate the merits and shortcomings of cadres has been the party's long-standing policy for cadres. Old comrades have been so treated, and there should be no exception for the young comrades. We should not completely negate young comrades simply because of mistakes by chance. We must be prudent regarding the evaluation of every young cadre; under no circumstances should we adopt the metaphysical way of thinking, making no differentiation between things, refraining from making analysis, and taking a one-sided view instead of viewing things in an all-round way.

Third, it is necessary to adhere to the concept of placing practice above all else. Bringing up qualified people is different from building machines. All properties of an advanced machine can be designed before production, while the tapping of potentials of talents and the upgrading of their qualities will be realized step by step in the course of practice. Mistakes and setbacks are inevitable in the growth of qualified people as the tumbling of a child learning to toddle and suffocating by water in learning to swim. The tumbling of young cadres in their initial steps is often not the record of failure, but the starting point of success. We should not cold-shoulder young comrades when they have some shortcomings, reproach them when they have committed some mistakes, and be easily convinced by gossip. Many of our old comrades were "teenagers" when they joined the revolutionary rank and file, and they did many "foolish things" when they were young; however, they have improved their ability and intelligence in the course of practice. Our young cadres today will be tempered and improved in their skill of leadership only through practice. Of course, the patient guidance and support of old comrades are indispensable. A county under our prefecture has rather good agricultural production conditions, but it was "a poverty-stricken county with high yield in production" and it had to rely on financial subsidies every year. Since a young cadre was appointed to the chief leading post there, he has gone in for industry in a big way directed at the situation. Because he was too eager for success, many projects were initiated, measures to make complete sets of these projects failed to follow, and the effects were not so ideal at first. But the leading comrades of our prefecture CPC committee and commissioner office did not blame him for it, but concretely helped him analyze the causes and draw up measures. With their continuous efforts, the situation has rapidly improved. Through this incident, we come to understand that the practice of the four modernizations under way is different from the past both in breadth and depth. The reform of the economic structure under way in particular is a new question even to our old comrades. Therefore, the spirit of practice is needed all the more. In the course of practice, the experiences of young cadres accumulate with each passing day, and their ability and intelligence will be gradually improved. We should not spoil things with excessive enthusiasm, nor should we be over-critical, the more so should we refrain from "making someone a hero for one single action of his." Practice is a process, and we should not go in for "the theory of completion with one step." The correct method to bring up young cadres is daring to place heavy burdens on their shoulders, which is very important. An ancient saying goes: "Through employing talented people it will be possible to find whether they are able." Practice is the only criterion for evaluating cadres, and their actual accomplishments should determine their promotion or demotion; only then will the party's cadre

policies be correctly implemented. At the same time, we should be good at guiding them to go deep into the realities of life, to establish ties with the masses, and to exchange experiences of leadership and administration with them linking with specific work, studying and discussing the method of leadership, in order to upgrade their ability of applying Marxist tenets to solving practical problems. In our work of bringing up young cadres over the past few years, we have precisely taken the principle of "putting practice above all else" as guidance, persisted in helping young cadres through practical work, and urged them to learn from others' strong points to offset their weaknesses, so that they may change from "specialized people" to "people with overall knowledge." We have urged them to change from the closure-type single-trade ideology to the open-type multi-directional ideology, from mechanical imitation and passive execution to the behavioral mode of being active on their own and blazing new trails with originality; from relying on administrative command and issuing orders to "service-type leadership," and from making subjective strategic decisions relying on books to scientific administration starting from realities. So doing, we have initially got better results. In the course of building the two civilizations in our prefecture, the role of young cadres as fresh troops is making itself felt.

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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RURAL COOPERATIVE ECONOMY

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[Article by Su Xing [5685 2502]]

[Text]

I

From 19 April to 16 May, a comrade of the RED FLAG Editorial Department and I went to the rural areas in Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Henan to make an investigation, mainly to familiarize ourselves with the situation of development of rural cooperative economy. We had get-togethers with the relevant departments of the three provinces, three prefectures (Linfen and Yuncheng Prefectures in Shanxi and Weinan Prefecture in Shaanxi) and five counties (Taigu and Yicheng in Shanxi Province, Dali in Shaanxi Province, and Wuzhi and Tangyin in Henan Province) and visited 16 cooperative economic organizations. The cooperative economic organizations that we investigated were of the following types:

1. The type of organizations that operate under centralized management with a responsibility system that links remuneration with output. Organizations of this type are the Hongda Enterprise Company, Shuimen Street, Linfen city, Shanxi Province; Yuan's village in Liquan County, Shaanxi Province; and Baizhuang village, Zhengzhou city, Xihuafeng village, Wuzhi County and Liuzhuang Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Combined Cooperative, Xinxiang County, Henan Province. Nearly all these villages and cooperatives had been advanced units since the cooperative transformation of agriculture, and had been established quite well, and had relatively stable cadres. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they had carried out a reform in their management system, readjusted their composition of production and achieved a new development of their cooperative economy. This type of cooperative economy accounted for only a small percentage of our rural households. In Shanxi Province, the percentage was 5-7 percent while in Shaanxi, it was only 0.7 percent.
2. The type of organizations that operate under a combination of centralized and decentralized management at two levels. These organizations were the Menggaocun Agricultural Cooperative in Taigu County, Shanxi Province; and Leibei and Xinguan villages in Dali County, Shaanxi Province. The administration and management of these villages and cooperatives were both centralized

and decentralized. Roughly, their industry, sideline undertakings and water conservation facilities were managed in a centralized manner, while their agriculture was managed in a decentralized manner. According to Shaanxi Province's statistics, taking the province as a whole, 65.6 percent of its households were actually under these dual levels of administration and management; while in the villages and cooperatives that accounted for 33.7 percent of rural households, the dual level administration and management existed only in name and there was in fact no centralized administration and management.

3. New combines. They are the Liuchangfu Vegetable Combine, Taiyuan city, the Taigu County Melons Research Society, the Beiticun Combined Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Company in Yongji County and the Jiangkoucun Combined Livestock Farm in Ruicheng County, Shanxi Province; and the Baiyangxiang Chicken Breeding Society at Weinan County and the Chishuizhen Green Chinese Onion Society in Huaxian County, Shaanxi Province. They were mostly founded on the basis of the specialized households and were specialized joint ventures. Through providing technological service for rural households before, during, and after their production, these combines had gradually grown into economic and technological development centers. Cooperative economic organizations of this type did not account for a large percentage of rural households (3.6 percent of the total number of rural households in Shaanxi Province in 1984) and had not been very stable, but they were well accepted among peasants.

## II

Since the CPC Central Committee's Document No 1 for 1985 called on people to conscientiously develop and perfect rural cooperative system in accordance with the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit and the demand of the commodity economy, all three provinces have paid close attention to making investigation and study related to the rural cooperative system and have done a lot of work in this area.

Comrades in Shanxi reflected that for some time, people did not dare to mention or publicize the cooperative economy for fear that it would affect the stability of the responsibility system geared to households. Some cadres had a misunderstanding about the changes in rural administrative system and they established townships and villages without simultaneously setting up cooperative economic organizations. They said that "the communes have been changed and so have the brigades, production teams have been disbanded, and cooperatives have finished." As no one was in charge of the cooperative economy, the management of some communes and brigades were improperly assigned by contracts and this has caused the collective property to suffer various degrees of loss.

Are peasants afraid of the cooperative economy? The answer given by comrades in Henan is: The peasants are afraid of the old type of cooperation, but they welcome new combines. By old type of cooperation, they meant the old practice of concentrating means of production compulsorily by orders, carrying out egalitarian distribution, eating out of the same big pot, and

organizing labor in a blind and centralized manner. Our peasants opposed this type of cooperation. By new combines, they meant the development of diverse forms of cooperation and combines under the precondition of stabilizing family operation and ensuring peasants' decisionmaking power over their undertakings and in accordance with the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit. This will enable production and circulation to develop in the direction of specialization and socialization and thus meet the demand of the development of the commodity economy.

Judging by what we found in the villages and cooperatives under our survey, the following forms of combines and cooperation are well accepted by our peasants.

First, within the scope of the original collective economy, water conservation facilities, agricultural machinery, and other equipment are managed in a centralized manner to provide free and paid service for rural households before, during, and after their production. For example, the Menggaocun Agricultural Cooperative in Taigu County, Shanxi Province (which had a leading group with members identical to those of the village's peasants committee, but was an entity different from the committee). There were 817 households, 3,267 people and 6,597 mu of farm land in this cooperative. After the establishment of the responsibility system geared to households with remuneration linked to output in the winter of 1982, a regional cooperative economic organization--an agricultural cooperative--was set up in the summer of 1983, under which there were a water and electricity company, a farm machinery service company, an agricultural technology service company and financial and accounting service team to provide service for peasant households. The water and electricity company exercised a centralized management over the water and electricity facilities of the original nine production teams, was in charge of the planning, construction, use and maintenance of the water conservation capital construction for all the farm land and of all the water and electricity facilities in the whole village, and was assigned the task of supplying water for irrigation of farm land and people's livelihood, the water and electricity needed by industry and sideline undertakings and the electricity for lighting. The company signed responsibility contracts with the cooperative providing that the agricultural cooperative was to provide the funds for the investment in additional water and electricity facilities from its public reserve and the profits delivered to it by its industrial and sideline undertakings and that the company was assigned all-round responsibility for the maintenance, repair, and depreciation of the existing water and electricity facilities, collecting all the charges on water and electricity supply for its own costs and wage payments and retaining all its profits without being subsidized for its losses. The company provided paid service for peasant households, was an independent accounting unit, shouldered sole responsibility for its profits and losses, and paid piece-rate wages to its employees who earned more when they did more work. By so doing, the cooperative has not only ensured the protection and operation of the existing water and electricity facilities, but also built 5 kilometers of leakage-proof channels, 30 houses for motor-pumped wells, overhauled 32 of the pools and foundations for its wells, renewed and transformed 12 medium-depth wells and installed running

water facilities for all the peasant families in the past 3 years. Because of the centralized management, water consumption has been reduced, water and electricity costs has been lowered and so were the charges on the peasants. This has promoted the development of production. As a result, the total grain output rose from 2.62 million jin in 1980 to 3.83 million jin in 1985.

Second, on the basis of the enterprises run by the brigade and on the foundation of the responsibility system geared to households, specialized combines were set up beyond the boundary of areas and ownership to link production, transportation, supply and marketing and combine agriculture, industry, and commerce. For example, the Beiti Combined Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Company in Yongji County, Shanxi Province. In 1981, according to the desire of the masses of people, this brigade adopted the form of the responsibility system where agriculture was carried out by households separately, industry was carried out in a cooperative manner, and marketing and service were conducted in a centralized manner. It set up a joint venture with share capital with eight nearby natural villages and thus raised 200,000 yuan of funds. One after another, a cold storage of 100 metric tons capacity, two processing workshops and one mechanical and electric workshop were set up, which had gradually grown into a combine with the capacity of processing 550 metric tons of meat and vegetables. Through years of development, it has now grown into a combine with a storage facility (cold storage) and four factories (a combined meat factory, a quick frozen vegetable processing factory, an industrial oil processing factory, and a livestock breeding farm) as its core and with 24 cooperative economic organizations at village level under it. Its membership has grown to 1,112 peasant households and a state-owned enterprise has joined this combine.

In a combined enterprise, family undertakings were in the main cultivation, animal breeding, the hunting of wild birds and beasts, purchases, rough processing, and the purchases, transport and sales of mules, horses, cattle and sheep to provide raw materials for the processing factories. The village cooperative economic organizations mainly provide various water, electricity, and transport services for peasant households; help and organize them to arrange their plans to grow crops and readjust their production mix in the light of the information provided by the company and the processing capacity of the factories; and set up and run undertakings of public welfare to help the development of production. The factories were operated independently, were independent accounting units and were awarded an additional percentage of retained profits when they overfulfilled their profit quotas. They paid basic wages plus bonuses to their management cadres and piece-rate wages to their workers. The company mainly carried out commercial business for the supply and marketing of goods for all the units under it. In 1985, its accumulated fixed assets grew to 1.4 million yuan, its gross output value for the year was 6.4 million yuan and its profit was 700,000 yuan.

Third, the township science popularization societies guided the specialized households with professional skills in the township to set up specialized societies, which employed specialists to train backbone cadres, teach technology and provide technological services for peasant households. For



example, Baiyang township in Weinan city, Shaanxi Province was a township with 9 administrative villages, 69 villager groups, 4,123 households, and 17,032 people. Since 1982, it has developed its chicken-breeding industry. It adopted the method of "providing training for one skill." First, it held young chick breeding, medium chicken, and mature chicken raising professional training courses in its farming school and invited professors and lecturers from the Northwest University of Agriculture and technicians of animal vaccination centers to give systematic lectures on the technology of chicken farming and thus popularized the scientific knowledge of chicken farming. Over the past few years, it has held 27 training courses attended by 1,060 people, among whom 572 were all technological workers of the households specialized in chicken breeding in the township. At the same time, it distributed pamphlets on chicken farming, provided advisory services and thus helped chicken farmers solve their actual problems. In order to improve the breed of their chickens, it had acquired 50,000 chickens of fine breed from the Northwest University of Agriculture and the provincial fine-breed chicken farm including the fine breed "Xinzha 288" and "Japanese Leg-horn." It had established 7 chicken brooding farms which had turned out 230,000 chicks of fine breed. By 1984, 98.6 percent of the chickens in its farms were of fine breed.

The Chicken Breeding Society set up a combined chicken breeding company under it (members of the company's leading group were identical to those of the society's) and a chicken food processing factory to provide mixed food for chicken farmers and market products for them. In 1985 alone, it sold 600,000 eggs of fine quality and 150,000 chickens.

At the end of 1985, the township had 96,600 chickens, 5.7 per capita and 23.4 per household and earned 2.16 million yuan from its chicken farming for the whole year, which accounted for 32 percent of its total income from agriculture. The per capita income from chicken farming was over 500 yuan, being 122.7 yuan per person, which accounted for 37.3 percent of the per capita annual income. Now, the number of specialized households that each breed over 100 chickens has risen to 572 and two villages--Nanhuan and Jishang villages--specialize in chicken farming.

Fourth, among the cooperative economic organizations that operated under centralized management with a responsibility system that linked with output, the units that achieved a relatively high growth rate of production and in which the members' income rose relatively quickly, were popular among peasants. For example, the Liuzhuang Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Combined Cooperative had 218 households, 1,300 people, and 1,904 mu of farm land. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it has not implemented the system of assigning all-round contracted responsibility to households with remuneration linked with output, but has adopted the management method of "centralized management, specialized production, coordinated division of labor, and meting out award and punishment linked with output." Now the cooperative has set up seven specialized sectors including agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, industry and sideline undertakings, commerce, farm machines and construction, and has 36 business units under it. Each unit signs contracts of all-round economic

responsibility with the combined agricultural, industrial and commercial cooperatives in the same village. Some of the contracts assigned responsibility directly to factories and teams, others did so directly to workshops and work teams and still others did so directly to individuals (such as those concerning livestock breeding). Labor was switched to and fro between agriculture and construction sectors. In idle agricultural seasons, agricultural workers could take more construction jobs and in busy agricultural seasons construction workers could undertake agricultural tasks. Awards and punishment were meted out according to output. The method was called "five fixed quotas and one award" namely, fixed quotas concerning investment, work force, wages, output value and profit and awards and punishment being determined according to the fulfillment of quotas fixed by the contracts on annual net profits.

