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JPRS-CRF-86-023

9 DECEMBER 1986

# China Report

RED FLAG

No 20, 16 OCTOBER 1986

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CHINA REPORT

RED FLAG

No 20, 16 October 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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ERRATUM: In JPRS-CRF-86-020 of 15 October 1986, No 17 of this series, in article entitled "Give Full Play to the Role of RED FLAG in Building the Two Civilizations--Report on the RED FLAG Publication and Distribution Work Meeting," on page 73, paragraph 2, line 5 should read: year and the Fourth Session of the Sixth NPC this year, the board has decided...

## MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY OF THEORETICAL WORKERS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The whole party and nation are studying the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology." This is a programmatic document possessing a strategic position; it is all-round and profound, and shining with the brilliance of the theory of materialist dialectics. A section of the "Resolution" is devoted to expounding the importance of the building of Marxist theory. Our theoretical workers will undoubtedly draw powerful inspiration from this resolution, and come to a better understanding of the great responsibility resting on them.

The basic task for theoretical work is to render service to socialist modernization. This requires us to persist in the principle of linking theory with practice, to study the new conditions, new experiences, and new problems emerging in socialist modernization and the all-round reform in all economic, political, cultural, and social areas, and to explore the law governing building socialism with Chinese characteristics. At the same time, we are required to study the new changes in the contemporary world, as well as all contemporary ideological trends, and to absorb and to generalize the most up-to-date results in the development of all branches of science in a critical way. Remarkable accomplishments have been made in theoretical work with regard to bringing order out of chaos and promoting reform since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The theoretical and academic fields present a thriving and active scene. However, we cannot but see that, compared with the needs of socialist modernization, our theoretical work is still lagging behind the requirements set by the development of the situation; and what is more, the trend of deviation from the tasks and principles of theoretical work even exists.

Doing a good job of socialist modernization involves adherence not only to the four cardinal principles but also to reform and opening up. Ideological and theoretical problems of all sorts will inevitably emerge in the course of reform and opening up. How could we make it work if our ideological and theoretical work should remain empty abstract talk or dull preaching, while failing to give theoretical explanations to all sorts of questions with

regard to building socialist modernization, without scientific demonstration of the party line, principles, and policies, and convincing explanations for the confused understanding of the cadres and the masses existing in our life? For example, concerning such questions as democracy, equality, truth, morality, authority, organizational sense, social practice, human nature, and humanism, many people still have a lot of confused concepts or incorrect understanding about them. This requires us to give them correct theoretical answers in line with the Marxist stand, views, and methods. This is an important aspect of theoretical work. The problem is, some comrades who really have some attainments in theoretical circles are not willing to write theoretical articles or books on those issues, and such articles or books can be enlightening; while some other comrades are unwilling to go deep into the actual conditions of China, and indulge in harangues once they have read some foreign books or heard some comments lacking deep thinking at home. Theoretical work will fail to play its due role if such conditions are not changed in a down-to-earth way.

Modernization and all-round reform are extremely complicated undertakings of blazing new trails, without any ready answers. Different opinions in theory and work often occur. In order to judge whether these opinions are correct, it is necessary to resolutely implement the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend." Solutions will emerge through free discussion by theoretical and academic circles on an equal footing, with continuous testing of solutions in practice. Even with confused concepts or erroneous understanding really existing among the cadres and the masses, we should refrain from the practice of suppression, while presenting them with something genuinely more convincing and enlightening in order to give them correct guidance. To achieve this, first, we must be very familiar with basic Marxist tenets; and second, we must have a good understanding of the actual conditions of present-day China. Moreover, we must be willing to collect data in earnest, to conduct research meticulously, and to arrive at a unity of theory and practice through arduous and creative labor. Only then will it be possible to elevate the rich experiences of the party and the people in their practice to the proper plane of theory, so that Marxism may better play a guiding role in the building of the two civilizations.

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CSO: 4004/6

## THE RED ARMY DOES NOT FEAR THE TRIALS OF THE LONG MARCH.

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 3-5

[Article by Xu Xiangqian [1776 0686 0467]]

[Text] Today is 22 October, the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Long March of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army.

On this day half of a century ago, the three main forces of the Red Army joined forces in Huining, Gansu, victoriously completing the Long March. This exciting scene will always be engraved in the minds of all members of the Red Army. This 2-year Long March was the most spectacular major event in modern history and an important link in Chinese revolutionary history. It proclaimed to the whole world that the Communist Party of China and the heroic Red Army under its leadership were invincible.

Fifty years ago, the Chinese nation was experiencing a disaster-ridden dark era. With China being flagrantly invaded by the external force of the Japanese imperialists, and the Red Army being repeatedly "encircled and suppressed" by the internal force of Chiang Kai-shek, the revolutionary forces experienced cyclonic devastations. Due to the rule of Wang Ming's "left" deviation line, the "Soviet Movement" suffered one setback after another and was almost plunged into a hopeless predicament. In a grave situation, with Chiang Kai-shek having amassed a million troops and carried out the fifth "encirclement and suppression" in an attempt to destroy the forces of the Red Army at one stroke, beginning from the latter half of 1934, the first, second and fourth front armies and the 25th Army of the Red Army were forced to leave their original bases in succession and started the incomparable 10,000-li Long March.

The hardships, difficulties, dangers, obstacles, and tortuous nature of the Long March were extraordinary and almost beyond people's endurance capability. With a great disparity in strength between the enemy and ourselves, our armies had to fight independently in one place after another in an effort to find a new foothold. Nevertheless, chased by hundreds of thousands of enemy troops from everywhere, we were simply not allowed to gain a foothold or even catch our breath. The Red Army had to fight on the run and seldom passed a day without fighting and running. Fighting in one place after another in the enemy-occupied zones, the Red Army had no supply of food, clothes, and

medicine. The untraversed high mountain ridges, deep ravines, rapid streams, precipices, shoals, snowy mountains, grasslands, and primitive forests all bore the imprint of Red Army footsteps and many comrades lost their lives there. Moreover, the internal mistakes also exacerbated the difficulties and dangers in the battles. The wrong military command issued by the dogmatists caused losses of over a half or almost all of the First Front Army of the Red Army after breaking the Xiang Jiang blockade. Zhang Guotao's splittism and strategy of moving southward also consumed a half of the military strength of the Fourth Front Army on the borders of Sichuan and Xikang. However, neither the encirclement, pursuit, interception and blockade of the powerful enemy and the harsh natural conditions nor the mistakes and splittism within the party could cow the officers and soldiers of the Red Army. The Red Army proved themselves to be heroes. All the dangers and difficulties were surmounted and conquered one after another by the collective struggles waged by the party and the Red Army. The dream of Chiang Kai-shek to destroy the Red Army within a short time was thoroughly shattered. After innumerable hardships, the Red Army eventually completed the great strategic move and set up a base in northwest China, thus opening a new historical chapter of the national democratic revolution.

The victory of the Long March of the Red Army is a song of triumph integrating the national conditions in China with Marxism-Leninism and a unique miracle in the military history of mankind and the history of the international communist movement. What were the fundamental factors contributing to this victory?

First, the Red Army was under the correct and strong leadership of the party.

The CPC was tempered, tested and developed in the harsh environment of struggle and was always a nucleus to lead and unite the Red Army. Armed with the scientific theories of Marxism-Leninism, the party also had very rich experiences in waging military and political struggles. In the course of the great Chinese revolution and the agrarian revolutionary war, the party cultivated a number of leaders and cadres who were loyal to the cause of the party, both intelligent and courageous, and indomitable and able to closely integrate with the masses and enjoy a very high prestige in the Red Army. It was proved that those dogmatists who were propped up by external forces and had only book knowledge just could not direct such a complex course of events as the Long March. Even though they could talk on and on in a flow of eloquence, in the face of the revolutionary tempest, they got confused and found themselves in the mire and were not capable of meeting an emergency. At the Zunyi conference, relying on a large number of the long-tested backbone leaders, the party resolutely put an end to the rule of the dogmatists, established the actual leadership of Mao Zedong who was good at integrating Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice, and formed a strong and correct leading clique with Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other comrades as the core of the clique. As a result, the course of the Chinese revolution was set right, the whole party and the whole army was united, the danger to the revolution was turned into safety, the Chishui River was victoriously crossed on four occasions, the first and fourth front armies successfully joined forces in the southern part of

Sichuan, the First Front Army triumphantly marched northward to the northern part of Shaanxi, and the three main forces of the Red Army successfully effected a junction in Huining. The Second Front Army and the 25th Army independently fought battles in one place after another after losing contact with the party Central Committee and therefore were in a particularly difficult position. Nevertheless, with the firm leadership of the party organizations and outstanding comrades like Ren Bishi, He Long, Wu Huanxian, Xu Haidong, and so on, the army was invincible and the victory was ensured.

Second, the strategic direction of the Red Army was correct and its tactics were flexible.

Whether the strategic direction of the Red Army was correct had a direct bearing on the survival of the Red Army. After being forced to leave its original bases, the Red Army first maneuvered westward and then northward fighting in one place after another. The general direction of its strategic transfer was correct and in keeping with the characteristics and rules of the Chinese revolution. At that time, the provinces in southwest China were remote and difficult of access and many places were occupied by warlords, which was favorable to the Red Army in dealing with the enemy and saving themselves. Therefore, it was not at all accidental that the armies of the Red Army maneuvered westward. Nevertheless, the southwest region also had its limitations: First, Chiang Kai-shek attempted to grab those provinces around Sichuan in the southwest region and turn them into his major strategic bases. Second, the local warlords regarded the areas they occupied as their own life, fearing that the Red Army might endanger their rule and that Chiang Kai-shek might annex them as well in the name of "suppressing bandits regardless of the geographical boundaries." Therefore, they joined together and stepped up the pace of destroying and driving out the Red Army. Third, as these remote areas were mostly inhabited by some minority nationalities and had a backward economy and small populations and we did not know their languages, they did not possess the conditions to become revolutionary bases. Therefore, after the first and fourth front armies effected a junction in the western part of Sichuan, the party Central Committee determined, for the first time, the strategic principle of marching northward and gaining a foothold in the northwest region to exist and develop. The consequent historical developments have completely proved the correctness of this principle. At that time, as the national contradiction between China and Japan became unprecedentedly acute, the national revolutionary movement in north China had already reached a high tide; being far away from Chiang Kai-shek's military and political center, the northwest region was a weak link of his rule; the troops of Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng stationed in northwest China had worked with our party before and were feeling very dissatisfied with Chiang Kai-shek and demanding resistance to the Japanese aggression; also, living in an abyss of misery, the people in north China had an urgent demand for liberation and a better life. All these provided a favorable basis for the Red Army to set up bases in north China, develop and strengthen themselves, and shoulder the important task of leading the national revolutionary war. If the Red Army had not moved northward, the subsequent Xian Incident would not have taken place, nor would the national united front against the Japanese aggression have been formed.

Whether marching westward or northward, the Red Army always employed flexible tactics, regarded mobile warfare as their main combat pattern and opposed the rigid military adventurism. They observed the principle of "fighting when they could win and moving away when they could not win" and opposed effecting passive defense and withdrawal. The battle to cross the Chishui River on four occasions waged by the First Front Army, the battle of Shifangping waged by the Second Front Army, the fight of forcibly crossing the Jialing Jiang and the battle of Baozuo waged by the Fourth Front Army, the two battles combating "encirclement and suppression" waged by the 25th Army on the Hubei-Henan-Shaanxi borders were all successful combat examples of employing flexible tactics and played an important role in effecting the planned strategic transfer.

Undoubtedly, the important key for the Red Army in using the few to challenge the many, making the weak defeat the strong, and triumphantly completing the great strategic transfer lay in proceeding from the reality and adopting the strategy and tactics which were in keeping with the Chinese national conditions and the revolutionary development law.

Third, the inner unity of the Red Army was strong.

Although hailing from everywhere in the country, the officers and soldiers of the Red Army shared the common ideal and goal for endeavor. This was the ideological basis for the unity of the Red Army which was formed in combat and in collective life over a long period. An equal, helpful, united and friendly atmosphere existed between officers and soldiers, between the army and the government, between the army and localities, and between one part of the Red Army and another part. This fine tradition played an important role in conquering the enemy, surmounting difficulties and consolidating ourselves during the arduous Long March. Unity means strength, victory and invincibility. The spirit of unity and mutual help was demonstrated in numerous battles, crossing the snowy mountains and grasslands, healing the wounded and rescuing the dying, the relationship between the army and the people, and effecting a junction between the first and fourth front armies, between the second and fourth front armies and between the three main forces of the Red Army. These moving examples defy enumeration.

The unity of the party and the Red Army was realized in the struggles against the "left" deviation dogmatism and Zhang Guotao's splittism. Having ruled the whole party for a long time, the "left" deviation dogmatists were engaged in sectarianism and closed-doorism, thus seriously endangering the unity of the revolutionary forces. The Zunyi conference put an end to their rule and laid a foundation for realizing a strong unity between the party and the Red Army. Later, acting against the Central Committee's principle of marching northward, on 8 October 1935, Zhang Guotao dispatched a telegram (the so-called secret telegram) to Chen Changhao and me asking us to lead the right wing army to march southward. Thereafter, the party Central Committee had to lead only the first and third front armies on the march northward and the first and fourth front armies had to separate after effecting a junction. Even under this circumstance, we still persisted in upholding the unity of the Red Army and shunned resorting to force to fight

the Red Army with the Red Army. Zhang Guotao's splittism and wrong strategic principles could only temporarily have its way and would fail eventually. During their southward march, relying on the party Central Committee's principle of unity, the resistance and struggle of Zhu De, Liu Bocheng, and the vast numbers of officers and soldiers, the glorious traditions of the party and the Red Army to treasure unity and oppose splitting up, and the correct strategic and tactical line of the Wayaobao conference, the Fourth Front Army of the Red Army finally overcame and corrected Zhang Guotao's splittism and marched northward for a second time. It was proved that we should neither give up nor shun the struggles of principle but use the correct principles and methods to resolve the problems. Only by so doing could we effectively safeguard the concentrated and united leadership of the party as well as the strong unity of the party and the Red Army.

Fourth, the Red Army possessed a powerful spiritual strength.

What exactly is the "Long March spirit"? It is primarily the spirit of revolutionary heroism, collectivism, and optimism, the sacrificial spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and the dedicated spirit of self-reliance, hard struggle, indomitability, undauntedness, and fighting wholeheartedly for the interests of the people. This kind of spiritual strength was not produced out of thin air. It originates from the lofty ideal of communism, the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism, and the constant education and powerful ideological and political work of the party. This kind of spiritual strength is incomparable to any other troops in history. Marx once said: When theory is mastered by the masses, it will become a great material force. With a strong spiritual backing, the Red Army would become a powerful and indestructible combat force and persist in fighting under any arduous and difficult conditions. "The Red Army does not fear the trials of the Long March but takes the ten thousand crags and torrents lightly." In the face of a Red Army armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, all the enemies, hunger and cold, fatigue, pains, storms and snow, swamps, and death, were conquerable.

A great spirit can produce a great army, great fighters, and great miracles. The victory of the Long March of the Red Army has completely proved this.

Marking the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Long March, reviewing the road taken by the Red Army, and summing up the historical experience of the Long March is of important significance to the socialist construction of our country. As early as the eve of the national liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong predicted: Snatching victory in the whole country is only the completion of the first step of a 10,000-li Long March. "The Chinese revolution is great but after the revolution the road will be longer and the work will be greater and more arduous." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1376) The correctness of this prediction has been fully proved by the tortuous road of our country's socialist revolution and construction over the last 37 years. At present, the people of the whole country are marching toward the magnificent goal of the four modernizations, carrying out a reform with far-reaching significance, and breaking up a new road which has not yet been traversed by any other people before. Facing the party and the people, there

are still many difficulties to be conquered, many decadent and outdated things to be overcome, and countless high mountains and perilous peaks to be scaled. In this sense, the people in our country are making a greater and more arduous new Long March. As long as we inherit the fine traditions of the Red Army, bring into play the great spirit of the Red Army's Long March, and constantly intensify the building of the socialist material as well as spiritual civilization, we will surely surmount the difficulties on the road ahead, triumphantly attain the planned strategic goals, and create a brilliant and splendid new world.

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CSO: 4004/6

CARRY FORWARD THE RED ARMY'S SPIRIT OF ARDUOUS STRUGGLES IN THE NEW PERIOD--  
COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RED ARMY'S VICTORY OF THE LONG MARCH

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 6-8

[Editorial]

[Text] The 50th anniversary of the Red Army's victory of the Long March falls in October this year. Earth-shaking changes have taken place in China over the past 50 years. China is now thriving and is becoming more prosperous every day. China has also scored great achievements in socialist modernization. The party Central Committee recently adopted a resolution to further strengthen the building of the socialist spiritual civilization. Under this kind of excellent situation, it is of special significance to look back on and commemorate the Long March.

The Long March carried out by the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army 50 years ago was a great heroic epic that impressed the whole world. Under extremely perilous conditions, the Red Army left its original base area, carried out a great strategic shift, made a long drive of 25,000 li, swept through the length and breadth of over 10 provinces, smashed the sieges and interceptions conducted by hundreds of thousands of pursuing enemy troops, crossed untraversed snowy mountains and marshy grasslands, surmounted numerous difficulties and hardships, and finally reached the frontline to resist Japanese aggression, thus winning the victory of the Long March. This magnificent, historic feat laid down solid foundations for the victory of the Chinese revolution. The exploits of the Long March and the illustrious name of the Red Army will shine through the ages and will go down in history forever and ever.

So what are the reasons for the Red Army's victory of the Long March? The most important point is that to realize the lofty ideal of communism, Chinese Communists and the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army did not fear difficulties and sacrifices, was firm and indomitable, and kept on fighting in spite of all setbacks, thus giving full play to the spirit of arduous struggles. Nie Rongzhen, a leader of the Long March, said: "Our craving to realize the ideal of liberation and our will to wage arduous struggles helped us surmount numerous hardships and dangers." ("The Memoirs of Nie Rongzhen," Vol 1, p 235) We now describe the current socialist modernization as "the new Long March." This shows that we regard today's undertaking

as a continuance of the Long March carried out 50 years ago, and that we regard the two marches as two stages and links in the course of achieving the goals of communism under the leadership of the CPC. We also regard the spirit that led to the victory of the Long March as an important spiritual pillar for victoriously conducting our socialist modernization. In commemorating the Long March, we must integrate new historical conditions with old ones, carry forward the fine traditions of our party and our Army, and turn such fine traditions into powerful driving forces for promoting our socialist modernization.

Conditions were difficult 50 years ago and it was necessary to wage arduous struggles. Today's conditions are very different from the conditions then. Is it still necessary to wage arduous struggles? People have not yet reached unanimity of views on this question. In some people's opinion, since the aim of the development of production is to raise the people's living standard, the development of commodity economy will require high income, high consumption, and a high level of welfare. In their opinion, the so-called arduous struggles are obsolete practices and belong to "old history." They think that advocating arduous struggles at present means retrogression and going against the trend of the times. This kind of view is wrong. True, at the time of the Long March, China was a semicolonial and semifeudal society, and imperialists, feudalists, and bureaucrat-capitalists vainly tried in every possible way to strangle the revolutionary struggles of the people. Under the conditions of those years, if the Chinese Communists and revolutionaries did not wage arduous struggles, it would undoubtedly be impossible for them to overthrow the old world. China now is a socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity, and the proletariat and working people now have the political power in their own hands. China also has rich material and manpower resources and is unswervingly conducting socialist modernization. Under these conditions, we we cast away the tradition of waging arduous struggles? The answer can only be a negative one. We must not lose sight of the two basic characteristics of our country, namely, having a poor foundation to start with, and having a very large population. "Poverty" and "backwardness" are still like two great mountains puzzling us. It is quite evident that this state of affairs can only be changed by unremittingly carrying forward the spirit of arduous struggles over a long period. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "having the pioneering spirit of arduous struggles" is an important "prerequisite" for realizing the four modernizations. He repeatedly stressed: "Ours is a poor country, a great nation. We must make arduous efforts to do pioneering work." "We must always remember that ours is a great nation with a very large population, and that we have a very poor foundation to start with. Only by waging a protracted struggle can we catch up with the developed countries." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," pp 221, 222, 224) Moreover, we should make the following point: It is not merely because we are poor and backward that we must wage arduous struggles. Even if we become rich and advanced, and become one of the developed countries in the world in the future, we shall still have to wage arduous struggles. Waging arduous struggles is an ideological character of the proletariat and communists and is also a basic requirement for the realization of the cause of communism. If the new generation "does not want to

plant trees for the future generation and only wants to rest under the shade of the trees planted by its forefathers," there will be no social progress nor will there be any national growth. Of course, in that case, it will be impossible to realize our lofty ideal. Therefore, it is wrong and harmful to have any idea or any practice that despises or even attempts to abandon arduous struggles.

Waging arduous struggles is a spiritual character of the people. Of course, the content and form of this character will change when the times and conditions are changed. Today's advocacy of carrying forward the Long March spirit of arduous struggles is not asking the people to follow the Long March practice of crossing snowy mountains and marshy grasslands and eating grass roots and bark. This advocacy does not mean publicizing the old argument that "poverty gives rise to the desire for revolution" nor does it mean publicizing the argument that the poorer one becomes, the more honor one wins. Poverty is not socialism. Socialism means mobilizing and organizing the masses to wipe out poverty and achieve prosperity through their own efforts. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out during the Yanan period more than 40 years ago: "It is wrong simply to exhort people in any base area to endure hardship in the bitter struggle without encouraging them to increase production and thereby try to improve their material conditions." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 867) These words of Comrade Mao Zedong are obviously very instructive during the period of socialist construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have conscientiously drawn lessons in ignoring the development of productive forces and in putting undue emphasis on arduous struggles, correctly handled the relation between accumulation and consumption, and gradually improved the people's material and cultural life on the basis of an uninterrupted development of production. This has become an important principle for promoting our socialist construction.

To carry forward the spirit of arduous struggles in accordance with the characteristics and demands of socialist construction, it is most important that the whole party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country set up high aims and lofty aspirations for socialist modernization, foster the spirit of utter devotion to socialist modernization, brave all difficulties, work hard, be bold in opening up new paths, and exert themselves in the struggle for socialist modernization. Our socialist modernization comprises the building of material and spiritual civilizations. As compared with the Long March, socialist modernization is a cause which is more magnificent and complicated. Socialist modernization is a giant creative project which touches upon all fields, spheres, and trades. How are we to build socialism with Chinese characteristics in China, which is economically and culturally backward? Classical works do not offer a ready answer to this question, and other socialist countries do not have any successful systematic experience that we can use. This means that the whole party and people throughout the country must go through the process of exploring and opening up new paths. During this process, there will be many problems and difficulties. In going through this process, if we do not give full play to the indomitable spirit of arduous struggles, we will not be able to attain successes. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "In the operation of

socialist undertaking, we must not cherish illusions that there will be no difficulties and setbacks, that there is no need to make great efforts, that everything is always clear sailing, and that it is easy to attain successes." ("Selected Readings From the Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 774) Nurtured by the spirit of the Long March, the Chinese Communists and Chinese people will surely plunge into the great practice of socialist modernization enthusiastically, surmount all kinds of difficulties and obstacles, and win new victories of socialist modernization.

