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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 7, 1 APRIL 1987

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19 MAY 1987

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

RED FLAG

No 7, 1 April 1987

[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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THE PARTY'S LINE SINCE THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 pp 2-8

[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Department; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Implementing the policy of reform, opening up, and invigorating and concentrating forces to develop social productive forces on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles is the basic content of our party's line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out not long ago: "The CPC Central Committee holds that the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is to build socialism with Chinese characteristics in light of China's realities. This line has two basic points: One is to adhere to the four cardinal principles and the other one is to adhere to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration. Both of them are related to each other and not a single one can be dispensed with." He also pointed out: "It was Comrade Deng Xiaoping who talked about reform, opening up, and invigoration the earliest, the most, and the profoundest. It was also Comrade Deng Xiaoping who talked about adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization the earliest, the most, and the profoundest. He proposed these two basic points in the course of penetratingly studying China's realities. All of us must study well Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exposition in these two points. This is the true meaning of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the basic content of the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee." These theses, outlines, and main points have completely and accurately summarized the basic content, spirit, and essence of the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In light of realities, all comrades understand and implement the line and a series of principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Several years ago, when we carried out reform in rural and urban areas and opened to the outside world and to places within our country, some people at home and abroad suspected that we were pursuing capitalism or they said that this might lead to capitalism. Recently, when we emphasized adhering to the

four cardinal principles and opposing liberalization, some people were worried that we might change the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration. Although these two kinds of questions were posed from different angles, there is one source for their generation, that is, a lack of complete and correct understanding of our party's line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. To unify understanding it is very necessary to advocate that serious study of China's national condition be carried out with the party, particularly among the leading cadres of the party, to penetratingly study the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in light of realities, and to further separate the relations between adhering to the four cardinal principles and adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration.

OUR COUNTRY IS NOW IN THE PRIMARY PHASE OF SOCIALISM. THE TASK IN THE FIRST STEP IS TO GET RID OF POVERTY, AND THIS IS A BASIC FOUNDATION AND STARTING POINT OF THE LINE FORMULATED SINCE THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

The 8 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has been the best period since the founding of our country as well as a crucial period of time in the historical development of our country. In these 8 years, our country has been stable and united politically, it has continuously and steadily developed economically, people's livelihoods in urban and rural areas have improved relatively greatly, success has been scored in rural reform, urban reform has been developing healthily, all-round reform and opening to the outside world has been the focus of world attention and has won extensive support at home and abroad, and the prestige of our country in the world has been greatly enhanced. All this has proved that the ideological line, political line, organizational line, and a series of principles and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee are correct, have conformed to the laws of Chinese historical development, have suited China's national condition and have won people's support. It has also proved that adhering to the four cardinal principles is in line with adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration and that the work of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is full of promise.

The main reason we scored successes in the past 8 years is that on the basis of China's realities and in compliance with the principle of seeking truth from facts, our line, principles, and policies have been formulated.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our party's ideological line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is to persist in linking adhering to Marxism with China's realities and in seeking truth from facts, linking theory with practice, and proceeding from realities in everything is to adhere to Comrade Mao Zedong's basic ideology." Our party's experience in the period of the democratic revolution proves that if we are divorced from the guidance by Marxist theory or from China's national condition and dogmatize Marxism, we can only lead the revolution to failure. It is only when the members of the CPC, with Mao Zedong as their representative, completely and suitably link the universal truth of Marxism with the specific

practices of the Chinese revolution that the Chinese revolution can move along the level road of victory. The experience gained from the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is similar to the experience gained during the period of the democratic revolution. The protracted "leftist" mistake before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee made the socialist cause suffer serious losses but Marxism was not to blame. It was because people ran counter to the principle of integrating Marxism with China's realities they were divorced from China's national condition, namely, from the realities in the primary phase of socialism. However, Marxism must be Marxism linked with China's realities and socialism must be socialism with Chinese characteristics suiting China's realities.