In 1985, Liuzhuang earned a total income of 6.3 million yuan (of which 500,000 yuan came from agriculture), 4,846 yuan per person. Work points were given to both those engaged in industry and in agriculture. The work points for a work day were worth 7.9 yuan. The earnings of those engaged in agriculture were 5 percent lower than those engaged in industry, but the difference was small. There was quite a lot of collective welfare, including free medical services, free education for children from kindergarten to senior middle school, free barber service, free bathrooms, free housing and free water supply. In 1985, in the annual average income of a cooperative member, 1,300 yuan came from the distribution according to labor, 130 yuan was collective welfare, and 100 yuan came from family animal breeding. The real income was more than 1,500 yuan.

### III

Judging by the situation in the three provinces, in most of the rural areas, households continued to play the major role in developing and perfecting the cooperative economy and services under unified management were increased and diverse forms of coordination and cooperation were developed under the precondition of stabilizing the operation of family undertakings and safeguarding peasants' decisionmaking power over their operation.

There are limitations in family operation itself. For example, the small scale of operation, the scattered means of production, the poor access to market information and the poor ability to sustain natural disasters and accidents. However, through cooperation and combines, these limitations can to some extent be overcome. For example, by expanding the scope of their centralized operation, rural regional cooperative economic organizations can solve many problems that a household cannot solve alone; and the various kinds of new combines that have developed on the foundation of family operation can expand the scale of their operation, sharpen their competitive edge and thus meet the demand of the development of the commodity economy. Now the peasants are afraid of the "cooperative transformation of agriculture." This is mainly because they fear that the family undertakings will be abolished. If we first reassure them about this, and then talk about developing and perfecting the cooperative system, then our peasants will not have so much to worry about.

The cooperative with family undertakings as the core and dual levels of operation is full of vigor. In the suburbs of Taiyuan city, we visited the Liuchangfu Vegetable Combine. This combine was set up by five peasant households voluntarily. Liu Changfu was the major one and his son-in-law, brother-in-law and others joined him. It developed very quickly from 1983 to 1985. The state and brigade invested in the establishment of eight big hothouses. In addition, there were also 22 mu of small hothouses. In 1985, 500,000 jin of vegetables were produced, earning a total income of 45,000 yuan. The value of a labor day was 7.4 yuan. For the first few years, the cooperative operated in a centralized manner. Owing to the practice of eating out of the same big pot, there were always some people who wanted to do less work but earn more; therefore, there were often quarrels. Last January, they were separated through consultation and the practice of assigning contracted responsibility to households and dual levels of operation was carried out. The methods were: The hothouses were managed in a centralized manner and so was the work to grow seedlings, the formulation of farming plans, the supply of means of production, and the prevention and treatment of pests and diseases. Two mu of vegetable land was assigned to each person, including half of a big hothouse (one big hothouse is assigned by contract to two laborers), 0.35 mu of grape land, and 1.4 mu of small hothouses. Each household was an independent accounting unit and was to sell vegetables within the quota fixed by the contract in a centralized manner, but could sell on its own any vegetables that it produced in excess of the quotas. Since they were separated, the production initiative of all the households has surged. Last January alone, they applied more fertilizer than they did in 4 months in the past.

Our survey showed that the villages and cooperatives that assigned specialized responsibility had indeed displayed the superiority of the cooperative economy in developing their production quickly and in becoming rich together. However, without exception, industry and sideline undertakings were the major sectors in these villages and communes while agriculture accounted for only a small percentage of their operation. For example, Yuan's village in Liqun County, Shaanxi Province had 52 households, 212 people, 98 able-bodied laborers, and 380 mu of farm land. In the past, it was engaged only in agriculture and it was not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that it began to engage in industry and sideline undertakings. One by one, it has set up a cement plant, a brick factory, a limestone factory, a cattle farm, a construction team and a transport team. In 1980, it earned a total income of 200,000 yuan, which rose to 360,000 yuan in 1983. As its cement plant went into operation, its total income rose to 1.62 million yuan in 1984 and 3.22 million yuan in 1985. In 1985, agricultural income only accounted for 2.8 percent of its total income. In this village, a specialized team was set up to engage in agriculture as in the industrial and sideline undertakings (the team had 30 people). Each member of the team was assigned the contracted responsibility for the farming of a portion of the land and the whole team was managed by quotas. Piece rates were paid in industry. Work points were the base of calculation for both industry and agriculture. In 1985, the value of each work day was 8 yuan.

However, conditions were quite special for these cooperative organizations that are managed in a centralized manner with a system to assign specialized responsibility by contracts, therefore, there may not be great development of this kind of organization in the near future.

Now, things are different for the regional cooperative economic organizations that have been set up in the three provinces. Henan Province set up combined cooperatives relatively early (not in full accordance with the original plan). Shanxi has set up 1,584 township and town cooperative economic organizations, accounting for 82.4 percent of the total number of townships and towns. It has also set up 22,315 village cooperative economic organizations, accounting for 69.7 percent of the total number of villages. The comrades in that province held that the advantage in doing that was that it was easy to gradually solve the problems related to the provision of water conservation, vegetation protection, vaccination and machine plowing within the original scope of the collective economy and in accordance with the principle of centralizing what had to be centralized and decentralizing what had to be decentralized; and it facilitated separating government functions from the functions of enterprises and enabled the cooperative economic organizations to have the status of legal persons. For example, in assigning land by contracts, a party to the contract could not be a party branch or villagers group, because neither of them was an economic legal person. This would facilitate a satisfactory financial consolidation of the cooperative economy. The problem was that in a fairly large number of villages and cooperatives, there was originally not much collective property and some of the property had been entirely divided up among the members. Even if cooperative economic organizations were set up now, they would not be able to play much of a role in conducting centralized management and would exist only in form. Therefore, Shaanxi Province has not set up such organizations in haste.

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EXPLORING THE WAY TO MODERNIZATION OF LIVESTOCK BREEDING ON GRASSLAND IN CHINA

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[Article by Ba Alatengaoqier [1056 7093 2139 7506 2407 0366 1422]]

[Text]

I

The process of the reproduction of our livestock breeding is a unity between the process of the reproduction of plants and that of the reproduction of animals. If people want to get more and better livestock products of various kinds, they must study the objective laws concerning the close coordination between these two processes of reproduction and correctly handle the relations between animals and grass. But for a long time, we lacked this understanding and failed to adopt vigorous measures to intensify the construction of our grassland. We carried out our production blindly and bred more animals than the grassland could feed. As a result, we aggravated the contradiction between people and animals and grass, with serious consequences. In 1981, of the 3.3 billion mu of usable grassland in our country, 1.16 billion mu or 35.2 percent could not be fully used because of water shortage; 770 million mu or 23.3 percent was deteriorating or becoming deserts because of excessive use; 850 million mu or 25.8 percent was being destroyed by rats; and 160 million mu or 4.8 percent was being destroyed by pests. As the production capacity of our grassland fell year by year, so did the number of animals. In addition, the quality of animals became increasingly worse. Over the past few years, some areas have drawn lessons from this, paid attention to organically coordinating the primary production (the production of plants) with the secondary production (the production of animals) and thus scored heartening achievements. Since the 1970's, Xianghuang Qi in Nei Monggol has begun its construction of grassland. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, it has readjusted, coordinated and improved its efforts in developing its grassland. In 1984, the area of its tilled grassland rose to 885 million mu, each mu of which yielded twice as much grass as the natural grassland did there, and turned out over 70 kilograms of stored grass for each animal to consume in winter every year. At the same time, it rationally readjusted the number of animals on the grass at an average annual growth rate of 29.47 percent, its ratio of animals killed and sold to animals at year end was 32.46 percent, and it kept over 98 percent of the animals it bred alive.

Practice has proved that in developing livestock breeding on our grassland, we should regard the development of the grassland and the production of grass and food for animals as the key link. First, we should fix the number of animals in the light of the amount of grass, control the intensity of grazing and the density of breeding, put an end to excessive breeding, excessive digging of grass roots and excessive lumbering and eliminate poisonous grass, pests and rats. Second, we should vigorously grasp the construction of our grassland. At present, we should focus on satisfactorily doing the following aspects of work: 1) We should develop tilled grassland. This is an effective way to produce quality livestock grass, grass seeds, animal food, forestry products, fruits, vegetables and grain and ease the contradiction between people and animals and grass. 2) We should graze our animals by rotation on land. In summer and autumn, our grassland should be divided up into 7 or 8 pieces and in winter and spring seasons, it should be divided up into 12 to 15 pieces to be grazed on by rotation. Then our grassland will have the time to grow, its output of grass will rise and so will its capacity to feed our animals. 3) We should open up water resources. On the grassland that has no water, or little water, we should rationally utilize underground water, rationally set up drinking centers for people and animals and raise the capacity of our grassland to feed our animals. 4) We should grow grass and trees, loosen the soil, sow grass seeds, improve natural grassland and develop grassland that is partly natural and partly tilled by people.

The key to satisfactorily developing our grassland is to implement the dual responsibility system geared to grass and animals and thus closely combine responsibility, power and interests for those who work on grassland.

## II

The grassland in our country is of the categories of frigid steppe, desert steppe, semidesert steppe, grassy marshland, and typical grassland. As grassland varies, there is wide variation in its productive force (in the main the output of grass). For the same grassland, its productive force also varies as seasons and years vary. The grass for grazing grows luxuriously mainly in June, July and August, but in other months, there is a long period when the grass withers. This falls far short of what is needed for the growth of animals for grass and other food. Often, the animals are "strong in summer, fat in autumn and lean in winter and die in spring." According to the statistics for the past 15 years, normally, every winter and spring, the animals lost about 35 percent of their weight because of the shortage of grass and about 6.2 percent of the animals died of leanness and weakness in winter.

This contradiction between animals and grass is a major obstacle to the development of livestock breeding on our country's grassland. The best way to overcome this difficulty is to organically combine the operation of herding animals with that of growing food for animals and thus gradually turn the extensive operation into a modern intensive operation. In the past, Bayantuohai town in Ewenkizu Qi, Nei Monggol carried out its livestock breeding production mainly by herding the animals. Whenever there was a natural disaster, over half of the animals died. The herdsmen had to live

on relief and rely on loans to carry out their production. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they have vigorously grasped the development of their grassland. By 1984, they had set up three grass farms, each of which had over 10,000 mu of land. In the grass farms, they have built cattle shelters, animal food and grass seeds storerooms and grounds for drying animal food, and have sunk motor-pumped wells. Through years of hard struggle, they have in the main achieved the goal of feeding their animals mainly on the food they produce in winter and spring and herding their animals in summer and autumn. From the winter in 1983 to the spring in 1984, there was a particularly serious natural disaster in Hulun Buir Meng and over 1.25 million animals died, but the herdsmen in Bayantuohai town continued their normal production, kept nearly all their animals alive and in addition, supplied over 80,000 kilograms of grass to help other disaster-stricken areas.

Our country has a resource of large stretches of grassland and can exploit this cheap natural resource to herd animals. In a fairly long time to come, herding will continue to be a major method of production in the livestock breeding industry on our grassland. However, this production method of relying on natural supply of water and grass is very unstable. In summer and autumn, we should fully exploit the advantages of rich grass resources on our grassland to herd our animals, but in winter and spring, we should feed our animals partly or mainly with food we produced. By so doing, we will fully exploit the strong points and overcome the weak points of the livestock breeding on our grassland. In the light of the demand of specialized and socialized production and of the different characteristics of different areas, we can feed some animals, such as milk cows and beef oxen, all the year round in shelters while herding others, such as horses, camels and goats, all the year round.

Herding should be combined with feeding animals with food we produce. In order to do that, we should satisfactorily grasp the following aspects of our work: 1) We should develop the production of grass. While developing grass farms and grass production bases, we should set up grounds to dry grass in order to turn the grassland on which grass grows relatively satisfactorily but on which we cannot herd our animals because of the shortage of water there, into grass production bases. 2) We should develop the industry to process the grass that is used to feed animals. Enterprises of this industry should mainly be medium-sized and small ones and should lie properly scattered in order to utilize and process the grass and supply the needs around them. This can reduce the investment and the need for transport facilities. 3) We should do a good job of building animal shelters, setting up the equipment to store grass and to produce supplementary food for animals, and building housing areas for herdsmen. 4) We should readjust the composition of our herds and develop seasonal production. For a fairly long time to come, we will not be able to entirely put an end to our shortage of animal food. Therefore, we should develop seasonal production, killing the lambs in the year they are born and killing the beef oxen as soon as they are sufficiently grown up. By so doing we will be able to fully exploit the strong points of our grassland which can supply us with much grass in summer and autumn and avoid the grass shortage in winter and spring. The experience

gained by many areas has proved that this does not need much investment but can achieve relatively satisfactory economic results.

### III

We should intensify the internal division of labor in our livestock breeding industry and develop specialized production. Specialization in our livestock breeding industry facilitates fully utilizing the natural resources on our grassland, giving full play to the role of livestock breeding machinery, promoting the widespread application of advanced technology in our livestock breeding industry, improving the quality of our livestock breeding workers, and finally raising the productivity, lowering the costs and increasing the income in our livestock breeding industry, improving the quality of our livestock breeding workers, and finally raising the productivity, lowering the costs and increasing the income in our livestock breeding industry.

Judging by the current situation of the livestock breeding industry on our country's grassland, in developing specialization in our livestock breeding industry, we should start from developing "small and specialized" and "small and combined" enterprises. Since the implementation of the contracted responsibility system with remuneration linked with output, in particular the system to assign all-round responsibility by contracts, the households of our herdsmen have been transformed from consumption units into production and operation units, have had full decisionmaking power, can select what they produce, operate in the light of their own economic conditions and arrange their own work time and have thus become various kinds of specialized households that are engaged in livestock breeding. By June 1984, the number of various kinds of livestock breeding specialized households in Nei Monggol Region reached 720,000. When our specialized households have grown to some extent developed, in order to give better play to one another's special skill and in order to more effectively use their labor, funds, technology and machinery and thus sharply raise their economic results, there will inevitably be demand for the development of specialized and socialized cooperation in the spheres of production, technology popularization, supply and marketing, processing, storage, transport, breeding of fine breeds of animals, and supply of information. Bayantuohai town that we mentioned above has had some experience in this respect. Over the past 2 years, in developing its livestock breeding industry, it has focused on division of labor and specialization. By the end of 1984, it had 63 specialized households engaged in livestock breeding, which accounted for 13.9 percent of the total number of herdsman households there. Among them, there were households specialized in breeding milk cows, beef oxen, and breeding stock. There were also households specialized in reaping grass, running motor-pumped wells, producing animal feed and providing transport services. These different kinds of specialized households served one another and thus formed a large specialized and coordinated production system, which greatly boosted the development of livestock breeding. These "small and specialized" and "small and combined" operations on the basis of family operation are a basic way now for the development of specialized production in the livestock breeding industry in China's grassland.