Under the extremely difficult conditions of the Long March, the Red Army experienced innumerable hardships, managed to avoid becoming worn-out, and preserved core members of the party and the Red Army. One of the important reasons for its success is that there was equality between officers and men who shared weal and woe. In both normal times and wartime during those years, Communist Party members and cadres were the first to bear hardships and charge the enemy lines and the last to enjoy comforts and to retreat. They made things easy for others and gave up their chance of living to others; they volunteered to face difficulties and the threat of death. As a result, the leadership and the rank and file respected and loved each other and were of one heart and one mind, thus forming a steely collective. These things are important contents of the Long March's spirit of arduous struggles. In carrying out socialist construction, we must also carry forward the spirit of cadres and the masses sharing weal and woe and waging arduous struggles. Over the past several dozen years, the great majority of our party members and cadres have done well, preserved and carried forward the spirit of the Long March, wholeheartedly led the masses to go in for socialism, and won respect and praise from the masses.

However, it must be pointed out that the responsible positions given to some party members and cadres by the party and the state have not become honorable posts for serving the people but have become their means of seeking all kinds of privileges. They do not see themselves as public servants who must be supervised by the people but regard themselves as lords and masters who can do whatever they like; they are not concerned with the well-being and the weal and woe of the masses; they just diligently strive after comforts for themselves and for their sons, daughters, and relatives. To seek such comforts, they do not hesitate to commit crimes such as accepting bribes and engaging in speculating and swindling. Some party members and cadres, who overcame difficulties and withstood enemy force in earlier revolutionary times, are now morally degenerate in the face of "money" and "power." This is a most profound lesson. After conducting party rectification and striking severe blows at all kinds of criminal activities, we have cleared away and punished a group of party members and cadres of this kind, redeemed a group of redeemable people, and enabled our party style and the general mood of society to take a very favorable turn. However, it is worthwhile to be always on guard against the thinking and behavior that have blasphemed and betrayed the spirit of the Long March. All party members and cadres, especially leading cadres, must remember well, under any circumstances, that the party's essential purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly. According to the needs of socialist modernization and the expectations of the broad masses of the people, all party members and cadres,

especially leading cadres must "plan and worry ahead of the people, and enjoy the fruits after the people," be brave in shouldering heavy loads, be ready to go where conditions are hard, and be models in waging arduous struggles.

The victory of the Long March was won through the Red Army's efforts to mobilize each and every member of the Red Army to walk step by step toward the final destination. Participants in the Long March were forced to walk due to the lack of modern transportation. The walking displayed the Red Army's spirit of working hard and doing solid work in a down-to-earth manner. It is always worthwhile to study and carry forward this spirit, which is needed at all times and is particularly necessary to promote the great cause of socialist construction. Lenin pointed out: "It is by laying stone by stone the firm foundation of a socialist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 490) Historical experience has proved, and will continue to prove, the following point: Whenever we conscientiously proceed from actual conditions, do what we are capable of, and follow in order and advance step by step, our undertaking will be going on smoothly and will forge rapidly ahead; whenever we are hotheaded, ignore subjective and objective conditions, become impetuous, are prone to boasting and exaggeration, and act rashly, our undertaking will take a roundabout course and suffer serious losses. In carrying out construction and reforms, we must draw on past lessons and experiences, and do solid work step by step, and must never go in for boasting, exaggeration, and formalism. This is also an important aspect of our task of carrying forward the Long March's spirit of arduous struggles in the new period. The party Central Committee has decided on the following two steps to realize the objective of our struggle for promoting China's economic and social development in the next few decades: The first step is that by the end of this century, China will free itself from the state of poverty and will become comparatively well-off; the second step is that by the middle of the next century, China's economic level will be close to the developed countries' level. To realize this magnificent objective, it is necessary for several generations to continuously wage arduous struggles. Comrade Hu Yaobang noted: We Chinese people of the 20th century are destined by historical conditions to bear more hardships. We must ungrudgingly make necessary sacrifices for the interests of the masses of the people and for the well-being of our coming generations. We firmly believe that with glorious traditions, the Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will, under no circumstances, disappoint history and their coming generations. They will certainly inspire enthusiasm, display a down-to-earth style of work, avoid empty talk, do more solid work, and make concerted efforts to dedicate all their wisdom and strength to the realization of the magnificent objective of socialist construction.

Today, amid the great upsurge in reform and construction, we are full of intense emotion in commemorating the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Long March. Our objective is clear and definite, and it is an inspiring one. The line of our party is correct. Let the whole party, the whole army, and the people of all nationalities throughout the country carry forward the spirit of the Long March and advance bravely in the course of the new Long March!

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## CORRECTLY AND EFFECTIVELY CARRY OUT THE BUILDING OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 9-14

[Article by Yang Rudai [2799 3067 1486], secretary of Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] In the new situation of the reform, the opening up, and the development of socialist commodity economy, a new topic facing us is how to correctly and effectively carry out the building of spiritual civilization. After studying the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology," which is a programmatic document on strengthening the building of spiritual civilization, and considering our own practical experiences over the past few years, I think that in order to correctly and effectively carry out the building of spiritual civilization, we must raise our understanding and carry out more practice in the four aspects of grasping the orientation, grasping the essentials, being realistic, and taking proper measures.

Grasping the Orientation of Adhering to the Four Cardinal Principles, Carrying Out the Reform, and Opening Up to the World by Centering on the Economic Construction

Adhering to the four cardinal principles, the reform, the opening up, and the promotion of the construction of socialist modernization in an all-round way are not only the main spirit of the line set by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee but also the orientation pointed out by the "Resolution" passed by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The "Resolution" expounds the strategic position and basic guiding principles of the building of spiritual civilization from the high plane of the overall arrangement of the construction of socialist modernization. The building of socialist spiritual civilization must push forward the construction of socialist modernization, promote the overall reform and the opening up, and adhere to the four cardinal principles. At present, some of our comrades still lack a correct and unified understanding of the relationship between the building of spiritual civilization and the overall construction of socialist modernization, the relationship between adhering to the four cardinal principles and carrying out the reform and opening up to the world, and the relationship between the building of spiritual civilization and the two "adherences." These comrades have

different degrees of ideological one-sidedness and vacillation in their understanding. As a result, in their practical work, they cannot implement well the strategic policy of "carrying out the building of the two civilizations together," and fail to coordinate and cooperate in their efforts and sometimes, and even stubbornly, stick to their own views and arguments. These comrades cannot correctly implement the present policies of the party and very often they vacillate in their work because of the changing of the central task in different periods. The exposition on the building of spiritual civilization contained in the "Resolution" has provided a sound basis for clarifying various kinds of one-sided understanding and unifying the ideology and actions of the whole party. The exposition has enabled us to further understand that the central task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is to carry out the economic construction and develop the social productive forces while adhering to the four cardinal principles, that the reform and the opening up are the right track for the construction of the socialist modernization of our country. Our various types of work, including the building of socialist spiritual civilization, must not deviate from the center of the economic construction and the right track of the two "adherences" in any aspect. If we only stress the reform and opening up and forget or deviate from the four cardinal principles, then the reform and the opening up will not be those we need and we will go astray. If we only stress adhering to the four cardinal principles and doubt and waver in the process of the reform and opening up, we will at least slip back into the old rut and will not be able to realize the goal of the construction of socialist modernization. Fundamentally speaking, the building of spiritual civilization should push forward, provide services to, and guarantee the construction of socialist modernization. Therefore, we must carry out the building of spiritual civilization by firmly sticking to the orientation of adhering to the four cardinal principles, the reform, and the opening up to the world and by centering on the economic construction.

In our practical work over the past few years, we have felt deeply that how to understand and deal with the relationship between the development of socialist commodity economy and the building of spiritual civilization is a practical and theoretical question of great urgency which should be answered and solved. The "Resolution" has made an in-depth analysis of this question by pointing out: "Our policy of launching all-round reform and opening up to the rest of the world has infused our socialist cause with great vitality and has significantly promoted socialist culture and ideology. Development of socialist commodity economy and improvement of socialist democracy have led to profound changes in people's ideology and outlook. At the same time they have placed higher demands on us in our efforts to foster socialist culture and ideology." This means that the relationship between the development of socialist commodity economy and the building of spiritual civilization is not like the relationship between water and fire, which are incompatible with each other, and the result of carrying out these two at the same time is not that "disadvantages exceed advantages." On the whole, the development of socialist commodity economy and the building of spiritual civilization conform to each other and promote each other. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said recently: Socialist principles consist of the development of production and common prosperity. To develop socialist commodity economy is the only way to

develop production and realize common prosperity. Sichuan is a landlocked province whose economic development is quite unbalanced. The commodity economy in many parts of the province is very backward and the cadres' knowledge of commodity economy is very poor. In some remote mountainous areas, people still regard buying and selling things as shameful. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, we have unified the development of commodity economy with the education on the aim of serving the people and carried out repeated education among the cadres and party members. At the same time, we have adopted specific measures to help the people develop commodity economy and look for ways to become prosperous, so that the situation has begun to change gradually. However, up to now, a lot of comrades still both "like and fear" the development of commodity economy and some even have many worries about the development of commodity economy. In fact, numerous facts have already proved that without a full-scale development of socialist commodity economy there cannot be great progress in people's ideological concepts and a fundamental change in people's spiritual condition. At the same time, we should also understand that it is not that once commodity economy is developed, spiritual civilization will naturally be realized. While greatly developing commodity economy, we still need to constantly strengthen vivid and convincing ideological education in order to continue to raise people's ideological consciousness and moral standards. In fact, the development of socialist commodity economy naturally makes higher demands on the building of spiritual civilization in two aspects: One is the demand for the provision of spiritual motive force and intellectual support to the development of socialist commodity economy; and the second is the demand for the provision of powerful ideological guarantees for the correct orientation of the development of socialist commodity economy. When carrying out the building of spiritual civilization, we should not negatively restrict and guard against the development of commodity economy but should make active efforts to promote the development of socialist commodity economy and try to eliminate the ideological obstacles to its development. The negative factors that appear in the extensive development of commodity economy will only be gradually overcome in the process of the continued development of socialist commodity economy and the synchronous strengthening of the building of spiritual civilization.

Sticking to Focusing Our Attention on Construction, Arousing the Enthusiasm of the People, and Improving the Quality of the People

What are the main points in the building of spiritual civilization? The "Resolution" has this concise paragraph: "We should always keep national construction in the forefront of our thoughts. We should do everything possible to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet cultural and intellectual needs, to raise ideological and ethical standards, and to develop education, science, and culture. In short, we should do everything possible to facilitate the growth of the productive forces." This is a scientific and correct conclusion which has been summed up from our party's long-term historical experiences and which proceeds from the present main social contradictions of our country and conforms with the demand of our times, which is to build a powerful and modernized socialist country.

For a long time after our country basically completed the socialist transformation, the main mistake made by our party in economic work was "leftism," while the main mistake made by our party in the ideological and cultural fields was also "leftism." This situation could be seen in the fact that the overexaggeration of the class struggle in the ideological field constrained and harmed the socialist enthusiasm and creative spirit of the broad masses of the people; that the neglect and rejection of a lot of normal cultural and spiritual demands made spiritual production and spiritual life monotonous and poor; and that the failure to deal correctly with the relationship between "destroying the old" and "establishing the new" and the adoption of simple, rough, and suppressive methods in dealing with ideological questions did not improve the quality of the people, but, on the contrary, confused the people's ideology and affected social stability. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, after bringing order out of chaos, we have made obvious progress in our work in the ideological and cultural fields, which are now full of vigor and vitality. However, we cannot say that the "leftist" influence has been totally eliminated. Now, the focus of the work of our whole party has been shifted to the economic construction. In order to be compatible with the change, the content, methods, and means of our work in the ideological and cultural fields should continue to be reformed. The stress of our ideological and political work has been shifted to doing everything possible to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet the cultural and intellectual needs of the people, to raise ideological and ethical standards, and to develop education, science, and culture. In short, the stress of our ideological and political work has been shifted to doing everything possible to facilitate the growth of the social productive forces. Only by realizing these changes will the building of spiritual civilization be able to solve the main contradiction in our society at the present stage, which is the contradiction between the people's growing material and cultural demands and backward social production, and receive the hearty approval and active participation of the broad masses of the people.

If the overall work of the building of spiritual civilization should concentrate on construction, then the specific work of the building of spiritual civilization is to foster socialist citizens with "lofty ideals, moral integrity, cultural accomplishments, and discipline" and to improve the ideological, moral, scientific, and cultural qualities of the entire nation. The history of the civilization of mankind is first of all a history of the development of production and a history of the gradual perfection of human qualities on the basis of social practice, which has continuously pushed forward with social advance. Nothing can be accomplished in the building of the four modernizations and the invigoration of China if we do not improve human qualities. As the saying goes: "It takes a hundred years to rear a person." The work of improving the ideological, moral, scientific, and cultural qualities of the people cannot be accomplished overnight, but will take a very long time. In order to accomplish this work, we must make strenuous efforts to do detailed and comprehensive work. One of the important methods for appraising the strategic consciousness and standard of leadership of a local leader is to see whether he has really

stressed and adopted forceful measures to improve the quality of the people, especially the quality of the cadres.

When centering our work on the construction and development of the social productive forces, we must deal correctly with several relationships. One is the relationship between bringing forth new ideas and critically inheriting old things. Only by assimilating all the excellent achievements of the development of human civilization, including the advanced things of capitalist civilization, can we successfully build socialism. Just as Lenin said: "Only by correctly understanding the culture created in the whole process of the development of mankind and transforming this culture can we build proletarian culture. Without this understanding, we will not be able to accomplish this task." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 348) Just as with the building of material civilization, the building of spiritual civilization should also adhere to the basic national policy of opening up to the world. Foreign cultures contain both beneficial and helpful things and evil and decadent things. We must strengthen our ability in differentiating, digesting, assimilating, and rejecting the different components of foreign cultures and assimilate all those which are helpful and beneficial to us and make them serve the construction of the four modernizations of our country. The Chinese nation has a long history and an excellent cultural tradition. We must value greatly this tradition, explore and utilize the valuable cultural heritage left by our ancestors, and integrate the inheriting of old things with the bringing forth of new ideas. Only by doing things in this way will we be able to push forward the development of the great renaissance of China's civilization which started from the founding of the PRC and create a socialist spiritual civilization with Chinese characteristics which is worthy of our times.

We must deal well with the relationship between "establishing" and "destroying." The relationship between "establishing" and "destroying" is a dialectical one. So, if we only stress one side of the relationship and ignore the other side, we will only have a one-sided understanding of the relationship, which will cause serious mistakes in our practical work. In our everyday life, generally speaking, we always practice "establishing" and "destroying" at the same time. It is true that stressing construction does not mean that we should not resist the decadent ideologies of capitalism and feudalism and eradicate the various outmoded concepts which do not conform with the construction of modernization. On the contrary, once we firmly grasp the key link of construction, we will be able to effectively resist and get rid of those things. For example, as far as the rural areas of our province are concerned, the biggest ideological obstacle encountered in the reform and construction of modernization over the past few years is still the traditional concepts and force of habit formed on the basis of natural economy over a long time in the past, especially religious authority, clan authority, and the concept of small-scale production, which still exist and play a role in the minds of some people. If these problems cannot be solved, it will be difficult for us to realize the development of commodity economy in the rural areas, the democratization of politics, and the modernization of society. We called for getting rid of the concept of small-scale production over many years in the past. Under the "leftist" influence, on the one hand, we

adopted forceful measures, such as beating, "cutting off the tail," and "egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources," and so on; on the other hand, we confined the development of commodity economy to restricted areas and regarded the development of commodity economy as a great scourge. As a result, people's ideology was shackled by the concept of natural economy. This time, the purpose of our carrying out the education on overcoming the concept of small-scale production among the cadres and party members is to help them to discard the conservative and backward psychology and ideology formed under the conditions of a natural economy and to establish a series of new concepts which conform to the development of commodity economy. As far as methods of education are concerned, we will not carry out large-scale criticisms of individuals but will use education employing positive measures and examples, provide specific assistance, and nurture people's ideology in practice. For example, while holding party meetings and giving party lectures, as well as carrying out education on ideals, aims, and discipline, we should also carry out education on the development of commodity economy and on scientific and technological knowledge, invite party members who have successfully led the masses in becoming prosperous through their hard labor to explain the measures for developing commodity economy, invite rural scientific and technological personnel to teach the methods and measures for becoming prosperous, and hold discussions on how to greatly develop the village-run and household-run enterprises in local areas and how to help poor households to increase their incomes. This type of education conforms to the demands of the broad masses of party members in the rural areas. At the same time, in practical work, we should organize the masses to choose their own ways of becoming prosperous and establishing town and township enterprises according to market demands and local conditions. In this way, the cadres at the grass-roots level and the peasants will gradually draw benefit from it, have their ideas straightened out, and strengthen their concept of commodity economy. The same measures should also be applied to getting rid of feudal superstitions and changing the outmoded conventions and bad customs in the rural areas. Only by working hard in this way for a long time will we be able to change prevailing habits and customs. In some areas, because the activities of civilized villages and towns have been carried out successfully, the cultural and ideological qualities of the masses have been continuously improved and healthy and varied spare-time cultural activities dominate the cultural and ideological fields. At the same time, these areas have carried out education and criticisms of various feudal, backward, and erroneous ideologies, enforced law and discipline, strictly implemented the laws, and punished those who have violated the laws. Therefore, even though there are some bad things in society, the influence of the bad things has been greatly restricted. Supporting what is right and punishing evil are interrelated, so it is better to positively carry out construction than to passively set up defenses. Supporting what is right and consolidating the basis of what is right, as well as improving our internal quality and immunity are the fundamental policies for resisting the corrosive influence of crooked ways and dishonest practices.

## Proceeding From Reality and Carrying Out the Building of Spiritual Civilization in Stages, Level by Level, and With the Stress on Practical Results

Proceeding from reality, encouraging the advanced, showing concern for the majority, and combining the demands of advanced people with the demands of ordinary people are the important characteristics of the "Resolution." As far as the education on ideals is concerned, the "Resolution" puts forward the concept of a "common ideal" which is both linked with and distinguished from the ultimate ideal of our party in order to mobilize and unite the people of the whole country. As far as the building of socialist ethics is concerned, the "Resolution" stresses the basic requirements of the "five loves" and puts forward the requirements at different levels, such as social ethics, professional ethics, and communist ethics. As far as leadership in the building of spiritual civilization is concerned, the "Resolution" stresses doing work in a down-to-earth manner and not practicing formalism. Only by working in accordance with these requirements will we be able to better implement our party's realistic ideological line in the building of spiritual civilization.

Communism is an ideological system of the proletariat and also a social system. As the best social system of mankind, communism will eventually be realized. In the "Resolution" passed by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the banner of our party is still clearly communism. The "Resolution" reiterates that the ultimate ideal of our party is to build a communist society. For communists and other advanced people, this ideal has been, and will always be, a source of strength and moral support. The "Resolution" also points out that socialism is a historical movement toward the higher phase of communism. Imbued with a pioneering spirit, the advanced members of our society are ready to blaze new trails and devote themselves entirely to the interests and happiness of the people, to the communist ideal. We should encourage such a higher standard of communist ethics throughout our society. Party members, and leading cadres in particular, should unfailingly live up to that standard. The "Resolution" also stipulates that Marxism plays an important guiding role in the building of spiritual civilization and demands that the whole party study, adhere to, and develop Marxism in practice and actively advocate the study of Marxism among the masses, and young people in particular. At the same time, proceeding from the socialist reality of our country and taking into consideration the existence of different ideologies and ethics of varying levels and different concepts of value among the whole people, in order to unite people with varying degrees of political consciousness and to induce them to aim higher, the "Resolution" does not demand that all the people foster the communist ideal and ethics at present, nor does it deviate from the present policies of our party and the objective of the practical struggle and reduce our party's ultimate ideal to empty talk. In "On New Democracy," Comrade Mao Zedong once said that we should distinguish propaganda on the communist ideological system from the present program of action and practice. Although we are now in a historical period which is different from the one when Comrade Mao Zedong wrote his "On New Democracy," to draw a clear line of demarcation is still conducive to our correctly carrying out the building of spiritual civilization today.

We must hold high the banner of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and use this common ideal to mobilize and unite the people of all nationalities of our country. We should be broadminded and overcome narrowmindedness. We should respect, defend, and develop all the positive ideologies and spirits which are conducive to the building of the four modernizations, the revitalizing of China, the reunification of our motherland, the unity of our nation, the progress of our society, and the happiness of our people, and respect, defend, and develop all the positive ideologies and spirits which advocate seeking a happy life through honest labor. In this way, we will be able to unite all the forces which can be united and assimilate the wisdom and strength of all the working people and patriotic people in realizing the common ideal. At the same time, we should combine the common ideal with the development goal and construction task of the area, the unit, the city, the mine, the village, the shop, or the school and with the positional responsibilities of each member of the collective and each individual's personal pursuits so as to establish a good atmosphere in the city, the mine, the village, the shop, the school, and so on and build spiritual civilization in every place. The situation concerning economic and cultural development varies from place to place and from unit to unit, so we should provide different guidance for different areas in the building of spiritual civilization and should not always use the same form in providing guidance. Every year, we should accomplish something and try our best to bring actual benefits to the masses through our work. We should not do things which are merely superficial and which simply waste money and manpower.

In a word, we must adhere to the principle of proceeding from reality in carrying out the building of spiritual civilization. First, we should carry out the building of spiritual civilization in stages. The building of spiritual civilization is a continuous and historical process. Because of this, we must pay attention to the different requirements in different historical periods in our advance toward communism. While the building of material civilization cannot surpass its period, the building of spiritual civilization in the whole nation cannot surpass its period, either. Second, we should carry out the building of spiritual civilization level by level. We should combine the demands of advanced people with the demands of ordinary people and set different requirements according to different levels so as to proceed in an orderly way and step by step, gradually improve the situation of spiritual civilization, and enable all the people to advance together. Third, we must stress practical results. The way we appraise every specific work in the building of spiritual civilization is to see whether the practical results of the specific work are good or not, can help foster citizens "with lofty ideals, moral integrity, cultural accomplishments, and discipline" or not, and can promote the building of the four modernizations or not. So in building spiritual civilization, we must pay great attention to practical results and should not only pay attention to formality and merely pay lip service.

## Treating It as Systems Engineering and Adopting the Method of the Mass Line and the Method of Enlightenment Education

In carrying out the building of spiritual civilization, we should not only have a correct orientation and practical requirements but also the proper methods. Because the building of spiritual civilization involves many fields, and different fields have different contents and different characteristics, we must adopt different work methods and means in carrying out the building of spiritual civilization. As far as our practical work is concerned, generally speaking, the main methods can be boiled down to the following three:

The first is the method of systems engineering. Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is a huge task of social systems engineering. The building of spiritual civilization is closely interrelated with the economic construction, the reform of the economic structure, and the reform of the political structure. What is more, the building of spiritual civilization consists of education, science, culture, communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, ethics, the revolutionary stand and principle, the comradely relationship among the people, life style, and so on, all of which are interrelated with one another, restrict one another, condition one another, and promote one another. The building of spiritual civilization must be carried out deeply, protractedly, and effectively and must be treated as systems engineering, be included in the overall arrangement of the construction of socialist modernization, be embodied in the building of material civilization, and be embodied in political, economic, cultural and social life and various other aspects. The various aspects of the building of spiritual civilization must be carried out together in a coordinated way, with stress on the development of education, science, technology, and qualified personnel, and intellectual development as well. Over the past 2 years, our province has carried out research on the strategy for economic and social development in the rural areas. Our province is at present carrying out research on the strategy for the scientific, technological, economic, and social development of the whole province. In all this research, we have paid attention to exploring the development strategy for education, science, and culture and paid attention to questions concerning ideological and political construction and tried our best to make our plans and measures conducive to the synchronous building of the two civilizations. However, in our practical work, very often we still fail to lay equal stress on the building of each of the civilizations. We should try to improve our work in this respect.