To proceed from China's realities we must first correctly understand what phase of development China is now in and what the greatest reality is in this phase. The "Resolution on a Number of Historical Problems of the Party Since the Founding of Our Country," which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in June 1981, points out that the social phase which our country is now in is the primary phase of socialism. The "Resolution on the Guiding Principle for Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," which was adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee in September last year, reiterates this argument. This thesis is very important and is of greatest guiding significance to us. The line and a series of principles and policies have been formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in light of realities in the primary phase of socialism. Only by clearly understanding this can we profoundly understand the objective basis of the party's line, principles, and policies and can we avoid both "leftism" and rightism in the matter of building socialism in China.

The greatest reality in the primary phase of socialism for our country is that we have established a socialist system but are still in a state of underdeveloped productive forces and economic and cultural backwardness, in addition to having a population of 1 billion. Therefore, what is first confronted by the building of socialism is the matter of getting rid of poverty. This is the fundamental basis and starting point of the political line determined by our party and of the target to struggle for put forward by our party. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee we have mainly done two things: One is to bring order out of chaos and the other is all-round reform. The most basic work of bringing order out of chaos in which we have engaged was to shift the focal point of the work of the whole party and country to socialist modernization, and to aver that the party's political line regards the four modernizations as the focal point and concentrates forces on developing social productive forces on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles. Since the founding of our country we have done this correctly on the basis of thoroughly completing the democratic revolution and through the reform of the private ownership of the means of production. It was proven by the fact that the productive forces of our country quickly developed in the First 5-Year Plan. What made us suffer greatly was that after the basic completion of socialist transformation we went for "regarding the class struggle as the key link" for a long period of time, ignored the development of productive forces, and

the "Great Cultural Revolution" went to extremes. If the "leftist" mistakes are not thoroughly corrected, if the focal point of work is not resolutely shifted, and if forces are not concentrated to develop the economy, our country will remain in a poor and backward state for a long period of time. How can the superiority of socialism be embodied and how can the socialist road be adhered to for a long period of time? People should not be poor with socialism, nor should they be with communism. The first step in adhering to the socialist road in our country must, therefore, eliminate poverty. Getting rid of poverty and becoming comparatively well-off is now the most fundamental demand of the Chinese people as well as the fundamental requirements for adhering to Marxism and socialism in China. The first step in the target put forward by our party is, therefore, to ensure that by the end of this century the gross national product will be quadruple that in 1980, that per capita income will be \$800, and that people will become comparatively well-off. Our nation with its large population will get rid of poverty at that time. Subsequently, on this basis, another 60 years' time will be spent in approximating our country's economy to the level of a developed country. The political line and target to struggle for put forward by our party are realistic and practical. They have conformed to the realities in the primary phase of our socialism and embody the fundamental demands of the Chinese people in the current phase.

Our country is now in the primary phase of socialism and this is not only the basic foundation on which our party has formulated the political line and target for our struggle but also the starting point from which we have formulated the strategy, principles, and measures for socialist construction and policies in all other aspects. For example, since the general level of productive forces in our country in the primary phase of socialism is relatively low, development is very uneven, and a multilevel structure has emerged. This has determined that the structure under the private ownership of the means of production must suit the situation so that the development of productive forces can be promoted. Therefore, we must adopt a policy to develop many kinds of economic forms (ownership), with public ownership as the main part. Where the Constitution and law of the country permit, the individual economy, private sector economy, Sino-foreign joint ventures, cooperative economy, and wholly foreign-owned enterprises are the necessary and useful supplements to the socialist economy. The policy of carrying out many modes of operation must be implemented in the economic sector under ownership by the whole people and in the economic sector under collective ownership. Many modes of operation, including in the rural collective economy the implementation of the system of contracted responsibilities on a household basis with remuneration linked to output, the implementation of the system of ownership by the whole people in small state-owned enterprises, collective operation by lease or contract, the implementation of the system of ownership by the whole people in large and medium-sized state-owned enterprises, state operation or ownership by the whole people, and enterprise operation, are suitable to the situation of our productive forces in the present phase in our country. All these economic forms and modes of operation are carried out under the two socialist principles of regarding the economic sector under public ownership as the main part and of getting rich together. Some people think that when we do things in these ways and when we