From the point of view of the layout of livestock breeding production as a whole, we can also appropriately develop regional division of labor in the light of the natural, economic, and historical characteristics of various areas.

#### IV

In developing livestock breeding in the past, we pursued quantitative growth in a one-sided manner and failed to pay attention to increasing the production capacity of each animal by the application of advanced technology, equipment, and management know-how. Therefore, China's livestock breeding industry has lagged behind for a long time. This is shown in the following: 1) The output of livestock products is low. Generally speaking, only about 20 percent of the animals are killed and sold every year in our country, while 30-40 percent of the cattle and 50-60 percent of the sheep and goats are killed and sold every year in countries with developed livestock breeding industry. In 1982, 100 mu of grassland (including a portion of farm land that provides food for animals) in Nei Monggol only yield 5.1 kg of meat and 2.41 kg of wool as commodities. In 1975 when there was a relatively satisfactory harvest in livestock breeding, the output of beef per head of cattle that year-end was only 4.9 kg, a figure that was only 10 percent of the countries with developed livestock breeding industry; while the output of mutton per head of sheep or goat was only 2.1 kg, which was only 25 percent of that of developed countries. 2) The output value was low and our output does not match our input. The per unit area of grassland output value of the livestock breeding industry on our country's grassland is much lower than that of the countries with developed animal husbandry. In 1979, the labor productivity in the livestock breeding industry in the pastoral areas in Nei Monggol was only 990 yuan, 100 mu of grassland only yielded 60 yuan of output value and each sheep only yielded an output value of 12.27 yuan. 3) Our herding capacity is low. The per capita number of animals is only about 50 (in terms of sheep) in the pastoral areas in our country and each able-bodied laborer only herds about 110 animals (in terms of sheep). This is over 10 times lower than that in the countries with a developed livestock breeding industry. 4) Our reproduction capacity is low. The survival rate of animals in our country is only about 65 percent, while that in countries with developed livestock breeding is 80-90 percent in general. 5) The breeds of animals are backward. According to the statistics for the end of June in 1983, only 53.2 percent of the sheep in Nei Monggol were of fine or improved breed; while in New Zealand, 90 percent of the sheep were of very fine breed. Owing to this backwardness, the average output of meat, milk, and wool of animals in China is lower than world advanced level. For example, our cows yield 3 metric tons of milk a year on average and our sheep yield 2 kg of wool on average, but the world average output is respectively 5 metric tons and 5-6 kg. This disparity means a potential to tap. In modernizing the livestock breeding industry on our country's grassland, we should focus on the application of advanced science, technology and management know-how and raising the production capacity of our animals.

We should do a good job of improving the breed of our animals. The experience that has been gained both at home and abroad has proved that the disparity

in the consumption of food and labor is not very great between an animal of fine breed and one of bad breed, but the output of livestock products and the quality of the products differ very greatly. Judging by the situation in Nei Monggol, since the animals are given to households at set prices, the work of improving animal breeds has to some extent been hindered. The supply of animals of fine breed has fallen far short of what is needed for the development of production. There has even been degeneration of breed owing to inbreeding. In order to change this situation, we must set up in a planned manner a system to propagate animals and poultry with the focus of its work on improving the breed, including stud stock farms, reproduction farms, freeze-dried semen centers, centers to check the breed and breeding stations. We should also set up a number of specialized households that are engaged in improving breed and help them with technology, equipment, and funds.

We should improve our management over livestock breeding. On the basis of summing up the experience of our traditional livestock breeding, we should learn from the advanced herding and management know-how abroad. We should proceed from reality in readjusting the composition of animals and breed and make it match the nature of the grassland on which they are herded. We should also improve our methods to feed water and supplementary food to our animals, improve the technology to mix the food for our animals and thus improve the composition of nutrition, and set up a scientific herding management system.

We should intensify our work of vaccination and our work to treat and prevent animal diseases. We should pay attention to training veterinarians for our livestock breeding industry, intensify the work of the veterinarian centers at various levels and family vaccination stations, and gradually form a regional veterinarian and vaccination network. In addition, we should intensify the work of scientific research, education and popularization of science and technology.

## V

For over 30 years since the liberation, in the main the economy in our pastoral areas has remained an economy consisting of only one sector--the livestock breeding industry that provides primary products. The single-product structure of production and the underdeveloped social division of labor are the basic causes for the backwardness of the economy there. We should start from intensifying social division of labor, readjust the composition of our production, and develop diversified undertakings. On the one hand, this will open up a broad market for our livestock products and thus promote the growth of our livestock production; on the other hand, it can accumulate more funds and thus promote the application of advanced technology and equipment and the modernization of our livestock breeding industry. Therefore, we must satisfactorily carry out the work to readjust the economic structure of the whole pastoral area. Some areas have scored heartening achievements in this sphere. For example, Bayantuohai town has proceeded from local reality to set up a quarry, a milk products factory, a tannery, a restaurant and a transportation team. This has enabled over 100 young herdsmen to leave livestock breeding and be engaged in secondary and tertiary industries. It has thus changed the single-product livestock

breeding economy. In 1983, the income from industry and sideline undertakings accounted for 70 percent of its total income. It spent some of the money it earned to equip its livestock breeding industry and thus expanded the production. For another example, Basi Sumi in Otag Qi, Ih Ju Meng, Nei Monggol is a township of Mongol nationality mainly engaged in livestock breeding. Over the past 2 years, it has set up 77 township and town enterprises and 49 individual enterprises run by herdsmen, which are engaged in mining, industry, sideline undertakings, animal breeding, processing, commerce and catering service. Over 400 people have been employed in them. In 1984, these township and town enterprises yielded a gross output value of 829,000 yuan, accounting for 25.9 percent of the township's gross output value and earned a realized profit of 350,000 yuan.

We should readjust the economic structure in our pastoral areas and develop diversified undertakings of livestock breeding, industry and commerce. First, we should provide various satisfactory services before, during and after livestock breeding production. Now most of the households of herdsmen both herd their animals and manage the development of grass farms. They have to do everything on their own including moving their tents, sinking wells for the supply of drinking water, growing and reaping grass, fighting against natural disasters, purchasing means of production and selling their animals. They each breed all kinds of animals including horses, cattle and sheep. This "small and all-inclusive" mode of production wastes labor and has low productivity. Through setting up transport teams, grass reaping centers, construction and maintenance teams, grass and animal food processing factories, supply, marketing and purchase centers, and stud breeding stations to provide service for these households, we will gradually help them change the backward production method and develop specialized division of labor. This will greatly raise the productivity and commodity rate of our livestock breeding industry. Second, all our areas should proceed from reality, exploit local strong points and resources, follow the principle of acting within our capacity, and develop some medium-sized and small enterprises to process livestock products, exploit energy, mine minerals, provide communications and transport service and set up a commodity circulation network. By so doing, they will guide some of the herdsmen to transfer to other undertakings and thus enable the economic structure of the pastoral areas' economy to gradually diversify. Third, there should be flexible form and special characteristics in the development of coordinated operation and diversification. There can be independent operation with a household or a collective as one unit, but there can also be diverse forms of cooperative operation. In addition, we should intensify the development of the infrastructure related to energy, communications, circulation and the posts and telecommunications network in our pastoral areas.

## VI

The production efficiency and the development of modernization in our livestock breeding industry are to a very great extent determined by the laborers' educational level and ability to master modern science and technology. The experience gained by many developed countries has proved that paying attention to "intellectual development" and increasing "intellectual

investment" is a long-term factor that plays an important role in promoting the development of livestock production. Judging by the current situation related to the livestock breeding industry on our grassland, developing people's intelligence is particularly important. According to the third national census in 1982, only 0.22 percent of the livestock breeding workers in our country had received college education, 2 percent of them had received senior middle school education and 10.1 percent had received junior middle school education. Those who had received primary school education accounted for 35.1 percent and those who were illiterate or half illiterate accounted for 52.4 percent. The low educational level of the laborers is a major obstacle to the modernization of our livestock breeding.

Only when combined with laborers can advanced production tools, rich means of labor, sophisticated science and technology be transformed into actual productive force. Most of the households specialized in livestock breeding that have become rich in the past few years are educated "able people" who have knowledge, skill and economic know-how. From this we can see that the educational level of people is the basis for raising labor productivity.

In order to develop intellectual resources and improve the quality of laborers in our livestock breeding industry, at present, we should satisfactorily grasp the following aspects of our work: 1) We should vigorously grasp general education. At present, we should stress popularization of primary school education and at the same time make great efforts to eliminate illiteracy among youths. 2) We should reeducate the educated youths who have received junior and senior school education and then returned to the pastoral areas to teach them the application of technology and development of commodity production in pastoral areas. As this education is carried out on a certain educational foundation, it can be completed in a short time with quick results. 3) We should develop diverse levels and forms of education in livestock breeding technology and management science. We should vigorously develop and satisfactorily run institutes of higher education and secondary technical schools related to livestock breeding, senior vocational livestock breeding middle schools, and various levels and kinds of cadre training courses. 4) We should satisfactorily run the basic-level scientific and technological network in our pastoral areas, do a good job of providing livestock breeding technological service and popularizing science and technology in order to apply science and technology in all aspects of our livestock breeding industry. 5) We should organize various forms of activities of social contact and travel among our herdsmen in order to widen their field of vision and increase their knowledge.

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## LATIN AMERICA--A CONTINENT FULL OF VIGOR AND RICH IN POTENTIAL

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[Article by Su Zhenxing [5685 2182 5281]]

[Text] Latin America is vast in territory with a population of 360 million and an area twice as large as Europe. The continent comprises 33 independent states and 12 regions that have not yet gained independence. Latin American people are full of creativity and the love of freedom and independence. Long before Columbus discovered the "new continent," the Indians had evolved several brilliant and distinct cultures on the land. In the early 19th century, Latin American people launched anticolonialist movements and built a number of independent nations. After World War II, Latin American countries rose as an important component of the Third World in the Western Hemisphere. Uniting and cooperating with the developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Oceania, they are playing an ever important role in the contemporary common struggle of opposing hegemonism, safeguarding world peace, and promoting social and economic development. They are full of vigor and rich in potential.

### I

Most of Latin America lies in the tropical and subtropical zones, with plentiful rainfall and fertile land. This contributes to developing agriculture, forestry, fishery, and animal husbandry. Its products such as sugarcane, coffee, tobacco, cotton, and tropical fruits are held in esteem on the world market. The area of forests constitutes nearly one-fourth of the world's total forest area. The continent is also very rich in sea fishery resources. Meanwhile, there are more than 500 million hectares of natural grassland, and the number of livestock accounts for one-fifth of the world's total. Latin America's gold and silver once played an important role in the primitive accumulation of capitalism in Europe. The continent has nearly all kinds of ores needed to develop modern industries, and in particular, its reserves of copper, aluminum, iron, and tin hold an important position in the world.

However, the richly endowed continent suffered untold tribulations. European colonialists intruded into the land one after another from the early 16th century. After World War I, the United States replaced step by step the

influence of Britain and Germany in Latin America and dominated it exclusively, turning it into its strategic "backyard" and a testing ground of neocolonialism. After World War II, along with changes in the international situation, the national democratic movement in Latin America sprang simultaneously from both political and economic fronts. Politically, holding aloft the banner of opposing imperialism and dictatorship, Latin American countries struggled against power politics in the world and fought for democracy in their own countries, thus gradually weakening the influence of imperialist and internal reactionary forces. Economically, they took the development of the national economy as the historical task of safeguarding national sovereignty and consolidating political independence. Their enormous efforts in this area have provided for faster development of the productive forces. After World War II, many Latin American countries implemented the policy of "replacement of import" in their strategy for economic development. By expanding production of ordinary consumer goods, step by step they strengthened the construction of infrastructure, basic industries, and newly emerged industries. In the mid-1960's, they began applying the strategy of "being geared to the needs of export." The main measures adopted by most Latin American countries for economic development were to strengthen state interference and readjustment of the macroeconomy, increase public investments, promote the state-owned economy, encourage national and foreign investors to make investment, protect national industry by readjusting customs duties and exchange rate, develop culture and education, promote scientific and technological advancement, nationalize part of foreign enterprises, regain sovereignty over national resources, and develop economic and technological cooperation with other countries.

In the 30 years from 1950 to 1980, the rate of economic development in Latin America was higher than in other regions in the world. The gross output value of industry in 1980 was five times that of 1950. Per capita output value increased by 200 percent, though there was a sharp increase in population during the period. According to figures compiled by the Inter-American Development Bank, the gross output value of Latin America in 1980 amounted to U.S.\$625.7 million, with a per capita national income of U.S.\$1,844. This figure was higher than the average level of the developing countries by 200 percent and almost equal to the level of South European nations. Latin America has become one of the most industrialized regions in the Third World. A number of basic industries such as iron and steel, petroleum, chemistry, machine building, cars, shipbuilding, airplanes, and electronics have sprung up during the postwar period. Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico have become newly developed industrial countries. At present, Latin America is by and large self-sufficient in consumer goods. Its capacity of manufacturing machines and equipment has been greatly increased and the volume of these products for export makes up about 20 percent of the total volume of exports.

The level of economic development of Latin American countries differs greatly because of difference in the size of these countries, the reserve of natural resources, and the time of starting developing industry. For example, Brazil's total output value of industry now ranks eighth in the capitalist world. Per capita output value of a few countries tops several thousand U.S. dollars, but that of Haiti is only U.S.\$270. The industrial

level of some countries has reached medium height, but industrial development in some countries has just started.

Since the beginning of the 1980's, the economic situation in Latin America has been markedly deteriorating, as seen chiefly in curtailed production, the rising rate of unemployment, steep inflation, and heavy debts. From 1981 to 1983, Latin America witnessed a negative growth of its economy for 3 years running. In 1984 and 1985, the economy reversed its downward trend, but the rate of growth was very low, economic development was uneven, and the economy of some countries still showed negative growth. At present, per capita output value of Latin America has degraded to the level of the mid-1970's. In 1985, the inflation rate rose by 610 percent and the total amount of external debts jumped to U.S.\$370 billion, constituting 51 percent of the total output value of industrial production.

Many things account for the situation. Latin American economists believe that the industry of Latin American countries has developed with the focus on domestic markets, so their industrial products are not competitive in the world market. When stress was placed on industrial development, agriculture was ignored. Import of machines, equipment and semifinished products unceasingly increased, the situation of foreign trade increasingly aggravated, the overly rapid growth of consumption slowed down public accumulation, state-owned enterprises were not well managed, and excessively high exchange rate with foreign currencies and alarming financial deficits were the major factors initiating inflation. After Western countries were faced with an economic crisis in the first few years of the 1970's, Latin American countries did not readjust their economy in time, but they borrowed a huge amount of money from the international money market to maintain a high economic growth rate, thus aggravating economic dislocation. Externally, Western developed countries exploit Latin American countries by means of the existing international economic order. Especially in the past few years, the United States and other Western developed nations vied with each other for shifting crisis on other countries. A large part of debts harassing Latin American countries were incurred by high interest rates of the international money market in the past few years. Protectionism of Western developed countries has made it more difficult for Latin American countries to pay their external debts. Under such circumstances, Latin American countries have to restrict imports rigidly and tighten the economy. Many Latin American countries are now readjusting their economy and have gradually changed "emergency readjustment" into "structural readjustment."

