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# China Report

RED FLAG

No 17, 1 SEPTEMBER 1986

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CHINA REPORT

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No 17, 1 SEPTEMBER 1986

[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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ATTACH FULL IMPORTANCE TO THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF AGRICULTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] Now and in the next several decades, we must not relax agriculture and must resolutely implement the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation in developing the national economy, and attach full importance to the strategic position of agriculture.

The rural population accounts for 80 percent of China's total population. With continuous development of agriculture and the rural economy, peasants will become richer and richer and the country will continuously become stable and prosperous. If we ignore agriculture, we will divorce ourselves from the majority of the population and the national economy cannot develop smoothly. Attaching importance to peasants and agriculture is an important historical experience for our party. During the period of the democratic revolution, our party first established revolutionary base areas in the rural areas, then encircled the cities from the rural areas, and finally captured the political power of the whole country. The current economic reforms also began in rural areas. Promoted by the reforms, the rural economy developed rapidly and 90 percent of peasants have greatly improved their livelihood. This has been the most radical change in China over the past few years. Without this change, there would not be such a good situation in the country today. The success of rural reforms has provided an important condition and valuable experience for urban economic reforms, and strengthened people's confidence in overall reforms. The focus of the reforms has now moved from rural to urban areas, but the strategic position of agriculture and rural areas in China's economic and social life has not changed. Urban reforms and rural reforms are linked to each other. Further development of the rural economy and the whole national economy and the development of overall reforms require that we continue to firmly grasp agriculture.

Agricultural production has developed rapidly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but China, with scarce arable land and a large population, has not yet solved the problem of grain production and the production of animal husbandry, forestry, and fishery. Agricultural production is still restricted to a large extent by climate and other natural

conditions, so it is unstable. Unlike industrial production, agricultural production cannot be restored in 3 to 5 years if it suffers a serious setback. Therefore, we should not relax agriculture merely because of its development, nor should we ignore the fundamental role of agriculture because of the diminishing of the proportion of agricultural output value in the total social output value. Due to small investment in farmland capital construction, some areas have now reduced their investment in land, resulting in stagnation of agricultural production, a scarcity of grain, and difficulty in raising pigs. This merits our serious attention. While making continuous efforts to promote rural reforms and gradually upgrading the degree of professionalization and socialization of agricultural production, we must vigorously promote the exploitation and application of agricultural science and technology, do our best to increase material investment in agriculture, and improve the conditions of agricultural production. In exercising macro-economic control, we must put agriculture in a proper position and never deviate from the general target of our annual grain output value reaching 960 billion jin by the end of this century. We must avoid the situation of importing thousands upon thousands of tons of grain in the next few years. If this happens, it will hold up our economic development.

Over the past few years, most peasants in our country have remarkably improved their livelihood, and some areas and peasants have become and are becoming rich. However, peasants are far from rich on the whole, and tens of millions of people still have not enough to eat and wear. In order to make the vast number of peasants become comparatively well-off, protracted and strenuous efforts need to be made in developing agriculture and the rural commodity economy. China's agricultural production level is not high and its commodity economy is underdeveloped, but it has great potentialities and much of its natural resources remain to be exploited. This requires that our comrades, on matters in agriculture and rural areas, establish an idea of protracted fighting on the one hand, and seriously and effectively guide and help peasants to become rich according to changes and local conditions on the other hand, so that the peasants can make progress year after year.

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MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT IS THE PARTY'S VALUABLE SPIRITUAL WEALTH---THOUGHTS ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF COMRADE MAO ZEDONG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 3-5

[Article by Wang Zhen [3769 7201]]

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the death of Comrade Mao Zedong falls on 9 September 1986. The "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," edited by the CPC Central Committee Editorial Committee on Party Literature, will also be published. To my mind, the best way for us to commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong is to earnestly study and propagate Mao Zedong Thought, to draw wisdom and strength from this valuable spiritual wealth, and to guarantee the success of the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations.

Comrade Mao Zedong rendered indelible meritorious historic services for the liberation of the Chinese nation, the independence and prosperity of the state, and the establishment of the socialist system in China. His contributions were all the more conspicuous at some critical moments in particular. In the course of the democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong on several occasions saved the party and the Chinese revolution from crises, enabling the Chinese revolution to pull through, thus marching from one victory to another. The veteran fighters who followed Comrade Mao Zedong in making revolution have personal experiences regarding this. Since the founding of the PRC, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed with originality many valuable suggestions on transforming China in the political, economic, and cultural fields and opened up a way of socialist transformation of the private ownership of production means suitable to Chinese characteristics, which enabled the comparatively rapid establishment of the socialist system in China. There is no need to evade saying that Comrade Mao Zedong made some mistakes during the socialist period, the erroneous appointment of the antiparty careerists Lin Biao and Jiang Qing in particular in initiating the "Great Cultural Revolution," a grave mistake involving the whole situation, resulting in turbulence throughout the nation. However, even when Comrade Mao Zedong committed such mistakes, it was he who led the struggle in smashing the Lin Biao counter-revolutionary clique; invited Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who won the admiration and respect of people throughout the nation, to come up front, highly evaluated his personality and accomplishments, and entrusted him to take charge of party, government, and army work of the Central Committee; and revealed the ambition of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique,

preventing them from realizing their evil plot of usurping the supreme leadership. Just as it was solemnly pointed out in the "Resolution on Several Historical Issues of the Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," unanimously adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, "Although Comrade Mao Zedong committed grave mistakes in the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' his meritorious services to the Chinese revolution far exceeded his faults, if we take his whole life into consideration. His feats come first, and his mistakes come second." Such truth-seeking, appropriate, and fair evaluation entirely conforms with historical facts, falls in line with the party's feeling and the people's will, and has won the admiration of our foreign friends throughout the world.

In the course of long-term revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote voluminous scientific works linking the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete conditions of the Chinese revolution, and added many new essences to the theoretical treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. It is entirely correct to name the scientific guiding ideas derived from the collective struggle of the party and people suitable to China's actual conditions Mao Zedong Thought. This has been acknowledged by the whole party and people of all nationalities in China for several decades, and solemnly written into our party Constitution and the PRC Constitution. Many leading members and a large number of cadres grew up under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Many leading comrades of the current party Central Committee, aside from those comrades-in-arms of Comrade Mao Zedong, are all nurtured with Mao Zedong Thought. Some younger comrades are becoming prized pillars in socialist modernization with each passing day.

China has a civilization of close to 5,000 years. The Chinese nation has a revolutionary tradition and spiritual wealth worthy of our pride, of which the most valuable is Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the banner of the victories of revolution of the Chinese people. Its emergence was the inevitable result of the history of the Chinese people in their long-term bloodshed, sacrifice, and arduous struggles. Beginning with the Opium War, heroes and people with lofty ideals of one generation after another advanced wave upon wave in pursuit of truth to salvage the nation and the people, and put forth theories and plans of all kinds, but all failed in practice. The spread of Marxism-Leninism in China renewed the feature of the Chinese revolution. However, it was not the case that the Chinese revolution succeeded as soon as Marxism-Leninism spread to China. Historical facts written in blood proved that without Marxism-Leninism, success of the Chinese revolution would not be possible; neither would the Chinese revolution succeed if Marxism-Leninism had not been linked with China's concrete conditions. The most conscious and outstanding representative of linking Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete conditions was Comrade Mao Zedong, and the spiritual result of this combination is Mao Zedong Thought. It was precisely with Mao Zedong Thought that the Chinese revolution succeeded. From Jinggangshan to Ruijin, Yanan, and Beijing, every step was the glorious record of Mao Zedong Thought. It is undeniable that Mao Zedong Thought has played a great role in mobilizing and organizing the people throughout the nation in their conscious struggle.

Has the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought ended with the success of the Chinese revolution and the undertaking of modernization? True, Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in theory and practice in his late years, but does this mean that the banner of Mao Zedong Thought can be relegated? The answer is of course in the negative. We should see that the great undertaking of modernization in which we are now engaged is to fulfill the tasks Comrade Mao Zedong has proposed, to do a good job of things we have failed to achieve, and to correct the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong committed in his late years. At the same time, we should also see that in linking the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with China's concrete conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong helped shape the position, viewpoints, and methods with characteristics of the Chinese Communists. This is the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought, which is of universal significance and has a long-term role of guidance. Take, for instance, the much talked-of "seeking truth from facts." This is the starting point, base, and quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought, and it will never be outmoded. "All our victories in making revolution in the past relied on seeking truth from facts; likewise, we should rely on seeking truth from facts in realizing the four modernizations." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 133) The reason Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his late years lies also in the fact that he violated the "truth-seeking" spirit which he himself had always advocated. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has undertaken to bring order out of chaos, and the most fundamental thing is to restore the "truth-seeking" spirit in Mao Zedong Thought. Over the past 7 years and more, our party has scored tremendous accomplishments in all fields by conducting in-depth research in China's national conditions, earnestly summing up the experiences and lessons in socialist construction, and drawing up a series of principles and policies on reform, opening up, and enlivening the domestic economy based on the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism. We can say that every principle and policy is an offspring of "seeking truth from facts," and every accomplishment is the success of "seeking truth from facts." Responsible comrades of the Central Committee such as Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun have on many occasions called on us to study Mao Zedong Thought, the philosophical works of Comrade Mao Zedong in particular, requiring us further setting up the basic way of thinking in line with dialectical materialism and historical materialism, which we should master in solving problems in socialist modernization. The guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought is long lasting. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put it well: "If we fail to adhere to Mao Zedong Thought, we will commit major mistakes of a historical nature," "we should hold aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought not only today, but also in the future." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 264, 255)

So saying, does it mean that Mao Zedong Thought is "complete and perfect" absolute truth? Does it mean that all problems can be solved by simply copying it? No. The Central Committee does not hold such a view; nor did Comrade Mao Zedong when he was alive. Marxism-Leninism develops with the development of practice, and it is an open ideological system. Mao Zedong Thought, as the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China, should also be developed with the development of practice; it is likewise an open ideological system. Back in the early 1960's, Comrade Mao Zedong said that we have now entered the socialist age, and a series of new problems have



emerged. "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" alone are not enough to meet the needs of the new situation, and we should write new works and form new theory. Comrade Mao Zedong was a revolutionary and theoretician rich in originality. He never regarded Marxism-Leninism as dogma, nor did he regard his own thinking and works as such. Now our party Central Committee has proposed some new concepts and theories and drawn up a series of new principles and policies on the basis of studying the new situation and solving new problems in line with the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, bringing forward its originality. The theory and practice of "building socialism with Chinese characteristics" have focally demonstrated the fact that our party has adhered to, as well as developed, Mao Zedong Thought in the new historical stage. No one can deny that the banner of Mao Zedong Thought has become all the more brilliant and eye-catching in the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics through bringing order out of chaos so long as one refrains from prejudice and is bold at looking at the facts. To bring forward Comrade Mao Zedong's truth-seeking revolutionary spirit of creativity facing modernization, the world and the future under the new historical conditions is the basic requirement for us to study and adhere to Mao Zedong Thought.

I have in recent years consecutively visited some foreign countries and talked in breadth with the figures of their political, economic, science and technology, as well as cultural circles. Many friends have admired Comrade Deng Xiaoping and our party Central Committee for the fair evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought. I deeply feel that Mao Zedong Thought has far-reaching effects in the world. This is the glory of the Chinese nation.

It has been a decade since Comrade Mao Zedong left us, as well as Comrade Mao Zedong's close comrades-in-arms, Comrade Zhou Enlai and Comrade Zhu De. We think of them with deep feeling. Mao Zedong Thought, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CPC, will forever stimulate and encourage us. It is the obligation and duty of every communist to highly value the spiritual wealth of Mao Zedong Thought, to safeguard the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, to unremittingly persist in propagating Mao Zedong Thought, and to carry out in-depth, meticulous, and to-the-point education in this respect in diversified forms, so that more people may master and apply it. We should adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought in practice, follow the line formulated by the 12th CPC National Congress, and implement the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates. We should work hard to create a new situation for building socialist modernization in accordance with the requirement proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping of "building socialism with Chinese characteristics"!

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TO DO A GOOD JOB IN REFORM IS THE PRIMARY HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY OF YOUNG AND MIDDLE-AGED CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 6-15

[Article by Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948]--article compiled by the RED FLAG Editorial Department on the basis of a speech by Wang Zhaoguo at the graduation ceremony of the Central Party School on 16 July 1986; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The construction of the socialist modernization and the development of various reforms have provided excellent conditions for the growth of young and middle-aged cadres. In recent years, cultivated and educated by the party and the people and supported and helped by the old comrades, a large number of the young and middle-aged cadres throughout the country have already taken up the leading posts at all levels. Under the new conditions, we share the same view that we must strive to do a better job and fulfill better the tasks assigned by the party and the people. This means that the young and middle-aged cadres must correctly understand and perform their historical responsibility. Before talking about this question, it is necessary to make a brief review of the history of our party.

Since its establishment in 1921, our party has experienced 65 brilliant years. In the 28 years before the founding of our country, in spite of the innumerable trials and tribulations, our party led the people of all nationalities to wage struggles for the great victory of the new democratic revolution. Therefore, the victory of the new democratic revolution is a result of the heroic struggles of countless revolutionary martyrs, the comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country who rose to fight one after another and feared neither shedding their blood nor giving up their lives. The magnificent contributions made by our party's revolutionaries of the older generation, whether they have already passed away or are still alive, for saving the disaster-ridden Chinese nation and establishing a bright and progressive new China will forever go down in history and inspire us to forge ahead. In the 27 years from the founding of the country in 1949 to the smashing of the "gang of four" in 1976, together with the people of all nationalities in our country, our party experienced the joy of success and victory and tasted to the full the pain of setbacks, in particular the pain of the 10 years of internal disorder. Nevertheless, generally speaking, these 27 years should go down in history as a period in which our party led the people of all nationalities to score great achievements in the socialist revolution and construction

through overcoming enormous hardships. The establishment of the socialist system, especially, is the most profound and the greatest social change in the history of our country and a basis of all the progress and development in our country. Following the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has led the people of all nationalities to enter a new historical development period of the socialist modernization construction. Over the last 7 years, beginning from the movement of bringing order out of chaos to the overall reforms, our party has begun to find a way of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and achieved world-famous achievements in economy, politics, culture, foreign affairs, national defense, and other fields.

Reviewing the history of our party, we can clearly see under what kind of historical premises and conditions the historical responsibility of our contemporary young and middle-aged cadres has conferred. In the historical development of our party, contemporary young and middle-aged cadres constitute a generation furthering the cause pioneered by their predecessors and forging ahead into the future as well as a generation of carrying on the past heritage and opening up the future. We are now advancing on the revolutionary path pioneered by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation as well as on the very good basis of a new situation of socialist modernization construction opened up by the people of the whole country under the leadership of the party Central Committee. Meanwhile, we are also confronted with a new historical period and the arduous tasks. Only when the vast numbers of young and middle-aged cadres have a good understanding of the historical conditions for them can they correctly understand and perform their own historical responsibility.

Then, what exactly is the historical responsibility of contemporary young and middle-aged cadres? To answer this question, we must relate it with our party's long-term target for endeavor. As we know, the elimination of poverty and the realization of prosperity, the elimination of ignorance and the realization of civilization, and the elimination of backwardness and the realization of modernization to let the Chinese nation stand towering like a giant in the world has been the long-cherished goal pursued by millions of people with lofty ideals in our country over the last century or so and a strong common wish of our whole party and the people of all nationalities in our country. In order to realize this wish and build our country into a strong socialist modernized country with a high degree of civilization and democracy, the party Central Committee has put forward the target of endeavor for our country's economic and social development in the coming decades. First, by the end of this century, the annual gross value of the industrial and agricultural output should be quadrupled over 1980 and the people's livelihood should reach the level of comparatively well-off life. Second, in the middle of the next century, or around the 100th anniversary of the founding of the country, our country's economic level should reach that of advanced countries in the world. To attain this magnificent goal, the persistent and dauntless struggles of the people of several generations will be needed. Judging by age, the young and middle-aged cadres are now all expected to transcend into the next century. Those who are now in their 40's or 50's

will be realizing the first step in 15 years; and those who are 35 years old or younger will be contributing to the realization of the second step in 25 years or so. These 15 years, 25 years or a longer period of time will be periods extremely important to the development of our country. In order to build our country into a first-class prosperous and powerful socialist modernized country, the vast numbers of the young and middle-aged cadres of ours are now shouldering an extremely great and arduous historical responsibility. To realize these two targets for endeavor, we must uphold the four cardinal principles and do our utmost to expedite economic structural reform, political structural reform, education, scientific and cultural reform, and other reforms. Overall reform is another great practice of the scientific socialism in contemporary China and the only way for us to build our country into a socialist modernized country with a high degree of civilization and democracy. Therefore, as far as we young and middle-aged cadres are concerned, **THE FIRST HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY IS TO UPHOLD AND PROMOTE REFORM AND MAKE REFORM ACHIEVE THE DESIRED SUCCESSES THROUGH MAKING UNREMITTING EFFORTS OVER MANY YEARS.**

Economic structural reform in our country must, first of all, make a breakthrough in the rural areas and then gradually develop into the cities. Closely centering around the key link of invigorating enterprises, the urban economic structural reform has been carried out in planning, finance, taxation, pricing, banking, commerce, wage of labor, and other aspects in varying degrees, bringing about an unprecedentedly lively situation in the urban economic life. Through the creative practice by the comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country under the guidance of Marxism over the last few years, in particular the practice following the promulgation of the decision of the CPC Central Committee regarding the economic structural reform over a year ago, the general picture of and the approach to the socialist economic system with Chinese characteristics is becoming more and more distinct. The new economic system which is now being gradually set up has already demonstrated its exuberant vitality. At present, our country's national economy continues to grow, the people's living has improved remarkably and all the undertakings are becoming more prosperous every day.

The whole economic structural reform focusing on the urban areas is, in fact, an overall reform. It involves not only economic structural reform, the structural reform of culture, science and technology, education, and so on, but more importantly also the structural reform of politics. On many occasions in this year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about the issue of political structural reform and emphatically expounded the necessity and urgency of the political structural reform. He stressed that: "We cannot keep abreast of the situation if we do not carry out political structural reform" and that "if we only carry on economic structural reform but not political structural reform, the economic structural reform will not succeed." While he was receiving a Korean party and government delegation on 14 July, he pointed out once again that "the urban economic structural reform to be accomplished by China in the coming 5 years is, in fact, an overall economic structural reform, including some political structural reforms." He also pointed out that political structural reform is an issue affecting the situation as a whole and that a period of time is needed to carry out investigation and research and "you should devise a good plan before you start."

While carrying out economic structural reform, it is imperative to correspondingly reform some of the political structures. Over the last few years, the members of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee have been thinking about this issue and have made many extremely important expositions. In his report to the 12th party congress, while talking about fostering a high degree of socialist democracy and building the party into a powerful core leading the cause of the socialist modernization, Comrade Hu Yaobang explicitly proposed the task of reforming and perfecting the political structure as well as the leading structure of the state. In August 1980, at an enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered a long speech entitled "The Reform of the Leading System of the Party and the State." In this speech, applying the fundamental viewpoints of Marxism, he scientifically analyzed the history and present conditions of the leading system of our party and state and made a brilliant exposition of the necessity, content, principles and implementation measures. In fact, it was political structural reform that he was talking about. This speech was discussed and adopted by the Political Bureau at that time and has become a programmatic document guiding our political structural reform.

It should be pointed out that the expositions presented by the central authorities and the Standing Committee members of the Central Political Bureau are very important and should be earnestly studied. Here, I would like to talk about my own personal experiences and understandings.

Political structural reform is an extremely important component of our effort to perfect the socialist political system and build the socialism with Chinese characteristics in our country. Through political structural reform, we should further set up a socialist political structure with a high degree of democracy and efficiency and a complete legal system. Political structural reform must be conducted in a planned and gradual way and on the basis of facilitating the improvement and strengthening of the party's leadership and the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship. All the reform measures in this aspect must help continue to implement our country's policy of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy, promote the development of the planned commodity economy and the prosperity of the cause of socialist education, science and culture, consolidate and develop achievements in economic reform and all other reforms, cultivate, select and employ a large number of outstanding talented people who can suit the needs of the socialist modernization construction, foster a democracy which is more realistic and more democratic than those in the capitalist countries, ensure that all people truly enjoy the rights of administering the state and social affairs through various effective forms, and consolidate and develop a political situation in which people have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and mind and personal liveliness.

It is in keeping with the fundamental principles of historical materialism to correspondingly reform the political structure reforming the economic structure. Mankind's production activities are their most fundamental activities, decisively affecting all their other activities. The

superstructure must suit and serve the economic basis. The communique of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee even pointed out that "the realization of the four modernizations and the demand for greatly improving the productive forces will surely require to change in many ways the production relations and superstructure which do not suit the development of productive forces and all the inappropriate patterns of management, operation and thinking. Therefore, it is a comprehensive and deepgoing revolution." This passage, in fact, embodies the demand for reforming the political superstructure. In August 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out that the malpractices in the current leading system, cadre system, and so on, of the party and state are closely related to the economic management structure of highly centralized authorities formed over a long period of time since the founding of our country. Over the last few years, we have effected a series of major reforms in the aspect of economic management structure and begun to change from the excessively and rigidly controlled old system to a fully vigorous and energetic new system which can suit the planned development of the commodity economy on the basis of public ownership. Thus, we are surely required to correspondingly reform the political system. This has been proved in practice. Over the last 7 years, some major steps have been made in the political structural reform in our country. For example, the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to set up a Central Secretariat, the 5th Session of the 5th NPC Congress adopted a new Constitution, the division of work between the party and government has been promoted, the de facto system of life tenure for leading cadres has been abolished, the leading organs at all levels have been readjusted in the light of the principle of being more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more competent, many young and middle-aged cadres have been selected, the system of reserved cadres has been set up, the army has been reduced and reorganized, the director responsibility system has been effected in the state-run enterprises, the township administrative level has been restored in the rural areas, the building of a legal system has been vigorously expedited, a large number of laws and decrees have been promulgated, and so on. These reforms in relation to the political structure have effectively ensured the smooth implementation of our bringing order out of chaos and the economic reform.