The second is the method of the mass line. The broad masses of the people are the masters of the building of the two civilizations. Spiritual civilization is, by its nature, the achievement of people's conscious transformation of the subjective world while transforming the objective world, and the achievement of people's development of spiritual production and spiritual life. So, the building of spiritual civilization cannot be separated from the broad masses of the people, who are the principal body. To strengthen the building of spiritual civilization is not only the task of the ideological, cultural, and educational departments but also the common task of the whole party, the whole Army, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, and other

working people, and patriots of all nationalities of our country. We must adhere to the mass line in ideological, ethical, educational, scientific, and cultural construction and guide the masses to educate, emancipate, and administer themselves. Over the past 2 years, various areas have created quite a number of flexible and varied forms and lively methods in the building of civilized units, in ideological and political work, in dissemination of science and technology, in the reform of the education structure, and in the administration and utilization of mass dissemination methods. The responsibility of a leader is to know clearly the needs of the masses, to sum up the things created by the masses and to refine and systematize them, and then to provide them to more people in the vast areas of the country to enable the broad masses of the people to conscientiously and voluntarily select and popularize the things they need and to create their own new life. Facts have proved that the broad masses of the people now have an increasingly urgent and growing need for the building of spiritual civilization. The masses have a vast reservoir of enthusiasm and creativeness.

The third is the method of enlightenment education. This method is the one which our party has always adhered to and advocated and also the one which our ideological and political work in the new period must adhere to. The method of enlightenment means to enlighten and guide. The method of enlightenment makes two demands: One is encouraging the free airing of views, clearing away obstacles and creating conditions for the people to freely air their views and give their opinions, so as to know the true ideology of the people and pool the wisdom of the masses; the second is providing systematic guidance to the masses, adroitly guiding action according to circumstances, explaining the situation in a practical way, convincing people by reasoning, accepting and supporting correct views, patiently convincing and helping those people who hold incorrect or even wrong views, and guiding people's ideology to the correct orientation by doing detailed work. Since the party rectification began, the various areas of our province have adopted flexible and varied forms in carrying out the education of enlightenment and carried out experiments in this respect. These forms have been welcomed by the masses. The leading comrades of our province have also been to universities and colleges and factories to talk to the masses on a basis of equality, exchange views with the masses, and help the masses solve problems and clear away doubts. Our province has also invited combat heroes from the "two mountains" to give reports to the grass roots and organized university students to go to the front to salute the officers and soldiers, thus achieving excellent results in combining ideological education with the solution of practical problems. The reason that the method of enlightenment education is correct and effective is that it conforms to the law of people's ideological understanding and the demand for correctly dealing with the internal contradictions among the people and embodies the principle of socialist democracy. To carry out enlightenment education well is no easy task. It not only requires our leading comrades and theoretical and ideological workers to really treat the people we deal with in our work, and the people we serve, as comrades and friends, to show concern for them and love them, but also demands that the educators be educated first, try their best to raise their Marxist standard, enrich

their knowledge, and improve their skill in doing personnel work. Only by doing things in this way will we be able to convince people by reasoning, move people with affection, and set a good example for the people so as to mobilize all the people to work together with us.

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CSO: 4004/6

## SCIENCE AND BUILDING OF SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 15-17

[Speech by Gong Yuzhi [7895 5148 0037] at forum of the Standing Committee of the China Association for Science and Technology on studying the "Resolution," revised by author prior to publication]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization" has given prominence to carrying forward a scientific spirit, to popularizing scientific knowledge, to developing scientific undertakings, and to upgrading the level of science. This is an important guiding principle for the building of spiritual civilization which will give impetus to China's socialist modernization program.

To "universalize education, disseminate general and scientific knowledge, and raise the people's cultural level" has been specially discussed in the sixth chapter of the "Resolution." However, the stress put on science runs through the whole "Resolution" rather than only one chapter. For example, the first chapter of the document has made an estimate of the successes achieved over the past few years in building spiritual civilization, which particularly stressed that we have carried forward the scientific spirit and our educational, scientific, and cultural endeavors are thriving; the second chapter has expounded that the basic task of the building of socialist spiritual civilization is to meet the needs of the socialist modernization program and raise the ideological and ethical standards of the whole nation. Here the educational and scientific levels are parallel with ideological and ethical standards; the third chapter, centered on ideals, points out that "our ideals should be placed on a scientific basis"; the fourth chapter, focused on morality, emphasizes that "love of science" is one of the essential requirements of the building of socialist ethics; and so forth.

In the chapter "The Guiding Role of Marxism in Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization," the three points involving science merit attention. The first one is: "Marxism is a science that constantly enriches and develops itself in keeping with historical and scientific advance." As a science, Marxism should be enriched and developed constantly. What should we rely on to enrich and develop Marxism? On the one hand, we should rely on the practice of social history, including the world's economic and political development

and the people's revolutionary and construction practice. On the other hand, we should rely on the practice of various branches of science, including the study of natural science and social science which have true scientific content. The second one is: In studying Marxism, "we should assimilate the latest achievements of science and make a summation of them." In other words, the study of Marxism, instead of being confining to itself, should be interrelated with other branches of science, including natural science and social science, should exchange experience and assimilate the advanced thinking of other branches of science, and should make a summation of the achievements of human understanding derived from the various branches of science. The third one is that education in basic Marxist tenets should be conducted "in conjunction with the study of history and the teaching of general and scientific knowledge."

In my opinion, the building of socialist spiritual civilization expressed in the "Resolution" is the unity of the revolutionary and scientific spirit; of revolutionary ideals, morality, and discipline and modern science and culture; and of the development of Marxism and other branches of science. This unity refers to the following: First, coordination between the two aspects, in which neither can be separated from the other. Without socialist ideals, morality, and discipline, it would be impossible to realize socialist modernization. Without the spirit of respecting science and pursuing knowledge, the building of socialist modernization would also be unsuccessful. Second, mutual infiltration and promotion, one providing the scientific and cultural basis with the other offering guidance in ideological orientation. With this unity as the guiding ideology, we should carry out the building of socialist spiritual civilization, study and implement the "Resolution," and eliminate the idea of laying stress on one aspect while neglecting the other.

The following case is quite common. When speaking of the building of spiritual civilization, we relate the matter to political consciousness or ethics. Naturally, political consciousness and ethics constitute an extremely important, indispensable content of the building of spiritual civilization. But when we speak of the building of spiritual civilization and modern socialist spiritual civilization, it would not conform to the needs of the times and would not suit the task of building socialist modernization if we merely put the stress on political consciousness and ethics, irrespective of the scientific spirit and general and scientific knowledge.

The following is also not rare: When speaking of the building of spiritual civilization, to regard it as an education in Marxism. It is beyond doubt that Marxism is the guiding ideology and theoretical basis for our cause, which is also extremely important for the building of spiritual civilization. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to achieve the anticipated results if we conduct Marxist education by deviating from the study of history and the teaching of general and scientific knowledge. Marxism came into being amid the scientific and cultural development of the contemporary world. It also advanced amid the development of science and culture. How can we scientifically, profoundly, and creatively understand Marxism with limited knowledge of science and a low education level?

It was appropriate that we gave due importance to the role of science in recent years. When we did so, the stress was usually put on the role of science in developing the material productive forces. This was undoubtedly important. The great impact of science on modern society lies in providing society with vigorous material productive forces. It is due to the driving force of science that the productive forces of modern society have outstripped those of past societies. Nevertheless, the impact of science on society should not be confined merely to promoting productive forces and creating new technologies. Engels pointed out at the graveside of Marx: "Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 375) In line with the thinking of Marx and Engels and in accordance with the reality of the world's current development, the "Resolution" developed the thinking of Marx and Engels by pointing out: "In today's world, science is increasingly becoming a revolutionary driving force of history. In fact, it has become a main indicator of the level of progress a nation has attained." As a revolutionary driving force, the role of science is expressed in both material and spiritual aspects. Through people's practice and activities, the material and spiritual forces offered by the development of science are enormously changing the life and outlook of society. While discussing the theories of the 18th century, Engels said that science "is integrated with philosophy on the one hand, and with practice on the other. The integration of science and philosophy resulted in materialism (the theories of Newton and Locke are also the premise on which materialism is based), the Age of Enlightenment, and the political revolution in France." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 666-667) The main slogan for China's May 4th new cultural movement was democracy and science. Science at that time also implied the following: First, develop science and technology to save China and to eliminate poverty and backwardness. By developing science to save the country, science was regarded as a material force. Second, we can see from the articles written by the thinkers of that time (including Chen Duxiu and many others) that their advocacy of science and the welcome given to "Mr Science" were in a sense great attention devoted to the scientific spirit and an attempt to instill into China's society the latent spiritual force of modern science developed in Western Europe to eliminate and vanquish the ignorant, superstitious, and dark aspects that run counter to science in feudal old China's spiritual life. In his "On New Democracy," Mao Zedong raised the slogan of a national, scientific, and mass culture, which inherited and developed the slogan for the May 4th new cultural movement. Mao Zedong said that new-democratic culture belonged to the broad masses and was therefore democratic, "scientific" included the scientific spirit of Marxism and the materialist spirit of natural science, and there possibly existed "a united front against imperialism, feudalism, and superstition between the scientific thought of Chinese proletariat and those Chinese bourgeois materialists and natural scientists who are progressive." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 667) Zhang Wentian also made the following explanation of "scientific": "By 'scientific' culture, it means opposition to arbitrariness, superstition, and ignorance, supporting scientific truth, regarding truth as the guide to one's practice, advocating science and the scientific ideas that have genuinely mastered truth, and fostering scientific methods of work and lifestyles." ("Selected

Works of Zhang Wentian," p 252) This shows that while in Yanan, our party attached great importance to the revolutionary role of science as a spiritual force. When we are carrying out the building of socialist modernization today, it is also necessary to attach great importance to the role of science in building spiritual civilization.

The achievements of scientific development are manifested in the scientific spirit taken shape through long-term scientific practice rather than scientific knowledge alone. Science is science and it advances constantly because the scientific spirit is its essence. The scientific spirit of acknowledging truth and facts and doing away with blind faith and the scientific spirit of constantly blazing new trails and forging ahead and opposing conservative ideas and conventions are extremely valuable. Our qualitative weaknesses and mistakes in work in the past were attributed to the inadequate popularization of scientific knowledge and particularly to a lack of scientific spirit. In a sense, unless we popularize and upgrade scientific knowledge, it will be difficult to extensively carry forward the scientific spirit. And if we fail to carry forward the scientific spirit, it will be difficult to develop and perfect the work in all fields. Therefore, it is a task of fundamental importance to carry forward the scientific spirit and to develop science and culture.

The fine moral values in scientific circles are also a valuable spiritual force. Since ancient times, the outstanding people in the scientific circles have dedicated themselves to the struggles for truth, science, and human progress. Instead of seeking comfort, fame, and wealth, they have worked diligently and assiduously with perseverance in conducting scientific research. This lofty moral character is the outcome of scientific labor which is the moral character of laborers. With a sense of responsibility to society and mankind, outstanding scientific workers have taken an active part in the struggles against aggression and wars and in the work to safeguard peace and humanity and to protect the environment and ecological balance. Such sense of political responsibility and social justice is also an immense spiritual force. The "Resolution" pointed out: "As a higher stage in human moral progress, socialist ethics naturally incorporates all the best elements in the various ethical systems and traditions developed throughout history." "We must cherish those ideas and attitudes that promote modernization, national regeneration and the reunification of the motherland, that enhance the unity of various nationalities, foster social progress and the people's well-being, and help to create a happy life through honest labor." The sense of moral and political responsibility of the outstanding scientific workers is precisely what we should cherish and carry forward in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The building of socialist spiritual civilization should extensively absorb the positive and perfect things from human history and all spheres of society, link them with the needs of the socialist cause, and carry them forward with the guidance of Marxism.

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CSO: 4004/6

LU XUN'S LITERARY SPIRIT IN THE COURSE OF MODERNIZATION--WRITTEN TO COMMEMORATE  
THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF LU XUN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 18-22

[Article by Tang Tao [0781 1718] and Wang Youqin [3769 0645 3830]]

[Text] China has a cultural background of several thousands of years, but the history of the past century and more is particularly important. The old and traditional China was continuously facing crises and challenges, and going through a series of domestic troubles and foreign invasion; thus, China was undergoing changes in itself. The progress of modernization, from material to spiritual civilization, was tortuous and arduous, and went through intense political, economic, and cultural conflicts and struggles. However, once this process began, it was unstoppable. This process represented the interests of the majority of the Chinese people. The efforts and struggles of our outstanding national personalities were linked with this process; and such efforts and struggles are the criteria for us to judge the personalities in modern Chinese history as well.

Although it has been half a century since Lu Xun left us, and his ideas and image were greatly distorted by the "gang of four," his works are still widely read now, and always give the readers much food for thought. His works have stood the test of time and tide. One of the reasons is that we, like him, are in the ideological high tide of a similar era--in the pursuit of "modernization." Our common pursuit makes us echo Lu Xun's works, and enable us to have a fuller understanding that his outstanding accomplishments were not just a false fame in history. Needless to say the realization of modernization was always a tortuous and arduous course, but the conception, cognition and apprehension likewise went through the same tortuous and arduous process. This is not an exaggeration, but a historical fact. It is precisely because of this that it is necessary for us to look back in history, to investigate the spiritual course of our forerunners, and to study the literary spirit of Lu Xun in the course of modernization.

The word "modernization" implies a comprehensive and complicated process. Doubtless, in the course of China's modernization, the reform of the political system and the economic structure as well as the technique and technology were extremely important. Generally speaking, such reforms were highly visible and radical changes could take place within a short period.

In contrast, the reform of cultural psychology seemed to be invisible, and the effects were hardly discernible, despite the fact that it could actually play a very great role in the evolution of social life. Embedded in the minds of millions upon millions of people were concepts of social value, ideological approach and aesthetic taste shaped by various ways of circulation and demonstration over several thousands of years. They needed to be changed in the course of modernization, but that could be very difficult. At first Lu Xun devoted himself to the study of medicine, but his discovery of the ignorance and benumbed condition of the national spirit awakened him to the need to cure this spiritual illness. Thus, he gave up medicine and went in for literature. Lu Xun personally experienced the 1911 Revolution. However, the revolution did not achieve the ideal modern country, for reasons that were very complicated. However, one of the reasons the revolution turned sour was obvious, namely, with the overthrowing of the throne, some people, or those who wanted imperial power themselves attempted to come to the throne, and those who had a slavish mentality, which matched the imperial mentality, were most willing to become the subjects of a new emperor. An advanced technology or system would lose its effect in a backward cultural environment. History continuously showed what serious injuries the feudal culture could inflict on the modernization movement. In fact, the overthrow of the throne and the elimination of imperial and slavish mentalities, as well as the elimination of feudal system and the elimination of the feudal cultural ideas were very important, and were closely connected with each other. Lu Xun's bitter experiences in life, deepening understanding of tradition and realities, moral courage and patriotic passion, as well as personal talent, interest, and sense of mission motivated his choice of literature as a medium to change the national spirit and build the modern national culture. Chinese modernization was experiencing the most important process of changing from passivity to self-consciousness and initiative. The initial shock was caused by the infiltrating effects of alien culture and armed oppression; later, a reformative force grew from within the nation, which was capable of facing crises squarely and making an attempt to protect national survival and development through the reconstruction of the nation itself. Such a change was the fundamental condition for the genuine realization of "modernization." Lu Xun began his literary life with the idea of becoming a doctor to cure the national spirit. He was a profound patriot and enlightener, who reached perfection in combining patriotism with enlightenment. His clear-cut concept of cultural renovation became a historic milestone on the development toward consciousness and initiative of the cultural movement in the course of China's modernization.

Living in an age full of miseries, Lu Xun had experienced heartache for the decline of his country as well as his own family since childhood. Like his other outstanding contemporaries, Lu Xun painstakingly explored and sought a way to salvage the nation and the people. He dedicated most of his lifetime to literary undertakings. Writing was for him an occupation as well as the chief way of being involved in the process of practical life in the Chinese society. Taking a free view of his literary life, we can see that he had always linked his exploration of the philosophy of life with his work of reforming the society and improving life, and connected an artistic

description of the national life with the aspiration of relieving the people's sufferings. Concern for the nation and the people and an active participation and consciousness of the progress of the times are strongly embodied in the works of Lu Xun. Such a spirit helped his works to attain a high plane and produced a profound social effect. His works have stirred the hearts of several generations of young people, and stimulated their aspirations and passions for fighting against the old life and building a new one. This spirit also affected other writers of his times and the style of their works. Close concern for the fate of China and its people, a deep understanding of the times and the phenomena in life, contemplation and exploration of the major issues in the historical process of practical life--all these were important characteristics of Lu Xun's works as well as the new literature of the May 4th Movement. These characteristics embodied the active response of the modern Chinese writers to the difficult situation in China's progress; at the same time, it provided a basic explanation for the shaping of the concept of modern literature, which was conscious, independent, and progressive in nature; and its opposition to, and distinction from both the feudal literature for imperial use, characterized by presenting a false picture of peace and prosperity, and the literature of the leisured, characterized by its escape from reality.

To change life, one has to understand life, just as a rocket designer has to master the law governing physics. Lu Xun's stress on the veracity of literature conformed with his motive of improving social life in literature. To close one's eyes to the crises and difficulties of national survival, to run away from facts, and even to deceive oneself and others--such an attitude might not be deliberate, but was obviously no help to historical development. Lu Xun repudiated the literary characteristic of "covering up the facts" and "telling lies." In fact, literature that fell into such a category suited the demands of a stagnant feudal society in need of change, and they helped maintain each other. Lu Xun stressed "seeing with one's eyes wide opened," namely, literature should face realities squarely, and depict life truthfully. He portrayed a wide range of social life vividly and truthfully in his works. Perhaps such lifestyles had existed for several hundreds, or even several thousands of years, but never had they been analyzed with such profundity and expressed with such a rich sense of history. Lu Xun closely combined immense truthfulness with profundity and a sense of history in his work. He revealed the in-depth causes hidden behind some phenomena of life, which people were accustomed to, but never really realized. His works were not just the written imitation of the phenomena of life, but pierced through the surface phenomena of explore the causes of the characteristics of practical life in the social system, traditional culture and psychological state through superficial phenomena. For example, in his novel, "The True Story of Ah Q," Lu Xun described the external social causes and the inner psychological causes determining the miserable fate of Ah Q. The so-called "Ah Q's spirit" was precisely Lu Xun's original discovery and generalization of the dark side of the Chinese traditional culture. This illumination of the in-depth cultural structure endowed his works with a very wide scope and very strong penetrating power. On the other hand, Lu Xun often described and analyzed realities in the long river of history, and revealed the long-standing historical origin of realities. He gave us clear

explanations of the origin and development of our national life in a wide range of historical backgrounds. In our contemplation of history in a linear fashion, we will discover the value concept and the way of thinking represented by the "Ah Q spirit" was the result of feudal autocratic rule and the permeation of its ideology and culture, the cause of its long-term existence, as well as the spiritual hindrance to changing the traditional society. Lu Xun's literary works help us understand the nation itself. It is both painful to understand the truth of one's own life, and difficult to do so. However, regarding its importance, such a spirit of seeking truth from facts and understanding oneself can be looked upon as a necessary quality of a modern nation.

Modernization means the changing of the old tradition unsuitable to the requirements of the times, and the progress of history. Opposition in some respects or some tense relations between modernization and the old tradition are inevitable. Having personally experienced the stubborn cruelty of feudal ideas which dominated social life over several thousands of years, we can understand all the more the strong antitraditional ideas and the deep spirit of introspection in Lu Xun's works. The truthful depiction of reality and the critical attitude toward life constituted two parallel layers developing in the inner structure of his works. Lu Xun stressed the functions of social and cultural criticism of literature. In his works, he showed a deep sympathy for the insulted and the injured, and wrathful condemnation of all sorts of evil behavior that creates pain and disasters. With matchless deep insight, he negated and conducted long-term and untiring exposition, satire, and attack on those behavioral codes and moral concepts that people, without any doubts, were accustomed to, but that were hypocritical and absurd, as well as all kinds of antiscientific, antihumanist, and antiprogressive ideas. Such negation by means of literature was most convincing. The new literature of the May 4th Movement was a rebellion and challenge against traditional literature; however, the latter was not to be scared into a retreat by slogans. Although some works of the new literature sounded rather radical, they were permeated with the sentiments of old-style intellectuals, and the ideas of the scholar and the beauty in disguise. In Lu Xun's works, we find very little of the old concept of value and aesthetic taste, although he had a deeper and more long-standing involvement in traditional culture than his contemporaries because of his age and personal experiences. This positive result was obviously helped by his conscious attitude of introspection regarding old culture. For a nation with an old tradition but landed in backwardness, a new cultural system growing from within was possible only through such cultural introspection, rid of heavy burdens not suitable for modern life. The deepening of affection, sense of responsibility, and a penetrating insight culminated in such a spirit of introspection, which is one of the important essences of the modern consciousness. In a broad sense, a nation should at any time introspect its history, transcend the past, and continuously reach for new targets. This is all the more so for a nation that must catch up in a hurry. Forgetting a historical tragedy may lead to its repetition. Ancient Chinese society lacked such a spirit of introspection, which modern Chinese society needs. Such a spirit is the most important spiritual wealth left us by the forerunners of the May 4th Movement. It seems to be invisible, but it is actually the motive force of reform.

Mankind's conscious process of construction and development will change tradition, and produce the nontraditional. Therefore, spiritual exploration is particularly important in the process of modernization. Literature is the flower of the national spiritual life; and such spiritual exploration is its most beautiful aspect, with the richest vitality. The new literature of the May 4th Movement itself was an attempt, as well as a kind of blazing new trails. Lu Xun wrote the first novel in the vernacular, the first collection of prose poems, the first history of Chinese literature..., but the more important fact is that he brought new stories, new characters, and new themes as well as new aesthetic criteria, new moral concepts, and a new way of thinking to Chinese literature. He emphasized science, progress, and love. All kinds of work of a pioneering nature formed a sharp contrast with the stagnant atmosphere of ancient literature that followed the beaten path resulting from the closed door. Regarding the conflict between Chinese and foreign literature in the course of modernization in China, Lu Xun proposed the "doctrine of acceptance" and stressed the necessity to "use one's brain and vision and accept it by oneself" with regard to foreign culture. The so-called "doctrine of acceptance" stressed the opening up of one's mind as well as the independence and selection of the subjective body. Lu Xun himself accepted foreign ideological trends without any misgivings just like a strong person dealing with his food with a healthy digestive system; at the same time, he was the deadly enemy of feudalism; however, he never completely negated the tradition of the Chinese national culture. Only Lu Xun was capable of avoiding both rejection and worship of foreign things, the two seemingly opposite but actually erroneous attitudes. With regard to the world, China was a latecomer in modernization. It was convenient that precedents existed in other countries. However, successful experiences could be learned only through serious exploration and practice, involving changes in oneself. Otherwise, learning foreign culture would be only skin-deep; and what was worse, such superficial learning might be combined with the negative side of traditional Chinese culture, and lead one astray. The literary works of Lu Xun provide us with an example to learn from. The essence of his works was closely linked with the historical realities of China. As he stated, he had learned from the styles and concepts of foreign literature, despite the effects of traditional art on him. Lu Xun was always both a translator and introducer of foreign literature, and a patriot. These two aspects were unified in his ideas of development and progress. In the final analysis, the basic interests of China lay in development and progress, in the process of modernization in China that was not without many setbacks, and in the spirit of exploration with profundity and indomitability which permeated the literary works of Lu Xun. Such a spirit has served as a testimony to the courage, toughness, vision, and vitality of the ancient Chinese nation.