## II

The growth of economic strength has consolidated the position of Latin American countries in the world, induced great changes in their social structure, and promoted the "development of democracy." Pushed by the masses of the people, the bourgeoisie in Latin America, which are in power, have gradually cast off the control of the United States and are holding high the banner of nationalism. The trend of maintaining independence in domestic and foreign policies is becoming ever more noticeable.

Latin American countries strongly oppose hegemonism and power politics employed by the superpowers. They also call for disarmament, support the Nonaligned Movement, and work hard for easing international tension and safeguarding world peace. Just after World War II, some Latin American countries claimed extension of their sovereignty to the continental shelf or the establishment of a 200-nautical-mile "ocean zone." In August 1952, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador issued a joint statement declaring that they would exercise sovereignty and jurisdiction over their territorial waters for 200 nautical miles and over the seabed under the territorial waters. Twenty-two Latin American countries one after another proclaimed the extension of their territorial waters, exclusive economic zones, or fishing grounds to 200 nautical miles. Some countries even punished foreign fishing boats for illegal intrusion in their territorial waters of 200 nautical miles. These struggles waged by Latin American countries made positive contributions to the development of the worldwide struggle against the contention for maritime hegemony by the superpowers and to the formulation of the "UN Convention on the Law of the Sea." In the 1960's, Latin American countries launched the struggle for making Latin America a nuclear-free zone. In February 1967, 21 Latin American countries signed the "Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America" in Mexico City which prohibits all testing, manufacture, use, acquisition, storage, installation, and development of nuclear weapons, without prejudice to peaceful uses of atomic energy. After the treaty came into force in 1969, all contracting parties agreed to establish the "Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America" to administer the treaty. Thanks to the joint efforts of Latin American countries, all states in the world possessing nuclear weapons signed and ratified the additional protocol II of the treaty, agreeing to respect the nuclear-free status in Latin America.

The United States has always taken Central America and the Caribbean as its sphere of influence, exercising strict control over it and not allowing other countries to take a share of it. In order to maintain its hegemony over the area, in 1983 it outrageously launched a military incursion into Grenada and unleashed a military threat to Nicaragua, plus an economic blockade and open support for antigovernment forces there. In addition, the United States also supported the Salvadoran Government with much military aid to suppress the guerrillas. The Contadora Group and the Lima Group, two organizations of Latin American countries, strongly advocate safeguarding self-determination of the people of all countries and the principle of non-interference, oppose foreign intervention in internal affairs of Central American countries, and particularly the U.S. practice of hegemonism by resorting to force in Central America, and spare no efforts to seek a peaceful settlement of the Central America issue through diplomatic mediation. This has constituted an important component part of the present struggle of safeguarding world peace.

In the struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order, Latin American countries have always been a very active and vigorous force. Early in the 1950's, Latin American economists pointed out the trend of deteriorating trade conditions of the developing countries in international trade and called for changes of the international trade system. Latin



American countries took an active part in the establishment of international organizations of producers and exporters of raw materials and the struggle for reasonable prices of raw materials. They made positive contributions to the convention of the first UN trade and development conference and the establishment of the Group of 77 as well as to the adoption of the "Declaration for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and "Guiding Principles for Actions." The Mexican Government initiated the drafting of the important document "Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of All Countries" in 1972; the charter was adopted at the 29th UN General Assembly in 1974. Over the past 20 years and more, in close cooperation with other developing countries, Latin American countries have consistently made unremitting efforts in the United Nations and other international organizations to strive for the establishment of a new international economic order.

Latin America, which developed regional economic integration earlier than other regions in the world, attaches great importance to South-South cooperation. Since 1960, nine organizations for regional economic integration have been set up in Latin America. Through reduction and exemption from customs duties, the establishment of multi-nation enterprises, cooperation in production, the setting up of development funds, and joint exploitation of natural resources and border areas, these organizations strengthened trade among themselves and gave fuller play to regional economic potential. Under the guidance of the principle of "developing multilateral foreign relations," since the late 1960's Latin American countries have increasingly strengthened their economic and technological cooperation with the developing countries in Asia and Africa.

Latin America has a tradition of solidarity and militancy. Simon Bolívar, Jose de San Martín, and other outstanding leaders engaged in the movement for independence closely linked the cause for liberation of their motherlands with the cause for liberation of all of Latin America. In every corner of the continent were their militant footprints, which left a great deal of valuable spiritual wealth to later generations. Today, all Latin American countries are facing the common tasks of fighting against hegemonism, safeguarding peace, opposing the old international economic order, and seeking development. Through protracted common struggles, Latin American countries have appreciated more than ever the coincidence of their fundamental interests. On a number of major issues, they expressed support for each other, took concerted action, coordinated their position, and discussed countermeasures together. Through consultation on the basis of equality, some Latin American countries have settled certain problems left over by history and closed their relations. The struggles waged by Latin American countries, whether the struggle for the recovery of sovereignty over the Panama Canal or the demand of Argentina for the recovery of sovereignty over the Malvinas [Falklands], whether the struggles waged by the Nicaraguan people and Central American people to oppose foreign intervention or the movement for independence of the Caribbean, all won powerful support first from countries of the continent. The Cartagena Group of Latin American countries held many special sessions to seek a reasonable settlement of the debt problem. Such spirit of unity and cooperation is an important factor enabling Latin American countries to play an excellent role in the world arena.

Between China and Latin America there have been contacts for a long time. According to Chinese and foreign historical data, trade contacts between China and Latin America started in the 16th century. At that time the shipping line of Manila sailboats between Asia and Latin America was regarded as a "road of silk" on the sea, carrying China's silk and porcelain to Latin America and carrying back silver dollars of Mexico and Potosi to China. After Mexico gained independence, there was an incessant flow of Mexican silver dollars into China. In the 19th century, a large number of "Chinese contract workers" went to and worked in Latin America. They contributed to the development and construction of the countries in which they settled and to the cause for national independence, thus forging ties of profound friendship with local people. In the Qing Dynasty, China established diplomatic relations with Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Cuba, and Panama. In the 30-odd years after the Revolution of 1911, progress was made in China's relations with Latin America, but actual contacts were restricted due to the historical conditions at that time.

After the founding of new China, the understanding between China and Latin America was increasingly promoted through numerous nongovernmental contracts and mutual support in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism, and their relations developed steadily after some obstructions from certain countries of the world were cleared away. The 10 years and more after the 1970's was an important period for the development of friendly cooperation between China and Latin America. By the end of 1985, China had established diplomatic relations with 18 Latin American countries. Along with the development of diplomatic relations, exchanges of visits between state leaders increased greatly and such visits essentially promoted mutual understanding and cooperation in many aspects. China has now established trade contacts with nearly all countries and regions in Latin America; the total amount of imports and exports in 1985 reached U.S.\$2.3 billion. The economic cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit between China and Latin American countries covers a wide range of projects such as forestry, fishery, textiles, mining, oil extraction, water irrigation, and harbor drainage. Regarding science, technology, culture, and education, China has concluded a number of agreements with many Latin American countries, and cooperation and exchanges in these areas have increasingly expanded. Thanks to the development of state relations, nongovernmental friendly contacts in varied forms are increasing. Internationally, the unity and cooperation between China and Latin America have further strengthened. For example, in 1971 many Latin American countries voted for the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the United Nations at the 26th UN General Assembly. The Chinese Government resolutely supported Latin American countries in their just struggles of safeguarding maritime rights, building a nuclear-free zone, establishing a new international economic order, and striving for peace in Central America. At the invitation of the Mexican president, in 1981 Premier Zhao Ziyang attended the Cancun conference and paid an official goodwill visit to Mexico. Between October and November 1985, Premier Zhao Ziyang officially visited Colombia, Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela. During the visit, Premier Zhao repeatedly expounded the common grounds between China and Latin

American countries. He held talks with leaders of the four nations on international issues of common concern and the development of bilateral relations; they reached consensus on a wide range of issues. During the talks, Premier Zhao Ziyang set forth the four principles of "peace and friendship, mutual support, mutual benefit and equality, and joint development" which China will follow in developing its relations with Latin American countries. He also signed 15 agreements and protocols on the development of bilateral economy and trade as well as on scientific, technological, cultural, and educational cooperation. All this has paved the way for further development of friendly cooperation between China and Latin America.

China and Latin American countries are all developing countries and belong to the Third World. There is no conflict of fundamental interests between them. The Chinese Government and people attach great importance to their friendship with the people of all Latin American countries and take the economic and technological cooperation with Latin American countries as an important part of implementing the opening up policy and promoting South-South cooperation. The prospects of cooperation between China, which is working hard to realize its modernization program, and Latin America, which is full of vigor and rich in potential, are very bright.

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ALSO TALKING ABOUT LITERATURE AND ART CONCEPTS AND THE METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY OF LITERATURE AND ART

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[Article by Zheng Bonong [6774 0130 6593]]

[Text] RED FLAG has unfolded substantial discussion on literature and art concepts and the methodology for the study of literature and art, which is pleasing. I deeply believe that truth will be more and more clarified through debate. In the spirit of seeking for truth, I should like to air my limited view, too.

I

In his article entitled "On Methodology in the Study of Literature and Art" (RED FLAG No 8, 1986), Comrade Chen Yong criticized Comrade Liu Zaifu's theoretical system of literature and art, emphasizing the importance of adhering to, and developing Marxist concepts in literature and art. He quoted in the third portion of his article a statement of Comrade Liu Zaifu, expressing his disagreement with Liu's oversimplified negation of China's revolutionary tradition of literature and art theory. The quoted passage in Chen's article is as follows:

"Our literary critique has formed into a set formula of thinking between the 1930's and now. Such a set formula of thinking largely represents a linear inertia in thinking in line with the vulgar theory of class struggle and theory of directly perceived cognition. In observing things, the referential system is chiefly the political background. We cannot repel the referential system of politics, and should fully respect the theory of cognition. However, this is not enough as a basis of thought. Moreover, it is very difficult to overcome such inertia in thinking, which has been formed over long years, and has to a great extent formed into a collective non-consciousness." ("The Introspection of Literature and Surpassing the Self," carried in 31 August 1985 issue of WENYI BAO)

Some comrade recently wrote an article to counter-criticize Chen's article, believing that Chen's judgment of the quoted passage in question does not conform to the original meaning of Liu's article, which was to "exaggerate" the issue, and "to uglify one's opponent," on the ground that Liu's article

referred to just one of many ways of thinking, and did not mean to generalize the whole picture in that statement. Now the question is whether the critique has forced something on his opponent with things that do not belong to his opponent, thus criticizing some mistakes that basically do not exist, or the counter-critique has covered up something which actually exists, and forced the unhealthy style of writing label, and the "putting on airs to scare others" label on the critique. In my opinion, the meaning of the quoted passage is clear enough, and Chen's article has not distorted it. If we read again Comrade Liu Zaifu's other discussions on this issue, we will come to a clearer picture of it.

In the article "On the Subjectivity of Literature," published 6 months ago (carried in a series in the No 6 issue, 1985 and No 1 issue, 1986 of WENXUE PINGLUN respectively), Comrade Liu Zaifu wrote: "The theory of mechanical reflection [jixie fanying lun 2623 2750 0646 2503 6158] has been deep-rooted in the theory of literature and art over a long period of time... The new changes in literature itself and its external conditions, namely, the entire natural sciences have compelled the theory of literature to conduct introspection on the theory of mechanical reflection, which has long been in a dominant position." Here, he explicitly pointed out: "The theory of mechanical reflection has long been in a dominant position" in our theory of literature. The article also criticized socialist realism and revolutionary realism, believing that they "simply restrict the subjective initiatives of the writers to the political and ideological level, but are often in a helpless state at the aesthetic level," but it has not arrived at an understanding of "the passiveness and rigidity of the theory of mechanical reflection."

In the article "Two Trends in the Changes of Literature," published in July 1986 (WENYI XUEXI [STUDIES IN LITERATURE AND ART] initial issue), Comrade Liu Zaifu wrote: "Over the past year or more, attempts and exploration have been made in all kinds of new concepts and approaches to literature and art," "new modes of thinking have to a large degree broken through the single linear mode of thinking in the past, and changed the original thinking pattern of arbitration and mechanical determination, which remained unchanged for decades." He has used "over the past year and more" as a line of demarcation. According to him, such a "single linear mode of thinking," and "arbitration and mechanical determination" had "remained unchanged for decades" prior to this; and such a situation "has been broken through" "to a large degree" after it.

Comrade Liu Zaifu's conclusion is clear-cut. This evaluation of his has run through a series of articles published of late, not in fragments but systematic and repeated discussions. We should say that he has actually detected some shortcomings in the research of literature and art theory, but he has failed to make a historical and concrete analysis of those problems, and inappropriately exaggerated the degree and nature of the problems.

First, the serious ideological effects of the theory of mechanical materialism and vulgar sociology did exist in the past. But what place did it occupy in the entire research of literature and art? Was it a problem that dominated the whole situation or just partially? Had erroneous things been in a

"dominant position," and "remained unchanged for decades" as Comrade Liu Zaifu put it? In the 17 years prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," "leftist" errors were conspicuous, but the accomplishments of literature and art work, including theoretical work of literature and art were major. It was in those 17 years that we laid down a foundation for our studies in the history of literature and art, aesthetics, as well as national folk literature and art, and great progress was made in literature and art theory and critique. Many books on these topics have been reprinted in recent years. It may not be too difficult for people to discover signs of oversimplification in them, and at the same time the sparks of dialectical thinking. Are these not facts that everybody can see! Since the smashing of the "gang of four," from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee to the CPC 12th National Congress, our party has brought order out of chaos in its guiding ideas. Although "leftist" effects still exist, they are not in a dominant position in literature and art circles. People have brought forward a truth-seeking spirit, criticized "leftist" fallacies, summed up historical experiences, studied new conditions and new problems, and made many scientific achievements in theory and critique. Otherwise, how could we account for the tremendous victories of bringing order out of chaos, and the unprecedented prosperity of literature and art undertakings! Aside from the "Great Cultural Revolution," erroneous ideas had never developed to the state of dominating the entire situation. We should also see that among those erroneous ideas that had also intervened in the studies of literature and art was subjective idealism, aside from mechanical materialism. And the harm of the former was by no means less than mechanical materialism. An important ideological root of "leftist" errors is none other than subjective idealism. Such slogans as "the greater are people's guts, the greater harvest will the earth yield," "nothing is impossible so long as the idea has struck one," were all "leftist" in nature. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" advocated the omnipotence of spirit and the absolute role of willpower; in literature and art, they promoted "proceeding from the party's line," "putting the theme above all else," and created a number of works in literature and art, "which aimed to cheat and lie," pushing subjective idealism to an unprecedented height. This has demonstrated that even during the "Great Cultural Revolution," mechanical materialism did not occupy a dominant position. At present, the ideological effects of mechanical materialism as well as subjective idealism exist in the research of literature and art theories.