Moreover, we must soberly note that we have just conducted an initial reform of the political structure in the past few years and that the reform is still far from meeting the needs of the economic structural reform. Political structural reform covers numerous areas. In line with the objective requirements of the current economic, scientific, technological, and education reforms and the development of the building of the two civilizations and in light of the practical conditions in the political life of our party and state, we may as well concentrate on solving well the following problems:

**ON STREAMLINING THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE AND IMPROVING WORK EFFICIENCY.** The structural reform started in 1982 has produced some results. However, for various reasons, the phenomena of setting up more organizations, recruiting more staff, upgrading organizations, and indiscriminately promoting cadres have reemerged over the past 2 years. Compared with the situation before the reform, the number of our organizations has increased

rather than decreased. The number of cadres in most provinces, prefectures (cities), and counties has exceeded the authorized sizes. The number of nonpermanent organizations has constantly increased. Moreover, while some executive bodies are overstaffed, some consultant bodies are understaffed. Some supervisory bodies are not completely sound. Unwieldy and overstaffed organizations have resulted in more expenses. Since many organizations at the higher levels have more hands than needed, they are inclined to keep a firm hold on power. They take back the power we have delegated to the lower levels and manage many things they should not manage, thus encouraging bureaucratism in party and government organizations, dampening the initiative of the units at the lower levels, and objectively obstructing the reform. With the in-depth development of the economic structural reform, in particular, lateral economic links among enterprises have become more lively, crossing the boundaries of different localities, departments, and trades. This makes it necessary for government organs to change their management functions and for the state to change from mainly direct to mainly indirect control in its management of enterprises. Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "If the cities fail to appropriately reform their administrative structures and to change their traditional concepts and methods of leadership, it will be very difficult, in my view, to genuinely extend the decisionmaking power of enterprises, the power that has been decentralized will also be taken back, and the lateral links among enterprises will also be restricted. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to make the structural reform of key cities an important item on our agendas." The State Council has decided to try out structural reforms in several medium-sized cities.

We have streamlined and reformed the administrative structures on several occasions since the founding of the PRC only to result in an endless cycle of simplification, expansion, resimplification and reexpansion. An important cause for this state of affairs is that these organizations were streamlined when the economic structure was not substantially reformed. For this reason, it was impossible to change the functions of government organs. Historical experience shows that, rather than a simple abolition, amalgamation, or reduction of departments, structural reform is chiefly aimed at streamlining administration, instituting decentralization, adjusting and changing the functions of government organs, and straightening out and improving the administrative management system. As Comrade Zhao Ziyang recently pointed out: "Following the overall execution of economic structural reform, the functions of the government will change and government organs and the cadre system will also be reformed in a systematic way. Without reform in this field, it will be impossible to suit the needs of economic structural reform."

ON REFORMING THE CADRE SYSTEM. In recent years, under the influence of economic structural reform, we have achieved notable successes in reforming China's cadre system, making a substantial breakthrough in some respects. Taken as a whole, however, reform of the cadre system is still far from meeting the needs of economic structural reform and is still lagging behind the development of the situation. We must quicken our pace and continue to resolutely push ahead with reform of the cadre system, step by step, and in a planned way.

It is necessary to seriously investigate and study how to begin reforming the cadre system. There are several topics we should concentrate on studying: 1) Establish a system in which cadres can move both upward and downward, and truly create an environment that will facilitate competition and help top-notch talent to show itself. 2) It is necessary to implement the mass line in examining and promoting cadres, step up democratic supervision, let the masses have more say in assessing, appointing, and dismissing cadres, overcome the phenomenon of relying on the individual likes or dislikes of certain leaders in assessing and using cadres, and gradually make the work of examining cadres democratic, scientific, and systematic. The experience of the Shenzhen's Shekou industrial zone in democratically electing, appointing, and supervising cadres merits our attention. 3) Perfect the election and appointment system and institute a system of appointment by examination and a system of hiring people for appointments. The cadres holding posts by these means should not hold unlimited terms of office so as to coordinate more or less with the institution of the labor contract system among workers. 4) Institute a system of periodic exchanges of leading cadres. 5) Institute a system [hui bi zhi du 0932 6699 0455] for leading cadres.

Over the past few years, we have achieved great successes in adjusting leading bodies at all levels in accordance with the principle of the "four transformations" of cadres. This is a long-term task. We should continuously uphold this important principle and strive to do a good job of it. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out on numerous occasions: There must be an orderly system of succession for cadres. We should make cadres in leading bodies younger in average age by rationally promoting young and middle-aged cadres to leading posts. This is a reform of strategic importance on the organizational front. In selecting and promoting cadres, we must satisfactorily integrate the strategic need to carry on pioneering work into the next century with the need of the current construction and reform. After undergoing training and tests for 12-20 years, most of the young and middle-aged cadres are brimming with vigor and creative power and are distinguished for their living thinking. Many of them have achieved outstanding successes in reform and construction. In the future, we should pay more attention to promoting the outstanding ones. Moreover, we should continue to bring into play the role of cadres on the wrong side of 50. When providing party and government organs at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels with leading cadres, we did not pay attention to bringing into play the role of cadres on the wrong side of 50. However, some localities and units have mechanically reduced from one level to another the age limits for the members of leading bodies, which is inappropriate. This is because not all the secretaries of county party committees will become secretaries of prefectural party committees and not all the secretaries of prefectural party committees will become secretaries of provincial party committees. If we insist that the age structure should be mechanically reduced from one level to another, we will dampen the initiative of some middle-aged cadres on their work posts. This merits our attention.

ON IMPROVING THE SOCIALIST LEGAL SYSTEM. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have achieved tremendous successes in building



the socialist legal system. However, due to the influence of the feudal society lasting for over 2,600 years, the building of the legal system was neglected for a considerably long period of time after the founding of the PRC. Our legal system is not quite perfect. A sizable number of cadres, including some responsible comrades, still do not have an ample understanding of the importance of the building of the legal system. Laws already enacted are in some cases not fully observed or enforced. This is quite detrimental to the smooth progress of the building of the two civilizations and the economic reform. Therefore, an important task in political structural reform is to resolutely eliminate the influence of the surviving feudal ideas in state life and among cadres and to step up legislation and judiciary work so that the citizens' rights, such as democracy, freedom, and equality, which are granted by the Constitution, can be effectively guaranteed.

In the entire period of socialist modernization, we must always conscientiously carry out the principle of "grasping both construction and the legal system" and vigorously step up the building of the socialist legal system. We should continue to vigorously step up legislation and judiciary work so that all people study and observe law. In so doing, it will be easier to engage in our country's modernization drive. It is stipulated in the party Constitution: "The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the Constitution and state law." Leading cadres at all levels should take the lead in observing the Constitution and state law, have a better sense of the legal system, and cultivate the habit of acting according to the law; they should resolutely eliminate such phenomena as breaking the law, "substituting personal remarks for the law," and "using one's position and power to suppress the law," and consciously obey the adjudications made by the law enforcement bodies according to the law. It is necessary to step up economic legislation and to strive to change, as soon as possible, the conditions that are not in keeping with economic construction and reform so that all economic activities can gradually have laws to go by. Our laws should support and protect reform. We should enhance the authority of law enforcement bodies. The law enforcement bodies at all levels and the vast numbers of public security, procuratorial, and judicial personnel must also improve their political and professional competence so as to genuinely ensure that "the laws are observed and strictly enforced and violators are brought to book." All citizens are equal before the law. It is absolutely impermissible for any "special citizens" to transcend the law and go scot-free despite their having committed all kinds of crimes. We should spread common legal knowledge among all cadres and citizens and encourage people to extensively study and understand the law and to consciously apply and observe the law. All these are indispensable to the improvement of the socialist legal system.

ON DEVELOPING SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY. The building of a socialist civilization that is materially and culturally advanced must be guaranteed and supported by the continued development of socialist democracy. A high degree of socialist democracy is one of the fundamental objectives and tasks of building a modern socialist country. A defect of the outdated system is that it has stifled the people's initiative and creativity and failed to suit the development of the productive forces. In order to bring into full play the

initiative and creativity of the vast numbers of laborers, it is necessary, on the one hand, to correctly implement the socialist principle of distribution according to work and, on the other hand, to promote socialist democracy. Neither of them is dispensable. Through political structural reform we should further promote socialist democracy and make the decisionmaking process of leading bodies democratic and scientific so that the democratic rights of the vast numbers of laborers can be fully reflected in the political, economic, cultural, and other social aspects of the state. In this way, we can further kindle the genuine initiative and creativity of each laborer. This power is inexhaustible and inestimable. Only by promoting socialist democracy is it possible to exercise effective dictatorship over a handful of criminals and to ensure the smooth progress of socialist construction. Without socialist democracy there will be no socialist modernization. In strengthening socialist democracy, we should exert ourselves in many aspects. For example:

It is necessary to further develop the role of the people's congresses at all levels in national political life, and also the role of the CPPCC at all levels, the democratic parties, and the mass organizations. We should adopt a variety of forms and channels to enable the masses to actively take part in managing state and social affairs and to effectively supervise the party and government work personnel at all levels.

It is necessary to further develop democracy within our party. Party organizations at all levels should further implement democratic centralism and the system of combining collective leadership with individual division of labor. On 1 July this year, Comrade Hu Yaobang's talk on how to correctly handle two different types of contradictions within the party was made public. In this talk, he scientifically analyzed, on the basis of integrating theory with practice, the new conditions and problems of party building in the new historical period. We should consistently study and put it into practice.

ON SEPARATING PARTY WORK FROM GOVERNMENT WORK. For a long time, various phenomena, such as failure to separate party work from government work and replacement of the latter by the former, seriously existed in leading organs of our party and state at all levels. Failure to separate party work from government work has resulted in overconcentration of power, hindered government departments from establishing a powerful and relatively independent work system, and prevented them from giving scope to their functions. In fact, this has weakened the leadership of the party, impaired the efficiency of party and government organs, and encouraged bureaucratism. In order to improve and strengthen the leadership of the party, it is essential to separate party work from government work and to change the practice of replacing government work with party work.

After seizing political power, the proletariat must carry out the principle of separating party work from government work. In this connection, Lenin pointed out in 1922: "It is necessary to delimit much more precisely the functions of the party (and of its Central Committee) from those of the Soviet Government; to increase the responsibility and independence of Soviet officials and of Soviet Government institutions, leaving to the party the

general guidance of the activities of all state bodies, without the present, too frequent, irregular and often petty interference." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 221) On the principle of separating party work from government work, in his article "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership," Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a fairly comprehensive exposition and has put forward a series of important measures for its execution. In recent years, we have taken a big step forward in separating party work from government work. In the future, we should still continuously sum up experiences in this field and constantly forge ahead so that the principle of separating party work from government work can be realistically implemented in the leadership work of party and government organizations at all levels.

The question of how to further promote the reform of the political structure is of extreme importance. We should conduct more investigation and study and do more solid work. Attention must be paid to avoid stirring up a wind.

The historical duties of young and middle-aged cadres are many-fold. Doing a good job of the reform is our top priority duty. Judging from their present conditions, can our young and middle-aged cadres adapt themselves to this requirement? From which aspects should we continue to exert ourselves in order to be able to competently shoulder our historical duties?

Since 1982, 469,000 young and middle-aged cadres throughout the country have been promoted to leading posts at and above the county levels. On the whole, these comrades are in the prime of life; they have lively thinking, a relatively wide range of knowledge, certain creative capabilities, and fairly good basic qualities. With the support of old comrades, most of them prove equal to their tasks. The party and the people are positive about this. However, the young and middle-aged cadres should clearly see that, despite their many strong points, they also have some weak points. Politically, having grown up under the red flags, the vast numbers of young and middle-aged cadres have received fairly strict education and training and, under the guidance of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, taken up leading posts. They love the party and socialism and can steadfastly carry out the party's principles and policies of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. It should also be noted, however, that we have not been tempered in the arduous revolutionary war years and that we have spent our youth or boyhood in the 10 years of turmoil. For this reason, we do not know much about the fine traditions of our party; by and large, we have a relatively poor foundation of Marxist theory and our political and ideological levels have yet to be further raised. In terms of the knowledge structure, many young and middle-aged cadres have received higher education, have a relatively wide range of cultural and scientific knowledge, and have widened our field of vision. It should also be noted, however, that in order to adapt ourselves to the needs of modernization and reform, we should further upgrade our knowledge. In terms of leadership capabilities, our young and middle-aged cadres have both enthusiasm and drive and the strong desire to carry out our work well. Many comrades are even bold in carrying out reforms and blazing new trails. It should also be noted, however, that having taken up leading posts in party and government

organizations from the field of professional or technical work, many comrades are undergoing changes from "specialized personnel" to "versatile ones." Therefore, it is still necessary for us to seek more experience in providing overall leadership and to further enhance our ability to make macroscopic policy decisions. In terms of training in party spirit, our young and middle-aged cadres have faith in communism, firmly support the line, principles, and policies laid down since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and maintain political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee. It should also be noted, however, that quite a few comrades still lack strict training in inner-party democratic life and that they are not good at correctly understanding and handling various contradictions within the party, do not have a strong sense of the mass line, and are still not good at applying the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. For this reason, we should make further efforts to enhance our party spirit. In short, we should uphold the dialectic materialist method of analysis. We should not only see the strong points of young and middle-aged cadres so as to boost their confidence and to encourage them to work boldly; at the same time, we should also see their weak points, shortcomings, or defects. Otherwise, we shall not be able to go on advancing. Then, how should we exert ourselves?

1. We Should Be Bold in, and Good at, Integrating the Basic Tenets of Marxism and the Decisions and Instructions of the CPC Central Committee With the Political Conditions in Our Locality, Department, and Unit and Work in a Creative Way

Marxism is not only a sharp ideological weapon with which the working class criticizes the old world but also a powerful cognitive tool with which the working class builds a new one. If the large numbers of young and middle-aged cadres want to shoulder their historical tasks, they must diligently study Marxism all their lives. All the successes we have achieved in revolution and construction in the past are the outcome of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with the concrete practice of China. Now that we want to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, it is all the more necessary for us to strive to master the basic tenets of Marxism in light of the new practical conditions.

Society is developing and the times are advancing. Marxism should also develop with the development of practice. It is wrong to doubt the truth of the basic tenets of Marxism just because some conclusions of Marxism are outdated; it is likewise wrong to regard Marxism as a rigid dogma and not as science. In the whole course of socialist modernization drive, we must unswervingly uphold the basic tenets of Marxism and apply them in solving various new problems in the reforms and construction of our locality, department, and unit; we must be bold in discarding some conclusions which prove to be outdated or not entirely correct through practice and substitute them with new conclusions which conform to reality. Only in this way is it possible for our cause and Marxist theory to advance. In the history of our party, we suffered greatly from dogmatist errors. In the new historical period, we should still take warning from previous errors.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has produced a series of important documents in the course of setting things to rights and conducting an overall reform. They are the outcome of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with the reality in our modernization program. There is no doubt at all that they are a component part of the treasure house of Marxist theory and that they have made a new contribution in enriching and developing Marxism in many ways, such as the theory that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy on the basis of public ownership, the theory on the agricultural production responsibility system; the theory on building a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization while building a high degree of material civilization; the theory on reforming and improving the system of party and state leadership; the theory on consolidating and expanding the patriotic united front, practicing the concept of "one country, two systems," and achieving the reunification of the motherland; and the theory on opening to the outside world. These theories are living Marxism enriched and developed by our party in the new period. It is wrong not to regard it as part and parcel of scientific socialism. Therefore, in studying Marxism, we should not only study the original works of Marxist classical writers but also the series of important documents of our party published since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Only by diligently studying Marxism is it possible for us to acquire a stronger sense of adhering to principles in our work, foresight, a systematic approach, and creativity. By and large the central instructions are geared to the needs of the whole country and are of universal significance. Some of the instructions are given in principle. Only by integrating them with the concrete practice in various localities, departments, and units and working them out in concrete forms is it possible to solve the problems in these places. Some others are concrete instructions or stipulations on certain tasks. They can be effectively implemented only in coordination with the concrete measures put forth by various localities, departments and units. Therefore, the important duty of our leading cadres at all levels, including our young and middle-aged cadres, is to be good at "integrating" them. We are now confronted with many new circumstances and problems in the course of conducting reforms, opening to the outside world, and building the two civilizations. This makes it all the more necessary for our vast numbers of cadres to be bold in, and good at, integrating the spirit of the central instructions with the reality in their own localities and to carry out their work creatively. We should not passively wait for the "red-letterheaded documents" from above in everything. Naturally, we must resolutely carry out the central documents and instructions. We should neither quote them out of context nor practice pragmatism by carrying out what suits our taste and refusing to carry out what is not to our taste. This phenomenon of having a poor sense of organization and discipline must be conscientiously overcome. At the beginning of this year, at the graduation ceremony of the Central Party School, Comrade Hu Qili pointed out: You have finished your studies at the party school but you have not finished the task of studying Marxism. It is hoped that you will launch an emulation drive to see who studies better and achieves more outstanding successes in the great classroom of social practice. All young and middle-aged cadres should put such demands on themselves.

## 2. We Should Step Up Training in Party Spirit and Become the People's Public Servants Who Are Honest in Performing Their Official Duties

As the backbone force of the party's cause, the young and middle-aged cadres are shouldering the heavy tasks entrusted by the party and the people. They should keep firmly in mind the objective of serving the people wholeheartedly, constantly strengthen cultivation in party spirit, inspire revolutionary spirit, perform their official duties honestly, do solid work, keep forging ahead, and maintain close links with the masses. Only in this way can they unite with and lead the broad masses in fulfilling their bound historical tasks.

Under the conditions of opening to the outside world, our young and middle-aged cadres should keep a clear head and enhance their ability to resist the corrosion of decadent capitalist and backward feudal ideas. If we slacken our vigilance, we should be in danger. When you take up a leading post, there will be people "licking your boots." In contravention of party principle they only tell you what is nice and do hard work for you; they help you solve your housing problem and other issues relating to your children. In appearance, they help you solve some difficult problems; in fact, they help you exercise privileges, engage in unhealthy practices, and cut yourself off from the masses. In the face of these people who "are more of a hindrance than a help," young and middle-aged cadres will make mistakes if they do not keep a clear head and resolutely break out of the "encirclement." They should also keep a clear head in the face of their families. Family members often affect us in their special capacities. If we fail to handle this question well, it will greatly affect our work. We should therefore pass the "family test" if we want to become leaders who are honest in performing our official duties.

At present, young and middle-aged cadres should pay particular attention to having a correct approach toward changes in their posts. They should let the organizations and the people arrange everything for them. No party organization at any level or leader should promise high posts and other favors to young and middle-aged cadres. On the contrary, the party organization or leader should tell them what is expected of them, set strict demands on them, and rely on the masses and practice to select and assess them. This is an unshakable principle. In violation of party principle and discipline, some leaders tell the people concerned the arrangements made on the "third echelon" and promise to let them take over and become secretaries or heads in the future. This is quite unfavorable to the growth of the people concerned. After hearing the arrangements, some people go to the grass-roots units with the idea of "getting gilded." Far from sharing weal and woe with the people there and making long-term plans to do good for the people, they want to fish for political capital, wait for the promotion, or ask for official posts. It is even highly erroneous for some people to seek promotion by currying favor with people in authority and by using unjustifiable means. We should never trust and promote this kind of people. It should be pointed out that it is necessary and correct to set up the third echelon of cadres. Nevertheless, some comrades listed in the third echelon will probably be promoted after they have gone through practical training and some will probably be replaced by more outstanding comrades. This is precisely

an indication that the ranks of our party cadres are full of vitality and that there is no lack of successors to carry on the party's cause.

### 3. We Should Take Over and Carry Forward the Party's Fine Tradition of Hard Struggle

At the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the central authorities reaffirmed that at no time should we discard the fine tradition of "building the country through diligence, thrift, and hard work." This tradition is closely related to the glorious career of our party, the noble qualities of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and the life of our People's Republic. The spirit of hard struggle is essentially the dynamic spiritual conditions inherent in China's working class and its vanguard. These dynamic spiritual conditions are necessary not only in the revolutionary war years but also in the period of peaceful construction.

In the period of socialist modernization drive, due to changes in historical conditions, the spirit of hard struggle should be provided with richer contents. In advocating and carrying forward this tradition, we do not call on all people to become ascetics. On the contrary, we hope that the people will live an increasingly better life and that we shall be able to gradually modernize our working conditions. In taking over and carrying forward this tradition today, the most important thing is to carry forward the spirit of overcoming difficulties and keeping on fighting in spite of all setbacks and, in the interests of the motherland and the people, to carry on a tenacious struggle and to be bold in giving our lives. No matter where they are and whatever posts they hold, our young and middle-aged cadres should carry out well the reform and construction with this spirit and strive to do their jobs well.

In stressing the need to carry forward the spirit of hard struggle, we also have another practical purpose, that is, we call on our young and middle-aged cadres to boldly go down to the grass-roots units, to the frontline of production, and to places where conditions are hard to contribute their wisdom and talent. These places urgently need young and middle-aged cadres who understand theory and management and who have both courage and insight to open up a new situation. What did the students of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College do after graduation? Comrade Hu Yaobang said on many occasions that after graduation, the students of the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College went to the front, to army units at the company level, and to places where the struggle was most arduous. As I understand it, the gist of this remark is that the best steel should be used in the knife's blade. The trained personnel of the party should go where they are most needed by the party and the people.