Lu Xun not only depicted a wide range of scenes and characters of modern Chinese society, but also his own process of spiritual pursuit and strict self-analysis in his works. He belonged to the first generation of intellectuals of modern China. These intellectuals were the offspring of modernization in the Chinese society. The education they received and the responsibilities they bore were different from those of traditional scholars of the older generation, who studied scriptures and sat for imperial

examinations. The pressure to build modern science and technology in China determined the great responsibilities of the Chinese intellectuals in modernization. At the same time, if they failed to become new people and new groups in a substantial sense, neither would they fulfill their mission. Thus, the intellectuals of modern China were assigned the two-fold task of social enlightenment and self-molding. The building of a modern society is always inseparable from the modernization of its members. In his literary work, Lu Xun expressed the psychology, behavior, and history of the intellectuals of his times, as well as their solitude, disappointment, weakness, confusion, benumbed condition, and degeneration. His work was written not out of sheer self-pity or disgust, but with an analysis and understanding filled with a sense of history regarding the shaping and process of change of social groups as well as the serious contemplation and choice of his missions. Lu Xun stressed that the intellectuals should bear responsibility for the existing social crimes; this embodied a moral height unscaled in traditional literature. The analysis of the inner heart and the theme of confession and self-reproach expressed in the literary works of Lu Xun contain a profound sense of the moral. Such deep insight into the multiple layers and aspects of the inner heart also shows the ability of modern man to understand and transcend himself. Here, literature plays the role of exploring and nourishing the nation, as well as developing a good, beautiful, strong and healthy soul. Literary works can be divided into different layers, and those works dealing with exploration of the spirit and ideals represent a high-level pursuit of the serious literature of our nation.

Lu Xun said: "Literature and art are the light emitted from the national spirit, and also the light that guides the future of the national spirit." Since the Chinese people had gone through strong pressure from the external world and all kinds of setbacks in domestic reform, Lu Xun represented, in his literary works, their serious and sober view of the times and the world. Although not everybody can understand him, the very existence of Lu Xun's spirit demonstrated that our nation did not lose its conscience and strength even when it had fully experienced humiliation. In the spiritual realm, Lu Xun stood at the forefront of the times, urging people to ponder their state of subsistence and the direction of their ideal. He issued a persistent powerful call asking people to say goodbye to the past, and to plunge into the cause of development and progress.

With sincere affection for his successors, Lu Xun hoped that his articles would "die soon," namely, "become outmoded," because that would mean the disappearance of the dark forces he attacked in his works, a happier and easier life for his successors. Now, half a century later, those things Lu Xun criticized in his works are all gone. However, the feudal culture and ideology Lu Xun bitterly attacked are far from being eliminated. In the "Great Cultural Revolution," voluminous feudal ideas went on the stage in the guise of "revolution," resulting in great disasters and historical retreat. Even Lu Xun himself was dressed as an idol by the "gang of four," as a means of pursuing an obscurantist policy and ideological persecution. It was shocking to see the furious momentum displayed by feudal culture, which was quite beyond the imagination of ordinary people. This made people once again attach attention to the importance of reflecting on

traditional culture, and thus they are again made to understand the profound significance of the literary works of Lu Xun. At the same time, the rich modern ideology embodied in the works of Lu Xun has provided us with a useful new model for the criteria and development of our behavior in the modernization campaign. In the course of the shaping and identification of contemporary culture and literature, the new culture and new literature of the May 4th Movement will doubtlessly prove a more valuable source than classical culture and literature. Having suffered from the serious wound of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and many difficulties in the course of reform, we can affirm through our life experience that the spirit of the literary works of Lu Xun is still of realistic significance. The works of Lu Xun have not become mere historical relics, which are suitable only for the history textbooks of Chinese literature. Today, we should still carry out earnest cultural introspection, and confront and criticize the feudal ideology that still stubbornly occupies a place in reality. We still need down-to-earth analysis, and bold exploration, as well as writers who have the same degree of moral courage and artistic talent as Lu Xun. We should follow Lu Xun's example in opening up a still brighter environment for our successors through our work and efforts. If the process of modernization is regarded as a dividing line in history, we still belong to the contemporaries of Lu Xun, even though half a century has come between us. The important significance of our times is self-evident. History will forgive us for such "selfishness" as ours: We are not commemorating Lu Xun just for his sake; we are doing it for ourselves, and for the modernization we are striving for at present.

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CSO: 4004/6

## REVOLUTIONARY REALISM OF LITERATURE IN THE NEW PERIOD

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 22-26

[Article by Zhang Jiong [1728 3518]; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text]

### I

The tradition of realism in literature was severed and exterminated during the "Great Cultural Revolution"; however, in the decade immediately following it in the new period, revolutionary realism has once again thrived and become the mainstream in literature.

The revival of the tradition of revolutionary realism began with the poetic creation in the Tiananmen people's revolutionary movement in April 1976. People brought numerous wreaths to the Monument of Revolutionary Martyrs, along with their poems and elegaic addresses, to express their grief over the late Premier Zhou Enlai, their wrath against the crafty sycophants who had brought disasters to the nation, and their aspirations for socialist modernization. Their poems ran counter to the style of "lies," "big talks," and "empty words" which had been fashionable for years. We read sincerity in these new poems, which were filled with militancy, pointed at the malpractices of the times, and were an entirely new experience to people. They roused strong reactions among the readers and were widely hand copied. Soon, they spread all over the nation. Despite the all-out efforts of the "gang of four" to prohibit and suppress the circulation of these poems, once the seeds fell on the ground, just as the poet Guo Xiaochuan put it, "they will surely take root and sprout next spring, even if this does not suit your autumnal climate." (Footnote 1) (Quoted from "Autumn in Tuanbowa")

In fact, a harvest was reaped in the autumn with seeds sown in the spring that very same year. With the fall of the "gang of four" in the golden October that year, the "joyous songs of October" burst forth in the poetical world. The literary circles in which "all flowers withered in an apathetic atmosphere" began to come back to life. The publication of Liu Xinwu's "Class Master" in the realm of novels and Xu Ci's "Goldbach's Conjectures" in the realm of reportage marked the opening of a sluice that had long been shut. Since then, the current of revolutionary realistic writings has surged forward along these two courses. Within a few years, the tradition

of revolutionary realism has not only revived and strengthened, but eventually joined into a momentous torrent, surging forward on the main course of socialist literature in the new period.

Of course, we should not include all the rich and complicated literary phenomena in the new period in the category of revolutionary realism. Advancing along the course of literature are revolutionary romanticism and other approaches of writing, and even works distorting real life. However, if we only reflect on the excellent results awarded with prizes in the literary field over the past decade, including the nine novels awarded with Mao Dun prize for literature, which indicates the level of Chinese literature in the new period, we must acknowledge that the revolutionary realistic literature is really the mainstream in creating writing. Whether one approves of it or not, one cannot deny such an objective fact.

## II

During the first decade of the new period, the development of revolutionary realistic literature took on the following remarkable characteristics:

### FIRST, THE INTENSIFYING OF THE SENSE OF CRITICISM AND THE SENSE OF MILITANCY.

People easily associate with the "mass criticism" of the "Great Cultural Revolution" whenever the sense of criticism and the sense of militancy are mentioned. The so-called "mass criticism" characteristic of fabrication and exaggeration brought endless disasters to literature and art undertakings. This should be thoroughly exposed and criticized. But it does not mean that literature should not possess a sense of criticism and a sense of militancy. Lu Xun said: "Literature is militant." (Footnote 2) (Quoted from "The Second Collection of Essays Written in a Garret in the Quasi-Concession," in the essay "A Preface to 'Harvest'" written by Ye Zi) A great realistic writer does not stop at portraying life; more important for him is to awaken people to transform their real life through literature. Therefore, the writer should have his own view and evaluation of what is newborn, progressive, and full of vitality and what is decadent, retreating, and declining as well as what is true, good, and beautiful and what is false, evil, and ugly.

Revolutionary writers in the new period should all the more have a dialectical understanding of real life. They should have a clear-cut stand and attitude regarding what to approve and what to oppose. Since the late 1950's, the malpractice of whitewashing real life in the realm of literature began to grow with each passing day because of the development of "leftist" errors. The theory of "truthful writing" was criticized. The "exposition of the seamy side" became a forbidden area in writing. It seemed that aside from "class enemies," socialist society was a perfect "paradise" on earth. This could not but make literature deviate more and more from real life and tend to formulize and generalize. With metaphysics going rampant and counterrealistic literature cramming the literary world during the decade of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the 10 years of turbulence itself profoundly exposing the seamy side of our real life as well as its

root cause, we felt as if suddenly awakened from a nightmare and began to view the world in a new light. This greatly stimulated and rapidly raised people's sense of historical mission and responsibility to change the way things were. In such a background, writers began to see profoundly the importance of reviving and carrying forward the tradition of revolutionary realism and intensified their sense of criticism and sense of militancy in understanding and changing real life through their practice in writing. In the major phases in the evolution of the subject matters and themes of the literature in the new period, namely, from the "literature of the wounded" to the "literature of introspection" and the "literature of reform," our readers may see the intensifying of the sense of criticism and the sense of militancy of writers of the revolutionary realistic school. While showing admiration for Zhang Junshi, the teacher and the students Shi Hong and her classmates in the novelette "Class Master," the author deeply reveals the distorted souls of Xie Huimin and Song Baoqi and voices the appeal to "save the children." In "The Legend of Tianshan," author Lu Yanzhou reflects on the evil consequences of the enlarged antirightist campaign while singing in praise of the noble characters and the true love between Luo Qun and Feng Qingnan. In the novelette "Factory Director Qiao Assumes Office," the author enthusiastically affirms the character of Qiao Guangpu as a reformist and most sorrowfully criticizes the social forces impeding reform with Qi Sheng as the representative. Such a sense of militancy and sense of criticism are also expressed in a series of plays such as "The Call of the Future," "Flowers Harbinger Spring," "Power and the Law," "The Neighbors," "Xiaojing Alley," "Who Is the Stronger," as well as a series of poems such as "No One Can Monopolize the Sunshine," "Modernization and We Ourselves," "Dissatisfaction," and "A Song in Praise of Light." Such sense of militancy and sense of criticism are even more fully demonstrated in the novels "The Heavy Wings" and "The New Stars." We have the following lines written by Ai Qing, the famous poet: "We were deceived on more than a thousand occasions, but are now awakened, Though we were fooled in a thousand ways, we acquire wisdom. In unity we find contradictions, and reversal in advance; In movement, we find resistance, and in revolution, rebellion. Even in light, we see darkness, and in darkness, light." (Footnote 3) (Quoted from "A Song in Praise of Light") All this typically reflects the profound dialectical views acquired by the writers in the new period in the rugged and tortuous course of history and literature. It is precisely such views that endow the creative writing of revolutionary realism with a clear-cut sense of criticism and sense of militancy; hence, the works of literature acquire their profound truthfulness and further inspire and push forward people to transform their real life.

## SECOND, THE DEVELOPMENT OF MACROCONTROL AND MICROCONTROL.

The breadth and depth in reflecting real life has always been an important sign for measuring the achievements of realism. Since the mid-1950's, not only was the doctrine of "a wide path for realism" criticized, but even the doctrine of "the deepening of realism" would soon be attacked and caught in a crossfire. The constant narrowing of subject matter and the shrinking in the acreage of arable land for the writer to work on developed in proportion with the fostering of the tendency of counterrealism in writing. Therefore,

with the end of the 10 years of turbulence, the revival and development of the tradition of revolutionary realism in the new period cannot but break through one forbidden area after another. Writers of the new period have greatly broadened their vision of thinking following the great historical disaster and implementation of the policy of opening up and promotion of the ideological emancipation campaign that immediately followed. They have not only acquired a historical sense that controls the depth of real life as well as a global sense that draws a comparison of real life in a horizontal direction. More and more writers are accustomed to a macroscopic sense of time and space which "scans the span between ancient times and the present in a minute and views the whole world at a glance" with the help of the most up-to-date results of the natural and social sciences. With the new development of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and the humanities, the microcontrol of literature on human behavior as well as people's inner life make it possible for the writers of the revolutionary realistic school to portray their characters with greater and greater distinction and precision. The introduction and application of the psychological structure and stream of consciousness have promptly endowed the writers with appropriate approaches and forms to expand their macrocontrol as well as microcontrol of human relations and their psychological description of real life. Therefore, in the first decade of the new period, we have witnessed in all forms of literature--including poetry, novels, plays, and essays--the realistic vision of the writers has expanded in both directions along the two poles. True, Ai Qing's "A Song in Praise of Light" has the lofty quality of embracing the universe and the capacity of including a timespan between the ancient and the present days; even in his very short poem "Fish Fossil," the poet manages to deal with a great and profound historical truth and to vividly generalize the tortuous fate of the poet himself. It depicts his own bitter life experience and his spirit of forging ahead courageously. The historical novel "Li Zhicheng" covers a wide span of space and time and portrays the class struggles and national contradictions ranging from the king's court to the ordinary people on a wide scope, which includes several hundred characters. The author, Yao Xueyin, also does a very good job in organically linking the macroscopic outline of the whole situation with the microscopic psychological description of the characters. Wang Meng is even more conscious in the pursuit of developing the macrocontrol as well as the microcontrol of real life in his short story "The Voice of Spring" and novelettes "Buli" and "The Butterfly." All are literary works that "span 3 decades and cover a very wide scope." Speaking of his writing on "The Voice of Spring," Wang Meng said that he attempted to express a "wider range, a longer span, and a greater variety of life" on a 3-hour journey in the dull carriage of a train. That was how he adopted the approach of psychological structure and allowed "his pen to flow into the past and the present, a foreign country and China, as well as the cities and the rural areas" through the "free association" of the "stream of consciousness" of the hero in his novel, while all the rays emitted came to a common end, which was none other than the "heart of our hero," who was sitting in the dull carriage on a train on the eve of the Spring Festival of 1980. (Footnote 4) ("A Letter Concerning 'The Voice of Spring,'" in "Writers of the New Period on Writing," RENMIN WENXUE Publishing House, 1983 edition, pp 465, 466) The writer Liu Xinwu described his writing of the "Drum Tower" as the blazing of new trails in the realm of people's secret hearts to

acquire profundity; the blazing of new trails in wider range of life to acquire breadth; the blazing of new trails in cause and effect concerning people, events, and things to acquire a sense of history; and the blazing of new trails in the rich and colorful details of life to acquire a sense of truthfulness... (Footnote 5) ("Going Deep Into the Sea of Life in Search of Pearls--An Interview With Liu Xinwu," carried in GUANGMING RIBAO 8 January 1986) We can say that this has generalized the artistic pursuit of revolutionary realism in this period.

### THIRD, THE APPROACHES OF EXPRESSION AND ARTISTIC STYLES.

A literary work is not only the unity of the subjective and the objective, but the unity of content and form as well as the unity of materials and structure. The style of artistic work is embodied in the unity of these various aspects. Realism as an artistic approach of "reproduction" is always strong in simple, straightforward style of writing. However, the approach of artistic expression as a means to embody a certain artistic style is subject to the needs of the expression of the contents in the final analysis. Both the blazing of new trails in the rich and colorful contents and the extension of the macrocontrol and microcontrol of realities require varied styles and approaches. In the new period, the semi-closure and complete closure state of the Chinese literary world experienced since the 1950's came to an end. Writers have come into wide contact with all kinds of literary trends in the world, the different genres of modernism in particular. This inevitably leads to the opening up of revolutionary realism in artistic forms and approaches of expression as well as their reference and absorption, and inevitably promotes the variation in style of revolutionary realism. Of course, such reference and absorption are not simply copying, but creative writing under the premise of profoundly reflecting real life. With such writers of the revolutionary realistic school as Wang Meng, the stream of consciousness from their pens is no longer the Western stream of consciousness in the style of James Joyce but takes on an Oriental value; it is no longer some "confused stream," but possesses some understandable psychological logic of people in real life. The absorption of certain approaches of exaggeration, absurdity, and symbolism to some extent is also different from the symbolism, surrealism, and the school of absurdity in modernism. It has become an artistic expression of the nature of realities, characteristic of a strong tension, and enriched the charm of realism. For instance, in "Who Am I," author Feng Zongpu portrays a college instructor who suffers all kinds of persecution during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and is reduced to schizophrenia in which he believes himself to be some "insect" and some "force of evil." In the novelette "Junzi Orchid," author Zhang Xinxin satirizes how some people have become abnormal, petty and low, funny, and despicable in their craze for making a fortune out of this species of orchid! The play "The Deceased Paying a Visit to the Living" powerfully lashes at the meanness in the souls of different characters with the approaches of surrealism and absurdity! In "A Remote Village" and "An Old Well," author Zheng Yi merges fairy tales and legends in his realistic description. In Mo Yan's "A Transparent Carrot" and Wang Anyi's "Xiaobao Village," the authors adopt the approach of symbolism and endow the realistic pictures with some sense of emptiness. All this

is the result of the inspiration of Western modernism or the reference of Latin American magic realism, but on the whole they are subjected to the truthful reflection of real life; they are by no means sheer "self-expression," nor countering reason as in modernism. We should say that all this is enriching and developing revolutionary realism.

### III

The revival and vigorous development of revolutionary realism in the first decade of the new period is not by chance. It has profoundly embodied the law governing the development of literature itself.

Literature and art as aesthetic ideology of mankind includes three layers of aesthetic functions, namely, the true, the good, and the beautiful. In artistic creation, "the true" has always been the necessary precondition for "the good" and "the beautiful." Art of a "presentation type" stresses relaying the truthfulness of the thinking and emotion of the author, while art of the "reproduction type" stresses the reflection of the truthfulness in portraying the connotation of the life of the object portrayed. As ideological trends of literature and art, romanticism and realism rose in Western Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries consecutively; however, the approach of dealing with the relations between art and reality with different principles has a longer history. The reasons why the writings of these two categories continue and pass from one generation to another are manifold, but an important point might be that the difference in approaches yields different aesthetic psychological effects. Romanticism stresses expression of the subjective ideals and passion and more often adopts transformed imagination; therefore, it is different from real life and is rich in legendary charm. Realism requires typification, because it faithfully depicts the original features of matters; therefore, realism identifies with real life and is rich in the value of cognition. Either creative imagination or imitating imagination will induce the sense of beauty. Literature and art imitate and understand real life through their development in a great variety; therefore, one of the most stable functions mankind demands of literature and art is that they not only provide pleasure in the sense of beauty, but help people to control and to transform their real life. In this sense, so long as mankind needs literature and art, they will always need literature of the realistic school.

Surely, in the course of historical development, either realism or romanticism has its own historical characteristics in different periods because of the differences in people's living conditions as well as their ideological and understanding levels in different times. The historical background of Western realism in the 19th century was that on the other hand, the malpractices in the course of capitalist development were more and more exposed with each passing day; such a condition caused "people to view their status in life as well as their mutual relations with sober eyes." (Footnote 6) ("Communist Manifesto," "Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 254) On the other hand, the victories of natural sciences and materialism in their struggles against religion and idealism also urged people to observe the world in comparative objectivity. In depicting real life based on the

original features of matters, realism of the 19th century attached importance not only to typification but also to the creation of typical images rich in individuality by linking the characters with the environment. At the same time, they attached attention to the psychological portrayal of characters such as Lev Tolstoy, who profoundly revealed the dialectics in the inner hearts of his characters and scaled the unprecedented artistic height of mankind. However, because of the limitation in the ideological understanding of writers, they failed to grasp the revolutionary development in real life and often failed to create powerful positive images representing the future; therefore, it is called realism.

The birth of the Marxist world outlook enabled the revolutionary writers of the new generation to acquire a new ideological weapon for observing the world. Just as Gorki put it: "Scientific socialism has created for us the ideological summit, which enables us to clearly see the past and points out the only shortcut to the future, the broad way 'leading to the kingdom of freedom from the kingdom of inevitability.'" (Footnote 7) ("On Short-sightedness and Foresight" in "Collected Literary Essays of Gorki," RENMIN WINXUE Publishing House, 1958 edition, p 279) In the early 1930's, Stalin and Gorki proposed the slogan of "socialist realism." Its development as the tradition of realism on the basis of a new world outlook was rapidly accepted by many revolutionary writers as well as the Chinese leftwing writers. Its essence was to grasp the revolutionary development in real life and to link historical and specific description of real life by educating the working people in socialist spirit. We should say that Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal of "linking revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism" was in conformity with the original purport of "socialist realism," and its basis was still revolutionary realism. However, for reasons known to all, Chinese literature departed more and more from this basis and even fell into the tragic condition of distorting real life.

However, the basic law governing literature and art cannot be distorted and neglected over a long period of time. The close linkage between literature and art, and real life; the artistic pursuit of the unity of the true, the good, and the beautiful; and the aesthetic aspirations of the masses to obtain a high value of cognition through works of literature and art all call for the revival and development of the tradition of revolutionary realism. The writers and their reserves have accumulated extremely rich experiences and deepened their understanding of Marxism, because they were involved in the struggles and thrown to the lowest depth of life during the 10 years of turbulence. Under such circumstances, it is inevitable that the revival and vigorous development of the tradition of revolutionary realism has become a historical reversal of the literature characteristic of "falsehood and lies" under the control of the "gang of four."

A recent view believes that realism has developed toward the end of its history and that it will inevitably be replaced by modernism. It is said that this is the contemporary ideology, the choice in the evolution of contemporary aesthetic ideology in particular. In my opinion, such a thesis does not conform to the actual conditions of the development of world literature in the 20th century. We see differences between the

different genres of modernism, which takes its root in the West, in their pursuit of writing, and artistic beliefs. One genre is on the rise when another declines, and the changes are rapid. As an artistic trend in the 20th century, the effects of the different genres of modernism differed; some did not affect the whole world, including modern Chinese literature since the May 4th Movement. However, even in the West, realism has always been a strong literary trend. We can see the development of realism in the writings of a large number of writers with great effects throughout the world such as John Galsworthy, George Bernard Shaw, Erich Remarque, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Mann, Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, Sinclair Lewis, Henri Barbusse, Roman Roland, and Anatole France, let alone the existence of the powerful trend of socialist realism. True, we should see the wide effects of modernism in the Chinese literature in the first decade of the new period. For example, the "poetry of obscurity" with Bei Dao, Shu Ting, and Gu Cheng as its representatives, the new plays expressing the concepts of modern drama such as "The Railway Station" and "The Barbarian" by Gao Xingjian, and novels with a tint of modernism such as "You Have No Other Choices" by Liu Shula and "Variations Without a Theme" by Xu Xing. The artistic pursuit of these works and the beliefs in creative writing of these writers may have a close resemblance to modernism, but such works are actually very few in number in the new period. More writers may refer to and absorb the approaches of modernism, but regarding their beliefs in creative writing and artistic pursuit as well as the basis of their world outlook as a whole they are different from modernism in principle. It is not practical to classify them all into the category of modernism.