I believe the latter are very conspicuous. To put it that the mode of thinking in the research of literature and art theory between the 1930's and the 1980's was "the theory of mechanical reflection," which had "remained unchanged for decades," not only nullifies the tremendous accomplishments in literature and art theory for several decades, but also covers the serious danger of subjective idealism.

Second, did the trends of oversimplification and vulgarization in the research of Marxist literature and art theory in the past result from violation of Marxist tenets and methods or from "shortcomings" of Marxism itself? Comrade Liu Zaifu has shown repugnance against "the theory of mechanical reflection," however, he has failed to draw a demarcation line between the

theory of mechanical reflection and Marxist theory of reflection; on the contrary, he has on several occasions criticized the concept of reflection itself. He believes that "reflection is finite, while interaction is infinite," and the suggestion of "interaction" is more "accurate" than reflection (referring to "On the Subjectivity of Literature"). He has criticized the social historical analysis of literature and art, believing that it could help understand only the "external law governing literature," but not the "internal law governing literature." However, social historical analysis is not an equal to the "theory of mechanical reflection," because analyzing literature and art with aesthetic and historical concepts is precisely an important point in the Marxist concept of literature and art. In the article "On the Subjectivity of Literature," the author has linked socialist realism and revolutionary realism with the erroneous mode of thinking, while proposing the following inference:

"The most essential motive force of literature is emotion. The most outstanding contributions of 20th-century Western literary theory lies in the fact that they have discovered such a motive force, affirming to the full the value of emotion in the main body of spirit, thus revealing the most essential characteristic of literature and art."

According to the author, it is the 20th-century Western literary theory that has for the first time revealed the "most essential characteristic" of literature and art. It is self-evident that research workers of Marxist theory of literature and art both at home and abroad have never mastered the essential characteristic of literature and art. If such was the case, where is there any advantage to and scientific nature in the Marxist theory of literature and art!

The 20th-century Western theory of literature and art has its merits as well as absurdities, and we should absorb what is valuable in them. But to say that it has discovered "emotion," the motive force of art, would be too far from the truth. Back in the 19th century, Tolstoy said: "Art originated from the fact that a person wanted to pass on the emotion he has personally experienced to others." Such a view was not Tolstoy's invention. Going back more than 2,000 years ago, China's Xunzi said: "The emotion of joy is inevitable in human feelings." Looking upon the expression of emotion as the essential characteristic of art cannot be scientific, and referring to it as revealing the basic characteristic of art is out of the question. True, art should demonstrate emotion, but not everything demonstrating emotion is art. Language, words, gestures, and mien can all be expressions of emotion. A characteristic is some peculiar property to differentiate one thing from another. How can we say that the demonstration of emotion is the peculiar sign of art? Emotion will become a component part of literature and art only when it has gone through refining and artistic processing. Otherwise, it can only be something "external" to art in the terminology some comrades are accustomed to. Literature and art theory should reveal the sophisticated and complicated course in which life, ideas and emotion are converted to art. Marxist theory on typification (including typical characters, typical environment, typical conception, and typical mood) is on a far higher plane than the theory that "the most basic motive force of literature is emotion."

The question how to evaluate the tradition of research in the Marxist theory of literature and art in China over the past several decades needs be clarified. Our theory of literature and art must be developed and substantiated with new essence continuously. It will lose its vitality if it stops developing and becomes congealed. However, there should be a foundation for development. If things were fundamentally wrong in the past, and if all was on the wrong track, then we should change things completely and adopt another road. But if that was not the case, then we should bring forward our fine tradition, overcome the real shortcomings, and continue to forge ahead blazing new trails on this basis. Without a fundamentally correct evaluation, we will be missing a foundation to make progress, and a correct direction for progress is impossible. But now, the differences are great in evaluating the theoretical work of literature and art, not just during the 30 years before the founding of the PRC and the 17 years following the founding of the PRC but also in the decade after the smashing of the "gang of four." Some comrades regarded not only the research in Marxist theory of literature and art in the several decades since the beginning of the leftwing literature and art movement as the history of the domination of mechanical materialism, but such research since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee as an extension of such history. The existence of differences is nothing strange, but the issue is that although many people do not agree with such an evaluation, their voice was rather weak for a time in the press, and was not even covered in some newspapers. Comrade Chen Yong has aired a different view in a clear-cut way, which needs theoretical courage.

## II

Comrade Wang Chunyuan has frankly aired his views on several theoretical questions in debate at present in his article "Literary Critique and the Cultural Psychological Structure" (RED FLAG No 14, 1986). Some of his analyses, of human "activity" and "passivity" for example, are convincing. But some of his inferences are less so.

Wang's article has criticized a concept in Chen Yong's article: "A certain culture is the reflection of the politics and economics of a certain society, which in turn exerts great influence on certain politics and economies." It is known to all that this statement was not Chen Yong's own generalization, and it was quoted from Comrade Mao Zedong's "On New Democracy." Four years ago, when talking about Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art, Comrade Wang Chunyuan wrote: "The scientific principle of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art and the series of correct party principles and policies for literature and art have been consecutively recovered and brought forward since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," this is "a fact universally known, not to be negated by anybody." He also said, it is necessary "to safeguard the militant spirit of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art," and "to defend the living soul of the dialectics of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art." ("Collection of Wang Chunyuan's Essays of Literary Critique," pp 170, 171) Now, with 4 years and a few months gone since he wrote the above, has this important principle in Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art become outmoded? Is it so outshone by "modern ideology" that something that should be "recovered," "brought forward," "safeguarded,"



and "defended" has now become something to be repudiated, negated, replaced, and relegated? Of course, if such a formula is actually wrong, we should have the courage to correct it, even if we once supported it. The issue is it is not wrong, and I believe any arbitrary negation of it is reckless.

This inference of Comrade Mao Zedong refers to the fundamental and overall situation. Ideology as a superstructure is determined by the economic base in the final analysis, while politics is the focal expression of the economy. Therefore, it cannot but reflect the requirements of the economic base as well as the social political and economic system. This is a basic tenet of historical materialism. Marx said: "People set up corresponding social relations according to the development of their own materialist production, and it is these very people that create corresponding principles, concepts and norms based on their own social relations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 144) Mao Zedong's inference and Marx' discussion are unanimous in their spirit. The statement that "a certain culture is the reflection of the politics and economics of a certain society" refers to the relation between the entire cultural and artistic undertakings and the politics and economics of a certain class, but it does not mean to require every piece of work of literature and art to express political and economic life only, nor does it mean "to give direct expression" only. Comrade Mao Zedong had never set forth such mechanical requirements, but advised the writer to "observe, experience, study and analyze" "all vivid forms of life and struggle." Comrade Chen Yong has made this point very clear in his article: "Literature and art do not merely express politics and economy, nor reflect them directly. In works of literature and art, the needs of politics and economy are expressed through diversified and rich life. On this issue, oversimplification is harmful."

In "What To Do," Lenin said: "The workers themselves can by no means create an independent ideological system in their course of movement." He also stated that the doctrine of socialism "was grown out of the theories of philosophy, history, and economics created by people with a cultural background of the bourgeoisie, namely intellectuals." It is illogical for Wang Chunyuan to negate Comrade Mao Zedong's formula with these words. Lenin held that the workers' movement could not spontaneously produce socialist ideas, but had never said that socialist ideas did not reflect the political and economic demands of the proletariat. When Lenin laid stress on the three ideological sources of Marxism, he never believed that Marxism could be produced solely relying on inheriting the ideas of Marx' predecessors. On the contrary, Lenin explicitly said: "Socialism is the ideological system of the class struggle of the proletariat," "derived from the sum total of revolutionary experiences and ideas of all countries in the world." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 6, p 139, Vol 21, p 332). Marxism acknowledges that ideology has its own relatively independent history of development. The national cultural psychological structure Comrade Wang Chunyuan refers to is actually something passed down from one generation to another. However, is it not true that the traditional ideological material and psychological qualities are the reflection of material life of some time past! While it had tremendous effects on the ideology and culture of later generations, without the changes in the conditions of material life, the passing down of

ideology and culture would only be some continuous extension and accumulation only, and it would lose the basic ground of development and changes. Just as Engels said, economy "determines the changes in the existing ideological material and the mode of its further development, and this role mostly takes place indirectly, while the most direct effect on philosophy is the reflection of politics, the law, and morals." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 486) In the view of Marxism, "all concepts are derived from experiences, and the reflection of realities--either correct or distorted." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 661) Spiritual phenomena that transcend reflection never exist. Either traditional cultural psychology or the personal subjectivism of the writer is a thing of a second nature, and social life is the sole fountainhead of literature and art. It does not hold water to negate the theory of reflection with traditional cultural psychology or the personal subjectivism of the writer.

In his article, Comrade Wang Chunyuan put forth a surprising inference: "Marxist literature and art science is a specific branch of science, but it is not all-inclusive philosophical thinking. It is not far superior to other branches of science; and the application of its concepts and logic cannot explain all phenomena of literature and art. Regarding the whole world, it is just one of the multiple schools of literature and art science, though it is the most scientific one."

On the one hand, the author of the article acknowledges Marxist literature and art science is the "most scientific"; on the other, he says "it is not far superior to other branches of science." Is this not self-contradictory? To my mind, if it is scientific, it must be superior. True, in several capitalist countries, Marxist literature and art science is allowed its existence as one of many schools; however, in socialist countries, does it just exist as just one of the specific schools? The so-called Marxist literature and art science, despite diversified specific explanations, always has guidance of the Marxist stand, concepts, and approach as its kernel, which means the necessity to observe, and to analyze phenomena of literature and art with the concepts of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Its superiority is primarily expressed in its guiding ideas. The Marxist guidance of literature and art work, including the research in theory of literature and art is the principle of the party and state for literature and art. This is not determined by the subjective will of anybody, but the nature of socialist politics and economics, namely the principle we have discussed above. In our country, Marxist theory of literature and art is certainly not the only topic of research. China's citizens have the freedom to believe in Marxism or other ideologies. So long as they do not violate the Constitution and the law, all kinds of views can be aired freely. The acknowledgement of this point does not necessarily mean to place Marxism among the "plurality." The cultural and artistic undertakings of a socialist state must develop along the track of Marxism; and communists must do their best to study problems with Marxist viewpoints. This is stipulated by our system, as well as the requirement for our writers and artists who are party members. Should Marxism be treated on an equal footing with Freudism, existentialism, and structuralism? I do not think it should be so. The former is our guiding idea, while the latter are the objects of our studies;

basically, they should not be treated alike. Developing Marxist theory of literature and art is the common goal of the literature and art theoretical circles. The relations between Marxism and various specific approaches to research and academic schools are not one of parallel plurality. If Marxism is regarded as one of the multiple specific academic schools, what would there be of its guiding role to speak of? Comrade Wang Chunyuan found it difficult to accept Comrade Chen Yong's concern over the fate of Marxism, but what he himself discussed in his article was precisely the place and fate of Marxism in the realm of literature and art. It seems that this question does exist, and many people are concerned about it; only opinions differ on what position Marxism should be placed.

### III

Regarding the current debate on literature and art concepts and approaches of research in literature and art, some comrades have elevated it to the height of a question that concerns the attitude toward reform. I am not for recklessly labeling one's opponent as opposing reform, but I think the current debate does involve how to correctly understand and handle the reform in the research work in literature and art theories.

Reform is a complicated project. China is carrying out reform of the economic structure, in many realms of the superstructure, as well as the administrative system of literature and art. Theory and writing need be continuously developed, and we should continuously blaze new trails. I think we might as well regard development and blazing new trails as reform. The question is: What is the object of reform? Shall we reform old ideas and concepts that impede our progress, and things unsuitable to socialist modernization or shall we regard the guiding ideas of revolutionary literature and art theoretical work over decades, and Marxist historical concepts and concepts of literature and art as objects of negation? For what purpose do we go in for reform? Is it to better build socialist spiritual civilization, and promote literature and art to better serve socialist modernization, or is it to make literature and art drift farther and farther away from the times, and turn literature and art into a more and more self-endorsed state? Many comrades have been working hard in studying the new problems facing literature and art work under the new situation of reform and opening up. For example: How to adhere to and develop Marxist concepts of literature and art; how to deal with Western social ideological trends, and ideological trends in literature and art; what should be the law governing the development of socialist artistic production; how should literature and art creation better reflect the new times, the relations between the administrative system of literature and art, and the relations between the artistic and economic laws in literature and art work. We should say that all these are questions put forth in practice that need be studied seriously. Some articles are well written, not without original ideas. However, just because some articles have not broken through the basic tenets of Marxist concepts of literature and art, and adopt the accustomed concepts and terminology of traditional theory of literature and art, they are ridiculed by some public opinion as lacking "new concepts" and "modern ideas," and as old and outmoded. On the contrary, some studies divorced from reality in the view of the author have

been lauded to the sky by public opinion, as a result, some young researchers have mistakenly believed that they are the representatives of the reform trends, which should be followed as an example.

In discussing his theory of "subjectivity," Comrade Liu Zaifu says, such a theory "may possibly lead to comparatively great changes in China's modern theoretical structure of literature." ("On the Subjectivity of Literature") Such changes would only mean making literature and art change from facing society and the masses to facing "literature itself," "the internal universe," and "the self-realization of the writer." He says:

"Once the writer places the focus of his thinking on social problems, his works cannot but be restricted by the problem structure, thus weakening the revelation of the rich human internal world. Generally speaking, such works can hardly possess a high aesthetic value." ("He Has Pushed Love Toward Every Green Leaf," carried in DUSHU [BOOK READING] No 9, 1985)

"The highest level of the writer's subjectiveness is his own self-realization. The so-called self-realization is the full revelation of the writer's own spiritual world." "The writer must turn to himself, rely on, and define himself, and he must realize himself."

"Man will always be restricted by society and nature, and he will always experience the pain of being restricted. Therefore, man always tries to regulate his understanding and emotion, in order to surpass such restrictions. Thus, aesthetic activities are regarded as a means for overcoming restrictions, through which all that cannot be realized in reality is fulfilled." ("On the Subjectivity of Literature")

In Comrade Liu Zaifu's view, the world in reality will always restrict man, and literature and art should help the readers "surpass" reality, so as to fulfill what cannot be realized in the world. Likewise, the real world is always restricting the writer, who should do his best to surpass reality, and be intent on discovering his own "internal universe." He should be "aware of the fact that his internal universe is a self-regulating system possessing infinite capability for creation, and its subjective power may be brought forward to a splendid degree, and be realized to that degree." This is not enough, "the writer may suppose himself to be God that is capable of conquering all and dominating everything, in order to thoroughly surpass his own limitations, and to affirm his omnipotence." ("On the Subjectivity of Literature") Just imagine, if literature and art are to be relieved from the world of reality drifting farther and farther apart from socialist construction and the undertakings of reform, and even allow people to become "God," "to conquer all," and "to dominate everything" in their imagination through aesthetic activities, should we not put a question mark to such a theoretical "reform"!