Ours is a country with a vast territory. Our economic and cultural development is very uneven. Due to various reasons, a small number of regions have not succeeded in shaking off poverty and backwardness. Most of them are mountainous areas. Some are regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities, the old revolutionary base areas, and the outlying areas.

The old revolutionary base areas have nurtured revolution and brought up hundreds of thousands of people's soldiers. In some of these areas, the question of food and clothing has not been solved. Whenever we think of this, we feel uneasy. The party and state leaders have always remembered these places and have adopted numerous measures to help them solve their problems. It is now necessary to change the poverty and backwardness of these areas once and for all. These areas are poor and backward because of their poor natural conditions. But the fundamental reason is the shortage of competent personnel. Our young and middle-aged cadres should aspire to go to these places. The working and living conditions in these places are poor but the advantage is that the harder the conditions the better people are trained. Moreover, our young and middle-aged cadres are duty-bound to go where conditions are hard. We should make further efforts to carry forward the spirit of hard struggle and set store by the party's cause and the need of work. No matter in what work posts we are, we should carry out a tenacious struggle and give scope to our skills in order to push the reform forward, to change the outlook there, and to do solid and good work for the people in a down-to-earth manner. The people will never forget such cadres.

#### 4. We Should Become Qualified Leaders Suited to the Needs of the Modernization Program

In addition to taking over and carrying forward the fine tradition of the revolutionaries of the older generation, our young and middle-aged cadres should also be provided with the ideas, knowledge, decisionmaking capacity, and work style needed to lead the modernization program.

WE SHOULD DO AWAY WITH THE FEUDAL IDEAS OF SMALL-SCALE PRODUCTION AND FOSTER THE IDEA THAT IS IN KEEPING WITH THE REFORM AND MODERN MASS PRODUCTION. In China's long feudal society, social production was chiefly carried out by small producers. Due to the limitations of their production conditions, the small producers developed conservative, narrow, and backward consciousness and ideas. Although fundamental changes have taken place in the historical conditions today, the surviving old ideas of small producers can still exercise an influence that should not be underestimated. If we want to develop a planned socialist commodity economy, we should do away with the idea of self-sufficient natural economy; if we want to be eager to carry out reform and bold in blazing new trails, we should do away with the narrow, conservative, and self-satisfied ideas of sticking to the old ways; if we want to develop lateral economic links and expand economic, scientific, and cultural exchanges with foreign countries, we should do away with the ideas of national seclusion and feudal separatists rule and the ideas of restricting people's activities to a designated area or sphere and shifting trouble onto others; if we want to attach importance to science and information, we should do away with the idea of looking down upon knowledge; if we want to practice strict economy, reduce cost, and improve economic results, we should change the idea of not being concerned about cost and benefit; and, if we want to promote socialist democracy, we should break with the feudal patriarchal idea, the social estate idea, and the idea of social attachment. Our young and middle-aged cadres should take the lead in these fields.



WE SHOULD STUDY HARD MODERN MANAGEMENT SKILLS. In a sense, leadership work is management work. Mastering the skills of modern enterprise management can help us to correctly exercise decisionmaking power in enterprises; mastering macroeconomic management skills can help us to effectively apply various economic levers and adjusting and controlling the economy; mastering the skills of modern administrative management can help us to rationally set up organizations and efficiently operate them; and mastering social management skills can help us to deal properly with various social affairs. It should be noted that, compared with the developed countries, we are backward not only in science and technology but also in management. In order to change this backwardness as quickly as possible, we should fully utilize the favorable conditions provided by the policy of opening up to the outside world and, proceeding from the practical conditions in our country, conscientiously study and assimilate from all countries, including the developed capitalist countries, advanced science and technology and advanced management expertise reflecting the law governing socialized mass production.

WE SHOULD BE GOOD AT MAKING SCIENTIFIC DECISIONS. Making decisions is one of the most fundamental duties of a leader. Young and middle-aged cadres must constantly enhance their ability to make scientific decisions and must master and apply scientific decisionmaking methods in order to suit the needs of modernization. To lead socialized mass production, to conduct social management on a large scale, and to engage in an arduous and complicated all-round reform, it is necessary for us, before making a decision: To be familiar with relevant information; to rationally predict the development of things; to make the correct choice among different plans; to work out systematic plans for its implementation; and to promptly make necessary revisions in the course of its implementation. It is absolutely beyond the ability of a leader to complete all these by dint of his individual experience and efforts. This makes it necessary to rely on the force of science and to give scope to the role of decisionmaking groups. The young and middle-aged cadres who hold leading posts should attach importance to the role of consulting bodies.

WE SHOULD HAVE A FINE TRADITION OF STRESSING EFFICIENCY AND DEMOCRACY. With the development of the planned commodity economy, the requirements on administrative and leadership efficiency will be higher. Moreover, with the development of political democracy, people's democratic consciousness will be stronger and, therefore, they will set higher demands on the democratic work style of individual leaders. Young and middle-aged cadres should fully recognize this. They should not become young bureaucrats but should consciously cultivate the style of stressing efficiency and democracy.

Comrade Mao Zedong quoted Gong Zizhen as saying: "I hope that heaven will rouse itself and send down competent people without sticking to one pattern." Our great era will certainly bring up hundreds of thousands of outstanding personnel. After undergoing protracted practical training, Marxist theoreticians, outstanding party and government leaders, and outstanding socialist industrialists and entrepreneurs will certainly emerge in large numbers among our young and middle-aged cadres. The party and the people expect it of us! So does China's rejuvenation and the 21st century! Let us work hard to jointly fulfill the glorious historical task!

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READING 'STUDY THE MARXIST THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE AND DIALECTICS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 16-19

[Article by Zhang Min [1728 3046] and Bian Yanjun [6708 1750 6511]]

[Text] The "Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Zedong," edited for the vast numbers of cadres and the broad masses to study Mao Zedong Thought and our party's historical experience, will go on sale on 9 September this year. This book presents to us the most important and basic scientific works written by Mao Zedong during various periods of his revolutionary activities.

An important article included in the book is "Study the Marxist Theory of Knowledge and Dialectics," which comprises five parts: "Adopt the Marxist Method of Dialectical Analysis," "Man Must Always Continue To Review Experience," "Learn From the Practice of the Masses," "Error Is Often the Precursor of What Is Correct," and "The Law of the Unity of Opposites Is the Core of Dialectics." The last parts have not been openly published before. These expositions by Mao Zedong were written between the end of 1963 and 1965. Actually, they and the article "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" which was written in May 1963, together constitute a series of closely related essays.

Between 1959 and 1961, grave difficulties occurred in our national economy because of "leftist" errors in our party's work, natural calamities, and other causes. In the face of setbacks and difficulties, the CPC Central Committee and Mao Zedong began to know and correct the mistakes in actual work, and decisively formulated and implemented the eight-character guiding principle of "readjustment, consolidation, strengthening, upgrading" and a series of correct policies to revive and develop the national economy. They exercised leadership over the whole nation to make great efforts over several years. Consequently, the transient difficulties were overcome, the national economy was revived relatively quickly, and a picture of prosperity reappeared. Meanwhile, in the theoretical arena, some questions were stressed, like ascertaining the causes of error in regard to thinking methods and the theory of knowledge, reviewing the lessons of experience, advocating investigation and study, and educating the vast numbers of cadres and party members on the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. Mao Zedong's works of that period, including "Inner-Party Correspondence," "A Review Concerning the Past Decade," some written remarks, correspondence, and instructions on

advocating investigation and restudy, and the "Speech at the Enlarged Work Conference of the CPC Central Committee," represented tremendous efforts in, and made major contributions to, a review of the experience of our work and a theoretical examination of China's tortuous development in the practice of socialist construction. "Study the Marxist Theory of Knowledge and Dialectics" is a continuation of those efforts.

This article was formed through assemblage, a method seldom used in Mao Zedong's openly published works. For example, it was not used in the four selected works of Mao Zedong published in his lifetime. The overwhelming majority of his works written during the democratic revolution period, when he was in the prime of his life, were relatively lengthy and gave relatively intensive and systematic discussions of various problems. After the founding of new China, and in particular since the 1960's, Mao Zedong was very busy and getting more elderly; some of his manuscripts written then were documents drafted on behalf of the party, but the majority were remarks written on documents, and there were almost no lengthy works. Thus, the assemblage method of editing made possible the pooling of expositions expressing similar ideas and written in more or less the same period, so that the reader can understand them more systematically. The five expositions in "Study the Marxist Theory of Knowledge and Dialectics," unlike a coherently organized article, are not closely knit logically and do not have a rigorous internal relation among them, but they do tackle various aspects of the important subject: learning to use the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. Some ideas in these expositions are not very precisely expounded, and even vestiges of "leftism" can sometimes be observed, but overall, the basic ideas expounded can stand the test of practice and are thus scientific and correct. Though they were written more than 20 years ago, they are still highly appealing and realistic today.

A major idea in the article is that we must vigorously grasp the law of the unity of opposites as the core of materialist dialectics, learn to use the method of dialectical analysis in viewing successes and shortcomings in our work, and conquer complacency, conservatism, and arrogance.

Materialist dialectics is a system of scientific world outlook and methodology founded by Marx and Engels. It is a powerful weapon for getting to know and transforming the world. In this article, following Lenin's line, Mao Zedong further expounds the central position of the law of the unity of opposites in the system of materialist dialectics, and stresses that only by applying that law can we explain the mutual transformation between qualitative change and quantitative change, the negation of negation, and the essence and internal relations of the basic categories in materialist dialectics. This positively helps people understand the essential spirit of materialist dialectics better and consciously establish the world outlook of materialist dialectics. Moreover, he applies the viewpoint of unity of opposites to actual work and expounds "one divides into two" and "dividing a concept into two opposite ones" as dialectical methods of analysis. He solemnly points out the errors committed by some cadres at that time, like acknowledging only the success, but not the shortcomings, of the work they did in their own localities, out of complacency, conservatism, and arrogance;

loving to hear praise but not criticism; refusing to conscientiously study and open-mindedly learn from the positive experience of other units; being shortsighted and indulging in parochial arrogance; and so on. He also attributes the causes of these errors to "their long-standing metaphysical method of thinking from which they could not be freed" and their ignorance of the dialectical principle that everything, as a process, "develops because of the interaction and struggle between its two conflicting aspects." He stressed that "every communist must have the Marxist dialectical ideology of dividing a concept into two opposite ones with regard to success and shortcomings, truth and error." He calls for instituting systems to perpetuate the habits of broadening our horizon and learning from the good experience, styles of work, and methods of other localities and units, so that our work can be continually improved and the vigorous development of the cause of socialism promoted.

Applying the Marxist dialectical method of analysis in examining and tackling problems is a major historical experience of our party and also a practical need of today in the opening up of a new situation in socialist modernization. In this new period of development, many new and complicated contradictions are facing us. We must continue to use the dialectical method of analysis and all-sidedly review China's work in socialist construction over the past several decades. While our achievements must be fully affirmed, it is more important that we must soberly perceive the defects of our old system so that they can be gradually eliminated in practice and a new, thriving, and vigorous system with Chinese characteristics can be established step by step. We must continue to destroy the backward mentality of parochial arrogance and closing ourselves to the outside world. We must be good at making horizontal comparisons between various departments, between various localities, between various industries, and also on a global scale. We must thus find out where we lag behind, and learn from others' strong points to remedy our weak points. In short, only if we uphold the viewpoint of the unity of opposites can our undertakings continue to advance.

Another major idea in Mao Zedong's article is that we must adhere to our party's mass line and learn from the practice of the masses.

In the prolonged practice of revolution, Mao Zedong creatively unified the Marxist theory of knowledge with our party's mass line and thus created our party's method of work, which has some unique characteristics. As early as when Yanan was our base, he incisively generalized this method of work as "from the masses, to the masses," and said that "this represents the Marxist theory of knowledge." Some 20 years later, he reaffirmed that viewpoint in his article, saying that the Marxist theory of knowledge "is, in a word, from the masses, to the masses." He implored our cadres to go deep into practice, listen to the voice of the masses, learn from their practice, seek truth in this way, and then go back to practice to see whether we can succeed; if we cannot, then we must again learn from the practice of the masses. This is the Marxist line of cognition and our party's line of work. Mao Zedong's dialectical unification of the two things was a great creative achievement. The masses constitute the main body of practice and also the main body of cognition. In both transforming and

getting to know the world, we must rely on the masses. In the processes of revolution and construction, we can achieve unity of the subjective world and the objective world and unity of theory and practice only by adhering to the method of "from the masses, to the masses."

Persisting in learning from the practice of the masses and consulting the masses in our undertakings is still an important principle we must follow in our current socialist modernization. Mao Zedong repeatedly said that knowledge comes from practice, that our brains and various leading organs of our party are merely factories for processing, and that all kinds of materials for building our ideologies come from below, from the cadres and the masses undertaking various practical activities. The practice of the masses is the basis on which our party formulates policies and is also the sole criterion for testing whether those policies are correct. The resolutions of the CPC Central Committee on the reform of China's rural system, adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, were based precisely on the practical experience of the broad masses of peasants. In the reform, the masses of peasants have shown enormous creativity and created a great deal of experience. Over 5 consecutive years since 1982, the CPC Central Committee issued a "Document No 1" on rural work every year; these documents have continually reflected and compounded the demands of the masses and generalized their experience, have affirmed our theoretical and practical achievements in the rural reform, have guided the masses of peasants to continually perfect the system of responsibility in rural production and promote the progress of the rural reform, and have presented experience for reference in the urban economic system reform. This is an example of upholding the mass line or the Marxist line of cognition. This fully demonstrates that adhering to the principle of "from the masses, to the masses" and persisting in learning from the practice of the masses constitute the source of vitality of our party's policies and also a major guarantee of the scientific nature and correctness of our party's policies.

Generally speaking, the majority of the organizations and cadres of our party at various levels understand this point and vigorously put it to practice. However, it cannot be denied that the tendency of divorcing oneself from the masses and not consulting them in any matters is still quite a serious problem among some cadres. For one thing, overwhelmed by "mountains of documents and seas of meetings," they seldom go deep among the masses to consult them and conduct investigation and study; and for another thing, they only mechanically follow the instructions of the higher authorities and fail to integrate them with the actual conditions of their own localities or departments and implement them with creativity. Their work lacks vitality and is like a pool of stagnant water. This is because they are blind to the active and flourishing practice of the masses; in particular, they do not understand many new things created by the masses in practice. This style of leadership and work, which violates our party's mass line, is highly incompatible with the current development of China's socialist undertakings. In this period of replacement of the old system by the new one in our reform undertakings, there are many new circumstances and new questions, and the masses have had many new experiences and new creative achievements. Our socialist reform can continue to develop only if we go among the masses,

discuss and consult with them, entrust our party's intentions and reform programs to them, and pool and sum up their views and experience.

In getting to know and transforming the world, we must skillfully review experience, courageously undertake explorations, strive to master the objective laws of development of things, and continue to achieve leaps from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This is another major idea emphatically expounded in Mao Zedong's article.

Mao Zedong says that man's history is a continuous process of development in moving from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, and this development will never end. In the process of man's getting to know and transforming the world, "blindness and freedom in cognition will invariably continue to occur and expand in scope alternately," and "man's knowledge of the objective material world, the human society, and man himself (that is, the human body) will never be perfect." Thus, he stresses that "man must always continue to review experience, discover, invent, create, and advance. Any views that embody stagnation, pessimism, inactivity, arrogance, or complacency are erroneous." This brilliant exposition not only expounds in depth a basic viewpoint in the Marxist world outlook and historical outlook, but also reveals a Marxist's broadmindedness and firm conviction coupled with bravery in achieving progress. It represents a tremendous force encouraging our current socialist modernization and reform.

As an open system, Marxism came into being through assimilating and synthesizing the positive fruits of cognition in human history, and it has never rejected the incorporation of man's new scientific achievements into itself. Mao Zedong's expositions teach us that in practice we must both adhere to Marxism and continually develop it, never treating it as dogma or turning it into some convention that fetters people's thinking and initiative. This is an important viewpoint that we should understand and master in studying the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics.

In discussing cognition, Mao Zedong repeatedly explains the importance of fully knowing the dialectical relation between correctness and error. He says that in the course of man's getting to know and transforming the world, some errors are hardly avoidable, and "it always happens that correctness becomes manifest only when man commits some errors," but "error is often the precursor of correctness." Both China's democratic revolution and its socialist revolution and construction have demonstrated that this is a law and a truth. Considering socialism as an example, it is a social system that never existed before and is undergoing a process of practice. Various socialist countries in the world are exploring their own paths of building socialism and setbacks or even errors differing in magnitude have invariably occurred. In China's socialist construction over the past 30 years or more, there were several major setbacks; in particular, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a serious error lasting 10 years. In the face of that error, our party neither fell into pessimism and despair nor glossed over its mistakes, but showed the courage and scientific attitude appropriate for a serious Marxist party, openly revealed its mistakes and analyzed their causes in depth, scientifically reviewed the lessons of experience, caused mistakes

to give way to correctness, restored its correct Marxist line, and opened up a new situation of socialist modernizations. Some comrades do not understand this dialectical relation between correctness and error. They may either be scared out of their wits by some problems arising in the reform, think that the overall situation is bad, and thus advocate returning to the beaten track, or adopt an indifferent attitude toward mistakes in work and refuse to vigorously correct errors, thinking that errors are hard to avoid anyway. Both types of attitude are erroneous. On the one hand, we must be modest, prudent, and realistic, and strive to avoid committing mistakes, particularly serious ones; but on the other hand, we must bravely undertake exploration and must not be hesitant and overcautious for fear of committing mistakes. That is to say, we should resolutely explore objective laws step by step in our practice; we must be prepared for setbacks caused by blindness; and when we commit mistakes, we must conscientiously review experience, learn lessons, deepen our understanding of objective laws, and continue to make leaps from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This alone is the correct attitude we must take toward practice, particularly errors in practice.

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## SOFT SCIENCE IS A NEWLY EMERGING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BRANCH

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[Article by Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773]]

[Text] As a new branch of science and technology, soft science solves the problems of organization, management, and policy-making in China's socialist construction and offers advice to leaders. Therefore, soft science is not only science; it also contains much technical work. It is, in fact, soft science and technology. Soft science is also the application of social sciences. Therefore, it can also be called social technology. (Footnote 1) (Qian Xuesen: "From Social Science to Social Technology," see "On Systems Engineering," Hunan Science and Technology Publishing House, 1982 edition, p 158) This is the nature of soft science. Moreover, developing soft science is also a technological revolution. It is a soft technological revolution and not a hard technological revolution as often mentioned today. The importance of soft science has been thoroughly explained in speeches by Comrades Wan Li (Footnote 2) (Wan Li: "Democratic, Scientific Policy Decisionmaking--An Important Question in Political Restructuring," RENMIN RIBAO, 15 August 1986) and Song Jian (Footnote 3) (Song Jian: "Speech at the National Symposium on Soft Science," ZHONGGUO KEJI BAO, 30 July 1986). As an old Chinese saying goes, "A small investment brings a 10,000-fold profit." In fact, it is soft science that brings a 10,000-fold profit with a small investment. We should foster this idea.

### I

Soft science, as well as its methods and theory was first developed in capitalist countries. It was very effective when applied to policy decision-making in enterprises. However, when soft science was applied on a national scale, problems arose. In 1984 a foreign scientist criticized the practice of forecasting on a large scale. He said: "A host of facts show that practical economic results are not remotely like the experts' forecasts. Despite the fact that they have used large economic models, advanced mathematics, and large computers, their forecasts have been proven wrong--grossly wrong." (Footnote 4) ("Communication of ACM," Vol 27, No 4, 1984; Ren Ping: "Trial Discussion on the Application of Fuzzy Mathematics [mo hu shu xue 2875 4739 2422 1331] in Social Sciences," ZIRAN ZAZHI, No 3, 1986) Why? I think it is something to do with problems in the social system. Some time ago, I read



a U.S. publication which specialized in advising enterprises. It also criticized some forecasts in the United States, holding that these so-called forecasts are aimed not at solving problems and forecasting the objects of development, but rather at gaining publicity, approving or disapproving prevailing proposals, or leading investors in the wrong direction, thus enabling those writing the reports to derive benefit; it even criticized the President's broadcast speeches on economic forecasts, saying that they were aimed at canvassing for votes. (Footnote 5) ("Executive Intelligence Review (EIR)," Special Report 1985) Since these words are directed toward Americans, they should reveal the true situation. I think, in capitalist countries, economic forecasts on a national scale are problematic; they cannot be made truthfully and honestly. On this point, our socialist country fundamentally differs from them. That is to say, our socialist country enjoys exceptional advantages in developing soft science. In considering problems, our party and state proceed from the interests of the whole people. Therefore, we can make truly scientific policy decisions and fully develop soft science in our country. This is precisely our fundamental superiority. We should not vacillate if we read something bad about soft science in foreign books and periodicals.

Soft science is, in fact, a big branch--the application of system science--in the modern science and technology system. It includes technology for directly transforming the objective world, such as the basic theories (also called applied sciences) of all system engineering and those directly related to them. Operational research, cybernetics, information theory, and so on come under the category of soft science (also called soft science and technology).