Our literary creation is welcoming in an age in which a hundred flowers blossom. The variations in subject matter, themes, forms, and approaches of literature should be encouraged. The multidirectional development of the approaches of artistic creation is favorable to the rich and colorful tones of literature. However, we should not neglect the law governing art embodied in the mainstream of artistic creation; nor should we neglect the important place of revolutionary realism. People's aesthetic demand varies. However, such realistic works as "Class Master," "Factory Director Qiao Assumes Office," "Man at Middle Age," "Wreath at the Foot of the Mountain" emerged over the past decade as well as "The World Refound" and "The New Star" published in recent years, because they reflected the major contradictions and conflicts in social historical life with profundity, created a series of vivid and heartbreaking typical images, and their descriptions of the environment and details possess a high level of historical truthfulness and value of cognition, they have won the warm welcome of the masses. Does this situation not powerfully demonstrate the aesthetic choice of the masses, who are not in want of contemporary consciousness?

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CSO: 4004/6

## LEARN TO BE MORE ASTUTE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 27-30

[Article by He Zhukang [0149 4554 1660], governor of Henan Province]

[Text] Henan developed quite early in history, created a brilliant and glorious ancient civilization and, for a relatively long period of time, maintained a leading position politically, economically and culturally. The period of static growth and decline in the historical period commenced after the Southern Song Dynasty. After the Southern Song, Henan suffered over 100 years of continuous war and destruction during the Jin and Yuan Dynasties. Famous ancient cities and capitals, including Kaifeng, were all destroyed. The Yuan, Ming and Qing Dynasties all established their capital in Beijing and Henan was no longer the nation's political, economic, and cultural center. Following the silting up of the Grand Canal, the Huanghe floods became increasingly powerful and both to the north and the south of the river, scenes of desolation met the eye everywhere. Agricultural production went from bad to worse and for a long period, the social production forces were bogged down. After entering the modern period, when foreign capitalist production technology was drawn into both southern and northern provinces and modern factories, mines and transport industries were developed, the interior province of Henan remained as before and followed the same old practices. When most of the provinces in the country started "Western studies," and propagated ideas of bourgeois reformism, Henan's cultural and ideological base was still the world of "Cheng Hao and Zhu Xi's study of rites." At the beginning of this century when the new national capitalism economy was just breaking through, Henan was at least 30 to 40 years behind the south and some of the coastal provinces, and it was extremely weak economically. Because of this social reality and historical background, the people of Henan have inherited many of the obsolete concepts of traditional culture. The benighted and backward things of traditional culture have very seriously fettered the people's minds and thus the development of the commodity economy has been restricted. These factors cannot but have an effect on today's economic structural reforms and the process of modernization. For example, there is the idea of self-sufficiency, of not seeking help from anybody, of "living within hearing distance of each other but never visiting each other" which has been formed over thousands of years by small producers within the natural economy. There is the habit and disposition of closing themselves off, given rise to by a long period of self-imposed exclusion and

blind rejection of outside things. There are the ideas of stressing names and paying little attention to realities, and stressing righteousness and paying little attention to interests. The traditional ideas of stressing the base and forgetting the subordinate parts, stressing agriculture and paying little attention to commerce, and stressing production while placing little importance on exchange are particularly deep-rooted. Henan is not only subject to strong traditional concepts but also suffers from the deep influence of "leftist" ideology. In economic work there exists to varying degrees the tendency to pay little attention to circulation, markets, operations, management, quality, results, efficiency, diverse operations and processing for added value. These ideas are not beneficial for grasping opportunities and making use of information. Some people are highly adept at using compulsory orders and "cutting with one knife," while being stupid and clumsy in using economic levers and economic measures. Some people worry little about facts, but have great energy for throwing things backward and forward. Such types boast and brag and have a fondness for the grandiose. Thus, they often end up doing stupid things by which they strive for a reputation they do not deserve and end up with real disasters, and by which they strive for glory they are not worthy of and find that they have produced real calamities. Such people are incompatible with the development of socialized large-scale production and a commodity economy, and are a serious restricting factor in the development of Henan's economy. Thus, it is very necessary to carry out, throughout the province, enlightening education on developing a commodity economy. We need to motivate everybody to study the commodity economy; to become familiar with the commodity economy, to firmly get rid of the various traditional ideas reflecting the natural economy; to thoroughly eliminate "leftist" influence reflecting the product economy; and to replace these with a consciousness and ideas reflecting the socialist commodity economy. In this way, we will be able to make the people of the whole province become daily more astute in the reforms, in opening up and in enlivening the economy.

If one is astute, one will have to have clear goals--major long-term goals, moderate medium-term goals, and smaller short-term goals. It is necessary to set one's sights on the goals, to continually progress toward them, to strive to scale the heights, to strive for efficiency and to never be satisfied. One must be good at selecting the right opportunity, resolutely make decisions and have many countermeasures. One should have at least first, second, and third countermeasures. One must also have a firm and tenacious spirit and strive to reach the goals already set. One must study which plan to use, pool the wisdom of the masses, and decide by which route and through which measures the goal is to be achieved. One must decide which method is most feasible and how one is to get the greatest output with the smallest input. If one is astute, one must be good at seizing the opportunity, fully utilizing all conditions, making the poor prosper, changing weaknesses into strengths and changing passivity into activity. For example, if one has no money, avenues must be arranged by which money can be obtained and collected. If one has no skilled personnel, then methods whereby skilled personnel can be obtained must be instituted. These people can be asked to come or be trained to fill positions. Also, others can be asked to help with ideas. In short, when we say astute we are speaking of being brave in liberating

one's ideas, being good in using one's brain, being good in sizing up the situation and being good at pushing forward. We propose that at the same time as developing the socialist commodity economy, we need to stress astuteness. However, we must be firmly opposed to that so-called astuteness by which people pass off fake and inferior goods, sell fake medicines and wines, do not stress quality, do not stress reputation and "buy and sell things using force." This "small astuteness" by which one harms others to benefit oneself and harms the public good to assist private interests is completely different from the astuteness we are encouraging.

If we are to really become astute, then in the present situation it is at least necessary to make an effort and work hard in the following respects:

1. It is necessary to place importance on information. Henan is situated on the central plain and transportation is convenient. It should be a place where information transfer is easy. However, in fact people are often ignorant and ill-informed and things are regularly blocked up. This is not beneficial in grasping and collecting information, and less benefit to the development and utilization of information. Following the development of the commodity economy, and the continued raising of the degree of production socialization, competition has grown increasingly fierce between regions, industries, and enterprises. If we are to have an unassailable position in competition, then we need correct scientific decisionmaking. Correct decisionmaking depends on accurate, dependable information. Economic information influences the whole process of estimating, planning, and managing social and economic activities and is directly used in supply and marketing, and in guiding the deployment and flow of personnel, financial resources and materials. It is the guide and basis on which modern economic managers take decisions, and is the "eyes and ears" and adviser in developing production. In the last few years, the economic information function in social activities has become increasingly important. One piece of information has enabled a peasant entrepreneur to become prosperous very quickly, a piece of information has enabled an enterprise verging on bankruptcy to recover its health, a piece of information has shifted overstocked materials which were piled up like mountains, and so on. Situations in which information is thus used are often heard about. The saying "if there is information then there will be wealth, money, efficiency and life" is becoming more and more accepted by people. In the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Economic Structural Reform" "the collection and dissemination of economic information" has been noted as an important function for government organs in managing the economy. In his "Report on the Seventh 5-Year Plan" Comrade Zhao Ziyang also stressed: "We must pay great attention to strengthening economic information and consultancy systems." We must place the development of information resources and the perfection of information measures in an important position and grasp them tightly and well. We must fully utilize the superiorities of Henan's geographical situation and both within and outside the province we must form an economic information network which extends in all directions, and which interlocks horizontally and vertically. Gradually we must make Zhengzhou the comprehensive economic operations hub of our nation's central region "with eyes on all roads and ears to the eight directions." We must place stress on the development of information sources and the clearing of transmission canals,

establish an information store of a suitable scale and, through the systematic storage, collection and screening of information, provide systematic basic materials for economic decisionmaking. At the same time, we must gradually establish a decisionmaking group and a think tank capable of carrying out scientific analysis and making use of economic information. We must use personnel specialized in the natural sciences, those specialized in the social sciences, planning specialists, those with technological skills and people of action as fully as possible, so that we have a rational intellectual structure and systematic analytical capabilities.

2. It is necessary to be good at operations. In the past, the phenomena of flaws and waste were extremely serious in our management. Some examples were truly shocking. The economic efficiency we had managed to obtain was lost to a great degree through "drips and leaks" in management work. The year before last, JINGJI RIBAO did a comparison between Nanyang in Henan Province and Xiangyang in Hubei Province. This year it has also done a comparison between Zhengzhou state-owned No 3 cotton mill and Shijiazhuang state-owned No 2 cotton mill. These two factories were built from the same blueprints, and their investment, scale, equipment and personnel are relatively equal. However, in the economic results they obtained there was a great differential between them. The reasons for this disparity are manifold, but a basic factor is that operations management levels were different. Speaking in terms of the present situation in our province's enterprises, the great latent potential for improving economic results lies in operations management. When we speak of tapping the internal potential of enterprises, the greatest potential is that in operations and management. Improving operations and strengthening management does not require increased investment or added equipment. Even without these things it is still possible to greatly improve economic results and get twice the results with half the efforts. Thus, this is a pressing matter which has great immediate significance.

Operations is a very complex field. As far as Henan is concerned, the key lies in reducing the metaphysical and increasing the dialectical in operations activities, being nimble and flexible, avoiding weak points and stressing strong points, changing the passive into the active, and changing disadvantageous things into advantageous things. For example, in the question of safety and risk, astute operators must go about things surely and steadily, carry out feasibility studies including studies of market demand, the reliability of resource supplies, whether the specifications, quality and price of the product accord with market demand, whether circulation channels are clear, how transport conditions are, and so on. They must consider things in an overall way. At the same time, on the basis of carrying out objective, scientific analysis of enterprises' actual strength and market conditions, they must be brave in taking certain risks. This is because when faced with risks, many people will shrink back and often only a small number who are prepared to take the risks will be able to obtain greater benefits. These benefits are due compensation for the risks they have shouldered. Also, in terms of the question of good- and poor-selling products, one of course should, for a certain period of time, produce large quantities of, and organize increased production of good-selling products.

However, good-selling products change into poor-selling products and vice versa. When products sell well there will naturally be increased competition. This will result in the end in the products becoming unmarketable, and both prices and profits will decline. Operators must firmly avoid "taking advantage of temporary enthusiasms" and "chasing crazes." This is because when a craze starts, it reaches a peak quite quickly. Then when everybody catches up, the summit has already become a trough. At times, one must be good at taking advantage of a poor-selling item. In fact some poor-selling items are not truly poor-selling and there is potential for changing them into good-selling products. Last year, the Jiaozuo Knitting Mill only had to stamp the three characters "Shao Lin Temple" on its T-shirts and singlets and these slow-selling products were quickly selling well all over the country. In operations whether to actively advance or to retreat in order to advance is a decision which must be made on the basis of objective, sober and scientific analysis of market situations. As far as our superior products and key products are concerned, we should constantly improve them and maintain their special characteristics so as to firmly secure a market where there are constant sales. It is also necessary to continually develop markets. We certainly cannot be negligent or slack and damage our own brands. If other people produce quality products and we cannot beat them in competition, then either it is necessary to "involve high contacts" and engage in joint operations, or actively get rid of our own outdated products, improve technology, develop new products, open up new paths, form one's own specialities and watch for a chance to defeat the competition by a surprise move.

3. It is necessary to promote associations. Developing lateral associations and strengthening economic and technical cooperation is a requirement of socialization and specialization of production. It will bring major breakthroughs in the old system under which things were divided into different pens, everyone was mutually closed off, and there were divisions between departments and regions, and it will provide a wide stage on which the socialist commodity economy can gallop forward in its development. Regardless of whether we speak of specialized coordination which spans regions, departments or ownership systems and which have brand-name products as the key, or various associations involving factors such as funds, raw materials, factories, equipment, technology and labor, in general all have the characteristics of rational deployment, smooth access to information, stable production, small investment, swift technical progress, new products and types, good quality, high labor efficiency and low consumption of materials. Our province, which is in the hinterland and which has long been in a situation of being closed off, must learn to be a little more astute in respect of this matter. We must have a sense of urgency and grasp the opportunities to promote association. It can be said that hopes for the greater development of the Henan economy lie in lateral associations.

The key to promoting lateral economic association is the creation of a good environment for the associations. First, on the ideological level, we must get rid of the "idea that associations bring losses" and must provide preferential conditions for those who join associations. Some comrades feel that rich resources are their natural right and that allowing others to

invest, obtain shareholdings and take some of these resources, is a case of "allowing the fertilizer to flow to other fields." Thus they are not enthusiastic or positive about cooperation or associations. They set harsh conditions and want too high a price with the result that the association or cooperation project becomes "unworkable and problematic," and finally no agreement is reached. It should be understood that leaving resources in the ground, "having water that does not flow," is not as good as using the funds, technology and personnel of an advanced area, developing the resources in cooperation, "having water which flows swiftly" and changing potential resource advantages as quickly as possible into real economic advantages. A richness of resources--this truly is where our superiority lies, and it is also what we can rely on to attract people. As it is association or cooperation, in all cases it is a case of mutual benefits and interests, and of mutual accommodation and understanding. In all cases, we must be prepared to give a little advantage to others. Rather than fearing losses, we should be happy to be making profits. In the overall calculations, both sides will gain advantages and both will share the benefits. Second, we cannot just simply grasp associations. We must give enterprises expanded decisionmaking power in order to promote associations. Expanding the decisionmaking power of enterprises is a precondition and a basis for associations. When enterprises engage in association, that in itself is a type of decisionmaking power. When responsible departments do not allow associations, this is violating the decisionmaking power of the enterprises. Doing well in grasping the expansion of the decisionmaking power of enterprises will on the one hand strengthen the psychological endurance of responsible departments as far as enterprise associations are concerned, and on the other hand will weaken the power of these departments to interfere in enterprise associations. The association we propose must be associations decided on by the enterprises themselves, associations of equality and associations of mutual benefit. The forms and contents of association and decisions on participation in and departure from associations shall be decided on by the enterprises themselves. As for associations which are beneficial to both sides, even administrative orders will not cause it to be dissolved. As to so-called "associations" which are unnaturally cobbled together or fabricated, even if they are tied together, they will not remain so. All responsible departments should enthusiastically act as "matchmaker" rather than as "mother-in-law." They should provide guidance rather than arbitrary interference. Third, associations should be encouraged through policies and protected in law. In the process of promoting lateral economic associations, it is inevitable that contradictions will occur with the old economic system, especially with the planning, financial, and banking, goods and materials, and the circulation systems. Completely getting rid of those things in existing rules and regulations which obstruct alliances will certainly not be a bad thing. The overall reforms must develop forward in the process of discovering contradictions and then resolving them.

4. It is necessary to have creation. What is referred to as working creatively means creatively implementing the principles and policies of the central authorities with a spirit of extreme responsibility. Mechanically copying and passing on the central authorities' policies and directives without even the slightest dissent, and not daring to utter any words or do

anything which is not on a document or has not been spoken about by a leader--this is not really implementing central directives and is actually the best way to be negative and to slow down the implementation of the central directives. It must be understood that the formulation of various principles and policies by the central authorities is done by proceeding from the situation in the whole nation. In a country as large as ours with so many different situations, the central authorities cannot set down very detailed, specific directives on all matters. For example, the policy of enriching the people is a basic policy set down by the central authorities. However, as to how a region is to specifically make people prosperous, what advantages they will bring into play, what weak points they will avoid, how they will get some of the people to become prosperous first and thereafter have them spur more people to common prosperity--these are matters which can only be decided by going deep among the grass roots, making investigative research, giving meticulous guidance, and by sounding out the situation so as to get a real grasp of it. Only then will it be possible to take a decision which accords with the provincial, prefectural, municipal, county, or village conditions, and to put forward measures which suit the actual situation. "When the Eight Immortals crossed the sea, they each showed their individual magical powers." Not only does this not violate the central authorities' policies, but actually enriches them. Only thus can it be considered that work is being done creatively, can one be considered to have a boundless spirit of responsibility to the central authorities and to the people, and can one be considered to be providing the best service. This is precisely where the astuteness of the leaders is involved. If one eats "whatever is prepared" and is a "lazybones official," there is no way to even talk about astuteness or creativity. Thus, if we want to work creatively, we must proceed in everything from reality, and put forward measures suited to local conditions. We must proceed from whether things are of benefit to the implementation of the central authorities' policies and principles, to the promotion of the reforms and whether they encourage the development of the social productive forces. We must also allow flexibility and adaptation to circumstances.

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A SURVEY ON THE PATTERN AND SCALE OF AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT IN SOUTHERN  
JIANGSU

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 31-34

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[Text] Recently, we made a survey of the problems of agricultural stability and development in Changshu city and Wuxi County. What we saw and heard made us feel strongly that the cadres and the people there, when meeting with new contradictions and difficulties in agricultural development, did not fold their hands and profess their helplessness but made new searches and investigations. On the side of further improving the management form and strengthening socialized services, they not only paid attention to arousing the enthusiasm of the peasant families for management and operation but also highly regarded displaying the strong points of the collective economy, created several good countermeasures and achieved notable results. It may be said that 1985 was a year in which agriculture was obviously invigorated and in which certain breakthroughs were achieved in searching for a suitable scale of operations and management.

At present, in Wuxi County and Changshu (city), the agricultural management form may in general be divided into four categories:

**FIRST CATEGORY: PEOPLE WORKING SEPARATELY ON GRAIN RATION FIELDS; LABOR FORCE WORKING SEPARATELY ON DUTY OR RESPONSIBILITY FIELDS; AND EACH HOUSEHOLD MANAGING AND OPERATING SEPARATELY.** As people have frequently said "each and every family engaging in farming, sideline production, and industry and each and every household being small but comprehensive"--this being the principal form at present. As for the area of grain field, in Changshu city it accounts for roughly 80 percent of the total while in Wuxi County, it accounts for above 70 percent. As for the households, in Changshu city, 90 percent belong to this category and in Wuxi County, 80 percent belong to this category.

**SECOND CATEGORY: EACH AND EVERY HOUSEHOLD FARMING ITS OWN GRAIN RATION FIELD, WHILE DUTY OR RESPONSIBILITY FIELDS ARE SUITABLY GROUPED TOGETHER AND FARMING IS CONTRACTED TO EXPERTS.** In Dongtiao township, Wuxi County, since autumn 1983, following voluntary negotiations among the populace, of the over 2,000 mu

of duty or responsibility fields in the whole township, over 1,500 mu have been gradually concentrated in the hands of 85 households, averaging 18 mu per household. In the spring of 1984, in Rongnan village of Yuqi township, Wuxi County, which is fairly strong economically among the villages, 529 mu of duty and responsibility fields, originally scattered in the hands of some 337 households, were contracted anew to 60 households and 70 labor force units for farming. These households are what people frequently referred to as "large households in grain-planting farming." To provide services for them, the village set up a service structure embracing such work as providing seeds, machine farming, plant preservation, irrigation and drainage, and technological guidance. In Wuxi County, there are over 3,700 households, or 1.43 percent of the total number of peasant households, which have contracted for over 5 mu each of duty or responsibility fields. They have contracted for farming of over 25,900 mu of duty or responsibility fields, which constituted 10.4 percent of the total area of such fields in the county. The contracts called for the purchasing of 21.25 million jin of commercial grain, being 9.7 percent of the contracted gross purchasing tasks of the whole county. In Changshu city, some 50 households have contracted to farm over 20 mu each of the duty or responsibility fields. Of them the largest one contracted for the farming of 162.5 mu. If households each selling over 10,000 jin of grain are also called "large households in grain planting," then there are in the city 1,272 households of this category, being 0.5 percent of the total number of peasant households, farming more than 17,800 mu of fields, equivalent to 2.5 percent of the total area of grain fields.

**THIRD CATEGORY: DIRECT LINKING OF AGRICULTURE AND TOWNSHIP AND VILLAGE ENTERPRISES.** This is tantamount to taking the management of agricultural production as part of the work of the township and village enterprises and treating the labor power engaged in production of commercial grain and specialized personnel engaged in serving agriculture as constituent members of township and village enterprises. Comrades at the grass-roots level have described this as follows: "In production in ordinary times, each has its own responsibilities, basic compensation is according to work, welfare and fringe benefits are open to all, and each may set its goal for surplus production and bonuses and awards." In Wuxi and Changshu, four kinds of concrete methods have been in use:

1. "Unified management of plant and village." A classic pattern of this type is the Changqiao village of Zhidong township, Changshu city. In 1984, under the conditions of 80 percent of the 900-odd labor power units being engaged in industry, the village enforced the system of having plant and village grouped in the same team and the system of unified management of agriculture and industry; it set up an agriculture and sideline production management section and a villagers' affairs section to oversee the work of village-run enterprises. Agricultural pursuits were incorporated into the scope of enterprise management; peasants engaged in agricultural pursuits were recognized as constituent members of the village-run enterprises; the enterprises unified the organizing and coordinating of agriculture, sideline production and industry of the entire village and also unified the assessing of the performances of constituents engaged in industry and constituent members engaged in agriculture, and their income distribution.

2. "Factory-run agricultural workshops." In Wuxi County, 30 percent of the villages have employed this method. Over 7,500 peasant households which each contracted for 3 mu, or more, of duty or responsibility fields are incorporated into the village-run enterprises, and treated as "agricultural workshops." Regarding the duty or responsibility fields, the contract system is enforced. The receipts go to the plant, excess production is self-retained, and the plants, following the basic income level of the workers of the same enterprise, pay the peasants basic salaries and wages on the basis of the area of the duty or responsibility field concerned.

3. "Village-run enterprises separately entering into agreements with the production teams and contracting for farming of the duty or responsibility fields." In Yangqiao village of Zhidong township, Changshu city, there are four village-run enterprises. Three of their factories separately entered into agreement with production teams. The factories and teams signed agreements to contract for the farming of duty and responsibility fields. The enterprises have their own special people to attend to farming and in busy seasons the enterprises undertake to temporarily dispatch other workers and staff members to go to the fields to help. Earnings from the duty and responsibility fields go to the enterprises doing the contracting while the enterprises are responsible for giving the peasants their compensation.

4. Factory-run bases for agriculture and sideline production. In Changshu city there are 173 agriculture and sideline production bases doing tilling and planting work on over 4,700 mu of land. Among them, the base run by the Fushan township artificial leather manufacturing plant is the largest in scale. Along the banks of the Chang Jiang, it has planted grain, fruits, and vegetables on over 700 mu of land. In Wuxi County, township and town enterprises of a definite scale of operations have all set up bases for sideline food products and planted vegetables on over 6,000 mu of land. Some of the land has come from opening up dried riverbeds and desolate beaches; some has resulted from taking over the farming and forestry land sites originally belonging to the collectives; some has been derived through the recontracting of fields originally contracted by the peasant households. The basic pay of the staff of the farms generally follows the pay scale of the industrial workers of the enterprises. Floating salaries and wages and bonuses are paid through assessing the actual results in production.