In his "Report on the Seventh Five-Year Plan," Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out, philosophy and social sciences should "follow the principle of linking theory with practice, explore and solve important questions put forth in reform and construction by actively applying Marxist tenets, and do their

best to enrich and develop Marxism in practice." Doubtlessly, we should earnestly implement this principle in our research of literature and art theory. Linking theory with practice means the application of Marxist tenets, summing up historical experience, and studying the new problems put forth in practice. We should not only study artistic production itself, but also the requirements of the times for artistic production as well as all kinds of new conditions at home and new problems in world literature and art. We should deviate from neither Marxist guidance nor the realities of socialist construction and reform in our research. The principle of linking theory with practice was first proposed by the party 4 decades and more ago, however, it is not outmoded today, nor will it be in the future. The present condition of theoretical work in literature and art has precisely demonstrated the need for, and the importance of implementing this principle.

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WE MUST HAVE THE COURAGE TO TALK ABOUT MAJOR PRINCIPLES WITH PERFECT ASSURANCE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86 p 38

[Article by Si Jinquan [0674 6930 3123] excerpted from QUN ZHONG [5028 5883] No 7, 1986]

[Text] Recently, there has been a common saying worth paying attention to. It goes: "As we now stress actual benefits, there is no need to bother with major principles." Some leading cadres, as well as political workers, dare not talk about major principles with perfect assurance.

What are the "major principles"? Generally speaking, the "major principles" we talk about are the basic theory of Marxism, patriotism, collectivism, and communist thought. Lenin pointed out: "There will be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory." This describes in a general way the important role of revolutionary theory in the cause of proletarian revolution.

"When talking about the major principles, some people will say that this is another way of telling lies, exaggerating things, and indulging in idle talk. In order to avoid being suspected, it is better to simply not do it." "The practice of telling lies, exaggerating things, and indulging in idle talk" is an impractical and inappropriate slogan proposed in connection with the subjective views of some people. By means of putting labels on people, hitting people with big sticks, and capitalizing on other's vulnerable points, these people criticize and threaten others with this slogan. But the "major principles" we talk about here are to discuss and explain the truth of Marxist revolution by integrating it with the objective reality. The aim of doing so is to guide the implementation of socialist construction and urge people who act on reason to play an exemplary role in this area.

"Talking about major principles is just like quenching a fire with distant water, and it is better to make judgment according to individual cases." Of course, it is very important that we conduct education in the light of specific problems. People's ideological problems are, however, not easily solved by making judgment according to individual cases. Proceeding from their appearance, it seems that the major principles are not "practical." But they are indeed endowed with a powerful inherent force. Marx said: "So long as a theory can convince people, the masses can be taken into our

hands." Whenever a person has his political consciousness heightened, he will voluntarily make his personal interest subordinate to the interests of the whole, and make his immediate interests subordinate to long-term interests, even though his immediate problems cannot be promptly solved.

"The major principles can solve no problems, and it is better to stress actual benefits and doing practical work." It is also a bounden duty of communist education that we should bring actual benefits to the masses, so that it will help mobilize the initiative of workers. In order to mobilize the initiative of workers, we must depend on spiritual as well as material factors. To do so simply by depending on actual benefits will often not last long. While bringing benefits to the masses, we must educate the masses on revolutionary principles, make them correctly understand the principle of enjoying material benefits, and help them establish the spiritual pillar as well as the pursuance of ideals. Therefore, the masses can enjoy the benefits while becoming more sensible. Only through this way can we mobilize a long-lasting initiative of the masses.

"To talk about major principles is a boring job, and it is better to elaborate on human interest and interesting subjects." It is the best and most effective method, which is developed through practice, that we "work up one's feelings with sentiments, and persuade one through reason." Originally, these two are combined together. "If combined, they will yield fruitful results. Otherwise, neither will achieve anything." If we keep a straight face when talking about "major principles," our major principles will become dull sermons and "high-sounding" things that resolve no practical issue. However, if we simply stress one's "feelings" but disregard the process of "reason," the "feelings" that have got worked up will lose the supporting pillar, or it will become a superficial one, or will become personal considerations that follow no revolutionary principle. Only when we combine and merge both feelings and reason into one can we achieve good results.

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## SEVERAL DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIPS OF IDEALS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86 pp 39-44

[Article by Yan Zhiman [7051 1807 3046]]

[Text] Communist ideals possess rich theoretical contents and comprise a series of dialectical relationships. In order to gain an intensive understanding of the scientific meaning and significance of communist ideals and to get a grasp on the laws governing education about communist ideals so that our propagation of communist ideals is on a conscious basis, it is necessary to carry out a systematic study of the rich contents of communist ideals, particularly their several dialectical relationships.

### I

What is an ideal? Generally speaking, an ideal is faith or belief in the possibility of the realization of the relevant objective struggled for. As the objectives of struggles which people look to and go after, ideals are generated following the formation of human society. The basic difference between human activities and animal activities lies in that human beings do not simply suit themselves to the world but purposefully transform the world, consciously struggling for attainment of ever higher objectives. Hence, since the beginning of the human race there has been a search for good and beautiful objectives. Nevertheless, granted the existence of an objective and motive for an activity or even though a future objective is conceived and sought for, it does not necessarily imply that an ideal exists. This is because an ideal embodies a more intensive meaning. It not only is a kind of objective to struggle for, but also must be an objective to struggle for which has the possibility or the hope of being realized. In social life, some people pray for a future life in the Kingdom of Heaven, endeavoring to seek spiritual comfort; some other people have various kinds of dreams for gold, hoping that by some accidental means they will become rich. In the relationship between man and nature, man has indulged in various kinds of fantasies and hopes that they can command the forces of nature. But all these are not ideals. They are only vain thoughts, dreams, and fantasies, because they have no scientific foundation and have not found (indeed cannot find at all) the road or method for their realization. Although they are people's objectives to which they aspire, they are objectives that cannot be realized.



As opposed to this, an ideal demands that both wish and possibility are unified. According to the viewpoint of materialism, wishes belong to the spiritual realm. They can be realized only when they reflect the demands for historical advancement and the needs of social development. If they run counter to these demands and needs, they may lose the possibility of realization. Moreover, we should note that even though human wishes correspond to the demands of historical development, when people have not yet discovered the innate inevitability of the realization of the wishes and hence are in a state of blindness, they will be unable to find the road and method for realizing their own wishes and will thus unavoidably meet with setbacks and failures in actual practice. It is only when people, after having suffered setbacks and failures, have come to understand the objective laws and found the road and method to realize the wishes that wish and possibility can be unified and their wishes and objectives sought for can become ideals that can be realized.

The reason communism can become the great ideal of the proletariat is not because Marxism has made a lively and concrete description of future society. Precisely the opposite; Marx' description of future society is based on principles, whereas a vain socialist description is much more lively and concrete. The drawing power of Marxist theories lies entirely in their scientific character. Over thousands of years, an idealist conception has dominated the social sciences and made various kinds of idealist interpretations of human history. Just how society has come into being and developed had been an unsolved question all along. Marx applied materialist theories to the study of human society, discovered historical materialism, and for the first time scientifically unveiled the laws of the development of human society. He took a step forward to study the capitalist society, uncovered surplus value, and, for the first time, unveiled the secrets of capitalist exploration, discovered the laws governing the development of capitalist society, and reached the scientific conclusion that capitalism would inevitably be eliminated and there would be the inevitable triumph of socialism. Just as Lenin pointed out: "This conclusion of a capitalist society being inevitably transformed into a socialist society was reached by Marx wholly and solely in accordance with the laws of the economic development of modern society." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 51) From this it can be seen that our communist ideals are built on the basis of scientific knowledge about the laws of development of human society. The more penetrating this knowledge, the firmer is the faith in the struggles for the communist enterprise.

How is it possible to build our ideals on the foundation of scientific knowledge about the laws of the development of human society? The most important thing is to get an understanding of the theoretical weapons of human society. In the process of revealing the laws of development of nature and human society, Marxism has furnished us with a basic stand, viewpoint, and method for knowing the world and transforming the world. If we will study Marxism hard and consciously employ this weapon to study and transform the world, it will enable our ideals to correspond with the demands of historical development and increase the possibility of their realization. Naturally, this is not meant to say that possessing a superior

social system and the ideas and guidance of Marxism, each individual will be able to naturally establish scientific ideals, since we must also take into account the subjective and objective factors of each individual. However, the socialist system and Marxism definitely determine scientific ideals for us and provide us with beneficial social conditions, ideas, and guidance. We must treasure them, be skillful in using them, and correctly select the future objectives we wish for and will go after.

## II

An ideal is the unification of not only wish and possibility but also actuality and future. An ideal comes from reality, yet is higher in status than reality, and conversely plays the role of guiding and promoting reality. That ideal is derived from reality means that it does not come from nothing and is not a meaningless thought with no supporting basis, but is a scientific conclusion derived from a scientific analysis of historical experiences and actual conditions. It is a future objective to struggle for and is determined by real conditions. Divorced from actual conditions, an ideal is water without source and a tree without roots, is like a castle in the air. There would be no basis at all to talk about fighting for an ideal. This applies to social ideals and likewise to individual ideals. In determining individual's ideas, no individual should be divorced from reality or harbor vain thoughts. He or she must start with individual real conditions; consider his or her own surrounding objective conditions, including social conditions, historical conditions, work or living environment, and so forth; and must also consider one's own subjective conditions, including individual history, current status, capacity, speciality, wishes, interests, hobbies, and so forth. These must be integrated so as to determine one's own ideals and choose the future objective to struggle for and the direction of efforts.

An ideal has its source in reality yet is higher in status than reality. If an ideal is treated with the same status as reality, then people would be satisfied with the existing conditions and ideals could be annulled. An ideal proceeds from reality to seek a higher objective. It implies transformation and development of reality and the making of a more perfect and more exalted realm than reality. Hence, an ideal is the improvement of reality. It is the future of reality or the reality of the future. It advocates to mankind an even more exalted objective to struggle for and displays even more beautiful prospects, giving people the direction for advancement, strength to go forward, and the confidence and courage to overcome difficulties. Thus, an ideal becomes an enormous promotional force for social progress and historical development and the spiritual pillar of support for opening up, advancing, and transforming reality. In the new democratic revolution, the elder generation of revolutionaries never hesitated to offer their own flesh and blood; in the course of socialist construction, a countless number of heroes were keen on reform, working tirelessly day and night. The reason for doing so is their tireless pursuit of the gigantic objective of communism.

That an ideal is derived from reality but is higher in status than reality has given rise to the problem of how to treat the relationship between an

ideal and reality. It must first be noted that from reality to ideal we must go through a process of struggle. Communism is the ultimate fighting target and the highest ideal of our party. This highly exalted ideal cannot be realized all at once, but certain stages of development must be passed through. Hence, aside from this highest ideal, there must be a fighting target for each period. The fighting target for each period thus forms the party's minimum guiding principle for each stage of historical development. For example, in the period of the democratic revolution, the party's minimum program was to overthrow imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and to form a people's democratic republic under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. In the current period of socialism, the party's program and demand are the realization of the four modernizations and establishment of a modernized highly democratic and highly civilized socialist nation. Only through the party leading the people of the whole country to realize the historical tasks of one period after another can the ultimate objective of communism be attained and can the great ideal of communism be realized. This then brings up the problem of the relationship between the highest ideal and the revolutionary tasks of the various revolutionary periods, and also the problem of the relationship between the ultimate objective and the realistic objective. In the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels furnished us with basic theoretical guidance to handle these relationships. They wrote: "In the various developmental stages passed through in the struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class, from beginning to end the communists have acted in the interests of the whole movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 264) "The Communist Party members have struggled for the working class for the latest objectives and interests, but at the same time and in the course of the current movement, they represent the future of the movement." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 284) In other words, when accomplishing the current tasks people must not forget the long-range objectives of communism. The struggle for the ideals of communism must be planted on fulfillment of the actual revolutionary tasks. The struggle for the highest ideal and fulfillment of the current revolutionary tasks are dialectical unified relationships which complement each other. Communism is our ultimate objective, and the highest ideal and fulfillment of the realistic revolutionary tasks is building a bridge leading to communism. Divorced from the ultimate objective we shall lose the direction of proceeding forward and the strength of encouragement. Departing from completing the realistic revolutionary tasks will change the highest ideal into vain talk. Conversely, the reasoning is the same. If man's future objective is the more definite and faith in the ideal is firmer, his understanding of the work before him will be deeper and his enthusiasm for work will be greater. Similarly, the better and the more thoroughly the current tasks are fulfilled, the more advantageous will be the realization of the communist enterprise. This is precisely the reason why communists are inevitably the most thoroughgoing adherents of democracy and the most outstanding builders of socialism. Regarding this problem, we should oppose not only "idealists" who talk vainly about communism, but also the blind "realists" who reject communist ideals. We advocate the unification of ideal and reality, encourage people to enthusiastically engage in realistic struggle to build socialism for the purpose of realizing the long-range ideals of communism, encourage people to become far-sighted and men of action, and encourage

actually laying the groundwork for the communist edifice and attending to the supplementary building details.

### III

An ideal is the future of reality. This being the case, how is it possible to proceed from reality to the future and to enter into the realm of ideal? This will necessitate the union of the subjective and the objective and guide struggle onto the concept of ideal.

An ideal reflects the demands of both the subjective and the objective and serves as the dialectical unification of these two sides. In his analysis of Engels' ideal concept, Pulihanov pointed out: "Seen from the objective side, Engels' tenet carries the following meaning: In its process of transformation from one form to another, reality attracts him and makes him one of the necessary tools in the oncoming transformation. Seen from the subjective side, Engels was extremely anxious to take part in historical movements. He believed this to be a duty he should perform and a gigantic task for his whole life." ("Selections From Pulihanov's Philosophical Writings," Vol 1, p 547) This introduction to Engels' concept of ideal is extremely unique. An ideal, on the one hand, reflects the objective demands of social development, and, on the other, embraces the subjective desire of man's wish to struggle for these demands. The lack of any one side means an ideal cannot be formed, and failing to have the two unified can likewise not form an ideal.

On the basis of the viewpoint of ideal being the union of subjective and the objective, it may be seen that evolution from reality to the future and from current conditions to the realm of ideal will need to pass through four stages: 1) Reality's objective demands which form an ideal's basis and actual contents; 2) man's understanding of this kind of historical demand and the theories formed on the basis of this understanding, which is the reflection of the realistic objective demands in the stance of concept; once formed, it plays guiding role in man's actions; 3) man's willingness to bear the burden of history, forming the conviction to lean to and seek future objectives; and 4) conversion of this into practical transformation of nature and transformation of society, that is, man's conscious struggle for the realization of his own conviction. Only under such conditions is it possible to gradually reach the realm of ideal. Therefore, determination and action serve as the factors for man's subjective wishes to inevitably become the organic constituent portions in the realm of ideal as well as the necessary conditions for its realization.

Since ideal embraces the factors of subjective desires, we cannot equate ideal to theory. Theory and ideal are both types of concepts. They are extremely closely related to each other, but their meaning is not the same. Scientific theories reflect the objective laws of the world and may rise to become rational human knowledge. For example, Marxism is a science pertaining to the laws of nature, society, and human thought. But Marxist theories, including the conclusions related to socialism and communism, still reflect the demands of the objective world. They still have not solved man's

subjective wishes and attitude in regard to these demands and can only be called theories and not ideals. Only when Marxism's conclusions regarding socialism and communism are accepted by people and become the fighting target of individuals, classes, political parties, and the state can they become ideals. Hence, we should not think that possession of Marxist theories automatically solves the problem of ideal. We must propagate scientific socialist theories to the populace so that they become their convictions and so that they are determined to struggle for this beautiful objective; only then can it be said that the theories have become the public's ideal.