Is there a more basic theory above the level of applied sciences? I think there is a basic theory of soft science at a higher level, namely, systematics, the basic science of system science, which is a branch of science and technology. However, systematics has not been founded. We should, therefore, put a lot of effort into conscientiously developing this important basic science. Systematics becomes philosophy when it is raised to a higher level. The philosophy of system science is called system theory [xi tong lun 4762 4827 6158]. It is not the "general system theory," often referred to as one of the "three theories," but a component part of Marxist philosophy. Marxist philosophy is the highest generalization of all sciences and technologies and the kernel of Marxist philosophy is dialectic materialism. We should proceed from system theory to Marxist philosophy and then to dialectic materialism. This is very important for us. In research, or even practical work, we should have the correct stand, viewpoints, and methods. Marxist theory precisely provides us with the fundamental stand, viewpoints, and methods.

I have said before that if we want to continue advancing, we will certainly have to "depart from the classics." We should not hold on to classical works and live up to every sentence of them. Since Marx and Engels did not see today's socialist China 100 years ago, how can we always depend on classical works for everything? Therefore, we should go on developing. In order to develop, we must have new things; if we have new things, we depart from

classical works. In my view however, we should not "rebel against orthodoxy." That is, we should not depart from Marxism. Marxism still guides us in everything. That is what we call "departing from the classics" but not "rebellious against orthodoxy." We should use this spirit to study and carry out work in soft science. Some of our people are dazzled by foreign-made products. To call a spade a spade, they worship and have blind faith in things foreign. We should honestly admit that, on the whole, some Western countries are superior to us in science and technology. We should not have the mentality of A Q [the main character in Lu Xun's "The True Story of A Q, a Backward Peasant Who Interprets His Defeats as Moral Victories"] because that will make it difficult for us to make progress. However, neither should we prostrate ourselves before things foreign. We should make analyses and seek truth from facts. Are all books written by foreigners that good? A book edited by two Englishmen, entitled "Science of Science" (Footnote 6) (M. Goldsmith and A.L. (Mackay): "Science of Science--Society in a Technological Era," Science Publishing House, 1985 edition, translated by Zhao Hongzhou and Jiang Guohua), deals with the mutual relationship between science and society. It goes without saying that it is necessary to uphold scientific socialist viewpoints here. However, the writers are rather limited in some of their viewpoints. It is therefore inappropriate for the translators to lavish praise on the writers' viewpoints in the "postscript" to the book. Of course, I do not mean that we should not read foreign publications; we should not only read them but also concentrate our efforts on studying them. However, we should discard the dross and select the essential. And they really have something essential. Some foreign scientists refuse to say that they are Marxists and even keep on expressing their opposition to Marxism. For example, Nobel Prize winner R. Sperry's theory on the functions of the brain is, in my view, dialectical materialism. I think the conclusions of a Chicago University mathematics professor, who discussed the philosophy of mathematics (Footnote 7) (Saunders MacLane, "Mathematical Models--An Outline of Mathematical Philosophy," ZIRAN ZAZHI, No 1, 1986, translated by Pian Shanyu; the original article was carried in THE AMERICAN MATHEMATICAL MONTHLY, Vol 88, 1981 edition, pp 462-472), entirely conform to Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism even though he never mentions a word about Marxism. I think we should pay attention to this phenomenon: We should learn modestly from foreign things and absorb what is good in them but we should never blindly follow them.

## II

Soft science is applied science and technology or technological science. Operational research, cybernetics, and information theory, plus various systems engineering, form the main body of soft science. If it is raised to a higher level, it becomes systematics; the highest level is, naturally, Marxist philosophy. This is the trunk of soft science. Soft science is a kind of applied science and technology. It will certainly apply various other kinds of science and technology. Therefore, soft science is also cross-science. In doing every piece of work, cross-science must absorb knowledge and useful things from all quarters. Cross-science has not just begun today, for a lot of science and technology are cross-sciences. Therefore, in developing soft science we should also take into consideration

the development of other new sciences. We should pay attention to new achievements and high technology in natural sciences, as well as the new technological revolution. The new progress of social sciences is also important to soft science. Soft science also combines qualitative and quantitative methods. Therefore, we should also pay attention to new achievements in mathematics. In making qualitative determination, we should rely on the views of experts. However, the views of experts are generalizations of practical experience. They may not be as simple and definite as doing sums, such as one plus one makes two and one plus three makes four. They may be a little fuzzy. Therefore, we should pay attention to fuzzy mathematics, which is a new development in mathematics; in order to develop soft science, it is necessary to support the work of fuzzy mathematics. There is a debate over this issue in our country. Should we develop fuzzy mathematics? I am positive about it. This is because man's thoughts, including the views of experts, are fuzzy in some respects. How can we not attach importance to the study of fuzzy mathematics? Military science is also important to soft science. What does military science deal with? It deals with measures that should be adopted against uncertain opponents; it does not merely study wars. Are not such economic activities as international trade called "trade wars"? It is probably for this reason that Japanese entrepreneurs study "The Art of War" by Sun Zi. They even analyze and study "The Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and "Pilgrims to the West" in an effort to learn the knack of fighting "trade wars." Moreover, we should also study mental science [si wei ke xue 1835 4850 4430 1331], behavioral science, and physiological science [ren ti ke xue 0086 7555 4430 1331] because they deal with knowledge about man, which is very important to soft science. I have divided modern science and technology into nine major branches. (Footnote 8) (Qian Xuesen: "On the System of Behavioral Science," ZHIXUE YANJIU, No 5, 1985) In addition to system science, which is the trunk of soft science, I have mentioned seven others. There is only literary theory left. I think literary theory is bound to have something to do with soft science in China's cultural development. In this way, all the branches of modern science and technology have been involved. When training personnel in soft science in the future, it is necessary to selectively absorb these extensive scientific achievements. Personnel who engage in soft science should have a wide, and not a narrow, range of knowledge.

So far I have only touched on the basis of theory. Soft science should also be supported by a lot of technologies, particularly new technologies, such as computer technology, information system and storage technology, and office automation technology. There is both hardware and software in computer technology. The latest development is the Orgware [preceding word published in English], which links everything together. In China we also have a term "woxuan" [meaning "mediation"]. We might as well call the Orgware "wojian," which is more advanced than either hardware or software and to which we should attach great importance.

The central leading comrade has shown such great foresight that he has taken into consideration the first, second, and third steps of China's modernization program. What should our comrades who engage in the study of soft science do in the 21st century? We have given this issue very little

thought. What should we do in the second and third steps? We should study them now because many things have continuity. If we do not study them now, we shall bungle matters. We should study the future of China's socialist construction, which can also be called Marxist futurology. For the sake of the future, we should make many preparations now, such as the personnel problem. We should step up personnel training in soft science. It is very important to set up soft science departments in universities in order to train university students in this field.

Soft science covers a very wide area. Take the function of a socialist state as an example. The state is a large system. To make the system maintain the best conditions, there are several things we should do. In my view, a socialist state has eight functions: The first is the production of socialist material wealth. This is the question people attach great importance to and discuss the most. The so-called economy and technology also refer to this issue. The second is a very important issue raised by the central leading comrade, namely, the building of socialist spiritual civilization, or the creation of socialist spiritual wealth. The third is the tertiary industry which performs logistics work for the production of socialist material and spiritual wealth. This includes post and telecommunications, transport, medical services, commerce, and so on. The fourth is administration. From the fact that we are to reform the political structure we can see its importance. The fifth is the legal system. The sixth is international contacts, which include foreign affairs, foreign trade, and people-to-people contacts. The seventh is national defense. The eighth is environmental problems including the permanent use of natural resources. Work in the above-mentioned eight aspects covers a wider area than soft science in general. It involves knowledge of building China's socialism. In fact, this knowledge concerns applied science, specifying how we should administer this country and what methods we should use to forecast, manage, and organize. It concerns systems engineering or soft science. The eight aspects also concern theoretical knowledge, which is the socialist state theory. Moreover, we should have specific technology, which is systems engineering or soft science. These are the major areas our soft science should study. In this sense, soft science is a scientific system on how to build and administer a socialist state. The scale of soft science research in our country should be further expanded. The existing bodies are far from sufficient. It can be predicted that the number of professionals needed to engage in soft science in our country will probably reach several million in the future. Therefore, the question of training personnel, which I have stated above, looks all the more urgent.

To make a success of the study of soft science, we cannot deviate from three essential factors: First, we should clear up information, data, and circumstances. Second, since the experts' views are very important to the combination of qualitative and quantitative determination, there must be channels to collect the experiences and judgments of experts. Third, there must be qualitative determination, which means we should build models or develop Orgware. This has something to do with the theory of mathematics. In order to possess the three essential factors, namely, information, experts, and systems engineering, we should, after collecting data, ask the experts to

hold discussions and give their views or suggestions; then, we should build models according to the experts' view and use computers to make calculations. After asking the experts to assess and examine the calculation results and revising the models, we should use computers to make further calculations. Then, after asking the experts to reassess and reexamine the calculation results, we should improve and revise the models. This is done over and over again. This process is one of combining theory with practice and combining qualitative with quantitative determination. This is the working procedure for soft science in our socialist country.

### III

Lastly, I would like to discuss the question of soft science in China's scientific and technological undertakings. That is, the question of providing the leaders in charge of China's science and technology with policy advice. In order to carry out this work satisfactorily, I think we should put a lot of effort into Marxist scienology [ke xue xue 4430 1331 1331]. That is to say, we should use Marxist theory to guide the study of scientific, technological, and social problems. I have made suggestions before (Footnote 9) (Qian Xuesen: "On the Question of Establishing and Developing Marxist Scienology," see "On Systems Engineering," Hunan Science and Technology Publishing House, 1982 edition, p 189) on how to study scienology. It generally consists of three parts. First, we should study the macroscopic structure of science and technology, such as the nine major branches of modern science and technology, which I have mentioned above, as well as their highest generalization, Marxist philosophy. I call it the system science [ti xi xue 7555 4762 1331] of science and technology. Second, we should study the science of scientific and technological capability. This is very important for it tells us how science technology develops into a force. Third, we should study the relationship between science and technology on the one hand and our society on the other, which is political scienology. This is also very important for it studies the relationship between the use of scientific power and social development. To answer the problems of soft science in scientific and technological undertakings, we must study Marxist scienology. We should observe problems from a macroscopic level rather than from one corner. Naturally, we should use Marxist philosophy to guide our research work because only in this way can we have vision and know how to organize scientific and technological work on a large scale.

Effective organization of scientific and technological work is a big issue. Previously, I called this branch of learning the systems engineering of scientific research. (Footnote 10) (Qian Xuesen: "On the Organization and Management of Scientific and Technological Research and the Systems Engineering of Scientific Research," see "On Systems Engineering," Hunan Science and Technology Publishing House, 1982 edition, p 99) Our scientific research work today has the defect of being mostly conducted in a scattered and decentralized way. This defect should be overcome. Recently, our country's scientists have set about changing this state of affairs. In the field of basic science, which is under the charge of the State Natural Science Fund Commission, "lateral links" have emerged: Research personnel from

different departments or units come together and make concerted efforts to tackle tough research problems. This is a very good thing. But I hope that such collectives will have a powerful scientific and technological "command post." That is, there must be a leading core which can really manage and guide research work. Otherwise, such an association will remain empty talk, unable to yield its benefit.

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## ON ARDUOUS STRUGGLE IN THE NEW PERIOD

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[Article by Liu Shiqing [0491 0099 3237]--originally published in XUEXI DAobao [STUDY REVIEW] No 3, 1986]

[Text] Arduous struggle is a cherished tradition of our party. When we stress developing the spirit of arduous struggle, we are not advocating living like an ascetic, or preaching ideas like "using every garment for years, three as a new one, three as an old one, and the remaining three as one that needs mending." Moreover, we must not interpret the spirit of arduous struggle as trying to maintain a stagnant standard of living and making people have the same kinds of food, clothing, houses, means of transportation, and household appliances for several decades. Today, developing the spirit of arduous struggle has new meaning which is closely integrated with the overall mission of the current historical period and which embodies the characteristics and demands of this new era.

We advocate the spirit of arduous struggle today in order to develop the pioneering and creative spirit needed for strengthening China. This spirit is currently mainly reflected in the courageous undertaking of reform and opening up of paths of progress. A sweeping review of ancient and modern history, both Chinese and foreign, tells us that no reform or pioneering work can be free from obstacles or achievable in one move. A goal can be attained only through arduous struggle against numerous difficulties. Our current reform and pioneering work are unprecedented. They constitute an enormous social system engineering project. We can successfully explore the laws of development of things, adroitly guide action according to circumstances, and successfully accomplish our reform and pioneering work, only if we diligently use our hands, feet, voices, eyes, and brains, go deep into the realities of life, scrupulously conduct investigation and study, strain our brains, and give our utmost effort. Cowards and lazybones cannot enjoy success in reform and pioneering work. All those departments and units which have achieved great success in reform and pioneering work since the 3d Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee have relied on the arduous struggle of the leading cadres and masses who opened up paths to progress. Developing the spirit of arduous struggle and opening up paths to progress is a necessary condition for ensuring the success of reform and pioneering work.

We currently advocate the spirit of exerting the utmost strength to attain higher goals. The four modernizations can be achieved only through hard work. If we as latecomers want to surpass the old-timers, it is imperative that we should be full of drive, fear neither hardship nor death, and courageously devote ourselves to the prosperity and strengthening of our motherland. It is precisely by means of this drive and devotion that China's women's volleyball team won three successive world championships, our scientific observation expedition to the Antarctic overcame extremely adverse conditions and successfully set up our first scientific observation station in the Antarctic, the workers of Daqing opened the world-famous oilfields that over 10 consecutive years yielded an annual output of 50 million tons, large numbers of units previously suffering from "long-standing, big, and difficult problems" have shaken off the stigma of backwardness and taken on a new appearance, our scientific workers have solved many difficult problems in science, and so on. Developing the drive our predecessors possessed during the time of the revolutionary war period is the sure path to the conquest of all difficulties and obstacles.

We currently advocate arduous struggle in order to develop the enterprising spirit of diligence in study and bravery in scaling the heights of science and technology. Science and technology constitute a productive force. In a certain sense, the four modernizations are a battle for mastering science, technology, and knowledge. With the development of our modernization, the role and status of mental labor are becoming increasingly more important and simple labor is being replaced by complicated labor to an increasingly greater extent. If we want to obtain the magnificent goal to be fulfilled by the end of this century, it is imperative that we should achieve modernization in science and technology and upgrade the overall scientific, technological, and educational standards of our nation. Currently, our scientific, technological, and educational standards are highly incompatible with the requirement for the four modernizations. A pressing and arduous mission facing the entire party is to develop the spirit of arduous struggle, study hard for achieving the four modernizations, and enable the hundreds of millions of people to shake off the stigma of illiteracy and ignorance about science. How can the vast numbers of intellectuals and revolutionary cadres keep abreast of the times in this age of information science, and continually bring their knowledge up to date? This can be done only by developing the spirit of arduous struggle and study desperately day and night. People who love comfort and fear hardship and hard work will be good for nothing. Pursuing the study of science with the spirit of arduous struggle is the basic way that can lead to the emergence of hundreds of millions of qualified personnel.

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## CREATE GOOD CONDITIONS FOR TEACHERS' WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 25-26

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Teachers' Day 1986 will soon be here. Let us salute the teachers engaged in diligent work and arduous struggles in the educational field!

The whole nation, from top to bottom, from leading departments to all trades and professions, has actively and enthusiastically done good things and practical work for schools and teachers, helped to improve conditions for running schools, and solved all kinds of practical problems of the teachers with initial results since Teachers' Day 1985. Teachers have worked diligently and conscientiously at their posts and scored remarkable achievements. In celebrating Teachers' Day, we should review our work over the past year, affirm our accomplishments, and discover our shortcomings, in order to do a better job in the future.

China is now in the age of reform, and our educational undertakings are marching on in the course of reform. One of the important tasks facing us is to continue to create good conditions for teachers' work, to further give play to the teachers' initiative, and to bring their role into full play, so that they may make still greater accomplishments in training qualified people needed by the four modernizations, building socialist spiritual civilization, and promoting 9-year compulsory education.

We should continue to mobilize all forces in society to further improve teachers' working and living conditions, and do our best to rid them of their worries and difficulties. It is necessary to see that the accomplishments we have made in this respect are just the beginning. Much work is waiting to be done. Moreover, not all the localities and units have made accomplishments. Some units, even some leading departments in the educational field, have so far failed to improve their work in this respect or have few accomplishments to speak of. The experiences of some localities and units which have done a good job demonstrate that under the relatively backward condition of China's economy, the limitation of the state's financial and material power, and the insufficient educational funds to meet the needs, creating better working and living conditions for teachers is possible so long as the leadership attaches importance to it, uses their brains, and

taps potential in a down-to-earth manner. Those comrades who still find it very difficult or impossible to do so should ponder in earnest: Have they genuinely attached importance to this issue? Have they exerted all their efforts to solve all kinds of practical problems of the teachers? Have they brought into play the enthusiasm of all areas in supporting education?

We should not only attach attention to solving teachers' difficulties in their living conditions, but show concern for them in an all-round way, from their lives to politics, ideology, and work. The experiences over the past year also demonstrate that so long as we have genuine trust in the teachers politically, place them in important posts, and show concern for their livelihood, even if we fail to meet the requirements for their working and living conditions because of the limitations in financial and material powers for the time being, teachers will understand and deal with the situation with a correct attitude. It is precisely under such arduous conditions that many fine teachers have overcome all kinds of difficulties and created outstanding results. A good leading member should be good at linking the concern for teachers' livelihood and the improvement of teachers' material living conditions with bringing forward teachers' good ideological style and lofty revolutionary spirit. The two areas should promote each other.

People not only need better lives materially, but also better political lives, spiritual lives, and work environment. The greatest and most pressing desires of the intellectuals are to be trusted, to be respected in their posts, and to score some accomplishments as their roles are given play. If they are not given due trust politically and have some kind of depression spiritually, with no timely help and encouragement in their work, how can they relax and feel less tension in their mood? Will there be enthusiasm, originality, or activity in their work to speak of? Therefore, we should broaden our vision a bit and elevate our understanding. We should have an overall understanding of teachers, show them our respect, understand their needs in every respect, and adopt to-the-point measures in providing solutions to problems. Only then will better results be possible.

In order to give full play to the teachers' role in educational reform and teaching, schools should have a political and teaching environment which is democratic, flexible, and based on equality. It is necessary to correctly handle all kinds of relations and to form a genuine atmosphere of unity and friendship in which are found mutual concern, support, and respect among comrades, each learning from the other. There should be a vital and lively situation in which there is centralization as well as democracy, discipline as well as freedom, and unified will as well as personal ease of mind. The principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is also applicable to educational work and the teaching field. Teaching should follow the stipulations of the educational program and curriculum. However, by no means does this mean that the styles and methods in teaching must be unanimous, following one pattern not allowing the slightest change. Quite the opposite--in order to fulfill the teaching tasks with originality, and to raise new people meeting the needs of the four modernizations, it is imperative to get rid of rigid methods of

teaching and to be good at exploration and blazing new trails. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on the Reform of the Educational Structure" has precisely encouraged people to actively pursue new knowledge and to reform educational ideas, natures, and teaching methods unsuited to socialist modernization, in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, independent thought, and being bold at blazing new trails. We should fully respect teachers' democratic rights and the spirit of blazing new trails, encourage them to push forward reform and to conduct explorations and experiments, so that everyone may have lively thought and participate in heated discussions, based on the actual conditions of teaching work in a down-to-earth manner and adhering to scientific ideological guidance. Should some problems crop up in reform, we should not criticize them in an oversimplified manner, but sum up experiences and lessons in a scientific way, relying on the strength of the masses in looking for new paths.

Regarding the teachers themselves, our times today have precisely provided them a good chance to give play to their own talents and to make greater contributions to training qualified people needed by the four modernizations. The more the teachers' work is respected, the more the teachers should respect themselves and what they do. Such self-respect and interest are especially shown in devotion to one's work and devoting one's life to the struggle to raise a new generation of people wholeheartedly. China's economic development is not advanced, so the improvement of teachers' working and living conditions cannot but be somewhat limited. We should view some problems arising from such a situation historically in a truth-seeking way, and we should not let this affect the enthusiasm and creativity in our work. Teachers have broad vision and foresight. They will certainly look beyond our temporary difficulties and see the bright prospects in China's educational undertaking. In order to meet the needs of the development of science and culture and the training of qualified people, teachers at any level of schools face the tasks of studying and upgrading themselves. They should continuously pursue new knowledge and improve their ability and standard of teaching. At the same time, they should work hard to upgrade their political and ideological consciousness as well as their morale and sentiments, so that they may genuinely become eligible teachers at a high level and exemplary in teaching and educating others.

At present, all localities throughout the nation are advancing the fine tradition of showing respect to teachers and attaching importance to education. They are doing good things and practical work for the schools and teachers in a big way, which is inspirational. However, we should also note that so far some leading members have failed to genuinely understand the value of knowledge and the importance of showing respect for knowledge and qualified people. The malpractices of looking down upon education and teachers are far from being eliminated. Incidents of unscrupulously intercepting or transferring teachers under various pretexts with the effect of injuring educational undertakings are not infrequent. The phenomena of diverting educational funds, occupying school sites, discriminating against, and even beating teachers still frequently occur in some localities. Moreover, those who have gone in for such malpractices are often people in leading posts, or even leading members of educational departments. All these

phenomena demonstrate that it will take more than a year or two to firmly form an atmosphere of showing respect for teachers and attaching importance to education in society before teachers may be genuinely respected and their professions most admired. This involves our long-term persistent efforts, including necessary criticism and discipline or legal punishment for those who harm educational undertakings. We should not show leniency to those leading members of educational departments, those who have knowingly harmed educational undertakings in particular. Accelerating the process of the building of the two civilizations, and the active implementation of reform in all areas--economic, political, science, and education--will heighten people's understanding about showing respect for teachers and attaching importance to education. Therefore, we pin our hopes on overall reform and earnestly expect that as the main force of educational reform, the teachers will make still greater accomplishments in educational reform.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE AIM OF ENTERPRISE PRODUCTION BASED ON THE COMMODITY ECONOMY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 27-31

[Article by Fang Gongwen [2455 1872 3306]]

[Text] In the article "On the Aim of Socialist Enterprise Production" (RED FLAG No 2, 1986, hereinafter shortened to "The Aim"), Comrade Li Guangyuan disagreed with the view that the direct aim of socialist enterprise production is profit, and took issue with the advocates of this view. I had written articles claiming profit as the direct aim of socialist enterprise production. Now let me give some humble views on certain points raised in the article "The Aim" and profit by enlightenment from Comrade Li Guangyuan.