FOURTH CATEGORY: VILLAGE-RUN FARMS. At present, there are two of these farms in Changshu city, one located at Yuanhe village of Jinnan township and the other at Xiaoshan village in Dayi township. The one located in Yuanhe village on the outskirts of Changshu city owns 556 mu of cultivated land, averaging 0.3 mu per person. The village-run industries are prospering, the gross output of the industries is 93 percent of the gross output value of agriculture, industry, and sideline production. In 1976, auditing and checking of the production brigades was carried out. In 1982, following the all-round enforcement in southern Jiangsu of the system of contracted responsibilities on the household basis with payment linked to output, Yuanhe village did not enforce the system of contracting the responsibilities to the household, but the original four farming areas separately did the contracting from the village with payment linked to output. In 1984, the

contractual relations were further perfected. A change was made by means of four ladies (formerly heads of production teams) separately contracting from the village. Eighteen labor units were annually appointed and the working site was reclassified as a farm. The village formed special corps to serve agriculture, offering to the four farms all-inclusive services. The services included tilling, planting, harvesting, and threshing. The fees charged followed the prices of the products. As for Xiaoshan village in Dayi township, Changshu city, it has 112 mu of cultivated land. Four labor force units contracted for the farming jobs, with the village providing the services. This form has not yet appeared in Wuxi County.

The above-mentioned four forms of agricultural management may in reality be lumped together into two large groups. The first group envisages scattered management by the households while the other group, which comprises the three remaining forms, envisages a suitable scale of management. The first group is large quantitatively, covering a wide area while the second group is small-scale.

In the course of the investigation, we had discussions with the comrades of the counties (cities), townships and villages on the present conditions and prospects of the four different management forms in these two large groups. Summing up their views, the following two viewpoints may be initially formed:

The first viewpoint is: AT THE PRESENT MOMENT, THE FAMILY SCATTERED MANAGEMENT FORM STILL HAS RATHER STRONG SUITABILITY AND VITALITY AND IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO EXIST IN QUANTITY FOR A CONSIDERABLY LONG PERIOD TO COME. The reasons are:

1. At present, the majority of the peasant households still cherish the wishes of tending their own grain ration fields. The comrades at grass-roots level we contacted all mentioned that the peasants there currently displayed this psychological attitude: "Not that they wish to stop farming altogether but that they do not want to do too much farming." Why is it that they do not wish to stop farming altogether? Because they are still influenced by the traditional thinking: "Food is essential and land is its source." Particularly in the case of peasants over 40 years of age, they can feel at ease only when they have some land to farm. Even in the case of peasants working in the township and village enterprises, they feel that township and village enterprises still have their risks and the jobs there are hardly of the "iron bowl" type and that if they have several mu of farmland in their hands then they have a safe retreat. Moreover, an industrial worker's job always provides some spare time and if one will exert efforts a little in the mornings and evenings, he should be able to take care of farming several mu of farmland. This means some extra income and peasants who are shrewd in their calculations surely will not want to lose the chance. In 1985, despite the serious natural disaster and the heavy reduction in production, in Wuxi County, on the average each peasant household still managed to earn a net income of 640 yuan from farming. In those townships and villages which have done well in industry, the peasant workers can also get extra income from the industry's support-agriculture fund. For this

reason, many peasants have said: "Throwing away the farmland is like throwing money away." Besides, they have the feeling that they are better assured of the good quality of grain from their own farms and that "eating their own grain makes them feel most at ease." Moreover, in quite a few localities, not to farm the duty or responsibility fields means that there will not be sufficient plant stalks for use as fuel. In fact, "not wishing to do much farming" means that the peasants do not wish to spend too much time of farming the duty and responsibility fields. The major reasons are: In farming the income earned is small but strenuous manual work is required, and peasant households who do only farming work have a low social status. The last point is characterized by the saying that "peasant households, though earning 10,000 yuan a year, can hardly find daughters-in-law."

At present, there are still a small number of peasants who decline to farm grain ration fields. They mainly consist of the following four types of people: 1) Members of peasant households who throughout the year are away engaging in commerce, services, construction, transportation and other trades; and individual households earning a fairly high income; 2) responsible personnel and supply and marketing personnel of township and village enterprises who have no family members to provide supplementary labor power; 3) husbands and wives both being young peasants and working in township and village enterprises; and 4) peasants who are really unable to do farming work because of old age, physical deformation, prolonged illness, and so forth.

2. In the near future, the majority of townships and villages still lack the basic conditions for shifting to a suitable scale of management. Seen from the actual practices in the county and city probing for a suitable scale of management, to realize the recontracting of cultivated land must have several basic conditions, as follows: 1) The labor force can be shifted outward fairly readily and steadily and can be assured of a higher income than that from farming; 2) the farm fields have reached a fairly high level in water conservancy facilities and in farm mechanization, thus banishing from the minds of the peasants the fear and dislike of farming work; 3) the functions of socialized service work have been improved quite a bit so that the peasants have a "safety feeling." Although these conditions may differ from each other in ranking, that is, some are primary and some are secondary, all of them are indispensable. According to estimates, on the existing basis, to bring capital construction of the farm fields to a stage in which irrigation is in good running order, the roads, canals, ditches, and bridges are coordinated, and the principal parts of farming work are mechanized, it will be necessary to make an additional investment of 400 to 450 yuan per mu. Judging from the existing capacity in rural economy, Wuxi County can afford to make an additional investment of only about 25 yuan a year, and Changshu city, about 22 yuan a year. Thus, it can be seen that shifting to a suitable scale of management still requires quite some time for realization.

The second viewpoint is: A SUITABLE EXTENT OF MANAGEMENT DEFINITELY HAS A FUTURE. IT IS NECESSARY NOT TO MISS THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE A THOROUGH INVESTIGATION AND TO PERMIT DIVERSIFIED FORMS TO COEXIST AND TO PROGRESS TOGETHER.

To realize the specialization and modernization of agriculture is an objective demand in the development of the national economy. To push forward a suitable scale of management, it is necessary to note well the following two problems:

1. The process must proceed in good order, the forms adopted must be many and diversified, action must be adroitly guided by circumstances, and major work should concentrate on creating the necessary conditions. It is necessary not to hustle or bustle, or to make one decision apply to all or to be too eager for accomplishments, but to do things in a regular order. Comrades of the department on agriculture and industry of the CPC Committee of Changshu city mentioned that in the farms in Yuanhe village, on the average each labor unit can handle 25 mu of farmland, relying principally on the great strength of collective economy, the coordinated working of the farm machines, and a sound service system. Although many other villages do not possess such conditions, they can still resort to other forms and scale of management. Comrades of Wuxi County are of the opinion that developing grain-planting large households and strengthening socialized services have a relatively better future. It is hoped that the relevant leadership departments (such as the planning and economic commissions, the agricultural machine departments and so forth) will do more investigation and research work, help in summing up experiences, and map out concrete plans for serving the grass-roots level.

2. It is necessary to grasp well a suitable scale in management and operation. Seen from the current condition, for family operation and management in general, a scale of around 20 mu is best. The majority of large grain-planting households tending over 30 mu of farmland lack stability. If the scale is suitable, the peasants are able to invest more in farming, the land productivity rate can be heightened, and operating results will be good. If the scale is too large, extensive cultivation or operation may result and the land productivity rate will fall.

A suitable scale is a dynamic concept. It cannot be defined exactly but this does not mean that it cannot be grasped. Comrades in Changshu and Wuxi believe that the suitability of the operation and management scale in their regions mainly depends on whether or not the units taking up the contract for operation (family and collective farms) possess the necessary labor power, farm machines, and socialized services for ensuring the fulfillment, in quality and in quantity, of the work in summer harvesting and summer planting. This standard still needs to be further examined in actual practice.

Our investigation shows that management and operation in agriculture, regardless of whatever form is adopted, must achieve the objectives of improving the agricultural labor productivity rate as well as the land productivity rate. The achievement of these objectives depends on how the agricultural socialized services have been rendered. Since the second half year of 1985, Changshu city and Wuxi County have laid stress mainly on displaying the strong points of a collective economy and unified management and operations, such as setting up, augmenting and perfecting the

agricultural service system and have adopted many measures in connection therewith. They are as follows:

1. Taking up the leadership over service work. In autumn last year, Changshu city specially called a meeting on agricultural service work and demanded that the leadership at various levels and various departments devote their full strength to augmenting agricultural service work. The city took up the responsibility of organizing and coordinating this work. The city took up the responsibility of organizing and coordinating this work, the relevant departments of the city assigned special personnel to take charge, and level by level a post responsibility system was established. Early this year, the city made concrete rules on how services should be rendered to agriculture in such aspects as capital funds, material resources and energy. Up to now, 509 of its villages (79 percent of the total number of villages) have set up comprehensive service stations for agriculture. Under the stations, 1,450 specialized teams were set up, and, as a result the first stage of a network of the agricultural service system was formed. In Wuxi County, since promoting in an all-round manner in summer last year the experiences of Houzhai township in setting up six special service lines (water, electricity, farm technology, plant protection, farm machines and supply of seedlings), the leadership departments at various levels have taken as their responsibility the augmenting of the agricultural service system, and the supervising work was done level by level. Up to the present, all of the 555 rural villages have set up water control teams, 96 percent of the villages have set up farm-machine corps, 89 percent have set up plant protection teams and 42 percent have set up comprehensive service stations. In the entire county, some 20,000 people are currently engaged in agricultural service work.

2. Stability of the service teams is essential. In building and perfecting a service structure for agriculture, the prerequisite is the existence of a stabilized service team. To achieve this, the service personnel must have a stable income and compensation. The methods used by Changshu and Wuxi in this regard are as follows:

First, formation of specialized service teams or comprehensive service stations, with the village as the basis. In general, they are concrete realities. They offer services at low charges, concurrently take up industrial and sideline production jobs, carry out independent accounting and are responsible for their own profit and loss. To those teams or stations which have difficulties in being solely responsible for their own profits and losses, subsidies are given by the village concerned so as to ensure that the income level of members of the specialized teams will be slightly higher than the average income level of the workers and staff members of village-run enterprises.

Second, the enterprises organizing specialized service teams or sections, with the village-run enterprises as the basis. The service personnel are incorporated into the staff of the factories, their specialized functions being farming. Receipts from the services rendered belong to the factories but their wages and fringe benefits are the same as those of other workers

and staff members. This form is specially prevalent in Changshu city where 173 villages have taken it up.

Third, services rendered by the populace themselves, coordination work being done collectively, unified standards employed and the receipts from the charges kept by the people concerned. This form is mainly found in places where the foundation of the township or village industry is rather weak, where farm tools originally owned by the collectives have been transferred, with compensation, to the households or where the responsibilities are contracted to the household. In this regard, the villages strengthen their management and control of the farm machines in the keeping of the households and clearly specify the service targets. The villages also fix the concrete standards of charges, ensuring on the one hand, that the peasant households owning the farm machines will receive a rational compensation and, on the other, that the broad masses of peasant households will enjoy using the farm machines.

3. Grasping coordinating and forming of complete sets of machines. Comrades in Changshu are of the opinion that strengthening the socialized services of agriculture can hardly be carried out if the agricultural machines lack the coordinating parts to form complete sets. They have employed various means to promote the use of new agricultural machines. Last year, prior to the autumn sowing season, they organized in Xinzhuang township an on-the-spot exhibition of a new sowing machine. After the exhibition, the agricultural machines company sold all 300 units of this new sowing machine. Nonetheless, judging from the current situation, a serious state of the agricultural machines being "top heavy" and "lacking in completeness" exists and there are sharp contradictions such as the magnitude of their power and the lack or shortage of coordinating parts. At present, the total motive power of the agricultural machines in Changshu city is some 560,000 horsepower, but the city has only 11 rice transplanters and only 22 harvesters. It is not that the peasants do not want to buy but that they do not care to buy because the quality of the work of forming complete sets of machines is not up to standard. Some peasants in Changshu have jestingly said: "Our man-made satellites are now up in space but down below rice transplanters and harvesters are still lacking in the fields." This year, both the county and the city have adopted measures, on the one hand to strengthen the production of coordinated parts of small farm machines and, on the other hand, to squeeze out foreign exchange to import rice transplanters and harvesters from abroad. Nevertheless, comrades at the grass-roots level have all felt that importing from abroad is not the way to basically solve the problem of not having complete sets of agricultural machinery. The machine building in Wuxi has a fairly strong productive capacity. It has a long history in the manufacture of agricultural machines. Unfortunately, it lacks support and encouragement from above. Some of its plants have foolishly persisted in using their earnings from other machines to subsidize the losses from making agricultural machines. Some factories have closed their doors because of the inability to get further subsidies. Our opinion is that the state and the relevant departments should put this work of making coordinating parts for agricultural machines on their agenda, make the necessary readjustments in their policies and plans, and arouse the enthusiasm of the enterprises for making agricultural machines.

4. Raising the quality of services. How should we solve the difficult problem of the downward trend in the quality of the labor power serving agriculture? Comrades at the grass-roots level are unanimously of the opinion that raising the service level of the specialized teams is a top-notch policy. Changshu city, having initially set up a service structure, has further grasped the perfecting work and mentioned "three musts": First, the quality of service must be high. Service personnel are required to establish a feeling of glory and of responsibility, warmly love service work, be well-versed in technology and management methods, seek quality improvement and raise the service level. Second, the ability to meet emergencies must be strong. The service personnel are urged to feel the same way as the peasants feel and to want what the specialists want. Third, the service items must be complete. The specialized teams are required not only to provide services in the course of production but also to provide services both before production and after production. In order to closely unite all three services, that is, services before production, in the course of production and after production, in the second half year of last year, Changshu city carried out experiments on reform of the structure in Fushan township, placing under the management of the townships units of supply and marketing cooperatives, credit cooperatives and food stations which originally had come under the management of the departments, thus enforcing a management system of "integration of departments and localities, with the latter as the leading factor." This has produced initial results and the city is currently summing up and promoting the experiences in this connection. In Houzhai village, Wuxi County, the constituent members of six service teams were organized to study from each other and to make joint efforts for improvement. Many persons have achieved the objective of having one speciality but many capabilities. In order to rapidly improve the level of the specialized technology of the agricultural cadres and service personnel, Yenqiao township, Wuxi County has invested in the formation of an agricultural training center. The scheme has received good responses from the entire county.

Perfecting the agricultural service structure and improving the level of agricultural mechanization are both inseparable from making large investments in agriculture. However, it is quite obvious that at present the state is unable to directly make large-scale investments in agriculture while agriculture's own accumulations are extremely limited. Judging from the conditions found in the survey in Changshu and Wuxi, the effective measure is still the development of diversified industries outside agriculture, particularly the township and town enterprises, and enforcing the scheme of industry subsidizing agriculture. Thus, the destiny of rural industry determines to a definite degree the destiny of agriculture.

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CSO: 4004/7

A DISCUSSION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SYSTEM OF REGULAR EXCHANGE OF LEADING CADRES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 35-37

[Article by Sun Chao [1327 6389]]

[Text] At the same time as we reform the economic structure, we must appropriately reform the political system. Only thus can we ensure that the reforms are carried out in an overall and thoroughgoing way. An important aspect of the reform of the political structure is reforming the cadre system, and an important part of the reform of the cadre system is the implementation of the system of regular exchange of leading cadres.

For a long time, as we did not have a system of regular exchange of leading cadres, the following problems occurred in our work:

1. It was easy for empiricism and bureaucratism to develop. We should recognize that when a cadre works in one place for a long time, he becomes very familiar with the work, "there is good productivity and the people are happy" and thus work is facilitated. However, this is only one side of the matter. Seen from the long term, if a leading cadre is constrained for a long time by working in one place, it is easy for his vision to be restricted and for him to follow the same old ways. When faced with new situations and new problems, they often study and handle them on the basis of their old experiences and by using their old methods. They do not make an effort to seek new ways to solve the problems. In addition, if we do not have regular exchanges, there will be none of the necessary competition among cadres, with the result that they will not be effective in handling matters.

2. It was easy for personal appendage relationships to be formed and for small factional groups to be produced. When a leading cadre works for a long period in one place, he is surrounded by friends and contacts including old bosses, old work-masters and old subordinates. In trying to get work done, the burdens are heavy and the hindrances great, and it is very easy for a "relationship network" to be formed and for "inbreeding" to occur. In order to gain a "backer," some cadres flatter and fawn on their superiors and senior leaders and are subordinate and "absolutely loyal" in an unprincipled way. They change the relationship of upper- and lower-level comrades into one of lord and subject or of father and son and even form factional circles.

They use their positions to seek private interests and do not concern themselves with party discipline or state law. In fact, the main obstacle to the exchange of leading cadres comes from these people who have already got stuck in "relationship networks" or factional circles. In fact, these people are the ones who are most unhappy about leaving their "domain" which they have spent many years arranging.

3. It could not ensure that cadres got training in various fields, and this was disadvantageous to the cadres' growth. China has a huge area with a multiplicity of situations. Especially since we have engaged in reforming and opening up, the new situations and new problems have emerged in an endless stream. This requires that our cadres have strong abilities in changing to meet new circumstances and to handle problems. Working in the one place for a long period, it is very difficult to gain training in many areas and skills do not develop quickly. This does not accord with the demands of reform which require a large nucleus of skilled leading persons who have both capability and political integrity and who meet the standards of the "four requirements" for cadres. Thus, we must place the matter of leading cadre exchanges on the agenda.

The question of exchange of leading cadres has not just been brought up recently. Lenin proposed that there should be an appropriate exchange of cadres, and at the Ninth National Representative Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) it was especially decided that the central and local authorities must regularly transfer responsible cadres from one place to another so that they could more broadly study the work of soviet and party organs, thus making them more able to carry out struggle against conservative phenomena.

Carrying out exchanges of leading cadres is also a tradition of the party. In the period of the war against Japanese aggression and the war of liberation, the vast number of our party's cadres, in accordance with the requirements of the party and the people and, regardless of whether they were working in the rear areas or the front line, whether they were engaged in open or underground work, all adhered to the principle of "I will go wherever I am needed." Everyone was accustomed to changing their work positions and to the interflow of cadres. Since liberation, we have traveled a winding path on the question of cadre exchanges. In 1962, the party Central Committee made the "Decision on Exchanging Senior Leading Cadres at All Levels of Party and Government in a Planned and Step-by-Step Manner." This required that senior leading cadres at all levels of party and government throughout the nation "are exchanged in a planned way between the center and localities, between upper and lower levels and between regions and departments, and that regular exchange of cadres becomes a basic system in our party's cadre management work." However, when implementing this decision, we did not do our work well. The 10 years of internal disorder further caused the party's system of cadre exchange to become empty words. In 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again put forward the issue of cadre exchange, but with the situation at that time, there was clearly no way to implement it.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party made the implementation of a cadre exchange system an important part of the reform of the cadre system and carried out experiments in cadre exchange at selected points. In 1983, in the "Notice on Several Questions in the Structural Reform of County-Level Party and Government Organs" the Central Committee stipulated: "It is necessary to integrate the structural reform and there is a need to carry out planned exchange of senior county-level leading cadres. Of the first and deputy secretaries of the county party committees and the county head and county deputies who are continuing in office, at least one-third are to be exchanged within the limits of the province, city, autonomous region or district." In January 1986, the Central Committee in its "Notice on Selecting and Appointing Cadres Strictly in Accordance With Party Principles" pointed out: "We must make cadre exchange an important avenue for cadre selection and training." With the guidance of the spirit of the relevant central documents, all areas have experimented with cadre exchange and have gradually come to recognize that the exchange of cadres has the following advantages:

1. It is of benefit in having leading cadres expand their vision, change their work styles, understand situations and link up with the masses. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out, that cadres "being appropriately transferred to another area has advantages. The major ones are that by being transferred to another area, one can come into contact with more people, have a better understanding of various situations and when matters arise, one will be more circumspect." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 23) When a cadre is exchanged with another region, the new environment will encourage the cadre to go deep into reality, to link up with the masses and to do well in investigative research. It will enable the cadre to get rid of old conventions and old work practices which resulted from being in one place for too long. After a cadre is transferred to a new environment, he will be quite excited and his vision can be widened. It will also be of benefit in discovering talent and in opening up a new situation in work.
2. It is of benefit in correcting party style and in the implementation of the line, principles and policies of the party. Carrying out the exchange of cadres between regions will allow cadres to shake off the entanglements of "relationship networks" and to step over the obstacles of personal relationships. On discovering serious problems which damage party style and party discipline, they will be able to handle them in a timely way. When dealing with the problems, they will also be able to treat the matters with impartiality. In this way, it will be possible to encourage the majority of the cadres to consciously strengthen their party spirit. This will be of benefit in achieving a turn for the better in party style and in social atmosphere and also guarantee the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies.
3. It is of benefit to the development of middle-aged and young cadres, to the improvement of the group structure of leading bodies and to strengthening structural functions. Through cadre exchange, there is the realization that allowing middle-aged and young cadres to experience new environments and the tempering of complex practices will result in increased abilities and an

improved leadership level among them. At the same time, in cadre exchange it is possible to carry out an overall examination and give comprehensive thought to the age, education, specialities, strengths and nature as well as the leadership abilities of the members of leading bodies at various levels, and to make necessary additions and adjustments in accordance with needs. This will result in a more rational structure of leading groups. Further, through exchange, not only can we eliminate some personnel who are not equal to the leadership work, but more importantly we can inject "new blood" into the cadre ranks in a timely way to ensure that they are always brimming with vitality and vigor.

4. Carrying out an exchange of cadres can promote, both in breadth and depth, the reform of the entire cadre system. When the exchange of cadres is regularized and systematized it will create beneficial conditions for other reforms of the cadre system: for example, the implementation of a system whereby cadres can both be promoted and demoted, in establishing a system whereby cadres serve in areas other than their own domicile; in implementing a system of cadre selection and appointment; in establishing a system whereby there is supervision of cadres by the masses; and in establishing a system of reserve cadres.

In brief, following the development of the economic and political structural reforms, the necessity and importance of leading cadre exchanges are being increasingly recognized by everybody. However, seen from work in recent years, the work of exchanging cadres has fallen far short of the demands made by the development of the economic and political structural reforms. Many problems await urgent solution.

Some people do not consider questions from the overall situation of the reforms or the overall situation in building the cadre ranks. They feel that cadre exchange only involves the exchange of cadres who do not work well, and they do not concern themselves with whether cadres who work well are exchanged or not. This is a short-sighted view not of benefit to the development of the cadres. Even good leading cadres need to be exchanged, so that they can be improved through the exchanges and so that they can progress further and develop more quickly. In some areas, because they have been unable to correctly recognize the significance of cadre exchanges, many mistaken methods exist in their cadre exchange work. For example, some people have a negative attitude to carrying out cadre exchange as they are worried it will disrupt the work environment they are used to. Some people consider the cadres under their leadership as private property and they are unwilling to let cadres who they use for their own convenience leave on exchange. Still others only exchange those cadres who have committed mistakes, in order to shift their troubles onto others or as a punishment for the cadres. There are even some people who use the opportunity of cadre exchange to get rid of those people who have different ideas from their own and to assign their friends to jobs. Of the exchanged cadres, some ask the party for high posts. They want positions and they haggle over things. These unhealthy practices even more seriously harm the reputation of cadre exchange work. The various above-mentioned mistaken ideas and methods show us that if we are to further implement the system of regular exchange of leading cadres, then we need to do much arduous and meticulous work.