Fighting spirit is the intrinsic meaning of ideal and is also the necessary condition for the realization of any ideal. An ideal is beautiful and resplendent, but the road to its realization is tortuous and difficult. Only when people are fearless of the difficulties and overcome the various kinds of difficulties can they reach this beautiful realm of ideal. Generally speaking, the degree of ideal's perfection and beauty is in direct proportion to the extent of the difficulties in its realization. The more beautiful the prospects, the harder will be their realization. Communism envisages human beings' most beautiful and brightest society. At the same time, the realization of communism is mankind's heaviest and most difficult task. Just as Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "On the one hand, we must understand that the communist enterprise is an unprecedentedly great enterprise in the history of mankind. Communism will, in the end, eliminate exploitation and the classes, and will liberate the whole human race, bringing human society to an environment which is unprecedented, exceedingly bright, and beautiful. On the other hand, we should understand: that the communist enterprise is an unprecedentedly difficult enterprise in the history of the human race, and must pass through prolonged, difficult, and tortuous struggles before triumphing over the most powerful and stubborn enemies and over all exploiting classes. After the triumph, a prolonged period of patiently carrying out socioeconomic transformation and ideological and cultural transformation will still be necessary before we can eliminate all the influences and traditional practices left over by the exploiting classes on the populace and build a new socioeconomic system and a new communist culture and social morals." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, pp 123-124) In our struggle for communist ideals, we must definitely be ideologically prepared for a prolonged and difficult struggle and have the determination to overcome all sorts of difficulties and obstacles. Without such determination and courage, and lacking an indomitable fighting spirit, the beautiful ideas will rapidly burst like a multi-colored soap bubble. We have frequently seen many people who were at one time infatuated by the beautiful ideals of communism, but because of the lack of ideological preparedness to stage a long and difficult struggle, some succumbed before the enemy, some retreated in the face of difficulties, some wavered before setbacks, and some became downhearted and relented because of failures. On the other hand, those comrades imbued with a great fighting spirit, just as Marx described, looked at the struggle as their greatest happiness, as if the more dangerous the environment and the more difficult their tasks, the firmer their faith in the struggle. This clear-cut comparison explains to us the great importance of a fighting spirit in realizing the ideals of communism.

#### IV

Each and every individual lives in definite social situations, hence between people there are definite social relationships. The sort of ideals embodied in people's thoughts and viewpoints are determined by their social status. The realization of people's ideals also come under the control of the economic, political, and cultural development of the entire society. Hence, a correct handling of the relationship between an individual's ideals and the ideals of society is an exceedingly important problem.

Under the exploitation system, the broad masses of laboring people and the exploiting class are situated in a sharply contradictory social status. Their social ideals and individual ideals are basically different. The ideal kingdom of the exploiters is precisely a dark hell for the workers. Even within the exploiting class, the private ownership system also puts them, in their struggle for individual objectives, in life-or-death struggles, defaming and cheating each other. Hence, in a society under the rule of the exploiting class, one individual's ideals and another individual's ideals frequently are in serious opposition. The realization of one individual's ideals and targets frequently have the precondition of damaging another's interests and keeping other people's ideals from being realized. In the final analysis, this phenomenon is determined by the nature of a society under the system of private ownership.

A socialist society eliminates class conflict and class exploitation. It establishes the public ownership system of the means of production. The fundamental interests of the broad masses of people are unanimous. This builds the foundation for unifying individuals' ideals and social ideals. In the relationship between social ideals and individual ideals, social ideals occupy the leading and determining position. Social ideals refer to the most beautiful and best social order people are looking for. For example, our highest ideal is communism and our current ideals are realizing the four modernizations and establishing a modernized, highly democratic, and highly civilized socialist country. These social ideals reflect the general laws governing social development, exhibit the inevitable trend of historical progress, and represent the basic interests and common objectives of people of the whole country. Each and every member of society should struggle for them. This is what social ideals demand of individual ideals and it determines the basic direction and entire objective of individual ideals. If individual ideals follow this objective, then success can be readily attained; but if they go against this objective, failure can easily result. Therefore, an ambitious youth should consciously follow social ideals and determine, readjust, and revise individual ideals so that the individual ideals and social ideals are the same.

Social ideals control individual ideals but are not the same as individual ideals. Social ideals envisage the fighting target of entire party and state, but the realization of these targets and tasks depends on the coordinated efforts of all party members and the broad masses of people. However, the situations of individuals are immensely different one from the other. This will require the individual to start from his own actual situation, determine

individual ideals and fighting targets and plan for himself to make contributions to realizing the four modernizations and the communist enterprise.

Individual ideals are the individual's social ideals, moral ideals, professional ideals and life ideals all woven into an organic body. Under socialist conditions, an individual's social ideals are unanimous with the fighting target of the whole party and the state. They both aim at building a modernized socialist state which has a high degree of democracy and a high degree of culture, with the ultimate objective of attaining communism. But this does not mean that an individual's social ideals can be dispensed with, because an individual's social ideals must still solve the problem of how to devote his efforts to realizing the common fighting target of whole society. Only by so doing will it be possible to link the party's and state's ideals and individual ideals into an organic body so that the social ideals fall onto the shoulder of the individual and thus fully arouse each and every individual's enthusiasm to undertake the fighting target for socialism and communism.

Moral ideals refers to the moral standard for human behavior that people like and strive for. Professional ideals refer to people's choice of a future profession and struggle for the anticipated results. Life ideals refer to the standard and form of material and spiritual life that people want. In individual ideals, social ideals occupy a central position and keep other parts under control. When a person decides on the struggle for communism, naturally he will follow the communist moral standard and make himself a respectable person. He should, in accordance with the requirements of communism, select his own profession and arrange for his own life. Naturally, this is not to say that an individual's moral ideals, professional ideals, and life or living ideals are of no importance and can be dispensed with. Regarding this problem, it is necessary to guard against two tendencies: The first is to talk only about social ideals and not want individual ideals, treating individual ideas as individualism and saying that the seeking of individual ideals is the individual's struggle. In reality, there is a clear demarcation line between individual ideals and individualism. A correct individual ideal is unanimous with the party's and state's ideals and is beneficial to the latter's realization. This kind of individual ideal should not be opposed but advocated. On the other hand, individualism runs counter to the party's and state's ideals and the collective interests. It is realized frequently through resorting to harming other people and benefiting one's self. Doubtlessly, individualism must be opposed. Hence the task before us is to help people correctly set up individual ideals and not oppose this as if it were individualism. Our past lessons in this regard have been deep and penetrating. The second tendency is to talk only about individual ideals and not about social ideals. This is likewise erroneous, because if individual ideals are divorced from the guidance of social ideals, they will lose direction and take a sideways path.

The union of individual ideals and social ideals is built on the unanimity of individual interests and social interests and on the foundation of people's unanimous and conscious understanding of this unanimity. A socialist society basically changes the state of opposition between individual interests and

social interests and creates a firm foundation for the union of individual interests and social interests. Abiding by social interests and struggling for the collective enterprises does not impede the development of individual interests and of the individual, but provides assurances for realizing social interests and the conditions for individual development. Under socialist conditions, because of the limitations of the level of economic development, the demands for social development and individual development cannot be exactly alike. Individual ideals are required to obey social ideals and, in extreme cases, it may be necessary to sacrifice individual ideals for the sake of realizing social ideals. But a sacrifice of this kind is much smaller in scale than sacrifices in the past eras of war and revolution. Nevertheless, it still cannot be entirely avoided. However, the basically unanimous nature of social ideals and individual ideals determines that triumph in the socialist construction enterprise naturally will provide increasingly sufficient conditions for individual development and open up a larger universe for the display of individual talents. At the same time, the development of the individual will in turn push forward with force social advancement. It is precisely in this kind of a dialectical movement that the individual's development attains increasingly greater freedom and plays an increasingly large promotional role for the entire society. The ultimate result is exactly like Marx' and Engels' prediction in the "Communist Manifesto": "The free development of each and every individual is the condition for the free development of all people." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 273) This is indeed the happiest and most beautiful communist society which people crave in their dreams.

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WHY IS IT THAT THE BASIC WAY OUT FOR THE MOUNTAINOUS AREAS IN BECOMING RICH IS TO DEVELOP COMMUNICATIONS AND CIRCULATION AND TO ENLIVEN THE ECONOMY?

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

[Article by Li Yandong [2621 1484 2639]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in our mountainous areas the economy has developed relatively quickly and there has been some improvement in the peasants' livelihood. But compared with plain areas, our mountainous areas still lag behind to a fairly great extent. This is because in our mountainous areas, the peasants carry out a mainly self-sufficient production with little amounts of surplus products to sell. In addition as communications facilities are poor there, and as there are few commercial firms, a small market and backward means of circulation (such as those for processing and storing goods), it is very difficult to exploit the resources in our mountainous areas or to move surplus labor there. As a result, the economy in our mountainous areas as a whole lacks vitality. Therefore, developing communications and circulation, and enlivening the economy will play a very important role in making our mountainous areas overcome poverty, become rich and change the current situation.

1. Developing communications and circulation can vigorously help give play to the advantages of our mountainous areas having rich natural resources. For a long time, we have not been able to exploit many resources in our mountainous areas because of the poor communications facilities and the lack of circulation channels there. For example, every year, the 46 counties in the Qin Ling and the Ba Shan areas of Shaanxi Province can produce over 40 million jin of yangtao. This is a great wealth, but because we have not yet solved the problems related to processing, communications and transportation, these yangtaos rot and cannot be used. Because of poor communications facilities, every year over 20 million tons of the coal produced by township and town coal mines in Shanxi Province are stockpiled. It is wasted owing to spontaneous combustion and weathering and is washed away by water, but we can do nothing to stop that. From this we can see that giving priority to communications and circulation and making great efforts to satisfactorily solve this problem will enable our mountainous areas to fully exploit and utilize their rich natural resources, quickly develop their commodity production and thus overcome their poverty and become rich.

2. Developing communications and circulation facilitates exchanging goods between areas to make up for what they lack, attracting funds, technology and personnel from outside, and thus enabling our mountainous areas to have greater vigor in developing their economy. There are rich natural and labor resources in our mountainous areas, but the educational level of the people there is relatively low and there is a shortage of necessary funds, technology, equipment and personnel. When these areas have developed their communications and circulation and enlivened their economy, they will be able to attract funds, technology, equipment and personnel from relatively developed areas. Then it will be easier for new productive forces to take shape and to promote the development of economy in these areas. At present, 20 percent of labor in our mountainous areas as a whole is surplus. In some areas, the percentage is 60 percent. The development of communications and circulation can include the development of animal breeding industry, the industry to process agricultural and local special products, handicraft industry, commerce, transportation and service trades, and thus provide many job opportunities for the surplus labor there. Moreover, our mountainous areas can also make arrangements to supply labor to our developed areas.

3. Developing communications and circulation can raise the commodity rates of agricultural and local special products, gradually put an end to the practice of unequal value exchanges between mountainous areas' agricultural and sideline products, and industrial products, and increase peasants' income and the accumulation of the collective economy there. The commodity rate of agricultural products in our country's mountainous areas is very low. According to the estimate of the relevant department, it is 25 percent below the national average. Many products in our mountainous areas are clearly regional and seasonal in nature. As seasons and areas vary, so does the amount of agricultural and special local products put on the market, and so relatively greatly does their prices. Under the circumstances of a shortage of communications and circulation facilities, there will often be difficulties for peasants in selling their products when they grow more crops or breed more animals. When we have developed communications and circulation, which are the intermediate links between production and consumption, we will have the means to move away, store, process and transport these products, and thus to some extent ease the contradiction between production and sales and overcome regional imbalance. This not only reduces the losses of agricultural products, but can also increase the value of these products because the communication and circulation sectors will add value to these products. According to an investigation into typical cases, often the added value put on by the communications and circulation links can increase the value of the products several, and even over a dozen, times. In some mountainous areas where there are few commercial activities and poor communications facilities, when agricultural products are exchanged for industrial products, the prices of agricultural products often tend to be too low and those of industrial products tend to be too high. As communications and circulation develop, this irrational practice will gradually be abolished. This will facilitate increasing the income of our mountainous areas.

4. Developing communications and circulation facilitates gradually changing the concept of self-sufficiency in the minds of the peasants in our

mountainous areas. The long-standing isolation from the outside world has given rise to a characteristic in the producers there that they supply what they need themselves and are not good at having contacts with other people. In the past, they ate what they grew and used what they produced. They have neither many things to sell nor to buy, and they have a strong natural economy mentality. Developing communications and circulation and enlivening the economy in our mountainous areas not only lays a material foundation for putting an end to the cultural, educational, scientific and technological backwardness there, but will also widen the peasants' field of vision, urge them to change their natural economy mentality and foster a sense of business. This will in turn promote the development of commodity economy there. More importantly, developing communications and circulation can guide the development of the economy in our mountainous areas toward the direction needed by our society. For example, the peasants in Xingguo County, a mountainous area in Jiangxi Province, have a tradition of breeding gray geese and ducks. Over the past few years, the county has learned from market information that processed goose and duck down can be sold and there is a great demand for it in our society. Therefore, it has set up a joint venture with an outside area to expand its down products manufacturing factory so that it has the capacity to process 1.5 million geese and 1 million ducks a year. Since this project was completed, not only has the output value of the factory been directly increased by 9 million a year, but it has also assisted the development of goose and duck farming, the goose and duck food industry, the garment industry, the communications, transportation and other industries there.

In the process of developing mountainous areas, many areas have summed up their experience as follows: All undertakings will prosper when circulation is unblocked; and if one wants to become rich, one has first to build roads. From this we can see that developing communications and circulation, and enlivening the economy is the basic way out for our mountainous areas in becoming rich.

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## WHY IS COMPENSATION NECESSARY FOR THE USE OF LAND IN CITIES?

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

[Article by Li Mengbai [2621 1125 4101]]

[Text] Generally speaking, urban land denotes land within the scope of urban plans, including the land for buildings and construction, the land for roads, rivers, and communications facilities, the land for squares and other public facilities, the land for parks and other sites of afforestation, the land for growing vegetables and for other production purposes, and so on. All the above-mentioned land is generally called urban land. At present in most of the cities in our country, there is a shortage of land as well as a waste of land resources. This is mainly shown in the following facts: On the one hand, some enterprises and institutions find that the area of land that has been allotted to them by the plans is not enough because they want to expand their production and operations. On the other hand, some units have acquired more land than they need and thus have an excessively large area on which to make a show on a big scale. A small number of units have even let the land that they have acquired lay idle. What is common in these units is that they all regard the land that the state has allocated to them for their use and that is owned by the state as "their own property." Therefore, they would rather let the land lay idle than give it to other units. This has not only given rise to a waste of urban land, but has also aggravated the urban land shortage. Therefore, waste of land is a problem that urgently needs to be solved in our urban land management at present.