After reading "The Aim," I found that I share some of Comrade Li Guangyuan's views. First, we both consider that the aim of enterprise production should not be lumped together with the aim of overall socialist social production and that there should be a distinction between the two. Second, we both stress, to different degrees, the role of profit. But there are great differences of opinion in our further discussions on the aim of production of an enterprise owned by the whole people (hereinafter the word enterprise refers to state-owned enterprises). "The Aim" contends that the direct aim of enterprise production is "to provide the socialist market with commodities meeting needs with the minimum expenditure of labor." "This actually means providing use value that meets needs." In my opinion, the direct aim of enterprise production is profit. The difference, I think, lies in whether enterprises are really recognized as socialist commodity producers and operators who are relatively independent, capable of operating on their own, and responsible for their own profits and losses. Comrade Li Guangyuan's article began with the affirmation of enterprises are relatively independent socialist commodity producers and operators. But in a concrete analysis of the aim of enterprise production, he did not uphold this viewpoint to the end. To prove my point, I quote below some relevant passages from the article "The Aim."

The article says: "A socialist enterprise owned by the whole people is jointly owned by the whole body of united laborers and is the cell and tissue of the organic whole of the socialist economy owned by the whole people. As appointed by the whole body of united laborers, enterprise laborers devote themselves to production, management, and operating

activities in a given enterprise and hold themselves responsible to the whole body of united laborers. Such an objective economic position determines that an enterprise must take the aim of overall socialist production, that is, the satisfaction of the needs of the whole body of laborers in their material and spiritual life, as the ultimate aim of all its own acts." Such a passage shows the fundamental unanimity of enterprises and socialist society in regard to the aim of production. The aim of socialist social production is the ultimate aim in enterprise production and operating activities. But this is only one aspect of the relations between the aim of enterprise production and the aim of socialist social production. When it comes to a further analysis of the direct aim of enterprise production, it is not enough just to stop at such an analysis. Though an enterprise is jointly owned by the whole body of united laborers, there is still a difference between ownership and the right of operation. The laborers of an enterprise as a group generally are not "devoted to production, management, and operating activities in a given enterprise, as appointed by the whole body of united laborers." Such a group engages in enterprise production, management, and operating activities as a relatively independent socialist commodity producer or operator. It is not only "responsible to the whole body of united laborers" but also has its own independent economic interests. In neglecting these, we cannot correctly understand the direct aim of enterprise production.

The article also says: "In the struggle toward this common ultimate aim, various enterprises must define the concrete aim capable of being achieved by their own performance as the direct aim of their own performance--proceeding from their respective concrete position in the system of social division of labor and doing so within the scope of their production, management, and operating activities." On the direct aim of production, the writer did not refer to the position of enterprises as relatively independent socialist commodity producers and operators and instead suggested, in a sweeping manner, "proceeding from their respective concrete position in the system of social division of labor." This suggestion shows no distinction between a product economy and a commodity economy and does not indicate whether an enterprise is a workshop of the whole big social factory or a relatively independent commodity producer. The article refers to "the market meaning the exchange of commodities." But it just treated "the market meaning the exchange of commodities" as a link "between enterprise production, management, and economic activities and the satisfaction of the needs of the total body of laborers." The writer actually did not take enterprise production and economic activities as a process of operation in the socialist commodity economy and instead treated the relations of the commodity economy as an external factor affecting the way of realizing the aim of enterprise production. So the writer held that the aim of enterprise production is to provide society with commodities to meet needs with the minimum expenditure of labor. Given the market or the exchange of commodities as a link, providing society with use value to meet needs finds expression as a matter of providing the socialist market with commodities to meet needs. Here, providing use value is the aim, and value is only "a means of realizing the production of use value."

In my opinion, in judging which viewpoint is compatible with the realities of the socialist economy, the important thing is to determine whether in analyzing the aim of enterprise production, we should take enterprises being socialist commodity producers and operators--which are relatively independent, capable of operating on their own, and responsible for their profits and losses--as a fundamental starting point. Toward this, I take a positive attitude.

The central decision on the economic reform has affirmed our socialist economy as a planned commodity economy. This is a major breakthrough and change in a theoretical sense. We should proceed from this fundamental viewpoint and acquire a new understanding of a series of past concepts and views and also a new understanding of the aim of enterprise production. Without doing so, our understanding and our theory will be divorced from the reality of our socialist economy and will stand in the way of the economic reform. If we recognize the socialist economy as a planned commodity economy based on public ownership, then we must recognize that the most general and universal characteristics of the commodity economy are still playing their role in the socialist economy, such as the duality of commodities, the duality of labor producing commodities, money being representative of general equivalents, the regulating role of the law of value, and so forth. Of course, given the socialist commodity economy as a planned commodity economy based on public ownership, the above such characteristics will show differences in the form of expression and the degree of effect, when a comparison is made with the commodity economy based on private ownership. But these characteristics cannot, after all, be negated.

Of the fundamental characteristics of the commodity economy mentioned above, the duality of commodities is the most fundamental trait of commodities. Commodities have the dual attributes of use value and value. As far as a commodity producer is concerned, the aim in his production of a commodity is not to use the use value of such a commodity to satisfy his own needs. It is to realize the value embodied in a commodity. If a commodity producer produces a commodity in order to obtain the use value of such a commodity, then he will not use his product for exchange and his product is not a commodity. He himself is also no longer a commodity producer. What is being said here refers to the commodity economy in general and is something theoretically abstract. But such an abstract aspect is not without significance. It is the most general common characteristic of the commodity economy in its various forms. Without such a characteristic, it is not a matter of commodity production.

If we make an analysis of commodity producers of different kinds, we can see that in the "realization of the value of commodities," there are different contents, or different aims of production. As far as the small commodity producer is concerned, selling is for the purpose of buying--buying the kind of commodities he needs to satisfy his own needs (including needs in life and production). This is the aim in his production. The aim of a capitalist in carrying out production is to possess, without compensation, surplus value created by hired workers. He realizes the value of commodities in order to realize the surplus value contained in value. In socialist society, given the

realization of the system of public ownership of the means of production, the aim of production is to satisfy the ever-growing social needs in material and cultural life. To realize this aim, we must call on various production units to provide society with products that meet needs and provide surplus products which meet needs. But the socialist economy is still a commodity economy. The satisfaction of social needs cannot possibly be realized by the producing unit directly providing society with products or surplus products. As a commodity producer, an enterprise must first find buyers for its commodities in the market in order to realize the value of commodities. If the value of commodities can be realized, this shows that the commodities produced by it meet social needs. Meanwhile, the realization of the value of commodities also means the realization of the value of surplus products contained therein (transformation in the form of profits, including taxes). Only in this way can enterprises provide society, in the form of value, with surplus products. In addition, as relatively independent commodity producers, enterprises have their own interests to consider. They must develop their own production and gradually improve the material and cultural life of their own workers. The realization of these economic interests also depends on enterprise profits. The scope of profit, as it exists, reflects the fact that enterprise production is profits. The scope of profit, as it exists, reflects the fact that enterprise production is prompted by the need to satisfy the needs of social material and cultural life. It also shows that there is still a need to satisfy the interests of a given enterprise and its workers. This gives expression to the relations of unity of the economic interests of the three--society, the enterprise, and the individual. Thus, profit embodies the direct aim of socialist enterprise production in a relatively overall manner. "The Aim" contends that the direct aim of enterprise production and operation is in essence to provide society with use value to meet needs. Value is only the means of realizing use value. Thus, the writer not only took use value as the direct aim of enterprise production but also excluded the independent economic interests of an enterprise and its workers themselves from the direct aim of enterprise production. Such an enterprise can hardly be described as a relatively independent commodity producer. Socialist economy will also cease to be a commodity economy. Despite the writer's view that use value as the aim of production must be "generally expressed as" commodities "through the market or the exchange of commodities as a link," that at most only means letting the product economy retain its "shell" of commodity economy. In my opinion, to recognize that the socialist economy is a planned commodity economy and that enterprises are commodity producers relatively independent and responsible for their own profits and losses, we must recognize that the direct aim of enterprise production is not use value but profit.

One important reason Comrade Li Guangyuan does not agree on the direct aim of enterprise production being profit is that profit has limitations. The article says: "Profit as a means of measuring enterprise performance has certain limitations. If an enterprise takes profit as the direct aim of its own performance, then these limitations will very easily lead the enterprise astray." The article then cited limitations in five respects.



I consider that the scope of profit in the socialist economy really has the nature of possessing limitations. The most fundamental limitation is that apart from fundamental unity between an enterprise's motive in pursuing profits and the aim of socialist social production--satisfying people's needs in material and cultural life--there still exist contradictions. So-called fundamental unity mainly finds expression in the following: Profit represents a pattern of transformation of the value of surplus products created by an enterprise for society and for itself and the workers themselves. Under normal circumstances, if more profits are realized by an enterprise, this shows that more products are provided by enterprise workers for society. Enterprise workers are also enabled to receive more benefits. To realize more profits, an enterprise must do its best to produce the largest possible quantity of fine-quality commodities to meet market needs with the expenditure of the smallest possible amount of labor, and satisfy social needs through the market. All these represent unity between the direct aim of enterprise production and the aim of socialist social production. But another situation also exists: What is favorable from the angle of enterprise profit as an aim may not be favorable from a social point of view. What is unfavorable from an enterprise's point of view may also be favorable, as far as society is concerned. Therefore, given profit as an enterprise's motive, its production and operating activities are likely to be inconsistent with social needs. Such limitations of profit are a manifestation of contradictions still existing on the basis of fundamental unity among the interests of the three--society, the enterprise, and the individual. It is not right to fail to recognize these contradictions.

But in socialist society, the contradiction between the direct aim of enterprise production and the aim of social production can be solved. The negative results likely to arise from the limitations of profit can be overcome. It is not a matter of course that "an enterprise will be led astray." First, given the socialist commodity economy as a commodity economy based on public ownership, the contradiction between the direct aim of enterprise production and the aim of socialist social production is a contradiction with unity of fundamental interests as a presupposition, and is not a hostile contradiction. Therefore, an objective foundation exists for the correct handling of this contradiction. Second, socialist commodity economy is also a planned commodity economy. The state can relatively consciously recognize and apply socialist economic laws in correctly guiding enterprise production and economic activities through economic, administrative, and legal means and include them in state plans to bring them in line with the aim of socialist social production. Of course, given a commodity economy, the situation of "an enterprise being led astray" due to the limitations of profit is really likely to occur. But on the whole, socialist society is capable of bringing the production and operating activities of commodity producers under a system of public ownership into harmony with the interests of society as a whole. This is precisely an important problem that we wish to solve in our economic reform. Therefore, there is no case for negating profit as the direct aim of enterprise production, just because of these limitations of profits.

Some comrades have suggested that in their production and operating activities, enterprises cannot just consider their own profits and should also take social

benefits into consideration. An enterprise's profit goal should be subordinated to social benefits. If profit is taken as the direct aim of enterprise production, an enterprise is likely to sacrifice social benefits to enterprise profits. Some comrades have therefore suggested that an enterprise has the dual purpose of production and profit and the ability to satisfy social needs in use value.

Given the socialist system of public ownership, enterprise interests are basically consistent with social economic benefits. But contradictions are also involved. When there is a contradiction between the two, an enterprise's profit goal should be subordinated to social benefits. This is one of the superior features of the socialist economy. But how should we subordinate an enterprise's profit goal to social benefit? Should we call upon an enterprise to consciously recognize social benefits and consciously yield to social benefits? Or should the state be allowed to use legal, administrative, and economic means and chiefly rely upon economic means to regulate the behavior of an enterprise, in order to bring it in line with the demands of social benefits? I think that it should chiefly be the latter and not the former. First, given the socialist commodity economy, an enterprise as a relatively independent commodity producer must of course comply with state policies and laws and decrees and become a model in observing law and discipline. But apart from this, an enterprise chiefly proceeds from its own interests. On the basis of information of various kinds provided by the market, such as that concerning prices, tax rates, interest rates, exchange rates, and so forth, it becomes acquainted with social needs and judge its own production and operating activities in regard to enterprise benefits and social benefits. Under general circumstances, there is no other channel than this for an enterprise to become directly acquainted with social demands and social benefits. In the past, under the highly centralized old system, the state handed down many mandatory targets in an attempt to call on enterprises to organize production and operations directly according to social demands. But all-inclusive plans cannot possibly be scientific. This practice not only had a binding effect on enterprise vitality but also failed to bring about good social benefits. Second, with various economic relations already straightened out, for an enterprise to decide its production and operating activities on the basis of such factors as prices, tax rates, interest rates, exchange rates, and so forth is, generally speaking, consistent with enterprise benefits and social benefits. When there is a contradiction between enterprise benefits and social benefits, this shows that society has passed on the wrong information to enterprises through various economic levers, or that the information conveyed by various economic levers is inconsistent with the demands of social benefits. At this time, society should quickly readjust prices, tax rates, interest rates, exchange rates, and so forth and again bring enterprise benefits in line with social benefits. This is the main means that we should adopt from now on in regulating the national economy--indirect means of regulation. If wrong information passed on to enterprises by society through economic levers leads to a contradiction between enterprise benefits and social benefits and if at this time society does not readjust prices, tax rates, interest rates, exchange rates, and so forth and correct wrong information, and instead calls on enterprises to sacrifice their own

interests by yielding to social benefits, such a practice is likely to be effective for a short period of time. But as time goes on, it will naturally injure enterprise interests and social benefits. We had many lessons in this respect before. It has been shown that it is impossible to rely chiefly on administrative means to solve the contradiction between enterprise interests and social benefits. Instead, we should chiefly apply economic means in seeking a solution. Meanwhile, it is unrealistic to require enterprises to constantly and consciously sacrifice enterprise interests to social benefits. Such a demand clashes with the position of enterprises as commodity producers who operate on their own, hold themselves responsible for their own profits and losses, and are relatively independent. If enterprises are really capable of constantly and consciously sacrificing enterprise interests to social benefits, then what is the use of macroeconomic regulation?

Our honest recognition of the direct aim of enterprise production as being profit will not lead to enterprise interference with social benefits out of consideration for an enterprise's own profits. As the aim of enterprise production exists objectively, so the contradiction between the profit goal of an enterprise and social benefits also exists objectively. Only after recognizing this contradiction can we relatively consciously solve the contradiction according to the demands of objective laws. Through various economic levers, the state regulates the relations between enterprise profits and social benefits, in order to bring about the following state of affairs: All commodities and trades that society wants to develop are also profitable to enterprises. All commodities and trades that society does not want, or has already developed, are also unprofitable and harmful to enterprises. Thus, the motive of using enterprises in pursuit of profit can guide enterprise production and operations to the path of satisfying social needs. If we do not recognize the direct aim of enterprise production as being profit and adopt policy measures that run counter to it, this will often exacerbate the contradiction between enterprise interests and social benefits.

The idea concerning the dual purpose of enterprise production is a compromise viewpoint designed to reconcile profit as an aim with the satisfaction of social needs as an aim. Fundamentally speaking, there is basic unity between enterprise profits and the satisfaction of social needs. But there still exist many contradictions. When a contradiction arises, given the dual purpose, who yields to whom? If an enterprise can constantly and consciously subordinate the profit goal to social needs, then the aim of enterprise production is the satisfaction of social needs. If an enterprise considers its own production and operations with its own profit goal in mind, then the direct aim of enterprise production is profit. One or the other must be the case. So, the argument concerning the dual purpose of production cannot hold water.

The article "The Aim" also raised the point about "which is the aim and which is the means" in the matter of "obtaining profits" and "satisfying social needs." The writer held the view that "obtaining profits" is the means and "satisfying social needs" is the aim. He also considered that "this is precisely an important line of division between a socialist enterprise and a capitalist enterprise."

Concerning this argument, let me briefly suggest three points. First, the above conclusion is drawn by the writer after dwelling on the various limitations of profit. The article says: If an enterprise takes profit as the direct aim, then there will appear the phenomenon: "Any means that helps an increase in profits is desirable; any means that does not help in increasing profits is undesirable." Enterprises will then "take all possible countermeasures to circumvent or get around measures stipulated by the state." This line means what is usually said about the possibility of resorting to the capitalist method of operation. This article has already said something above about how to view the limitations of profit. It was also pointed out that chiefly through economic means, the state can bring an enterprise's profit goal into the orbit of satisfying social needs. Thus, there are already no sufficient grounds for the argument that profit cannot become the direct aim of an enterprise. As to the line of division between a socialist enterprise and a capitalist enterprise, this depends not on whether profit is the aim or the means but on the different nature of two different kinds of profit. The relations of production reflected by two different kinds of profit are different. As to the difference between capitalist and socialist profits, this is generally known. There is no need to go into further details.

Second, in arguing that profit can only be the means and not the end, the article "The Aim" lumps together the aim of socialist social production and the direct aim of enterprise production. For example, what the article says about "using profit as a means of realizing the aim of socialist production," "profit being the means of realizing the aim of socialist production in still another sense," and so forth all refer to the aim of socialist social production. The aim of socialist social production is to "satisfy social needs." The direct aim of enterprise production is to ultimately realize the aim of social production. In this sense, it can be said that profit is the means of realizing the aim of socialist social production. But as far as the direct aim of enterprise production is concerned, it cannot be said that profit is the means. The article says: "If it is said that obtaining profits is the direct aim of enterprise production, it will mean that the object is achieved with just the obtaining of profits. Then, as far as the behavior of an enterprise itself is concerned, there is no yardstick by which to judge whether profits are properly used. Or the yardstick may be just whether still more profits can be achieved." This is right! The yardstick of whether profits are properly used is whether more profits can be achieved. Of course, this is based on a given prerequisite. It is compliance with law and discipline, including payments of profits and taxes to the higher levels.

Third, "obtaining profits" is taken as the means, and "satisfying social needs" is taken as the direct aim of enterprise production. This actually calls for enterprises to subordinate the profit goal to social benefits. As far as this viewpoint is concerned, this article has already dealt with it above. There is no need to say anything more.

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## 'REFLECTIONS' ON THE QUESTION OF FREEDOM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 32-38

[Article by Wu Jianguo [0702 1696 0948]]

[Text] How should we approach "freedom"? People have raised this question again and again under different historical circumstances and its answers are varied and many. Apparently, people have held different understandings and views on it up to this time. Therefore, I think it is necessary to further "reflect" on the question.

### I

How has the question of "freedom" been raised? Doubtlessly this question did not exist before human beings came into existence or in other words, before human beings separated themselves from the animal world and formed their own "subjective ideology," because in the vast and boundless space there existed no beings in opposition to nature--an integrated entity. Specifically speaking, there was no distinction between subject and object, the perceiver and the perceived, and between the reformer and the reformed. All things in nature move endlessly according to their own "iron laws." It can thus be seen that "freedom" is, in reality, a concept reflecting the relationship between man, man's "subjective ideology," and man's will, aspirations, and demands on the one hand and the objective external world on the other or a category in opposition to necessity.

Ancient Greek philosophy had begun dealing with the relationship between man and the "freedom" of man's will and necessity. In a certain sense, the history of a philosophy develops centering around the question of relationship between freedom and necessity, as one may well say. People's philosophical standpoints and views on the relationship between thought and being, spirit and matter, and between subjectivity and objectivity have a direct bearing on their outlook on freedom. The purpose of studying the basic problems in philosophy is to seek ways and paths for mankind to achieve freedom. Therefore, philosophy--this branch of learning on world outlook--can also be said to be a branch of learning on how to approach and achieve freedom.

Among the old materialists, (Baruch Spinoza) can be considered the philosopher who had the fullest understanding of the relationship between freedom and necessity. As he saw it, man's thought and actions are completely determined by external things and in man's soul there is no absolute or free will. "The baby in the arms of its mother is also confident that being in its mother's embrace is out of its free will," "a timid and cowardly person regards his desertion as an act taken according to his free will and a drunken person is confident that what he has said but is not willing to say while in a sober state of mind is out of the order issued freely by his soul." ("Logic," Commercial Publishing House, 1958 edition, p 95) In fact this freedom is, in Spinoza's own words, the result of their failure to keep their impulse under control or a state of enslavement by blind necessity. How can people be "free"? They can be so only when they free themselves from the confusion of perceptual impulse, willingly understand necessity through reason, and put themselves and all their actions in the relationship between the objective reality as a whole and its necessity. However, Spinoza's outlook on freedom is similarly abstract and metaphysical in nature. In his eyes, in the face of objective necessity, people can do no more than control their own emotions and subject reason to internal and irresistible necessity even though they have managed to understand it.