In summing up the experiences and lessons of cadre exchange work over the last few years, we can note that in the future implementation of the system of regular exchange of leading cadres, there are several issues which deserve attention:

1. It must be combined with the implementation of the system where cadres can be both promoted and demoted. If cadres are to be exchanged we need to thoroughly eliminate the system whereby leading positions are of lifetime tenure, and eliminate the feudal ideas of rank such as a "high post being noble" and "to be high is glorious and to be low is shameful" which have formed in people's minds over several thousand years. Cadres at all levels should be "subject to demotion." The system of regular exchange of cadres and the system whereby cadres can be both promoted and demoted complement each other. Carrying out exchange of cadres not only will guarantee the system whereby cadres can be both promoted and demoted, but the exchange of cadres itself also involves the idea of cadres being able to be both promoted and demoted.
2. It must be combined with the system of appointing cadres to posts in other than their own domiciles. This system of appointing cadres to positions in places other than their own domiciles was a system implemented in feudal society. In those days there was the saying that "one cannot be an official within 800 li of one's home." This system was used to prevent officials from "appointing people through favoritism" and from forming cliques to pursue selfish interests. The system of appointing cadres outside their original domicile which we want to implement today is different in nature from the system in feudal society, because we take the interests of the people as our point of departure. The planned transfer of cadres can prevent the appearance of phenomena such as "petticoat influence" and "appointing people through favoritism." The implementation of the system whereby cadres are appointed to positions outside their original domicile can also further guarantee the regularization and systematization of the exchange of leading cadres.
3. It must be combined with the cadre tenure system, appointment system and work assessment system. The cadre tenure system is a way to guarantee the elimination of lifetime appointments to leading positions. The establishment and perfection of cadre appointment and work assessment systems can make cadre employment more democratic and scientific and will also play a promotional role in cadre exchange. This will ensure that every cadre will be able to reach that post where he can most fully bring his abilities into play. Put another way, in order to promote the implementation of these systems, we need to first establish a system of cadre exchange. This is because by first allowing cadres to flow in an appropriate way, we can get people used to this and then the reform and implementation of other cadre systems will be easy to carry out.
4. It must be combined with the establishment of a system of reserve cadres, as this is an important measure in training middle-aged and young reserve cadres. The interrelated movement and the free exchange of cadres is of benefit in allowing the reserve cadres to pass through necessary positions

and improve their ability to control the overall situation. In recent years, Jiangsu Province has made use of various opportunities and quite smoothly arranged for a number of middle-aged and young reserve cadres to be transferred to key "positions" and allowed them to be thus tempered. By this means the cadres' organizational and directing abilities, decisionmaking abilities and creative abilities have all been improved. At the same time, the relationship between the cadres and the masses was tightened, and the maturation period of the reserve cadres has been reduced.

5. It must be combined with the support of undeveloped areas. Regardless of whether we think about it in terms of training and tempering cadres or in terms of the overall situation of construction, in the exchange of cadres, middle-aged and young cadres with developmental abilities and prospects should be transferred to economically backward areas. This will provide intellectual support and stimulate the economically backward areas to catch up as quickly as possible, and at the same time, the transferred cadres will receive good tempering. In recent years, Jiangsu Province's cadre exchange work has placed stress on assisting the backward areas in north Jiangsu and it has realized quite good results in this.

6. It is necessary to pay attention to resolving well the real difficulties of cadres. It is necessary to combine ideological and political work and the resolution of cadres' actual problems, to do well in work for the transferred cadres themselves and their family members and to help them overcome their real difficulties. The situations of veteran, middle-aged and young cadres are different and each has their own difficulties. When implementing the cadre exchanges, we should treat them each differently and not "cut with one knife." Cadre exchange must be planned and be carried out step by step with stress placed on key points. Implementation must be multi-channel and be in various forms, and we must indeed avoid rushing headlong into mass action and great fluctuations. This will be of assistance in gradually realizing the normalizing, regularizing and systematizing of cadre exchanges. We believe that by combining it with other reform of the cadre system, the system of regular exchange of leading cadres will be able to develop healthily and become a system to which the vast number of cadres are accustomed.

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CSO: 4004/6

## AN IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE FOR GUARDING AGAINST UNHEALTHY TRENDS IN CADRE WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 38-39

[Article by Zhu Yan [2612 1484]]

[Text] The selection and appointment of leading cadres in party and government organs must be decided upon by party committees (party groups) through collective discussion and in accordance with cadre management jurisdiction. These matters cannot be decided by individuals. This is a concrete expression, in cadre work, of the party's principle of democratic centralism. It is also an institutional guarantee for ensuring that people are appointed on their abilities and that unhealthy tendencies in the use of personnel are avoided.

How should this principle be implemented in practice? There are three major aspects: 1) When discussing personnel matters, resolutions should only be valid if over two-thirds of the members are in attendance at the party committee (party group) meeting. 2) During discussions, all the party committee members should possess a high sense of responsibility and fully express their views. They should assess and appoint cadres in an impartial way based purely upon the cadres' merits. 3) On the basis of democratic discussion, decisions should be made with the minority submitting to the majority. There should be correct centralism and the situation where decisions are made by individuals or a small minority should be guarded against. The above three measures are mutually linked and none can be dispensed with. The aim of firmly adhering to these measures is to use the party's democratic centralism to guarantee the correct implementation of the party's line, principle and policies in the use of personnel in the new period. In this way, we can select and appoint those capable cadres who have both ability and political integrity and better results can be achieved in realizing the "four requirements" in leading groups of party and government organs at all levels.

In the last few years, in selecting and employing cadres, the leading party and government organs have adhered to the principle of collective discussion by the party committee (party group). The majority have done quite well in this. However, situations have occurred where this principle has been violated. For example, some leading cadres have not paid attention to organizational principles, gone above the collective leaders of the party

committee and put forward the names of cadres they wanted the organizational departments to appoint. Other senior responsible cadres of party committees have, during discussions about personnel, not given everyone a free hand to express their opinions, but have stressed their own ideas on particular individuals and required the members of the party committee to accept inappropriate personnel selection or squashed the appointment of outstanding talented persons. Further, some party committee members have had, during discussions, definite ideas on the selection of personnel, but they have not expressed their ideas. They have not criticized or disputed erroneous measures and have even bargained away their principles. Although these phenomena have only occurred in a small number of comrades, the harm they do cannot be ignored. If problems occur in this link, then the work procedure by which cadres are selected and appointed will be harmed. This will nullify all the efforts made by the masses through recommendations and the organizational departments in their examination, and it will be hard to avoid mistakes in decisionmaking on the use of personnel. On the one hand, it may result in some outstanding, talented personnel who have both abilities and political integrity being stifled and being unable to be selected and approved in a timely way. On the other hand, it may allow some people who do not measure up to the selection standards or even those who are not good in terms of character and abilities, being appointed to positions they should not be.

The reasons the party committees (party groups) of units have problems in personnel decisionmaking are different in different units. In some, the rules and regulations are insufficiently perfect. However, in the majority of cases, it is ideological understanding problems which obstruct the handling of matters in accordance with procedures. Now, as the rules and regulations are clear in this respect, we need to seriously resolve problems of ideological understanding.

Can party committee members decide on the employment of cadres by the method of marking a circulated document? No, they cannot. Generally, all that marking a document can indicate is that one has "noted" it. It may be that one agrees, or perhaps that one has not yet formed an opinion. It may also be that it is not convenient or not possible to immediately express one's opinion. Moreover, the assessment of cadres is often a complex matter, and there needs to be repeated analysis and comparison based on a full examination. At times debate is also necessary. Here, the marking of a circulated document clearly cannot resolve the question and it is necessary to carry out collective discussion. Thus, the meetings of party committees (party groups) to jointly discuss and decide upon personnel matters cannot be "simplified," and cannot be replaced by the marking of a circulated document.

Can the senior leaders of the party committee set down the decision in advance and then later have the standing committee or entire committee pass it? Likewise, this cannot be done. This method whereby there is no prior deliberation or discussion is in fact only changing an "individual decision" into a "decision by a small number of people." It is imposing the view of a small number on the majority of the comrades, and makes the essential procedure of collective discussion by the party committee a pure formality. This

is not in accord with the demands of the principle of democratic centralism. Also, this method can easily give rise to the misconception that of the people being discussed, in every 10, 8 or 9 of them will be acceptable. Thus there is no need to closely examine them or discuss them fully. In this way, it has often occurred that units have neglected their supervisory obligations when employing people. Of course, this does not mean that before the party committee collectively discusses the matter, party committee members including senior leading comrades cannot exchange views on candidates they wish to discuss or carry out necessary deliberation. We cannot consider such contacts an unhealthy phenomenon.

Senior party committee members cannot "decide things by themselves." Can the committee members, by stressing the importance of their own views reject a correct decision by the majority and implement a "veto"? This cannot be done either. The individual is subordinate to the organization and the minority is subordinate to the majority. This is a requirement of party organization and discipline in party meetings, all members have the right to express ideas in support of and in opposition to the matter being discussed. However, they must accept the resolutions passed by the majority. When a resolution has been taken, all members should firmly obey it. They may retain their own views, but in their activities they cannot refuse to implement the resolution. They especially cannot violate organizational principles and freely spread contrary ideas. Some comrades knowingly violate these accepted facts about inner-party life. It must be said that such actions are a demonstration of a lack of discipline. In some units, when the party committee is discussing personnel matters and "leaks" occur, it is often related to this factor. We should firmly criticize and provide education with respect to unorganized and undisciplined activities in cadre and personnel matters. When the situation is serious, necessary disciplinary punishment should be meted out in order to enforce party and government discipline.

Whether collective decisionmaking can be carried out well in the selection and appointment of leading cadres in party and government organs is a test of the degree of political maturity of the leading group of the party committee and especially of the senior leading comrades of the party committee. On the one hand, during the process of discussion, the members of the party committee will all express their own opinions. This will inevitably reflect the degree of their knowledge and understanding of the line, principles and policies in personnel matters in the new period and will also reflect their support for the party's policies and their consciousness and the level at which they impartially and fairly examine and assess cadres. On the other hand, it is also an important indicator of whether the leading members of the party committee can correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism and truly abide by organizational discipline. When the party committee makes collective decisions about employing people, there must be both full democracy and correct centralism. This unifying of democracy and centralism needs the common efforts of all members of the party committee. As a senior leading comrade of the party committee, if one lacks a democratic style and makes individual decisions, of course it would be intolerable. However, when one is presented with different ideas and sees that

everyone is clinging to their own view and a correct decision by the party committee is being obstructed, one cannot procrastinate too long and must dare to take the final verdict. In brief, when a party committee (party group) discusses cadre matters, they must support the idea of individual responsibility and collective decisionmaking to ensure that things are handled strictly in accordance with party principles and that selection and appointment is done well. This is intended to serve both reform and socialist modernization. Only thus can mistakes in the selection and appointment of leading cadres to party and government organs be reduced to a minimum and the various unhealthy tendencies in personnel matters be easily corrected and prevented.

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CSO: 4004/6

WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN EDUCATION ON A COMMON IDEAL IN THE BUILDING OF SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 40-41

[Article by Wei Yingmin [7614 5391 2404]]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society With an Advanced Culture and Ideology" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "To build socialism with Chinese characteristics and make China a modern socialist country with a high degree of democracy and an advanced culture and ideology--such is the common ideal of the people of all our nationalities at the present stage." This common ideal is a strong spiritual weapon by which the people of all nationalities in our country are of one heart and one mind and by which they are united in struggle. It is also an important guarantee for the continual progress of our socialist cause.

First, a common ideal is a unifying force. It is a spiritual strength which unites the people of all nationalities in our nation as well as patriotic Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, Taiwan compatriots and Overseas Chinese in building the great socialist motherland together. In old China, from the Opium War to the May 4th Movement, there was not yet a unified, scientific social and political ideal as a spiritual mainstay for our nation. Thus the people's wishes could not be uniform and their strengths could not be directed in a common direction. It was like a box of loose sand and strengths could not be combined and built up. This was one of the reasons why our country was trampled upon. After the October Revolution, the advanced elements of the Chinese proletariat found Marxism-Leninism and formed a scientific communist world view. With the guidance of this scientific world view they unified the various nationalities, various social strata and the vast masses on all sides and through close to 30 years of extremely arduous struggle, established socialist new China. In building socialism we have obtained heartening achievements, but we have also traveled a twisting road. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee formulated a program by which to struggle for the creation, in an overall way, of a new situation of socialist construction. This program is the common ideal for which we are struggling in the current period. This common ideal centrally manifests the interests and

hopes of our nation's workers, peasants, intellectuals and other laborers and patriots. Through realizing this ideal we can bring about a basic change in our nation's backward situation, get our nation's economy to approach the level of the world's advanced nations, greatly improve the level of our people's material and cultural lives and, at the same time, take a gradual step in building spiritual civilization. Thus strengthening education in the common ideal will undoubtedly further motivate the enthusiasm and creativity of the people of all nationalities and make a contribution to the building of the two civilizations.

Second, a common ideal is a source of impetus in promoting the reform of the economic structure and the reform of the political structure. Ideals can give people confidence, courage and strength and can produce a great force. If we are to realize the common ideal of the people of all nationalities in our country at the present stage, then we need to bravely carry out reform of the economic structure. At the same time, we must carry out reform of the political structure, get rid of the abuses of bureaucratism and realize widespread socialist democracy. Only by strengthening education in common ideals can we stimulate the masses' sense of being masters of their own affairs, and have them fully bring into play their abilities and creativity, and actively participate in economic, political and social management and reform. Thus we will be able to eliminate the interference, obstruction and even damage caused by the various types of old "leftist" and rightist practices and influence, and carry out the reforms fully. A common ideal will also guarantee that we maintain the correct direction of reform. All of the reform and opening-up policies which we are implementing are for the purpose of developing the socialist economy and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Thus, we must persist in the two basic principles of the leading position of public ownership and common prosperity. On this point we cannot allow any ambiguity, obscurity or wavering. A common ideal will guarantee that the economic and political structural reforms are smoothly carried out on the socialist track.

Third, a common ideal shows the road for change in lifestyles. In social life, people not only want a certain material life, but also want a rich, full and noble spiritual life. A common ideal causes the people of different nationalities to have common pursuits, hopes and yearnings. They run through people's spiritual life, both molding people's temperaments and subtly changing people's lifestyles. For example, the powerful current of economic reform has pounded those conservative, backward and even ignorant lifestyles associated with the small-producer and self-sufficient natural economies. It has required that we establish a civilized and healthy scientific lifestyle which conforms with the development of a socialist commodity economy. This civilized and healthy scientific lifestyle is different from the feudal, traditional lifestyles of old China which followed the same old ways, and is also different to the capitalist lifestyle. It is a new-style lifestyle guided by the common ideal. This new lifestyle is not only modern, but is highly civilized and democratic and this is manifested in the relationships between persons. They are relationships of equality, unity, fraternal affection and mutual help as well as relationships of contending and competing. People all have a sense of equality, competition and enterprise and an idea

of respecting knowledge, maintaining discipline, maintaining public order and paying attention to professional ethics. Also, they have sense of self-respect, constantly strive to improve themselves and voluntarily impose the demands of "having ideals, having morality, having culture and having discipline" upon themselves and train themselves, as well as striving to establish a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization.

In the building of spiritual civilization, "we must regularly educate our people, especially our young people, to have ideals." (Deng Xiaoping, "Have Ideals, Have Morality, Have Culture and Have Discipline," p 5) Only if we persist in carrying out education in a common ideal can the building of the two civilizations develop healthily in the correct direction, and only thus will we be able to smoothly realize the great goal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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CSO: 4004/6

## WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO MAKE GREAT EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE BUILDING OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 41-42

[Article by Xia Weidong [1115 0251 2639]]

[Text] Ethics is one form of social consciousness. Through social opinions, it produces customs and habits, fosters people's beliefs and guides and conditions people's labor and other types of social activity. It also judges and appraises words and deeds insofar as whether they are beneficial or harmful to society, and in every aspect of society adjusts people's actions and the various types of relationships. Professional ethics refers to a special ethical requirement within professional boundaries. It is a concrete manifestation of general ethical principles within various professions. Greatly strengthening education in professional ethics is an important link in the building of socialist ethics and is also an important part of the construction of socialist spiritual civilization.

### 1. Professional Ethics Are the Key Link in the Building of Socialist Ethics

Socialist ethics takes the basic interests of the working class and other masses as the criterion for distinguishing good and bad, right and wrong, honor and disgrace. Promoting this type of ethics is the hope and demand of the masses. However, the experience of many years of building ethics has shown that if we do not link up the building of socialist ethics with the personal life experiences of all members of society and the requirements of professional ethics, it will be very difficult to have the principle of socialist ethics enter deep into people's hearts. In real life, the vast majority of society's members are inevitably related with some profession. In their professional life, people are subject to special professional ethical practices which are formed through a long period of professional tempering. If we do well in professional ethics, the people's socialist morality can be improved to a large degree, and this will promote the development of socialist spiritual civilization. The arena of socialist professional activities is both the place where people are subject to education in professional ethics and also the place where people practice socialist ethics. Carrying out the building of ethics by proceeding from professional ethics will make socialist ethical construction more concrete and make it something which can be seen and touched. Thus, it will be easy to get twice the results with half the effort.

## 2. Education in Professional Ethics Is an Important Means for Raising People's Spiritual Quality

In the building of ethics, the raising of people's spiritual quality requires the firm establishment of a strong sense of responsibility toward society, toward other people and toward oneself. This is also a requirement of professional ethics. This sense of responsibility to the profession is a direct precondition for a person to develop a sense of being master of his own affairs. Under the socialist conditions of our country, no matter what profession people are engaged in, in all cases everyone in their different posts is building the two civilizations, all are serving the people and all are respected by the people. For example, those who are cadres must be fair and honest, loyal and energetic and not use their posts to seek private gain. Those who are workers must stand fast at their posts and complete production tasks on time while maintaining both qualitative and quantitative standards. Those who are in the PLA must maintain a high degree of vigilance and be prepared to sacrifice themselves to protect the nation. Those who are teaching must be paragons of virtue and learning and use their actions as an example. Those who are doctors must heal the wounded and rescue the dying and implement revolutionary humanism. Those who are sales people must provide warm service and treat customers well. Without this concrete and stringent cultivating role of professional ethics, it will be difficult to improve the people's spiritual quality and to foster the people's spirit of being masters of their own affairs. On the basis of their own professional characteristics, many units formulate service pledges, labor rules, work regulations, work-post responsibilities, activity guides, lifestyle conventions and so on. In fact all of these are concrete manifestations of education in professional ethics and they are major measures for carrying out education in socialist ethics. We should constantly sum up such experiences so that they can be further perfected.

## 3. Stressing the Building of Professional Ethics Is a Basic Avenue for Improving the Relationships Between People and Making the Social Atmosphere Better

Professional life is an important aspect of people's social life and it occupies a large part of everyone's life. In professional life whether people can respect professional ethics, serve the people with all their hearts, and oppose and correct unhealthy trends in their trades, plays an extremely important role in stabilizing social life and realizing a turn for the better in social atmosphere. In our society, every person is the object of service and every person also serves others. When people engage in their own professional work, they must be subject to the constraints of relevant professional ethics. When engaged in other social activities, they also require others to respect their appropriate professional ethics. For example, when a doctor provides medical treatment, he must respect medical ethics, but when the doctor goes to a shop to buy something, he also hopes that the shop attendant will respect commercial ethics. Only when people establish appropriate professional ethics and change these into their own convictions, sense of responsibility and sense of honor, will it be possible to correctly handle the relationships between people, between individuals and the society, between

industries and between units. The influence of the characteristics of professional activities and the ethical circumstances of the people in that profession inevitably have, to a certain degree, an influence which may be good or bad, beneficial or detrimental, on the people who come into contact with that profession. Also, within certain limits the people who are subject to this influence will pass it on and affect other people. In social life, through observing professional ethics people assume the obligations which they should in society. At the same time, this plays a positive role in social production. However, if people do not observe the demands of rudimentary professional ethics, it may lead to chaos in social life, affect the improvement of the relationships between people and influence the process by which social atmosphere is being made better. Thereby it will affect the building of socialist ethics.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT LAUNCHING ACTIVITIES TO CHANGE PREVAILING HABITS AND CUSTOMS IS AN IMPORTANT TASK IN BUILDING SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 p 43

[Article by Liu Guochang [0491 0948 2490]]

[Text] The habits and customs of society have, in various respects, a great influence on the action of its people. Paying attention to and doing well in changing prevailing habits and customs so as to gradually form a new set of habits and customs has far-reaching significance in bringing about a basic change in social atmosphere, in strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization and in promoting the cause of our nation's modernization.

Habits and customs are formed gradually over a long period of history and are a form of social consciousness. A custom may be formed in a particular historical period and will be determined by the production and livelihood modes in society at that time. Its contents will also be decided by the production and lifestyles in society at that time. Once it is formed, it exists within the society, and later customs will use their own forms to carry on various ideas, views and practices left over from the past. Thus, customs have a relatively independent nature. From a society's customs and habits, we can see the society's ethical state and the people's spiritual features.

Customs and habits are accumulated precipitation of a traditional culture. They, like other forms of social consciousness, have a dual nature, in that they have both essence and dross. New customs and habits play a great promotional role in social progress and in the raising of people's ideological and moral qualities. Old customs and habits are obstacles to social progress and the building of spiritual civilization. As to the essence of customs and habits, that is the healthy customs, we should respect, maintain and continue them. As to the dross, that is the benighted and backward habits, we must get rid of them or change them. When we speak of changing prevailing habits, what in fact is meant is the changing of old customs and the removal of undesirable habits.

New China has been established for 37 years and new customs and habits have been gradually formed and daily expanded among the masses. However, it

should be recognized that under the socialist system there remain vestiges of backward, negative and even harmful old customs which have absolutely no progressive significance for society. For example, in society at present in many places there is a big thing made about weddings and funerals. There is great waste and they go in for ostentation, displays of wealth and other vain things. In many areas, feudal superstition is rampant and witches, sorcerers, "fortune-tellers" and "geomancers" operate on all sides, cheating and swindling people. Sometimes large numbers of people are drawn in to ask help from the gods or to seek rain and so on. This seriously harms social order, damages the atmosphere of society and corrupts the people. As our nation was for long ages a feudal society, the influences of decadent feudal ideologies is very strong. Even today there is strong support for customs with a feudal hue. If we do not eliminate those benighted and backward things then it will not be possible to establish socialist ideology and morals and new customs and habits.

At present, we are engaged in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. Its most basic demands are that we use new ideological standards to replace old moral standards, that we put forward civilized and healthy scientific lifestyles and that we overcome those benighted and backward things in social habits and customs. Thus, in this process of building, it is unavoidable that we change those inappropriate and undesirable old customs which exist in society. Customs and habits touch all families and affect hundreds of millions of people. Old customs and undesirable habits fetter the people's minds, stifle the people's spirits and obstruct the full bringing into play of the people's enthusiasm and creativity. New customs and good habits are able to liberate people from these fetters so that they can engage in production and work happily and with peace of mind. Doing well in changing old customs and habits will be of benefit to providing a new healthy scientific and useful environment for life throughout the whole society. In this way, all people will consciously establish a noble realm of thought and fine moral sentiments, and thus they will engage in the four modernizations with a lively and upwards-directed spiritual attitude. At present, because many areas, and especially some rural villages have changed old customs and got rid of undesirable habits, the people's spiritual mien has undergone great changes. Thereby, the production situation has continually improved. Facts have proven that being serious about and doing well in changing customs and habits is a direct and important driving force in promoting the building of the two civilizations.