advocate that part of a place and part of its people get rich first in order for them to all get rich together, we are pursuing capitalism. This is a misunderstanding. The reason is that they do not understand that our country is now in the primary phase of socialism and that it has conformed to actual circumstances and is beneficial to the development of productive forces and to socialism to adopt these principles and policies. Proceeding from realities in the first phase of socialism we have adopted principles and policies in all spheres, including opening to the outside world, invigorating the domestic economy, developing a planned socialist commodity economy, developing socialist democracy, strengthening the socialist legal system; cracking down on economic criminal and criminal activities, increasing the building of socialist spiritual civilization, training citizens with ideals, morality, culture, and discipline; straightening out party style, strengthening party building, and the reform of the political structure, which constitute a complete set of mutually related principles and policies for building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Therefore, understanding the development phase which we are in is a general method to profoundly understanding and completely grasping this complete set of principles and policies.

IF CHINA WANTS TO DEVELOP AND ACHIEVE THE FOUR SOCIALIST MODERNIZATIONS, REFORM, OPENING UP, AND INVIGORATION IS THE ONLY WAY.

How can we understand that adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration is a basic point in the party's line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee? To adhere to the four cardinal principles and to build socialism with Chinese characteristics it is essential to implement the policy of all-round reform, opening to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy. If China wants to develop and achieve the four socialist modernizations, reform, opening up, and invigoration is the only way and there is no other way. Going only this way is the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, which is an important hallmark different from the previous "leftist" set. While determining the shift in the focal point of work, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee posed a question about reform at the same time. After that, the CPC Central Committee formulated the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. Reform began in rural areas and later developed to all-round reform with cities as the focal point. The fundamental aim of reform is to remove all obstacles from the development of productive forces, to get rid of poverty, and to create conditions for the protracted and steady development of our country's economy. However, due to "leftist" mistakes that were committed for a long period of time and for reasons in other areas, many serious malpractices have existed in our system of economic management, such as excessive concentration and centralization, everybody eating from "the same big pot," barriers between higher and lower levels and between different departments and regions, and ignoring the law of value and the market mechanism, which are all obstacles to the development of productive forces.

In the past the state always shouldered two heavy burdens: One was the financial subsidy of tens of billions of yuan each year, becoming heavier and heavier; the other one was that enterprises had no decisionmaking power

or any corresponding tasks and all their tasks were decided by upper levels. It is therefore imperative to carry out reform. Without reform the socialist economy cannot be full of vitality and vigor. Only by delegating power to lower levels, particularly by delegating more decisionmaking power to the grass roots and enterprises, including peasants, can we arouse the enthusiasm of all quarters. At the same time, if, through reform, we readjust well the system of prices and straighten out the important relations in the economic structure, we can "lay down our burdens and go into battle with a light pack." Economic structure reform is now still in the phase of all-round development and there are many things yet to be done. For example, it is necessary to continuously explore the scientific forms of separating proprietary rights from rights of operation, to perfect enterprises' internal operational mechanisms, to invigorate large and medium-sized enterprises, to develop the market of the means of production, to open up the capital market, to study and strengthen various methods of macro control, etc. It is imperative to carry out political structure reform and a specific plan is being studied. Reform in other areas must also be carried out to the end. Carrying out all-round reform is now, therefore, an overriding task of our country.

Implementing the policy of opening to the outside world is a necessary requirement for developing a modernized economy. If a contemporary country is isolated and closes itself to international intercourse, it cannot develop. Our country was in a stagnant and backward state for a long period of time. One of the important reasons for this was because it closed itself off to international intercourse. Experience proves that it cannot be successful in carrying out construction with the door closed. China cannot develop without economic, technological, and cultural exchanges with various countries in the world. Of course, if a large country like China embarks on construction, it must mainly rely on itself and adhere to a policy of self-reliance and must not set up obstacles and close itself from the outside world. Since the basic task in this socialist phase is to develop the productive forces we must adopt all methods which are beneficial to developing them under the socialist system, including utilizing foreign investment and importing advanced science and technology and advanced experience in management. Like reform, opening up is a measure for us to get rid of poverty and to achieve the two targets of development. Without carrying out all-round reform and without opening to the outside world, it is impossible to achieve the target in the first step by the end of this century and the target in the second step in the next century. Judging from our present situation, by 1988 we can double the annual gross industrial and agricultural output value in 1980 and lay a foundation for achieving the target by the end of this century. To achieve the first doubling of the output value we must rely on the work of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy and this will mean success in rural reform. To achieve the second doubling of the output value we must rely on the success in urban reform and on the work of continuously opening to the outside world. The present problem is that we have insufficiently done the work of opening up. We must open up further.