In the history of man's thought, with his amazing ability and wisdom, materialist Wilhelm F. Hegel expounded the dialectical relationship between freedom and necessity in a fairly comprehensive way and as a whole. He contended that necessity must presuppose freedom and freedom contains necessity as a link to be sublated. At the same time, he regarded freedom and necessity as a process--freedom is manifested in the development of knowledge of necessity. The freedom of man's will is just decided by man's judgment commensurate with necessity. In summarizing and expounding Hegel's brilliant views on freedom, Engels pointed out: "To him, freedom is the recognition of necessity. 'Necessity is blind only insofar as it is not understood.' Freedom does not consist in an imaginary independence from natural laws, but in the knowledge of these laws and in the possibility which is thus given of systematically making them work toward definite ends." "Freedom of the will therefore means nothing but the capacity to make decisions with knowledge of the facts. Therefore, the freer a man's judgment in relation to a definite point in question, the greater the necessity with which the content of this judgment will be determined; while the uncertainty founded on ignorance, which seems to make an arbitrary choice among many different and contradictory possibilities of decision, shows precisely by this that it is not free, that it is commanded by the very object it should itself command. Freedom therefore consists in command over ourselves and over external nature, a command founded on knowledge of natural necessity; it is therefore necessarily a product of historical development." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 153-154) However, although Hegel's expositions on freedom and the relationship of freedom and necessity radiate with the light of dialectics, this does not necessarily mean the real scientific solution to the problem. As everybody knows, Hegel's rational ideals are presented in the form of mysticism. The "freedom" he referred to is in essence "freedom" in terms of ideology and the necessity he dealt with is nothing but the logic of an "absolute concept" itself. Moreover, confined by his conservative

idealist ideological system, he ultimately betrayed his own dialectics, leading to recognition of the possibility of achieving "ultimate truth" and "absolute freedom." Nevertheless, the ideas of Spinoza and Hegel on the question of freedom are, it can be said, part of the most worthy and valuable things bourgeois philosophy has contributed to mankind, which are the ideological summarization of the positive results of human efforts to explore "freedom" before them. However, it was Marxism, first and foremost, Marx and Engels, that ultimately brought to light the real truth of the "mystery of freedom."

The reason the philosophers and thinkers prior to Marxism lost their bearings and were caught in a predicament in their exploration of "freedom" and of the relationship between freedom and necessity in one way or another lies in their failure to solve the basic problems in philosophy from the vantage of dialectical materialism. The dialectical materialist viewpoints on the solution of basic philosophical problems are both recognition of the decisive role of objective material reality in people's subjective consciousness and activities of thought and recognition of the reaction or dynamic role of the latter on the former. At the same time, the bridge and tie linking the two--social practice--has also been discovered. This is the ideological foundation and theoretical basis for Marxism to solve the problem of relationship between freedom and necessity.

How does Marxism approach the relationship between freedom and necessity? First, it fully affirms the value of the topic of "freedom is the recognition of necessity" in the theory of knowledge, a topic assigned in the form of abstract speculation and rejects the mysterious and fatalist flavors in the explanation of necessity, pointing out that necessity is objective laws--"in-itself" independent of man's will which can be turned into "things-for-us" rather than a mysterious alien force overriding nature and society and manipulating people's fate. Second, it asserts that to achieve freedom, not only is it necessary to understand this necessity but it is also imperative to take part in the transformation of the objective world. If we have understood necessity but are passively subjugated to it and if we exclusively adopt a grin-and-bear-it or evasive attitude toward "evil necessity," we will still be unable to achieve freedom. In accordance with the Marxist outlook on freedom, the aim of understanding necessity is to transform the world as a "thing-in-itself." The degree of human freedom is determined not only by the way people understand necessity but more importantly by the way they transform the objective world. In discussing the Marxist outlook on freedom, on no account must the discovery of the status and role of the practice as the activities of perceptual matters be neglected. One may well say, this is the quintessence of the Marxist outlook on freedom as far as the formation of such an outlook on freedom is concerned.

The introduction of social practice into the theory of knowledge is not only a completion of the fundamental transformation of the theory of knowledge but, as it can be said, a completion of the fundamental transformation of the "outlook on freedom." How is necessity understood? How is the objective world transformed? Without the establishment of the Marxist outlook on practice, the solution of these problems will be out of the question. Social

practice is the foundation, source, and motive force of knowledge and the real touchstone for testing the truth of knowledge. So long as we observe and study freedom in connection with social practice, we will notice that people's knowledge of necessity and transformation of the objective world are all realized in social practice. The activities of human social practice, that is, the starting point of the activities of mankind's struggle to transform the objective world, are the starting point of human efforts to achieve freedom; the stages and process of human social practice are the stages and process of mankind's struggle for freedom; and the history of mankind building material and spiritual civilizations is the record of its struggle for freedom.

Now that the degree of mankind's freedom is decided by the level of social practice, it can thus be established that there is no abstract freedom on earth. Freedom is always concrete, relative, and conditional. The development level of social practice is the condition for how much freedom mankind can enjoy. As far as the conditions for achieving freedom are concerned, it is needless to prove that freedom is concrete and relative, because its concrete and relative nature is self-evident. Apparently, the "freedom" that transcends time and space as well as history and reality and is not subject to the restriction of objective conditions is nonexistent. To achieve freedom in its real sense, it is necessary for mankind, for each individual, to constantly readjust its relationship with objective necessity in social practice. Just like the relationship between subject and object, freedom and necessity are a contradiction invariably confronting mankind, confronting each individual. There has never been any permanent solution to this contradiction. This is why people often say that the relationship between freedom and necessity is both an "age-old topic of conversation" and an "oft-discussed one." However, every time it is raised, its contents vary from age to age.

## II

Some comrades frequently say: At present most cries for "freedom" are raised from a political point of view but the aforesaid Marxist outlook on freedom falls in the category of the theory of knowledge. Of course, "political freedom" has its relatively independent, specific definitions. The problem is whether or not "political freedom" and the freedom referred to in the theory of knowledge are separately attached to two series which are not interrelated. It must be said that the two freedoms are interrelated and mutually pervasive and correlative. The scientific definition given by the Marxist theory of knowledge on freedom is nothing but the abstract of the relationship between man and man's will on the one hand and the necessity that runs through nature, society, and man's own spiritual activities on the other. If objective necessity is separated from the above three areas, the freedom referred to in the theory of knowledge will be out of the question. On the contrary, if "political freedom" is discussed in the absence of the theory of knowledge, it is hard to explain any problems thoroughly and clearly.

"Political freedom" deals in essence with man and a sphere of the objective external world, namely, the problem of relationship between man and society.



In this regard, man's freedom is similarly concrete, relative, and conditional. Therefore, it is also necessary to make a historical analysis and moreover, this is precisely a condition for understanding the meaning of freedom. "Some people work as slaves and others become slave-owners. This is justified and genial."--This is the political precept of the slave-owner class expounded out by Aristotle. "God wants some people to become masters and others serfs and wants the masters to love God and the serfs to respect and love their masters."--This is the theocratic political precept which reflects the interests of the feudal landlord class. Obviously, these precepts were the products of the social relations of those years. Besides these precepts, are there still any options and propositions for "political freedom"? In the world of today, there are only two major political systems and two major patterns of "political freedom" corresponding to the systems. They are first, the "political freedom" that reflects the social relationship between man and man under the capitalist system and second, the "political freedom" that reflects the social relationship between man and man under the socialist system.

Are people living under the capitalist system politically "free"? Compared with people living under the slave and feudal systems, undoubtedly people living under the capitalist system enjoy much more intensive and extensive "freedom," or at least the personal attachment relationship has been legally abolished. It must be admitted that this is an important milestone for the development of freedom in the history of human society. However, in the final analysis, the class property and nature of this kind of "freedom" cannot be changed no matter how they are concealed or beautified. The study of "political freedom" cannot be separated from the existing relations of production and the relations of property ownership as well as the legal norms that protect the relations. As everybody knows, under the bourgeois laws, private property is indiscriminately placed in an inviolable position. The problem lies not only in the limits set by various bourgeois legal clauses on "freedom"--this is a matter frequently dealt with in discussing the limitations of freedom in the society under capitalism; [punctuation as published] but also in the restriction of personal freedom by the real relationship between man and man outside the law, a relationship full of fierce conflicts which more often than not people overlook. In that society, human desires are unrestrained, people try to outwit each other, the struggles of life and death can be found everywhere, excesses of violence and conspiracies and pitfalls are very hard to guard against, "the strong" secure their belongings by force or trickery, "the weak" groan in despair.... All these scenes are detected from the "self-exposure" of modern and present-day capitalism rather than being the results of our imagination. If we say that it is absurd to use the arguments of "man is a wolf to his fellow man" and "other people are a hell" to describe man's natural instincts then the assertions of Jean-Paul Sartre and Thomas Hobbes can be said to be the portrayal of the real relationship between man and man in the society under capitalism.

Existentialist Sartre, who advocated the notion of "I am myself" upheld such concepts of value of life as "self-choice," "self-training," and "self-struggle." He did not know that when the "selves" advocated by this philosophy of life which excludes external laws carry out "self-training"

and "self-struggle" in accordance with their "choice," they will run into a reality contradictory with their own "free will," that is, the reality of grim struggle for existence under capitalism. Once people enter the arena of rivalry, they will find that they lose control over themselves, their abilities are not equal to their ambition, and everything goes against their wishes. In such a world, numerous "selves" are trying to put each other down and colluding and fighting at close quarters with each other using different forms and means so as to achieve "self-realization." Whether in economic and political life, people are involved in the rapids of the struggle for existence between blocs and between individuals and no one can exactly put his fate in his hands. If we say that in the Balzacian years, people still had certain confidence in the "self" and proceeded to raise the brave call of "I destroy all barriers," then the so-called development of modern civilization has really made more and more people feel the loss of "self" and the sense of being helpless and lonely and of being hopeless. Hence, there is a sorrowful sigh "all barriers are destroying me." Is a "free world" of this kind well worth cherishing?

Wherein lies the way out for mankind to achieve genuine "freedom"? In terms of politics, among other things, it is necessary to abolish the private ownership system, to eliminate class oppression and exploitation, and to smash the structure of human relations based on the private ownership system with individualism at the core. And this is precisely the proletariat's historical mission. Reviewing the history of development of human society, we can notice that mankind's struggle for freedom in social life invariably goes hand in hand with the struggles of the exploited and the oppressed for liberation from enslavement. If we discuss "political freedom" in the absence of this basic content, we will be in no position to thoroughly understand the essence of the question of "political freedom." In states where proletarian revolutions have been completed, the establishment of the dominant position of the socialist public ownership system, the fundamental change in class relations, and the relevant readjustment of the relationships between men will make it possible for the great majority of people to achieve genuine political freedom. However, this possibility is far from becoming a direct reality. In the process of development of socialism itself, the encroachments on the political rights of the people who are the masters of the country are a common occurrence. In China's "Great Cultural Revolution" which lasted for as long as 10 years, numerous cadres and ordinary people were even frenziedly persecuted. In these circumstances, how can people begin to talk about "freedom"? This being the case, how should we interpret this phenomenon? Can we thus blame all this on the socialist system itself and assert that it has natural connections with the system? If people approach things this way, they will turn the relationship of causality in regard to history upside down. In reality, the emergence of the "Great Cultural Revolution" is precisely the outcome of separation from the very nature of the socialist system and of corrosion of the historical sediments attached to the body of socialism. If we want to seek some causes leading to the phenomena of this kind, there is indeed something that warrants our attention. In other words, our socialist political superstructure or system is not so mature, perfect, and sound enough to ensure fully realizing the right of freedom of the masses of people as the masters of the

country. That our political system is still imperfect, unsound, and defective in many aspects and links has made it possible for people to be wedded to patriarchal and bureaucratic ways, to pursue the practice of "what I say counts," to act arbitrarily, and to engage in "unhealthy practices," including seeking private gain by abusing one's power and other actions endangering society. This has also greatly hindered the masses of people from giving play to their political role as the masters of the country. This is also the reason why our party and state have begun to unswervingly carry out the reform of the political system and even the whole superstructure while unswervingly conducting economic reforms.

To correctly understand socialist political freedom, it is necessary to draw two clear lines of demarcation: One is that we should not attribute the destructive consequences resulting from violation of socialist principles to the socialist basic system in a sweeping way, and the other is that it is imperative to see the essential difference between bourgeois "freedom" and socialist freedom. In other words, the economic bases on which the conceptual and political superstructure for the two freedoms is formed are different--private ownership and public ownership. Therefore, the former regards individualism and egoism as its "coordinate system" and the latter considers collectivism its "coordinate system." Some people are rather estranged from socialist freedom. This is perhaps because they have not yet solved the problem of starting point and of basic stand, apart from objective reasons. Marxism does not exclude and negate personal freedom. The point is how to correctly understand and handle the relationship between individual development and collective development based on the combination of common and general interests. Marxism has consistently held that collectives are a means and condition for individuals to achieve overall development and freedom. This is determined by the nature of the proletariat and its cause. To achieve its own liberation, the proletariat must have unified will and action, a command system that reflects its own fundamental, long-term, and general interests, and have corresponding organizational discipline and must not rely on the isolated and spontaneous "self-struggle" of its own members. In the struggle to destroy the old world, every member of the proletariat must be aware of this objective demand and similarly, in the struggle to build a new world, he must also pay attention to this objective demand. If he forms this awareness and fuses his personal will and interest into the general objectives of the whole class and of the people's cause, like the rules for sportsmen in football fields or arenas, the principles of the socialist political system, the legal system, and discipline will no longer become an unnecessary force imposed from outside. On the contrary, if he fails to form such an awareness and if he sets his personal will and interest against the interests of the whole class and of the people's cause and even breaks the restriction of the collective "resultant force," behaves unscrupulously, and seeks the "emancipation of individuality" and the development of personal "freedom" by infringing upon the common interests of the collectives, how can he expect everything to go without a hitch?

### III

In discussing the question of "freedom," there is also a tendency that argues that we must be "absolutely free" in thinking. It seems that we should no longer set any requirements or devise any rules in regard to people's thinking and that the best thing to do is "to govern by doing nothing that goes against nature." There is no denying that in the ideological sphere, we have experienced extremely abnormal years when different views were not tolerated either inside or outside the party, particularly, during the 10-year catastrophe. If people were allowed to make any utterances, they had to be hysterical "leftist" clamors. Sober and reasonable Marxist views were regarded as unorthodox, and those who aired those views were investigated and dealt with or even executed as criminals. Fortunately, those almost frenzied years have become a thing of the past. The lessons paid for with blood and tears should always be remembered and under no circumstances should we allow this historical event to repeat itself. To build socialism with Chinese characteristics, which is a grand undertaking, we should emancipate our minds, make a "reassessment" of the path we have followed in the past, and carry out extensive and intensive explorations in various fields of endeavor. For this reason, we should create an environment and atmosphere of unity and harmony, encourage and support the enterprising and creative spirit, earnestly implement the "double hundred" policy, and thoroughly discard and eliminate the pernicious "leftist" influence of "taking class struggle as the key link." Otherwise, we are bound to follow the same disastrous road. However, does the smashing of the "leftist" spiritual shackles mean that we can break the bounds of all spheres, regardless of various principles? No, certainly not.

In my opinion, just as in the course of social practice, there can be no "absolute freedom" in the ideological sphere. If we historically examine the clues and results of the development of man's spiritual activities, we can clearly see that they are stamped with the brand of history or reality. All the illusions, ancient myths, and even the fantastic stories described in the Bible have their objective, realistic sources. No philosopher, thinker, or writer can think of anything that transcends the times that is cut off from real life. Zhuangzi's "Carefree Journey," though full of imagination, could not speculate by deviating from "thing" and "myself," and as a result, could not be extricated from the confrontation of the two major world outlooks. In the modernist school of literature and art, fantastic ideas, nihilism, and irrationalism are actually the reproduction of social contradictions of capitalism in literature and art. Even when writing "myself" or describing the outburst and revelation of the undisguised natural feelings, can a writer, who is a member of society, explore his "pure" mentality which transcends worldliness and is free from vulgarity and all social tendencies? No. Man's wishes and desires, including his natural needs and feelings, are actually "polished" and "colored" by means of social interceptible influence. In fact, they are crammed with social contents which differ from the instinct of animals.

What, then, does all this prove? First, all thoughts have their objective historical contents or realistic contents. There are no spiritual activities that are free from the material relations and the relations of objective

history or reality. Second, as all thoughts are linked with the above-mentioned objective relations, they cannot be free from the different ideological systems and tendencies derived therefrom. It is social being that determines social thinking. Social being is not unitary, and neither is social thinking. Therefore, people engage in thinking within the scope of either one social ideological system or the other. While discussing natural scientists, Engels pointed out sharply: "Natural scientists may adopt whatever attitude they please, they are still under the domination of philosophy. It is only a question of whether they want to be dominated by a bad, fashionable philosophy or by a form of theoretical thought which rests on acquaintance with the history of thought and its achievements." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 533) This is also the case in China's ideological sphere, particularly in the theoretical, literature, and art circles. There is no "absolute freedom" of thought in both the first and second points mentioned previously. However, a lack of "absolute freedom" of thought is not tantamount to having no freedom at all. Negation of "absolute freedom" is not tantamount to negation of freedom. Marxist theory of knowledge and truth is actually the Marxist outlook on "freedom of thought." He who possesses more objective truth in his concepts and thinking that can stand rigorous tests will get greater freedom.

Undoubtedly, the spheres of speech, literary creation, and publication should be enlivened by further lifting the restrictions. We must be aware that "inertia left over from the past" expressed in the practices of some comrades and the rigid concepts and criteria used for a long time to distinguish right from wrong and true from false are still exerting an influence in varying degrees within a certain range. It is quite obvious that people still have "lingering fear" when delivering speeches, carrying out literary creation, and engaging in publication work. These practices are bound to hinder the lively atmosphere of the ideological fields and hamper the prosperity of science, culture, and theoretical work. It is unimaginable that people can develop truth when they have no end of misgivings and fears. For this reason, it is still one of our vital tasks to continue to implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Nevertheless, "blossom" and "contend" are not tantamount of "absolute freedom." If we had allowed the "democratic wall" to continue and the illegal publication and vulgar tabloids to spread unchecked, they would have corrupted our people and youth. It is true that freedom is a right. However, there are no such rights in the world that are unrestricted and that bear no responsibilities and obligations. All rights, in whatever form, may turn to their opposite when they become absolute and unrestricted. All rights are accompanied with relevant responsibilities and obligations. The rights will be deprived when they do not bear the corresponding responsibilities and obligations. This is true in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere.

What, then, are the premise and conditions for the freedom of speech, literary creation, and publication in China, namely, "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend"? To put it bluntly, they are the observance of the Constitution and adherence to the four basic principles. What are the responsibilities and obligations to be

undertaken to enjoy the right of freedom? They are the social effect and results of our speeches, works, and publications. In other words, we should take into account how much objective truth our speeches, works, and publications contain. We cannot regard these questions as the "lingering sound of the past" and believe that they will hamper creative thinking. Conversely, these factors compel us to think deeply and seriously, maintain a correct standpoint, exercise self-restraint, and adopt a scientific attitude so that our speeches will have good grounds and that we will not indulge in fantasy or hastily make affirmative and negative judgments. As a result, our speeches made, books written, and works published will be of greater significance and value. Like other social systems, socialism has its own concept and measure of value, which occupies a dominant position and plays a leading role. This concept and measure of value manifests the universal demand of the development of human civilization as well as the peculiar demand of the development of socialist civilization. This is the criterion for measuring genuine freedom gained by people in this field. This criterion is the reflection of the objective course and laws rather than the subjective "collective consciousness." It is the conceptional distillation and crystallization of the practical results of history and reality. Therefore, our explorers and contenders should not stay aloof from the matter and refuse to be judged. Truth is varied and many-sided. But it cannot be regarded as "pluralistic." We cannot say that all opinions and views possess the same truth. In a sense and within a certain range, there is only one truth. Therefore, it is necessary for the explorers and contenders to constantly revise their views in light of social practice rather than place themselves in an arrogant position or regard themselves as possessors of "absolute truth."

As a matter of fact, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" implies the mutual conditioning of diverted forces characterized by "things opposed to and complementing each other" or "supplementing each other." Its nature is incompatible with all forms of arbitrary views. All schools of thought have the right to "verify" a certain view. Only by earnestly mastering the true and not assumed laws governing a specific field of endeavor, can we academically and theoretically gain a firm foothold and make significant contributions. If we blindly follow the example of Duhring, who negated his forerunner and willfully set up his own system, and even if we had such "freedom," it would be a "freedom" in form rather than practical "freedom." We should avoid the practices of "bludgeoning" and "applying labels," which make people feel that there is no freedom. Nevertheless, if we deviate from objective truth and the ideological line of materialism, we will never be able to avoid the lack of freedom arising therefrom.

To sum up, the Marxist concept of freedom is the "light illuminating" human's exploration for freedom. It is the torch that guides people out of their blindness in various fields. Only under its brilliant radiance can we seek the road leading to freedom.

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## STUDY NOTES ON DEVELOPING THEORETICAL THINKING ABILITY

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[Article by Li Shuzhi [7812 1659 0037]]

[Text] Among the qualities that our cadres must have, theoretical thinking ability is very important. The socialist modernization that we are carrying out is a great, complicated, and arduous project. It requires our cadres, in particular leading cadres, to have a wide field of vision; understand the whole situation; be good at investigation and study, probing, and summing up; pay attention to grasping the laws that govern the development of objective things; and creatively carry out their work in the light of the conditions related to areas, things, and time. In other words, they should not only have sufficient education and knowledge about science and experience in arranging our practical work, but also certain theoretical thinking ability. Only by so doing can they correctly implement the party's principles and policies in the process of blazing new trails, quickly understand and solve new problems, and smoothly realize our general goal and fulfill our general tasks.

As for the contents, characteristics, and importance of theoretical thinking ability and the ways and methods to develop this ability, Marx and Engels said something that was very enlightening for us.

In 1873, in the second edition of Marx' first volume of "Das Kapital," he said that the best remuneration for his labor was the quick spreading of the understanding of "Das Kapital" among the German working class. He cited the words of another person: Brilliant theoretical thinking ability, which was regarded as Germany's hereditary property, has already entirely disappeared among the so-called educated classes in Germany, but was revived among the German working class. From the point of view of the rise and development of political economy, which represented the views of the proletariat--the class which shouldered a great historical mission--Marx spoke highly of the "brilliant theoretical thinking ability" of the German working class.