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WHY DO WE SAY THAT EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND CULTURE ARE IMPORTANT CONDITIONS FOR RAISING THE LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE'S IDEOLOGICAL AND ETHICAL CONSCIOUSNESS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 44-45

[Article by Miao Zuobin [5379 0155 2430]]

[Text] The building of education, science, and culture is an important component part of building socialist spiritual civilization. It is not only an important condition for building material civilization, but also has great significance in raising the level of the people's ideological and ethical consciousness.

First, education, science, and culture are sharp weapons with which to vanquish ignorance, backwardness, and superstition. The development level of education, science, and culture has, throughout man's history, been linked together with the degree of development of civilization. Studying and mastering scientific and cultural knowledge will be of assistance in having people more fully and more deeply understand objective things, in having them liberate their minds, in getting rid of superstition and in improving their capability to differentiate true and false, right and wrong, and straight and crooked. From historical development, we can see that it has been science which has truly provided the fatal blows to religion and superstition. It was Copernicus' "heliocentric theory" which basically overturned the "theory that the earth is the center of the universe," a theory which the Christian church upheld. It was Darwin's theory of biological evolution which basically destroyed the fallacy that "God created man." These discoveries led to the ideological liberation of man's society, freed more and more people from the shackles of ignorance, benightedness and superstition, and promoted the development of spiritual civilization. At the same time, the development of education, science and culture will inevitably lead to changes in lifestyles and will require that people change those ignorant and backward things in their former social practice and habits. It will also raise people's ideological consciousness and will form civilized, healthy lifestyles and promote social progress. In the 30-plus years since the founding of the PRC, our nation's education, science, and culture have seen quite great progress. However, compared to developed countries, our level of development is still quite low and there is still a certain amount of full and partial illiteracy. Further, feudal superstition still has a certain amount of support, and especially in the "old base areas, the minority areas,

the border areas, and the poor areas," we are far from having eliminated backward conditions. Thus, in modernization, if we are to eliminate the phenomena of ignorance, backwardness, and superstition, the most basic measure is to raise the people's educational, scientific, and cultural levels.

Second, education, science, and culture are indispensable conditions for people to form correct ideas and to establish a seek-truth-from-facts attitude and work style. In correctly following the party's line, the most basic requirement is to proceed from reality in everything and to seek truth from facts. That is, every party member and cadre must develop the habit and work style of respecting science and of submitting to objective laws. Looking at the development of man's history, we can see that the formation of people's correct ideas cannot be separated from the progress of education, science, and culture. Adherence to the scientific attitude and work style of seeking truth from facts requires a certain scientific and cultural knowledge base. If we divorce ourselves from this point, we will lack a correct understanding of objective things. If we do not understand objective laws, it may result in blindness in production. We will thus not only be unable to effectively understand the objective world and obtain positive results, but we may end up doing stupid things and making mistakes which will bring losses to our cause.

Third, education, science, and culture are beneficial in having revolutionaries maintain their faith and realize their common ideals. Science is for inquiring into the laws of development of things, for facing the future, and for developing the future. It is the objective basis on which revolutionaries can be steadfast in their revolutionary ideals and can establish communist convictions. The reason revolutionaries can be so unwavering in their ideals and why they give their all to achieve them, does not result from superstition or fanaticism, but from a deep understanding of the scientific basis of their ideals. When people master science and culture, and engage in practice under their guidance, it can ensure that the person's actions accord more fully with reality, and accord with the objective laws of development. Thus they will be able to engage in socialist revolution and construction in a more assured and effective way and will gradually be able to change their ideals into reality. In this way, it will be possible to continually strengthen one's confidence and nerve in subjugating nature, transforming society and in blazing new trails.

Fourth, education, science, and culture are the basis for the study of Marxism and for establishing a dialectical materialist and historical materialist world view. Marxism has an innate, unbreakable relationship with education, science, and culture. It was built on the basis of the outstanding results of man's science and culture and is an outstanding achievement from thousands of years of cultural development. If we are to understand it well, we need a certain level of scientific and cultural knowledge. Engels pointed out: "If we wish to establish a dialectical, and at the same time a materialist, view of nature, we need to possess a knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 20, p 13) Comrade Mao Zedong also said that without

studying culture, we will not be able to study Marxism-Leninism well, and that without a quite high level of cultural and scientific knowledge, "although it will still be possible to study some revolutionary principles, it will not be possible to study them well." ("Comrade Mao Zedong on Education Work," p 200) The reference to studying well here means systematically and deeply understanding and mastering Marxism. Today, as we build a new world under the guidance of Marxism, during the great cause of modernization, we must adhere to and develop Marxism. Thus it is all the more necessary to continually but critically draw in the new knowledge and new achievements of modern science and culture.

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WHY MUST WE INCREASE THE PRICE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FAMOUS GOOD-QUALITY PRODUCTS AND ORDINARY PRODUCTS?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 pp 45-46

[Article by Tian Yuan [3944 3293]]

[Text] Under the conditions of a commodity economy, because of the differences in production and technological conditions, management level, skill of the workers and elements of the raw materials and ores and materials, the quality of the same variety of products produced by different factories differs vastly from each other, some being good and some being poor. But the objective demand of the law of value is that good-quality products command good prices and inferior-quality products command low prices.

In the economically developed countries of the world, famous good-quality products, particularly those famous good-quality products which require intensive processing and are of the labor-intensive type, command prices which are several times and tens of times higher than those of ordinary products. Since the enforcement of reform of the economic structure in our country, and the adoption of the policy of liberalizing, readjusting, and integrating, reform of the irrational structure is progressing systematically. Because of the rather late start, the price differences between famous good-quality products and ordinary products have not been completely widened and the "reverse linking" phenomenon of low prices being paid for good-quality products and high prices for ordinary products has appeared. Increasing the price differences between famous good-quality products and ordinary products would be significant in the development of the national economy of our country.

Rationally increasing the price differences on account of differences in quality is beneficial to facilitating the enterprises in improving the quality of the commodities and to speeding up renovation of the products and replacement of the old with the new. For a prolonged period, in commodity production in our country there have been problems of not paying sufficient attention to the quality of the products, the lack of variety, and the "one and same" system being practiced for scores of years. One of the important reasons is the failure to rationally increase the price differences of the famous good-quality products and ordinary products. Generally speaking, in the course of production, famous good-quality products require a higher grade

of technology and equipment, or the use of special materials and aircraft. In comparison with the production of ordinary products, more research and manufacturing expenses and a larger consumption of labor are needed. If the same kind and same variety of commodity of different qualities are sold at the same or nearly the same prices, then the enterprises producing the famous good-quality products will not be able to obtain compensation for their consumption of labor and the enterprises will lack the inner motivation of improving the quality of the products or carrying out research on, and developing new products. On the other hand, rationally increasing the price differences between the products will enable the enterprises producing the famous good-quality products to obtain more profits and can force those enterprises producing poor-quality products to pursue their own interests and strive by various means and ends to improve the quality of their products, and to improve their production techniques so that they can compete with the enterprises producing the famous good-quality products. In such a competition, the economic benefits to the whole society will increase following the improvement of the quality of the products.

Rationally increasing the price differences helps in readjusting the supply and demand structure. In a given period, society's demand structure is determined by the development of the productive forces and the actual ability to pay on the part of the populace. Under the conditions in our country of the unbalanced development of the productive forces and the differences in the income level of the people, the structure of consumption demand inevitably comprises many layers and stages. In a normal commodity market, the commodities purchased by the consumers generally correspond in quality and price to the products they are capable of buying. But for a prolonged period, in our country the same price has been charged for products of the same variety and brand though of different quality. This has caused the social purchasing power to be one-sidedly concentrated on the famous good-quality products, thus bringing about the situation where the supply of famous good-quality products lags behind demand and there is stockpiling and stagnant sales for the ordinary products. Rationally increasing the price differences between the famous good-quality products and the ordinary products will make the prices of famous good-quality products noticeably higher than those of the ordinary products and the purchasing power of the great majority of consumers will not be concentrated on a small quantity of famous good-quality products but will be distributed to the ordinary products in large-scale production. This will be beneficial to rationalizing the demand structure.

Rationally increasing the price difference which arises because of difference in quality is beneficial to expanding foreign trade. Accompanying the spread of the reform and opening up to the outside, our country's scientific and technological level as well as the volume and variety of our commodity production will be improved to a definite degree. But the situation regarding the low level of technology and quality of the whole industrial production may not be basically improved. This will cause our country's export commodities to lack competitive power in the international market. Rationally increasing the price differences of commodities can encourage the enterprises to strenuously employ advanced technology, improve the

quality of the products, speed up the renovation of products and replace old products with new ones, and transform their own products into famous and good-quality products, thus strengthening our competitive power in the international market as well as the foreign exchange earning capacity of our exports.

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## PRAISING 'TRANSCENDING SELF'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 p 47

[Article by Xiao Chen [2556 3088]]

[Text] Communist Party member Chen Zude, a noted weiqi [go] expert, fighting a terrible disease with matchless stamina, wrote an extraordinary book-- "Transcending Self." I have not yet read the whole book but halfway learned about it from a radio broadcast, and am already deeply impressed by his spirit and deeds.

"Transcending self" marks the sublimation of determination and willpower. It is the power possessed by the spiritually strong. Precisely because of this, Chen Zude was able to constantly control himself in the chess arena. He managed to struggle stubbornly against the specter of illness and rise above the predicament. Writing this book when he was seriously ill was, likewise, a manifestation of "transcending self." This was why for the sake of other people, of the nation, and of the enterprise, he "forgot and transcended self," being "transcended" to a high level of true and genuine "transcending."

Buddhism also advocates "forget self" and "selflessness," for the purpose of achieving inner calm and avoiding worldly troubles. Hence, reliance is placed on the concept of "emptiness on all four sides" to seek "transcending." This obviously is too pessimistic. Materialism adherents have dared to look directly at the turmoils and complexities of life and, determined to transform the world, do not vainly seek "forgetting self" and being "selfless." "Self" exists objectively and is imbued with all human passions and desires. The problems are: What to do in the event of meeting difficulties and impediments, and what to do if contradictions occur between individual and collective interests, the part and the whole, the present and the future? Some people have immersed themselves completely in their "selves," like in the song from the novel "A Dream of Red Chambers," denoting the theme of being unable to forget the "private self," and resulting in becoming passive and pessimistic, or in the inflation of private desires and unscrupulous behavior. But there are also people who are unbending before crucial tests and have courage in offering, sacrificing and struggling, thereby "transcending themselves." These are two distinctly different worlds.

Do not suppose that only Chen Zude has "transcend self." In the past, many people with lofty ideals and numerous martyrs of the revolution gave their lives and shed warm blood to personally experience this ordeal. At present, many people have faith in it, work at it with perseverance, and practice it unswervingly. It may be said: "Transcending self" is the lofty manifestation of human value and is a kind of high virtue represented by advanced characters in society. To advocate it is to set the target of life for many people, and to practice it is to step on the ideal road to the future.

"Transcending self" is lofty and possible but courage is required in practicing it. In "transcending self," one must first know oneself. People who are blindly pessimistic and look down upon themselves may seem to be without "self," but this is not "transcending"; it is belittling one's self. To expand "self" unlimitedly and being forever mindful of one's own interests not only does not "transcend," but immerses one's self in various kinds of desires. Only through correctly assessing one's self and making close liaison with the people, the state and the enterprise, can "transcending self" become a conscious and spontaneous act.

Chen Zude wrote this book when he was critically ill. People have lauded him as "spreading the fire of the spiritual civilization." May these kinds of people keep on increasing and may this roaring fire continue and grow in intensity!

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BE CAREFUL TO GUARD AGAINST SLUGGISHNESS AFTER BECOMING AN 'OFFICIAL'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 p 47

[Article by Jia Hongzhou [6328 1347 1558]]

[Text] The new mayor of a certain city was promoted to the post from his former post of being a secretary. Before his promotion, he had been known for having a ready pen and publicly acknowledged as a top-notch "writer." However, after he became an "official," he changed entirely from his usual traits. He would even ask people to prepare the script for him when making a speech. From what I have seen and heard, some people, after becoming the head of an organ, are not willing to do those things which they can do themselves, and lay aside their original talents.

According to a newspaper report, when Vice Minister of Culture Gao Zhanxiang called on Ba Jin, he mentioned that currently the minister and vice ministers of the Ministry of Culture, besides doing leadership and executive work, still engaged in art and scholarly creations. In reply, Ba Jin enthusiastically said: "This is very good. It can bring down officialdom and make it closer to the masses." These words were truly to the point.

Leaders of a locality or department have to handle many affairs and take part in various meetings, and will naturally feel that their jobs are busy. The major tasks of leadership cadres are also to be closely in touch with the actual conditions of the locality or department, earnestly implement the guidelines and policies of the party and carry out proper and concrete leadership work. However, this is not to say that becoming an "official" means that one only has to issue orders and need not do the concrete things which he can do himself. Dealing with concrete matters relating to work and routinism are two different things. As a leader, the heavier the task met with and the heavier the workload, the more is it necessary to go deep into the masses and to learn diligently, and by no means should one be contaminated by an "official" air and become tardy and lazy. If once you become a leader and forthwith you pick up an "official" demeanor, being satisfied with issuing commands, ordering people around, and failing to do those things that should be done and no longer paying any attention to seeking more knowledge and making investigation and study, then it is quite possible that you may change from being an insider to an outsider and lose the leader's right of expressing his wishes and decisions and the right of taking the initiative. And you

may lose the spirit and vitality to open up and press forward, subsequently being separated from the populace. It should be noted that the reason why many middle-aged and young cadres have found their way to leadership circles is because they themselves possess the strong points of liaising with the populace and of practicing studiously. Only in continuing to display such strong points in work can we be able to shoulder the heavy trust of the party and the people and become the leaders needed by the four modernizations program and the reform and be well trusted by the people. Only by so doing can there be hope of achieving actual accomplishments which can match up with the requirements of the era.

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SUCH A 'MAGIC MIRROR' IS NEEDED TO SEE THE REFORM--READING THE STORY  
'CLIPPINGS OF ARTICLES FROM NEWSPAPERS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 p 48

[Article by Ma Wei [7456 1218]--"Clippings of Articles From Newspapers" written by Ying Quan [2503 3123] and carried in TIANJIN WENXUE [TIANJIN LITERATURE], No 6, 1986]

[Text] Section chief Hua Zhaolu of the reporting section of a certain county, on the eve of leaving his post, looks over the "clippings of articles from newspapers" which he himself has accumulated, and discovers a secret. Thus, the story "Clippings of Articles From Newspapers" starts ingeniously from his angle and proceeds deep into life in the reform and vividly describes the complex character of Secretary Li of the county party committee. It makes people believe in the revelation of the passive elements hindering the tide of the reform. Its contents are deep and penetrating, inviting people's intensive thought.

Secretary Li appears on the scene in the capacity of a "real Bo Le," an expert on horses. When he learns that Comrade Song Dajin of a certain district has conceived of certain secrets and methods for successfully running enterprises, he condescends to go personally to the countryside to visit talented people. He severely criticizes the "departmentalism" of "keeping talented people for themselves" on the part of the district leadership and transfers Song Dajin to the county. He upholds the principle of "not demanding too much of talented people," ignores the report of Deputy Secretary Wang Yuzhu of the district party committee concerning Song's past untoward activities, and appoints Song manager of "comprehensive trade corporation." He authorizes the credit and loan department to grant Song a huge loan of 200,000 yuan to "support tertiary industry." He also takes the lead in "boycotting" the improper wind. When he sees his son, who is employed in Song Dajin's company, taking a sofa and a color television set to his home, he peremptorily orders him to pay for them immediately. People will then say he is, and consider him to be, a leader anxious to righteously carry out the reforms. But this is not so. The author is only using these outward phenomena to express his penetrating thinking and his own discovery of real life.

The Polish novelist (Ardsikova) [Au-ruo-shi-ke-wa 1159 5387 0087 4430 1216] expressed the opinion that "a novel may be compared to a magic mirror which can not only reflect the outward appearance of things and the daily routine of life which can be seen by everybody but can also reveal the innermost contents of things." The success of "Clippings of Articles From Newspapers" lies in its unearthing, from a particular angle, certain deeply concealed contents of the course of the reform. At its conclusion, the novel describes this "reformer" Song Dajin as a criminal guilty of embezzlement and corruption. His methods are: Exchanging timber for color television sets and then exchanging color television sets for reinforced steel bars, and using records to pave the way for the purchase of motor vehicles at listed prices and subsequently selling them at negotiated prices. He will not submit to being accused of crimes of embezzlement and corruption, saying, "without inviting people to feasts and sending gifts, it would not be possible to procure goods in short supply." If he is accused of corruption, then it is actually found that he has no private property at all, but if he is said to have been wrongly accused, then there is still over 40,000 yuan of funds which he himself cannot account for. "Moreover, there are still other things which cannot be mentioned," such as for example, he sells television sets, originally worth 1,200 yuan each, at the low price of 800 yuan each. And there is such a set in Secretary Li's home. The children of the secretary and magistrate, working in Song's company, after having fully enjoyed high salaries and huge bonuses, fled when the bank presses for repayment of the loan. They fled ostensibly for the purpose of rectifying party behavior. As a result, Song is left alone to face the consequences of a huge deficit. In the end, he is sent to jail. But Secretary Li continues to be secretary and his correct leadership is seen all the more.

To say that this work can be called a magic mirror is because while it depicts Song Dajin, the person reflected is Secretary Li. Regarding Secretary Li's complex thinking and character, and his ever-changing political quality, the novel reveals them by means of the artful tactics of implying but not exposing, and showing the shadow so that the real object can be imagined. In the current high tide of the reform, the mixing of good and bad elements is a normal phenomenon. A figure like Song Dajin can be easily detected, but a person like Secretary Li, who follows the reform but uses his authority to seek private gain, and thus defeats the purpose of the reform, is more or less baffling. On the surface, from beginning to end he is a firm "supporter of the reforms" as well as a "clean and innocent-looking leader daring to fight against criminal elements." But behind this stainless quality are certain untoward things. He gives his support to tertiary industry but really has the motive of finding jobs for his children. He orders his son to pay for the sofa and the television set, but the money thus paid is ultimately "converted into bonuses to be given to his son monthly." He allows his sons to go into business but "after they have earned much money and when the situation becomes tense and delicate, he allows them to flee from the scene. It is like "leaving the slaughterhouse but still being able to consume meat in dignity." By so doing, he earns the good name of "strictly abiding by the rules and discipline." He really is the one responsible for transferring Song Dajin to the county but, denying it, he alleges that "the principal leadership of the district party committee

had been promised a share in the profits of the company and recommended Song to the county." It was he who said that Wang Yuzhu was "jealous" of talent and removed her from the post of deputy secretary of the district party committee, but the next moment he turned around and acted as a good leader by supporting her in her struggle against violation of law and disruption of discipline.... Hua Zhaolu, on reading the newspaper clippings, is suddenly aware that his transfer was related to these articles which he had written and he feels that "there are many things worth studying." Indeed, Secretary Li was afraid that Hua Zhaolu might know too much of the inside details and might link together various episodes for scrutiny to his detriment, and hence transferred him away on the pretext of "fostering" and "promoting" him. Nevertheless, the reader may still like to join Hua Zhaolu in studying the whole case: Why is it that Secretary Li was all along considered to be correct? How did it come about that he could sail along smoothly in taking the opportunities offered by the reforms to seek private gain? This series of questions makes the theme of the work more penetrating and awakens us to an understanding of the highly difficult character and complex nature of the reforms.

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THE SONG OF SEEKERS--RECOMMENDING 'ENTREPRENEURS OF SICHUAN'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 20, 16 Oct 86 inside back cover

[Article by Xiao Mei [2556 2734]]

[Text] "Entrepreneurs of Sichuan," which was recently published by the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, is a good book which eulogizes those entrepreneurs who are brave in reform. This book was jointly compiled by the Research Office, Propaganda Department, Planning and Economics Committee, and the Political Department of the Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee. Its aim is to use model experiences to guide and promote reform and encourage more enterprise operators and managers to display their skills to the fullest and to advance bravely during the reforms, and to guide and lead the vast masses of staff and workers to make a greater contribution in the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

This book introduces many entrepreneurs who, during the economic structural reforms, have been brave in exploration, have continually forged ahead, have taken personal risks, and have had an enterprising spirit. Among them are factory directors and managers who have both ability and political integrity as well as bravery in development, party secretaries who are good at giving systematic guidance and who have both courage and knowledge, and also trade union chairmen who coordinate by tacit agreement and who act together like drum and drumstick. From their stirring deeds we can feel the spiritual style of a new type of entrepreneur, strengthening our confidence in and hopes for the reforms.

Comrade Jiang Minkuan, the governor of Sichuan, has written a foreword for "Entrepreneurs of Sichuan." On the basis of the typical achievements of the 70 advanced people in the book he has summed up the basic qualities of the outstanding entrepreneurs into five major characteristics:

1. They have an insatiable spirit for blazing new trails. Because the reforms we are carrying out do not have a ready-made model, many of the new situations and new problems require people to bravely explore and blaze new trails. An outstanding entrepreneur must liberate his mind, be brave in exploration, be able to keep in step with the times, and be good at combining the line, principles, and policies of the party Central Committee with the reality of the enterprises. He must also carry out work creatively and run enterprises with brimming vitality and vigor.

2. They have a knowledge which is both broad and specialized. Outstanding entrepreneurs should have both a specialized knowledge of their industry and should respect the knowledge and talents of others. They should also be able to use technology and scientific management methods, rationally arrange production, struggle to obtain the greatest output with the smallest input, and continually improve the economic results of enterprises.

3. They have a sharp and resolute ability to make decisions. In economic activities the market situation is constantly and swiftly changing, and entrepreneurs must have strategic foresight and be able to understand market information in a timely way, predict developing situations and make correct decisions in a timely way. They must develop new products in accordance with market needs, and through beautiful and inexpensive products, outstanding service, and a fine reputation they should score victories in struggle and strive for development.

4. They have a democratic style of using collective wisdom. Those people who are good at absorbing the wisdom of the masses are the most intelligent people. Socialist entrepreneurs should be able to firmly guarantee the right of the staff and workers to participate in the democratic management of enterprises and also be able to effectively carry out the unified guidance of production operations and maintain a high degree of strict labor discipline. They must be good at centralizing the good ideas and suggestions of the staff and workers and change them into conscious actions by the staff and workers. They must fully bring into play the enthusiasm, wisdom, and creativity of the staff and workers so that the vitality of the enterprises has an inexhaustible source.

5. Finally and most basically, they must have a firm and correct political direction. An outstanding entrepreneur must, in all situations and from beginning to end, firmly adhere to the socialist direction, keep the overall situation in mind, correctly handle the relationship between the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the staff and workers, pay attention to the reputation of the enterprise, and resist various types of evil practices and decadent operating styles. He must truly persist in grasping the "two civilizations," strengthen and improve ideological and political work, set an example by his own actions, and educate and guide all the staff and workers to become socialist builders who have ideals, ethics, culture, and discipline.

"Entrepreneurs of Sichuan" is lively in its language, reads very smoothly, and is interesting and absorbing. It is very similar to an account of events, and readers can draw nourishment from it in many respects. It is not only of benefit to the vast masses of enterprise management cadres and workers in economics, but can also provide enlightenment to all those people who are concerned about the reforms and economic development. It is of particular use to those enterprise leaders who have suffered setbacks or met quite serious difficulties during the reforms, as they will be encouraged and provided with more courage by the advanced achievements introduced within this book.

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