There are many reasons for the waste of urban land, including the imperfect legal system, the failure to strictly implement existing laws, loopholes in urban planning, and failure to vigorously carry out plans. An even more profound reason for the waste of urban land is the long-standing practice of the free use of urban land. In order to solve the problems related to huge waste and low efficiency in the use of urban land, in addition to strengthening our administration by the legal system and plans, what is more important is to apply economic means and switch from free to paid use of urban land.

Paid use of urban land has the following advantages:

1. It facilitates conservation of land resources. When charges are imposed for the use of urban land, there will be charges for surplus and idle land

according to the area and the rate of payments. This will urge our units to pay attention to calculating and raising the economic results in the use of land and thus urge people to value each inch of land. This will give rise to a good habit of land conservation.

2. It facilitates a rational use of land. The charges for the use of land vary as the location of land varies. The difference may be by several or even tens of times. This will overcome the malpractice of all people wanting to live in the central and prosperous areas of our cities, urge the units that use land to make their choice according to their actual needs and obey the arrangement of our urban planning departments, and enable us to make progress toward the goal of rational use of all our land.

3. It facilitates raising the level of administration and management of our enterprises. Because of their different physical locations, enterprises of the same type that operate under the same conditions (such as personnel, funds, and equipment) will have different turnovers and earn different incomes. This is particularly true for commercial and service enterprises. This difference in income is not caused by differences in labor. According to the principle of differential rent, differential charges for the use of land will be imposed on the enterprises that use the land. This will make the enterprises that are in different physical locations and that are of the same type compete with one another on roughly the same basis and thus urge them to improve their administration and management.

4. It facilitates stabilizing the sources of funds for our urban construction. Our urban governments make efforts to open up land in the urban areas and to various extents provide conveniences for the units that use the land. The rents that the units that use land pay to the governments according to the principle of differential rents is a way to compensate for the cities' expenditure in urban construction. The rent collected by the cities (no matter which department collects the rent) must all be spent by the cities in maintaining their infrastructure and opening up new areas. By so doing, we will be able to satisfactorily develop our urban construction.

An important way to conduct the practice of paid use of urban land is that our urban land administration departments collect rent for the units that use land in accordance with Marx' principle of differential rents. So far, some cities have carried out some very effective experiments in this area. For example, Fushun city in Liaoning Province has set different standards for rents for different sections of land in different districts owned by the state and within the scope of urban plans in light of the principle of both persisting with the practice of paid use of land and making distinctions in order to prevent "uniformity." It collects rent for the land used by state-owned and collective enterprises and individuals. But rent is exempted for the time being for the units that rely on financial allocation of funds, of which the expenditure is paid by the state, and which do not have operational income, such as organs, troops, schools, and cultural units, and for the land used by urban governments as parks and for afforestation. It reduces, delays payments of or exempts the rent from the enterprises that earn little profit or suffer losses in light of their cases, and imposes

finer on the units that use land in violation of the regulations without approval, imposing additional land charges on them. The rent that it has collected is managed by the urban planning department and is entirely spent on maintaining and developing the city's infrastructure. As a result, it has intensified its overall administration over urban land, raised the economic results in using urban land, gradually given rise to a good habit of land conservation and rational use of land, and finds additional sources of funds for the maintenance and development of the urban infrastructure. This practice has thus played a positive role in improving urban production and living conditions.

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IDLE TALK HARMS THE COUNTRY, AND ONESELF AS WELL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86 p 47

[Article by Shen Yingxuan [3088 6601 6693]]

[Text] The practice of indulging in idle talk was very popular during the Wei and Jin Dynasties. Gentry, officials, and scholars of that time scrambled for the practice. Whoever made the most outstanding, mystifying, and abstract talk received the highest appraisal. Whenever someone became famous in this practice, others who were not convinced of his talk always called on his house and had to hold "talks" with him to see who was better. The practice of indulging in idle talk seemed the most delightful thing in the world.

Some 1,000 years have passed. Generally speaking, our contemporary organs, which aim at serving people, and our cadres engage mainly in practical work. But the evil practice of indulging in idle talk still seems to exist. For example, some comrades do not adopt any practical or effective measures though they have made impressive talks on the necessity and urgency of many things. Some even just repeat the spirit conveyed by the central authorities and the upper level, and that is it. Nor do they carry out any creative work or solve any practical problem for the grass roots. Though both the form and style of idle talk now are different from that in the Wei and Jin Dynasties, they share the characteristic of only indulging in idle talk and doing no practical work.

Some people always sigh with feeling and say that some problems have become "long-standing, major, and knotty" ones. In fact, some problems are called "knotty" not because the problems themselves are "knotty" but only because they have not been seriously dealt with. Even though they have been handled, the work of handling these problems was just superficial and did not bring any practical results. For instance, over the years there has been a loud cry about the poor service attitude, and the masses have repeatedly complained about this. Can we therefore take it as an insolvable problem? In our socialist state which focuses on serving people, I am afraid this is an incomprehensible statement. It is mainly because, I believe, the relevant leading departments do not handle the work "seriously" enough. Therefore, the work of "improving" the situation proposed time and again in the past also becomes a topic of idle talk.

During the Wei and Jin Dynasties, there were reasons for the prevailing practice of indulging in idle talk. Since the emperor of the state was fond of ladies with slender waists, many maids of honor died of starvation trying to win his favor. The feudal rulers of the Wei and Jin Dynasties praised the practice of indulging in idle talk, so that it was endowed with great magic power. For example, during the late Jin Dynasty, Wang Yan was appointed prime minister because he was good at the practice. Now, why are some people still so interested in idle talk since the CPC Central Committee repeatedly stresses the act of seeking truth from facts? This is mainly because to carry out the four modernizations and reforms, we must act step by step, conduct investigations at grass roots, and integrate the central policies with reality. But this work consumes a great deal of effort and its progress is not as fast as that of engaging in idle talk. One can discuss the way without leaving one's house. Furthermore, no one can be wrong on the principle of discussing the "way." Thus, this is the first reason for people indulging in the practice. Probing the issue further, we are still exploring the right way for carrying out the four modernizations and reforms, and there is always the possibility of making mistakes. Would it be better to repeat what the "upper level" said, so that we can "act in unison" with the upper level while being free from assuming any responsibility? Therefore, being safe is the second reason for indulging in the practice. It cannot be denied that some leaders are divorced from reality. They are apt to listen to the flattery of their subordinates. As the leaders do not question the truth of their subordinates' reports, people who are good at exaggerating things and indulging in idle talk can sell their skill. It is possible that those who are "rather skillful" in making the "talk" will be appointed to a government job. This is the third reason for indulging in the practice. Needless to say, the overstaffing of organs, unclear duties incumbent on each post, bureaucratism, sluggish work style, and so on also cause people to indulge in the practice.

The practice of indulging in idle talk may harm the country. Lu Xun said: During the Wei and Jin Dynasties, "many people indulged in idle talk for no reason and drank. Their performance was so incompetent that the political work was adversely affected and the 'empty-city stratagem' they developed was impractical." Because Wang Yan only indulged in idle talk but minded no state affairs, he was eventually captured by the army of Liu Yuan. Only on his deathbed did he realize his fault and said: "If we stopped indulging in idle talk and handled our state affairs well, we might not end in this situation." His repentance was, however, too late. From this we can realize that the practice of indulging in idle talk not only harms the country but also oneself. If, over a long period of time, one only indulges in idle talk and does no practical work, one's ability to solve issues will inevitably be weakened. When it is time to take the matter "seriously," one will lack self-confidence, be all thumbs, and be incompetent. There are many historical examples of this, and we should draw lessons from them.

We are glad to see that in all areas where reforms are carried out well and in units that implement the responsibility system well, only a few people engage in idle talk. Proceeding from this, we can see that the practice is not an incurable disease. The key to overcoming it is to carry out reforms. I only hope that when correcting the work style of engaging in idle talk, we should also guard against ways of acting superficially.

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BEHIND SECRET ANGUISH LIES REJUVENATION--READING THE NOVEL 'SECRET ANGUISH'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 16, 16 Aug 86 p 48

[Article by Wu Bingjie [0702 4426 2638]]

[Text] This is indeed a contradictory social phenomenon: Unscrupulous tactics seeping into an open and progressive cause. Villages engaging in industry and developing commodity economy, and allowing a batch of people to prosper first--this policy of historic significance has, to one's surprise, been first realized in Siping village by a disreputable person who "runs around all day." In control of capital, credits, as well as the various links in product marketing, he collects all electric cables manufactured by each family and each household and draws a percentage in their sale. Then, he transports the inferior quality but highly priced commodity through his "network of contacts" to all parts of the country, thus deceiving consumers. The papers and radios laud him for "not only prospering himself, but also leading his village to wealth." Hence, with legitimate efforts to prosper resigned to impotence at the moment, the natural demands of history and their realization have at this time and place produced a sharp conflict. No wonder that while the honest and dutiful Xia Baokui repeatedly deliberates and concludes that "dirty water and dirty money sooner or later lead to disease," nonetheless, he too finally plunges into the production of electric cables by primitive means. Seriously troubled, Chunxiang reports the "big wise man" to the authorities, but his endeavor is futile, and he is instead reproached by the villagers and ends up in disgrace.

This is the "secret anguish."

In treading along a winding road, history produces such "wise men" as Xia Faxiang. Although he had a stained reputation in the past, he has become a "trendsetter" during the current economic reforms where he advances his career by currying favor with important people. Relying on money and bribes to open doors, he is tainted with misdeeds. His every step is connected with the unhealthy practices in society, yet after prospering, he contributes money to building bridges and repairing schools. He engages in some charities, not to mention motivating the villagers to abandon their age-old fate of making a living from the soil. Objectively speaking, he even plays the role of benefactor. Because his business practices and methods conform with the rhythm of the advance of the times, thus good and bad cling together and could neither be untied nor separated.

The novel "Secret Anguish" realistically reflects the complications in the current economic development and reveals a slice of life in these reform times. It shatters our habit of observing life monochromatically, and transforms the people's one-sided and simplistic understanding of "outstanding household." Xia Faxiang is a "two-faced man" with an evil side; however, as he is adept in "adapting," he also has a side which looks into the future. After all, "trendsetter" is also influenced by the trends of the times. It seems that in the future, he will have to clean his hands and operate a factory honestly. As for the understanding that competitive times would not protect backwardness, the technical preparations for the plant, the administrative measures proposed, and the methods for recruitment of labor, all show him to have a broad mind and vision. And when problems crop up with the product and he must attend to the matter, his talks with the village secretary He Hui entrusting him to take his place and run the factory "should he not be able to return" even have a stirring and solemn touch of "one defying odds to meet a dangerous mission, yet not forgetting his work." Looking at it superficially, the woman manager of Chuanjian machinery plant and Chunxiang may have failed to expose him; however, in dealing with people like Xia Faxiang, restraints imposed by objective social life are actually more forceful.

Will Xia Faxiang return to his old ways? Naturally, there is no guarantee, because this cannot be solely decided by his moral values or his free will. Similarly, a simplistic moralistic criticism is far from sufficient. Xia Faxiang "prosper" because he took advantage of the loopholes in our present social relationships and makes use of the ills in our system and of unhealthy party style. However, the erection of these social relationships is far beyond the capacity of this "big wise man." In some ways, this novel enlightens us of the need to improve and establish a more reasonable social relationship during the current economic reforms. It could enable us to fight more effectively against unhealthy practices, overcome the "secret anguish" in social economic and spiritual life, cure the roots of "the illness," and allow hundreds and thousands of new and capable people in the rural areas to grow up more healthily.

Secret anguish is not plainly secret anguish. Behind it are decay and rebirth, development, and hope. Eras eradicating the old and putting forth the new inevitably have their share of desirables and undesirables, and of good and bad interlocking, just as the bubbles floating on the water are not always clean, but the undercurrent beneath the surface represents the trend toward development. At the novel's ending, with its desolate background, when the "new workers" dressed in colorful quilts and windbreakers, who arrived at the cable plant on bicycles and motorbikes, scoop up snowballs and march onward, do they not still leave a splash of fresh, bright colors?

"Secret Anguish" is a "problem novel." The work has its own singular discovery about life, but it does not exaggerate its account, thus demonstrating the writer's seriousness and discretion. However, I feel that in its criticisms, the work still lacks a bit of broad vision in history. To correctly put out a question in itself embodies an evaluation and an answer. It appears that "Secret Anguish" lacks a comprehensive and profound mastery

of the multiple implications embedded in the complicated social phenomena that surfaced in the midst of economic reforms. This makes the novel's narration stop at the outlines of a sketch and not pierce further and enter the innermost spiritual world of the characters. This perhaps can be said to be a slight imperfection.

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A BOOK ON ECONOMICS WITH SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS--INTRODUCING 'ECONOMICS OF CHINESE TOWNS AND TOWNSHIPS'

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

[Book review by Ge Bing [2047 0365]]

[Text] "Economics of Chinese Towns and Townships," a book published by the Anhui People's Publishing House, is now available to readers. This book was compiled by the Agricultural Economic Training Center of the Chinese Federation of Economic Organizations, and it is the first book to systematically deal with the economic issues in China's towns and townships.

The obvious characteristic of this book is that it studies questions of practice from a theoretical point of view. The whole book, both its chapters of general discussion and its chapters dealing with special subjects, proceeds from the study of the objective regularity of the economic development in towns and townships for the purpose of meeting the needs in developing the township economy. The book deals with many questions people have encountered in practice. The book has 4 chapters, with 14 sections, dealing with general topics. It first talks about the previous and present conditions in towns and townships and the strategic position and role of towns and townships in the development of socialist material and spiritual civilization in the countryside. It points out that developing the township economy and promoting township construction is the inevitable way to realize agricultural modernization, to urbanize China's countryside, and to establish a new-type relationship between cities and the countryside.

The main part of the book is its 29 chapters dealing with specific economic issues, which are grouped into 9 parts with a total of more than 300,000 characters. These chapters deal profoundly with such issues as the economic structure in towns and townships, township population economics, township industrial economics, township commercial economics, township service economics, finance in townships, economic information in townships, township intellectual investment, and township development planning. The book also outlines a development strategy for the township economy for the remaining years of this century and the first half of the next century, thus showing the orientation for township economic development.

The appendices of the book enumerate some characteristics and ordinary methods of township industrial enterprises management and township economic forecasting. This is also very useful for readers who are studying the management of township enterprises.

Why does this economics book cover so many topics? As the preface to the book says: "The structure of the book is based on the needs in township economic activities." The townships in China are "small and comprehensive" communities, which have industry, agriculture, commerce, transport, education, science, technology, and both material and nonmaterial production sectors. If the economic activities in a specific field are studied without being linked with other fields, the objective regularity of the township economy will not be accurately reflected, and the theory will not be able to meet the various needs in practice. The new system needs new theory, and the new economic form needs a new branch of economics. "Economics of Chinese Towns and Townships" represents a major theoretical breakthrough and a useful experiment. Since it was published, the book has found many readers over a wide range. More than 40 colleges in the country have decided to use this book as teaching material for the relevant departments.

As a branch of learning, the level of maturity of the theory will depend on the development of practice. In this sense, "Economics of Chinese Towns and Townships" still has some immature points and some defects. Further improvements to this book will be made through future practice.

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