In 1874, in the supplement to the preface to the second edition of "The Peasant War in Germany," Engels also said: German workers "maintained the sense of theory that the so-called 'educated people' in Germany have almost

entirely lost." What he meant by "sense of theory" in fact denoted theoretical thinking ability. Like sense of music and esthetic sense, with the phrase of "sense of theory" he stressed the very keen and fine ability to feel after this ability had taken shape. This ability is of important significance for establishing the guiding thoughts for the workers movement and grasping its direction and ways. In Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?" he cited long passages from Engels' works to explain the importance of theory.

In addition, in "Natural Dialectics," which Engels finalized in 1886, he stressed that "if a nation wants to stand on the highest peak of natural science, it can never even for a moment dispense with theoretical thinking" when he expounded on the relationship between natural science and philosophy. He also pointed out that theoretical thinking ability "must be developed and trained," that studying the philosophy of the past was a way to train this ability, and that if we failed to pay attention to training that ability, we would commit mistakes of world outlook and methodology in our research work.

Studying these works and articles, we can at least get the following understanding:

In Marx' and Engels' writings, theoretical thinking ability roughly denotes ability of being diligent to think and being good at thinking, unwillingness to be satisfied with the phenomena on the surface, and efforts to probe into the increasingly deep and diversified links between things until the essence and laws of development of things are mastered. It also denotes ability to study objective reality with a scientific attitude and methods and thus get scientific conclusions that conform to reality. Only when one has such an ability can one discover the objective truth and fight for it. Without this ability, one will not be able to see the relation between two natural facts or to understand the relations between them, even less, of course, can one understand the objective laws. As for the great significance of the understanding of the objective laws, it has been repeatedly proved by the victories of science and revolution.

The usual forms of theoretical thinking are concepts, judgments, and reasoning and in order to reach this stage of cognizance, we must use the techniques of generalization and abstraction. We should by no means detest or dislike these things. In a sense, we can say that our vast number of cadres have been assigned certain tasks of scientific research. For example, making a profound, systematic, and careful investigation and study about a certain issue in line with the division of labor according to what a cadre is specialized in is a task of the nature of scientific research. In the sphere of social sciences, in understanding the essence of things, we cannot use microscopes or chemical reagents but must rely on our ability of abstraction. In the process of investigation and study, this ability of abstraction can help us by making us feel unsatisfied with feelings or impressions or with a mere collection of phenomena and by urging us to carry out theoretical generalization in order to find things of universal significance. Generalization and abstraction supplement each other. For in order to generalize, we



should abandon something, for example, we should abandon certain nonessential and external elements of the things under our study, elements that may even cover the essence, and thus get the important characteristics and features of the things that are closely related to the goal of our study. This will facilitate discovering the internal relationships that perceptual knowledge cannot understand. This is precisely what is called abstraction in scientific research. Precisely through this abstraction, the things we study are divided up into various kinds of abstract rules, in other words, are divided into various kinds of characteristics, relationships, parts, and development stages. As long as this abstraction is correct, reasonable, and scientific, it will not be "empty" or "divorced from reality" but will more profoundly, correctly, and completely reflect the objective reality. This abstraction is an indispensable process for the deepening of our understanding and is the process of the movement of thinking from "what is concrete to what is abstract."

A further development of the movement of thinking is to again rise from "what is abstract to what is concrete." This means that through synthesis, we make the various kinds of abstract rules that we have already understood and clearly know form an integrated unity according to the original features of the things under our study and thus make them reappear in our thoughts and theory as the sum of all the relations of the things in the objective reality. This concrete reappearance of the things is a synthesis of the many characteristics and a unity of diversification. It is no longer a mere unclear impression as it was at the beginning of the perceptual knowledge. Therefore, Marx said: "On the first path, an integrated idea is distilled and becomes an abstract rule; while on the second path, the abstract rules give rise to actual reappearance in the process of thinking." ("Introduction to Critique of Political Economy") Analysis helps the realization of the former step and synthesis helps the realization of the latter step. In the movement of thinking as a whole, analysis and synthesis rely on and condition each other. In order to improve our theoretical thinking ability, we should conscientiously master the methods of analysis and synthesis and apply them together in order to push forward the entire process of thinking including the processes from concrete to abstract and the upgrading processes from abstract to abstract again. Many of the tasks in our work are of the nature of systems engineering and should be handled in an all-round manner. If our leaders lack theoretical thinking ability, they will not be able to make a clear distinction between things at different levels and in different spheres and will thus fail to see the whole situation. As a result, it will be very difficult for them to control and direct our work.

In the processes of investigation and study, giving opinions, and guiding work, it is unavoidable that we must also conduct induction and deduction. We also often adopt these methods in our theoretical thinking. For example, we draw a general conclusion from many pieces of information gathered from individual instances. This is a kind of inductive reasoning that we often conduct. In doing that, it is not practical to require people to gather the information about all individual facts and we should admit that only when we select the specific facts that are most suitable for generalization can we draw a conclusion that is to some extent scientific. However, therefore,

inductive reasoning contains fairly much fortuity; in other words, there are chances of mistakes. That is why we must pay attention to proceeding more from the totality of the facts and very satisfactorily combine the analysis of typical cases with understanding the overall situation. To put it in a nutshell, deductive reasoning is the application of a general principle to a specific case. This reasoning can help us get the knowledge in the premise which we cannot clearly see at first sight. In fact, no one can ever reject using this method. But this kind of reasoning also has its limitations. There is a possibility we may commit mistakes when we apply any general rule to a specific case if we fail to make an analysis of the various special conditions of that case. Therefore, we should pay attention to avoiding general deduction that is divorced from specific analysis and should know that induction and deduction are linked with and supplement each other. In applying them, we should be good at combining them. Furthermore, no form of reasoning can guarantee the reliability of the conclusion. In the final analysis, only practice can solve this problem. Only on the basis of practice can we supplement various forms of reasoning and get true knowledge. Therefore, Engels held that we would be wrong if we regard either induction or deduction as perfect at the expense of the other and we should apply each of them where they can be properly applied. In order to improve our theoretical thinking ability, we must treat the various forms of reasoning in this way. We should learn the skill of applying logical thinking and thus be able to use the ideological relations between various true judgments to carefully prove the truth of one judgment by some other true judgments. We should also learn the skill of supporting our words with proof. This will not only prevent the practice of making rash conclusions without sufficient proof, but will also prevent the practice of telling only the actual facts without making any judgment or giving any opinion. We should also learn the skill of applying various methods of reasoning to carry out scientific reasoning that combines theory with practice. The skill of conducting and organizing reasoning is a mark for the development of theoretical thinking ability.

In Marx' and Engels' writings, theoretical thinking ability consists of not only the ability to understand and accept correct theory but also the ability to discern and resist erroneous theory. "Interest in theory" and "sense of theory" can urge people to regard scientific socialism "as a science" to "study" and thus get increasingly clear understanding and heighten their awareness. If our workers have no sense of theory, it will be impossible for scientific socialism to become popular among them. Marx and Engels had a deep understanding of this, which remains of practical significance now. They also very truly realized that "any practice of looking down on theory" was very conducive to the spreading of erroneous theory, which would lead the workers movement astray and give rise to confusion and wavering. Therefore, they always stressed that it was necessary to develop the theoretical thinking ability of the revolutionary ranks, carry out theoretical struggle, and acquire a clear understanding of theory. Both Lenin and Mao Zedong reviewed the arduous courses through which Russian and Chinese people found Marxism and this changed the features of their revolutions. Historical experience has repeatedly proved that in our revolutionary movements, a correct theory always makes people's minds clear and

makes them firm, brave, and wise and thus enables our undertakings to develop; while an erroneous theory will finally give rise to mistakes and cause confusion and hesitation. There are many instances in our history that a small mistake in theory gave rise to great mistakes in practice. In order to avoid this kind of mistake, we should pay close attention to developing theoretical thinking ability and strive to become people with sober theoretical minds.

In some of Marx' and Engels' articles, they gave a view that roused people to think deeply. The view is: In the final analysis, people's theoretical thinking ability and interest in theory are determined by their position in the process of the development of the society. In other words, they are determined by the question of whether people's fundamental interests are identical to the direction of the progress of history. When the fundamental interests of a class and its ideological representatives are identical with the direction of the development of the society, they will be able to carry out "just and selfless research" in the fields of social sciences. The "more free from inhibitions and the more selfless and just the science, the greater it conforms to the interests and desire of our workers." Only under these circumstances can there be conditions for the scoring of achievements with great scientific value. This is a reflection of the development of theoretical thinking ability. Reversely, when the fundamental interests of a class and its ideological representatives run counter to the objective truth disclosed by the development of society, the class and its representatives will become "incapable in the sphere of science" and their theoretical thinking ability will deteriorate. Therefore, we can say that in the fields of social sciences, the scientific nature of theoretical thinking in research work is in the final analysis determined by the advanced nature of the research workers. This advanced nature cannot replace the various conditions necessary for the scientific nature, but maintaining the advanced nature is after all a precondition for maintaining this theoretical thinking ability and thus being able to carry out theoretical research with a scientific attitude. Both Marx and Engels pointed out that those who lost their theoretical thinking ability often substituted "speculation" for "ideological reasoning" and often "worried about their jobs and income." This proves from another angle that losing the advanced nature means the beginning of losing theoretical thinking ability, which is the lever for selfless and fearless scientific spirit. This thesis is now still worth careful understanding in the light of our practice.

Of course, this does not mean that when our ideological stand becomes advanced, we will automatically acquire theoretical thinking ability. Training is necessary to acquire this ability. Learning reading and writing is training; gaining experience of practical work is training; and so is the study of the history of philosophy and logic. If we say that only in the course of swimming can we learn how to swim, then only in the course of theoretical thinking (studying and solving problems) can we effectively train theoretical thinking ability. Judging by the actual situation of our cadre ranks, we should not only train their ability of analysis and synthesis and ability to make judgment and conduct deduction, but we should also pay attention to making them study the basic theory of Marxism and train their ability of implementing the ideological line of proceeding from reality,

seeking truth from facts, and linking theory with practice; the ability to observe things dialectically; and the ability to observe all social phenomena with historical materialism. Our vast number of cadres should continue to make efforts to overcome the influence of subjectivism and the idealist practice of conducting empty talk and putting forth ideas without proof and in divorce from reality; the influence of the metaphysical practice of acting rashly together, seeking uniformity, and failure to view things in totality; and the influence of various kinds of historical idealism in the spheres of our society.

People are all against the closed thinking methods and for the open thinking methods. In fact, the most closed thinking methods are precisely characterized by subjectivism and idealism. They keep thinking within a very narrow scope; stress inherent knowledge, meditation, and introspection; are rigid; have no access to information outside; are divorced from reality; and put forth ideas without proof. There is therefore nothing open in it. On the other hand, the dialectic materialist line of cognizance always stresses practice and pays attention to proceeding from reality, investigation, and study, maintaining close ties with the masses of people, modestly observing the objective situation, and being concerned with new things. That is the most open method. Therefore, in the final analysis, in order to switch from the closed to the open method of thinking, we should conscientiously implement dialectical materialism in our thought process.

People are against uniformity in our thinking methods and want diversification. In fact, to be more accurate, this is an issue of overcoming metaphysics and developing dialectics. Only when things are understood through their universal relationships, in movement, and amid the contradiction, struggle, and transformation of opposites can material dialectics maintain its vitality. In this process, it requires an all-round thinking method that grasps all aspects, links, and intermediate relations of things under observation. At the same time, it also requires us to regard practice "as what actually determines the links between things and what people need in them" (Lenin's words) rather than the gathering of a jumble of phenomena or a collection of fortuitous phenomena. Lenin gave a vivid example. He said that a glass can be a drinking utensil, hold tools, press paper, keep butterflies we caught, or be an article of art such as sculpture and painting. It can also have many other characteristics and aspects. However, as a drinking utensil, what is important is that there be no hole at the bottom, the glass will not hurt the lips when drinking, and so on. If in a dialectical materialist sense, diversification of thinking means thinking in totality, it is valuable; otherwise, we will be indulging in listing all the cases for the different uses of a glass without a "fixed center for our thinking" and will thus be acting meaninglessly. Some people want to switch from truth to adverse thinking and from thinking to seek common things to that to seek differences. This is an abstract and unclear view and fails to conform to the thinking reality; therefore, it cannot solve any problem. As a matter of fact, dialectics understand things in the process of movement and observe everything in view of its emergence, development, and extinction. While confirming the existing things in its understanding, it also includes a negative understanding of them. It pays attention to finding differences in

unity and unity in differences and so on. Therefore, it solved the problems such as seeking common things and seeking differences outstandingly at a high level long ago and has gone beyond that stage. The way to overcome this kind of one-sidedness in thinking remains to learn the application of dialectical materialism; there is no other way out.

Our cadres at all levels, in particular leading cadres, have the most urgent need to become familiar with the basic principles of social sciences and relevant scientific knowledge in handling various kinds of economic, political, and cultural problems in the spheres of social sciences, in handling various problems of human relations, and in summing up our historical experience. We should also master knowledge of natural science and its methodology. All these are very important for us in making scientific policy decisions and carrying out modern management. However, if we deviate from the social sciences guided by historical materialism and use natural scientific methods at will in understanding and handling the problems in the spheres of society, then we will treat social problems as natural scientific ones. We will act like people in the past who tried to use the theory of evolution to explain the development of society or to use psychology to explain social phenomena. As a result, we will commit various errors and mistakes, or fail to understand the key issues or the essence of the issues and thus fail to correctly explain or solve the issues for a long time. We should admit that many cadres are still not very familiar with the application of historical materialism to observing things. They often act in a one-sided manner in applying it. Therefore, we should pay particular attention to the study and training in this field and should work hard for this.

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## WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO STRESS 'TO LEAD IS TO SERVE'?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 43-44

[Article by Wu Guoguang [0702 0748 0342]]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic System" points out: "It is necessary to change the long-standing situation that our leading organs do not serve the basic level and enterprises but make the basic level and enterprises busy in serving the needs of the leading organs; to eliminate redundant offices, overstaffing, unclear division of power of offices, shifting of responsibility, and other age-old defects and malpractices; and to earnestly switch all the work of the leading organs at all levels into the orbit of serving the basic level and enterprises, the prosperity of our country, and the well-to-do livelihood and happiness of the people." At the national conference on educational work, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further pointed out: "What is leadership? To lead is to serve." Obviously, correct understanding of the idea "to lead is to serve" is of very great significance in changing our leadership work style, strengthening the ties between cadres and masses, and ensuring smooth development of the economic structural reform.

The idea that to lead is to serve discloses the essential characteristics of a proletarian state power and clearly points out the virtues that the leading cadres of the party and state at various levels must have. Over 100 years ago, the Paris Commune raised the issue of preventing the state and state organs from becoming "masters of society" instead of "public servants of society." When Marx and Engels summed up the experience of the Paris Commune, they confirmed in particular this magnificent idea that cadres had to be public servants of the people. Ever since the founding of our party, it has always regarded serving the people wholeheartedly as its fundamental goal, continued to educate its members and cadres in this idea, and gradually trained the cadre ranks in it and made them have the ideological style of serving the people. The 10 years of civil disorder have seriously undermined this fine party tradition. Owing to the impact of the 10 years of civil disorder and to the defects in our leadership system and in the thoughts of a small number of leading cadres, some leading organs and leading cadres continue to practice the bureaucracy of having the basic level and masses serve leading organs and cadres instead of they themselves serving the basic level and masses wholeheartedly. The continuous deepening of the economic structural reform urgently demands putting an end to this bad work style.

Stressing that to lead is to serve better clarifies the duties of our leading cadres and organs and makes them better meet the demand of the economic structural reform. Concerning the relations between the economic foundation and superstructure, Marxism holds that the economic foundation determines the superstructure; while the superstructure reacts to and serves the economic foundation. Our country is carrying out an economic structural reform, which is a self-improvement and self-perfection of the socialist system and a revolution to once more emancipate the productive forces under socialist conditions. Therefore, our state organs, as a part of the superstructure, must also carry out a corresponding reform in their organizational structure, thinking style, and work methods. They should switch all their work into the orbit of serving the development of production, serving the basic level and enterprises, and serving the state's prosperity and the people's well-to-do livelihood and happiness. When the cadres in our leading organs consider matters and methods and do their work, they must start from their office duty to provide "service." If they forget this, and if they make the basic level service the organs and the masses serve the cadres, they will run counter to the scientific principle of the superstructure serving the economic foundation and finally become bureaucrats divorced from both reality and the masses.

Advocating that "to lead is to serve" facilitates heightening the "sense of service," changing the work style, and eliminating evil bureaucratic habits. Quite many comrades often think that to lead is to give ideas, make decisions, and give orders. These activities are necessary, but the view regarding "to lead" as only "to give direction and conduct management" is one-sided. Some leading cadres and leading organs lord over the people because they have power in their hands. They order people about, are not concerned about the trouble and suffering of the people, and do not listen to the voice of the lower level. Some are even worse. They exploit their power of office to pursue private ends and make themselves rich. The idea of "to lead is to serve" breaks that erroneous idea about leadership and points out the essence of leadership work: All the work that leading cadres and organs do is service work. Indifference, apathy, sticking to outworn rules, and muddle-headedness of bureaucracy are out of tune with the goal of providing service and must be firmly eliminated.

Advocating that "to lead is to serve" facilitates urging leading cadres and leading organs to study vocational knowledge and improve their work competence. Service is not devoid of any meaning, but is real work. In order to provide service, one has to go deep in reality, at the basic level and among the masses, to actually solve problems and score real achievements. If one merely gives instructions on the general principle, one has done nothing that can be called service. This requires us leading cadres and organs to conscientiously study the basic theory of Marxism; the party's line, principles and policies; and economic and vocational knowledge and carry out investigation and study. In particular, in the course of the economic structural reform, we should learn how to consciously apply the law of value and to provide service for the enlivening of our enterprises and for the development of the socialist economy. Only when one has a sound foundation of theory and rich vocational knowledge, does one's

work in a down-to-earth manner, and pays attention to work efficiency, can one better serve the masses.

In short, the idea "to lead is to serve" is a new requirement on our leading cadres and organs under the new situation. It is a criterion to check whether a leader is qualified and also one to check his competence and achievements.

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WHAT HAVE BEEN THE MAJOR BREAKTHROUGHS IN THE QUESTION OF THE ROAD TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT SINCE THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 pp 44-45

[Article by Chen Kaiguo [7115 7030 0948]]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been tremendous historic changes in the features of our country's rural areas. These changes can be attributed to the major readjustment of rural policies that our party and government have carried out. Now we can say that our party has initially found a road to the socialist modernization of our country's rural areas. This new road of development has made major breakthroughs in the following spheres:

1. The establishment of the contract responsibility system with remuneration linked to output has broken the centralized management system of "three levels of ownership with the production teams as the foundation," a system that was characterized by large scale and public ownership. This has promoted the development of the productive forces.

The cooperative economy is the basic way that the party guides the peasants toward socialism. This has not been changed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, but the actual way to do that has been changed. Before the reform, there were the following three defects in our rural cooperative economy: 1) The economic organizations were merged with the organizations of the basic-level state power. This was detrimental to exploiting the functions of both the state power and economic organizations and also to the development of economy. 2) It took no account of the uneven development of the economies of various rural areas and implemented a uniform form of organization--the people's commune. This hindered the development of the productive forces. 3) In the economic organizations, there was not a scientific management system for a long time. This gave rise to waste and destruction of resources and in particular could not give play to the producers' work initiative or creativeness. Since the implementation of the contract responsibility system with remuneration linked with output, our organizations have adapted to the actual situation of the development of rural productive forces and thus directly link the laborers' material interests with the results of production and make responsibility, power, and interests closely coincide with one another. As a result, we have

promoted the development of our agricultural production and relatively satisfactorily overcome the above-mentioned defects. The nucleus of the contract responsibility system with remuneration linked to output is that under the precondition of preserving the public property of the collective economy and necessary centralized management, we recognize the important position of the family management of our rural households in developing our rural economy, adopt economic methods (assigning responsibility by contracts with remuneration linked with output) to take family management into our collective economy and thus make it form an integrated unity with centralized management and give rise to a dual-level management structure that combines centralization with decentralization. As the level of economic and social development varies for various rural areas, so do the contents of centralization and decentralization in our contract responsibility system with remuneration linked with output. Therefore, this system is widely applicable and makes our relations of production better suited to the development of our productive forces. In order to pursue new development, our rural households can furthermore organize new economic combines on their own in the light of the demand of their production. As a result, the forms of our rural ownership have begun to diversify and a diversified and multilayered structure of ownership with the public ownership as the core is taking shape. The diversification of rural cooperative economic organizations, management methods and forms of ownership is the foundation for the development and prosperity of our rural economy.

2. We have followed the road of diversified and all-round development and broken with the practice of "regarding grain as the key link" and of "conducting merely a single line of undertaking" and thus quickened the development of rural economy.

Before the reform, hundreds of millions of peasants in our rural areas were mainly engaged in tilling the land for the production of grain. The development of undertakings other than agriculture was quite restricted. In particular, under the influence of the "leftist" ideology, diversified undertakings were often regarded as "capitalistic tails" and abolished. As a result the scope for rural economic activities continuously shrank. This caused the economy of all our rural areas to become uniform and was detrimental to the development of agriculture. Since the reform, we have roused the peasants' initiative in carrying out their production and thus quickly increased the output of agricultural products. The peasants' field of vision has begun to widen and they have begun to develop greater foresight. While grasping the production of grain, they also vigorously develop other farming production, fish farming, livestock breeding and processing of agricultural and sideline products. This facilitates fully exploiting rural resources and following the path of diversified development. All undertakings, agricultural or nonagricultural and biological or nonbiological, are within the scope of the economic activities of our peasants as long as they are allowed by our policies and within the scope of our peasants' capacity. Our agriculture, forestry, livestock breeding, sideline undertakings and fishery have all developed relatively quickly and nonagricultural undertakings such as mining industry, machine processing industry, transport, commerce, and service trades have begun to be set up and developed. The contents of our

rural economy have been enriched and a brand-new situation has emerged. Following a path of diversified development is the development strategy for our country's rural areas in the new period.

3. We have started the transition to a large-scale commodity economy and broken the self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient natural economy.

For a long time, our rural economy was a self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient natural economy. Our peasants were separated from the market. This practice hindered the development of our rural productive forces and the improvement of our peasants' living standard. Our rural reform has granted our peasants the decisionmaking power over their production. As the family contract responsibility system with remuneration linked to output and the policies of enlivening the economy at home and opening up to the outside world are implemented, we have changed some unnecessary restrictive policies and measures and thus encouraged rural natural economy to be switched into a commodity economy. Our peasants have not only solved the problems related to food and clothing, but also have surplus products and funds. This has prepared the fundamental conditions for the development of rural commodity economy. In particular, the households specializing in grain production and diversified undertakings have fully utilized and rationally organized rural labor, technology, funds and equipment to carry out specialized commodity production in the light of their own strong points and thus accelerated the development of rural commodity production. This has not only accumulated funds for making rural economy prosper and building new rich and civilized socialist rural areas but, as the exchange of materials and goods between urban and rural areas has expanded, it has also pushed forward urban reform and promoted the development of various undertakings.

4. The development of township and town enterprises has made rural industry an important part of our rural economy which plays a very important role in the process of modernizing the rural economy.

Over the past few years, township and town enterprises have developed very quickly. This is playing an increasingly clear and important role in changing our rural aspect. Practice has proved that "without agriculture there is no stability and without industry, we cannot become rich." Our township and town enterprises are important pillars for our rural economy and they are mainly engaged in nonagricultural industry, the key sector of which is rural industry. Relying on the force of our peasants to develop our rural economy, subsidizing agriculture with income from industry, and promoting the development of industry with agriculture has promoted the all-round development of our rural economy. This practice has broken the previous order of rural economic development. It conforms to the law of economic development and has thus given rise to a brand-new layout of our rural economy and promoted the rise of new relations between our urban and rural areas and a new generation of peasants. These are issues of particularly great importance.

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GIVE FULL PLAY TO THE ROLE OF RED FLAG IN BUILDING THE TWO CIVILIZATIONS--  
REPORT ON THE RED FLAG PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION WORK MEETING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 p 46

[Article by RED FLAG reporter]

[Text] From 10-14 August, the RED FLAG Office held a publication and distribution work meeting in Beijing. The main topic of discussion for the meeting was that under the new situation, RED FLAG has to carry out a profound reform of its editorial, publication, and distribution work and bring into full play its role in building the two civilizations.

At the meeting, Xiong Fu, the chief editor of RED FLAG, gave a speech on behalf of the editorial board, entitled "Make Joint Efforts and Give Full Play to the Role of RED FLAG in Building the Two Civilizations." He said: In light of the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates last year and the Fifth Session of the Sixth NPC this year, the board has decided to improve the work of propaganda about theory centered on reform. He talked about the following four aspects of the journal's work in the future:

1. While continuing to invite leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee and the provincial, municipal, and regional CPC committees and relevant specialists and scholars to write key theoretical articles, and while satisfactorily writing forum articles, editorials, and editorial department articles, the journal should focus its energy on organizing theoretical workers and the comrades who are doing actual work on various fronts to carry out profound research into and write special theses on the new situation and problems that have emerged in the practice of reform, centering on the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics. These articles should be the outcome of practice, be written from a certain plane of theory, have creative and new ideas, be able to widen people's field of vision, help them make a distinction between right and wrong, and enlighten them.
2. Under the precondition of adhering to the four basic principles, the journal should encourage theoretical exploration. We are forging ahead through exploration in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In doing so, we should be brave in breaking a few outdated and unsuitable principles as well as persisting in regarding Marxist stands, viewpoints, and methods as guidance. In order to guide practice, our theory should go ahead

of practice. We should encourage and support brave theoretical exploration and allow people to commit mistakes. Not allowing people to commit mistakes means not allowing them to carry out exploration. This will make it impossible for Marxism to further develop. RED FLAG should organize people to write and publish fine articles of brave theoretical exploration.

3. We should resolutely implement the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." The deeper and more extensive the development of our reform, the more lively people's thoughts. They will freely air their different views and give various different types of criticism and suggestions. Differences in people's views will urge people to investigate and think from different angles. In the course of discussion, debate, and comparison, people will accept what is right in each other's views and correct what is one-sided and unsatisfactory. As a result, they will gradually understand things in totality, continue to deepen their understanding, and thus manage to unify their understanding and make it conform to objective reality. This is the way people understand truth. Therefore, RED FLAG plans to start a new column for comrades with various views to discuss major theoretical problems in a comradely manner and on equal footing.

4. RED FLAG wants to make efforts to contribute to the emergence of a democratic, united, and harmonized environment and an atmosphere of mutual understanding and confidence in our theoretical circles. The key to achieving this aim is how we are to handle differences in views. We think that in observing the four basic principles, we should seek uniformity and maintain political identity with the CPC Central Committee. We will always suffer failures if we cannot do so. However, concerning academic, theoretical, and other issues of ideology, it is not necessary to seek uniformity. We should allow differences in views. Our country is so big and the situation in it is so complicated, and there are so many differences in people's education, degree of awareness, and ability of understanding, that it is impossible for differences in views not to emerge in the course of our progress, in particular in the process of the overall reform in our country, which affects the immediate interests of all people and shakes the traditional ideas of thousands of years' standing and the force of habit. In particular, owing to the limitations of the level of development of our science and technology and to various objective conditions, it is common for differences in views to last for a long time on some academic and theoretical issues. Therefore, even less can we force people to accept one unified view. Creating a democratic, united, and harmonized environment and atmosphere is an indispensable condition for people to bravely blaze new trails in the field of theory. RED FLAG has to make efforts in this area and thus give greater impetus to the development of Marxism in China.

Xiong Fu also talked about the reform in the journal's publication and distribution work was aimed at organizing party members and cadres to read RED FLAG; relatively deeply understand the CPC Central Committee's line, principles, and policies through RED FLAG; improve their mastery of Marxist theory; and heighten their ability to understand and transform the world, thus enabling them to make greater contributions to the cause of socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were comrades from the propaganda departments of various provincial, municipal, and regional CPC committees and from various publishing houses and post offices and also liaison and assistant staff of the journal. At the meeting, all the participants discussed Xiong Fu's speech and expressed their consent to the four opinions of the editorial board on improving the editorial work. Attending and also speaking at the meeting were also Zhao Hankun from the Publication Bureau of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee; Wang Jiarui, deputy chief of the Newspaper and Journal Publication Bureau of the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications; Wang Guang, member of the Standing Committee of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and RED FLAG Beijing liaison man; and Gong Xinhan, vice director of the Propaganda Department of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and RED FLAG Shanghai liaison man. At the meeting, comrades from Shijiazhuang city, Shanxi Province, Shandong Province, and Chongqing city briefed the participants on their work experience. During the period of the meeting, the comrades of the propaganda departments and post offices in some provinces and cities conscientiously studied and drew up their plans to satisfactorily do the work to distribute RED FLAG in order to create a new situation in the distribution work in 1987.

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## DREDGE THE 'PRIMARY CHANNEL'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 p 47

[Article by Zhang Yusheng [1728 7183 3932]]

[Text] The party committee of a certain county investigated into and duly handled a number of major cases in combating unhealthy tendencies. The masses were satisfied with the conscientious work done in investigation and handling. However, in reviewing the work done, the leading cadre of the party committee of the county said it was regrettable that those major cases were either brought to their attention by letters from the masses or by informers calling at the party committee office, or came to the notice of investigators when they were looking into some other cases, like successive cucumbers discovered by someone feeling along the vine, but none of those cases were reported via the normal inner-party channel, that is, reported by party organs at lower levels. The leading comrade said with regret: "Blockages still occur in the main channel though none occurs in the branch ones." What he regretted seems to be a widespread problem which we should therefore deeply ponder.

Serious problems of unhealthy tendencies existing at lower levels are not reported to the higher authorities via inner-party channels either because they are really not known to organizations at the lower levels or because they are not reported to the higher authorities even though they are known. Actually both kinds of situation are abnormal. Ours is a ruling party; there are party organizations in various organizations, factories, rural areas, neighborhoods, and schools, with over 40 million party members. If our party is likened to a tree reaching to the sky, our party organizations at various levels with their more than 40 million party members are like a vast system of roots deeply embedded in the masses. Let us leave aside the question of minor matters; if the party members or party organization of a unit are unaware of a major matter or serious problem occurring at their own unit, this is at the least an error of neglecting one's own duty. In the case of some units, they know about these matters but do not report them to the higher authorities. When a major problem arises, they tend to let it gradually lose impetus until it fades away. They tend to gloss over every matter, however serious, if the higher authorities do not conduct investigation. Some cases hidden from the notice of the higher authorities become known later only when they cannot be hidden from the masses.

There are naturally many reasons for the blockage of the main channel, but I think a point which must not be overlooked is the existence in the past of an anomalous phenomenon in our inner-party political life--reluctance to admit weak points and problems, and proneness to reporting good news but not bad news. Some people used to please their superiors by reporting only successes, for fear that they would be penalized or relieved of their posts when the truth was known. Some superiors also disliked their subordinates pointing out shortcomings and problems, thinking this amounted to finding fault and throwing mud at them. When such subordinates and superiors came together, the channel was sure to be blocked.

Zhao Gao, the powerful official in the last years of the Qin Dynasty, fooled Qin Emperor II by saying: "An emperor is dignified precisely if his officials can only hear his voice but not see him... It would be better if Your Majesty remains aloof in the depths of the palace and let me and others with a good knowledge of the law run the government. Then, the top officials will not dare to present problems for your consideration and the whole nation will praise you as a holy emperor." The emperor was convinced. Consequently, Zhao took over the running of the central government, became exceedingly powerful, and finally killed the emperor. Actually, Zhao Gao did clearly say that if the emperor kept himself aloof from his officials, this would only deter the top officials from reporting problems and would not mean that the country would be free from problems. The emperor was exceedingly stupid and thought that if no one reported problems, there would not be any problems and he would be very holy. Currently, some leading comrades only like to hear what is pleasing; this results in blockage in the inner-party channel. If their subordinates dare not report problems, they think that there are no problems. This is very dangerous. The seriousness of this problem does not concern whether problems do exist at the lower levels, but is related to the fact that people "dare not report" problems.

Over the past several years, the party committees and governments at various levels have devised many methods of improving their communication with the masses. The party committees of some localities and counties have instituted the system of having the leading comrades receive members of the masses on certain dates. Some cities have made public the telephone numbers of mayors and bureau chiefs so that the masses can directly inform them of problems. These are good methods. However, I think it is more important that in getting to know the situation at the lower levels, the leading comrades at various levels in our party should rely on the inner-party channel to be informed on the problems of their own localities or units. There are organizational and disciplinary features which ensure the success of using this channel, through which we should be able to obtain the latest, most accurate, and most complete information. If the main channel is blocked, what we know will probably be limited, incomplete, and not very systematic, even though there are many other good channels. Dredging the inner-party channel, reporting all information, whether good or bad, and achieving an unimpeded flow of information between higher and lower levels, constitute an important aspect of the rectification of our party's style of work.

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A SONG CALLING FOR FRIENDLY AFFECTION--READING SHORT STORY 'LONG CORRIDOR AFFECTION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 p 48

[Review by Guo Jianmo [6753 1696 2875]; "Long Corridor Affection" published in KUN LUN No 3, 1986]

[Text] This is a song calling for friendly love.

The plot of this story is not complicated. Qi, the leading character in the story, loses both hands and both eyes in an accident, becoming permanently disabled. In the hospital, he is comforted and cheered by Ding, a nurse who suffers from fatal illness. Thus, his "sorrows caused by the misfortune" are soon overshadowed by the friendly love surrounding him. He again begins to pursue and create in life, like launching the sailing boat of life afresh.

Qi is manly and has a strong sense of pride, which becomes increasingly stronger after he is disabled. Thus, he begins to be aloof toward females so that no one would say he liked to beseech women's pity; he would no longer hear his wardmates read love stories so that no one would say he was "seeking amusement to forget his miseries"; and he resolves to relinquish his wages, feeling ashamed to get paid, because he does not work. He chooses to take up the difficult career of writing.

It is precisely this eagerness to attain higher goals, coupled with pride, that gives him confidence to continue living after becoming seriously disabled. However, this mentality is clearly fragile and unstable. It causes a tendency to give up in the face of difficulties. This is because it arose from a mentality of resistance to and closing oneself to the outside world, as well as the readiness to fight against any contempt for oneself. Such supposed contempt is sensed as a result of an inferiority complex and oversensitivity. He outwardly appears to be philosophically optimistic, and says with elation to the nurses who take turns looking after him: "I am a star and you are all planets." Actually, miseries dominate the depths of his heart. This mixture of pride and inferiority complex, with inferiority complex germinating pride and covered by pride, is probably also present in people who are not disabled, but is particularly pronounced in the disabled.

It is friendly love which causes a basic departure from that kind of pride associated with resistance and antagonism, causes fragility to give way to a deep love of life, and arouses in him the spirit of striving for progress. Ding's sincere friendly love enables Qi to retaste the beauty of nature and to understand that nothing is more gratifying than to have someone understand oneself. It is precisely this friendly love that removes Qi's wariness and causes him to embrace life with open arms, so that he could enjoy spiritual equality and really know the value of life.

Ding's love is sincere and innocent. It emanates from the depths of her heart and is free from any affectation. She is always feeling and bringing warmth to this world with a kind and beautiful heart. The story contains this episode: In order to soothe Qi's vexation, she and some other people who joined her even play a children's game of hiding under the table, making him laugh. Her love also embodies equality. It is surely not some kind of noble mercy shown to the disabled by someone in a superior position. Instead, she fully respects the disabled with their peculiar mentality, and tries to reinvigorate them through her concern, tender care, and encouragement. Her words are sonorous and forceful: "You are a strong man who will not bow to difficulties. You should not feel so negative about life. You have lost your eyes, but you have ears to hear and feel. Nature belongs to every one of us who is living." This nourishing and invigorating remedy emanating from a sincere heart would surely be savored and accepted by a disabled person. What words can adequately praise her, in consideration that Ding serves many people other than Qi and that she renders selfless service while she was suffering from an incurable illness!

Friendly love is one of the most basic human relations in the progress and development of mankind. It is a spiritual quality indispensable to man's conquest of nature and perfecting himself. In a class society, friendly love is necessarily restricted by class relations: True friendly love can hardly exist between the exploiting classes and the exploited classes. In China, under the condition that the exploiting classes have disappeared, friendly love should be more extensive, more sincere, and deeper. Over many years in the past, however, proper friendly love among people was greatly undermined by the influences of "leftist" ideology: In particular, during that "unprecedented" upheaval, the love between comrades and between patriots was immersed in the ice-cold water of an artificial class struggle that caused everyone to worry about one's own safety, to be alert, and even to harm others. It is only during the current historical period, when order has been brought out of chaos, that extensive friendly love has revived and socialist humanitarianism shines again.

The development of the relation between Qi and Ding is a song in praise of friendship and love. Only those who have experienced sufferings know the value of friendly love. Liu Qi, the author of "Long Corridor Affection," praises and calls for friendly love. Probably Comrade Liu Qi's voice is the more sincere and earnest because he is a serviceman with a special honors award who lost both arms and both eyes and whose left leg was crippled. Actually, the disabled are not the only ones who need friendly love.

The story is simple in style and sincere. Many descriptions of feelings have distinctive features. The account of the leading character's confusion as to whether he was dead or alive upon his regaining consciousness makes the reader feel as if he is experiencing what is described. The natural environment is described in terms of the senses of touch and hearing, and the image of nurse Ding is depicted through her laughter. Readers who are accustomed to observing the world by seeing will experience a fresh feeling.

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ANALYZING NEW PHENOMENA IN TODAY'S CAPITALIST WORLD--INTRODUCING THE BOOK  
'IMPERIALISM TODAY'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 86 inside back cover

[Book review by Cheng Shaopei [4453 1421 3099]]

[Text] Recently, the China Youth Publication House published the book "Imperialism Today" which was written and edited by Li Ganheng and other comrades. On the basis of adhering to basic Marxist theory, this book cites a large amount of data. It makes a detailed analysis of, and theoretically expounds on, the characteristics, essence and historical position of contemporary imperialism in the light of capitalist countries' reality since World War II. By so doing, it clarifies theories on the essence of contemporary imperialism, and thus to some extent helps people strengthen their confidence in the inevitable victory of socialism all over the world. The book has the following clear characteristics:

1. Its structure is relatively new and its narrative is very logical. The book begins its narrative with the emergence of the scientific and technological revolution in imperialist countries after World War II and links all its parts into an integrated whole with relatively new logical relations. The writer holds that the scientific and technological revolution after the war greatly promoted the vigorous development of social productive forces in imperialist countries and gave rise to deep changes in the economic structure and material livelihood of these countries. At the same time, it has also deepened all inherent contradictions in these countries. Therefore, we should start our analysis of the imperialist system today from here. The book makes an all-round analysis from the point of view of the influence of the productive forces, to changes in relations of production, and relations between economic foundation and superstructure. After analyzing and expounding on imperialist economies and policies in an all-round manner, the book evaluates bourgeois economics in its last chapter. This structure gives readers an impression of newness as well as convincing them that its structure is rational.

2. What it expounds on is new and conforms to the reality. In expounding on basic principles, the writer makes great efforts to establish a theoretical analysis that is supported by rich and new material, that seeks truth from facts, and that conforms to the objective reality. For example, when it

expounds on state monopoly imperialism, the writer holds that monopoly continues to be the most profound foundation for imperialism today, but that there have been changes in the form of monopoly capital rule. In the past, when we expounded on relations between monopoly capital and medium-sized and small enterprises, we often merely mentioned the fact that "big fish" eat "small fish." The book points out that because of the development of specialization, cooperation and coordination in production, large monopoly companies find that they are better off taking medium-sized and small enterprises into their systems rather than eating them up. In his analysis, the writer further points out: In spite of changes in the form of monopoly capital rule, there has been no change in the relationship between rulers and ruled, and exploiters and exploited, in large monopoly capital and medium-sized and small enterprises. For another example, when we have expounded on imperialist countries' exports of capital in the past, we often merely stressed the evil impact of the exports on recipient countries. The book proceeds from reality and clearly points out that, at certain periods of time and to a certain extent, drawing in and utilizing foreign capital can promote the development of the developing countries' economies, while fully exposing the plunder and exploitation of capital export on developing countries.

3. It pays attention to linking with reality and its narrative is therefore more relevant. In order to counter the muddled understanding about imperialism in the minds of some people, in particular the youth, the writer uses Marxism as a guide to give scientific answers to their questions, such as: Why does science and technology continue to develop rapidly although imperialism is decadent capitalism? Has capitalism become "people's capitalism" now that the number of people holding small amounts of shares has become increasingly large in capitalist countries? What is the essence of welfare policies "from cradle to grave" and have these policies changed the nature of bourgeois exploitation? As the writer makes a truth-seeking analysis by combining reasoning with the listing of facts, the book is relatively more convincing.

4. The style of writing is vivid and interesting. In selecting its material, the book not only takes in the most recent research achievements by our theoretical circles, but also uses large amounts of new data and information about the economic situations in major capitalist countries during the past few years. The writer has made great efforts to write in a vivid and simple style in order to make his reasoning of profound theory easy to understand. He pays attention to make both the headlines and narrative scientific, instructive and interesting. For example, with headlines such as "Application of Atomic Energy Began With Atomic Bombs" and "Space Ships Originated From V Bombs," it expounds on the fact that from its very beginning, the scientific and technological revolution in capitalist countries was stamped with a military brand. With the headline "Regard the World as a 'Rich Meal,'" it explains the characteristics of transnational corporations' operations, and with the headline "Luxurious Palaces and Simple Shacks" it describes the difference between the rich lifestyle of the bourgeoisie today and the lifestyle of the working class. These headlines are not only vivid, but also provide people with food for thought. The writer reasons while

narrating and merges vivid and interesting narrative with and exposition of basic principles and thus makes his writing appropriate, vivid and very interesting.

The book also has some shortcomings. For example, the theoretical analysis on some issues is inadequate and there is some careless wording. However, as a whole, it is a popular work on theory that is relatively new in both ideas, contents, and wording.

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the 1990s, the number of people who have been employed in the public sector has increased in all countries. The increase has been particularly large in the United States, where the public sector has grown from 15.5% of the total workforce in 1970 to 22.5% in 1995 (see Figure 1).

There are a number of reasons for the increase in public sector employment. One reason is the growth of the welfare state. In many countries, the welfare state has expanded significantly since the 1970s, leading to a large increase in public sector employment. Another reason is the growth of the public sector in the service economy. As the service economy has grown, the public sector has also grown, particularly in the areas of education, health care, and social services.

There are also a number of reasons for the increase in public sector employment in the United States. One reason is the growth of the welfare state. In the United States, the welfare state has expanded significantly since the 1970s, leading to a large increase in public sector employment. Another reason is the growth of the public sector in the service economy. As the service economy has grown, the public sector has also grown, particularly in the areas of education, health care, and social services.

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