In a word, reform and opening up are China's hopes and they are the current greatest policy objectives of China. Without reform, opening up, and invigoration, we cannot achieve the four socialist modernizations, not to

mention the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Without adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration, we will surely depart from the line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

ADHERING TO THE FOUR CARDINAL PRINCIPLES AND ADHERING TO THE POLICY OF REFORM, OPENING UP, AND INVIGORATION IS UNITED AND INSEPARABLE.

Over the past few months we have stressed adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. Some people abroad said that the policies of China had changed. This is a misunderstanding. In fact, they have not changed. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee we have always said, and always stressed, reform, opening up, and invigoration, and always stressed adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. Those who worry that our policies will change do not understand that our party's line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee consists of two basic points, namely, adhering to the four cardinal principles and adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration. It does not consist of only one basic point. These two points are what China now needs and they are a major weapon for getting rid of poverty and for further protracted and steady development in China and not a single one of them can be dispensed with. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, from the outset our party decided that we must take the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and that we cannot adopt the past ossified pattern or take the capitalist road. The implementation of the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration and the concentration of forces to develop the social productive forces on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles has been our basic theory and basic practice over the past 8 years. We are now reiterating the four adherences and criticizing the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization which once was running rampant and it means that we are adhering to the original line and the principles and policies already formulated. Facts will prove that after interference is eliminated, the line formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee can be implemented even better.

Adhering to the four cardinal principles and adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration are not antagonistic to each other but united and inseparable. All of them are united on the basis of the line formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, on the basis of the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Over the past 8 years since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee we have integrated and united all of them. On the one hand, the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration is a product of the specific and practical integration of Marxism with the present phase in China. Only by adhering to reform, opening up, and invigoration can we ensure the four adherences correctly and even better. Regarding this, people can see clearly if they compare the situation over the past 8 years with the situation before the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, particularly with the situation in the 10 years during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Moreover, to ensure four adherences over the long term and to finally convince a small

number of people who are skeptical about the four cardinal principles, basically speaking, our development must be relied on and we must be relied on to really do well in reform and construction to gradually fully mobilize and show off the superiority of socialism. While adhering to the four cardinal principles in China from now to the next century we must, therefore, adhere to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration, promote the development of the productive forces, and achieve our targets in two steps.

On the other hand, only by adhering to the four cardinal principles can we do well in reform and correctly implement the policy of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. In reform, opening up, and invigoration, first there is the question of orientation. Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly and emphatically pointed out that the four modernizations on which we were embarking were the four socialist modernizations and not other modernizations. If we only say four modernizations without stressing socialism we will depart from the essence of the issue, that is, from the road of Chinese development. Adhering to the four cardinal principles was the basis for founding and administering our country and for rallying all our country's people to struggle. It is a foundation for the domestic and foreign policies of our party and country and a basic prerequisite for achieving the four modernizations. All principles and policies, including the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration, which we are adopting, have been formulated on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles with the aim of developing the socialist economy and doing everything in order to adhere to the socialist road. When we carry out economic structure reform, political structure reform, or reform in other areas, we want to perfect and develop the socialist system, to develop the productive forces even more quickly and better, and to strengthen the economic and material foundations of the socialist system, not weaken this foundation. We want to improve and strengthen the Communist Party's leadership over the socialist economy, politics, and the other areas of our country's work, not to get rid of and weaken this leadership. We want to develop socialist democracy and to strengthen the socialist legal system, not to weaken or forsake people's democratic dictatorship. And we want to closely link Marxism with China's realities and adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, not to deviate from it or to weaken its guiding function.

Adhering to the four cardinal principles is not only a foundation of the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration but also a basic guarantee for smoothly carrying out reform, opening up, and invigoration. Here two extremely important matters of principle are involved: The first one is that China can only take the socialist road; the second one is that China must embark on the four modernizations and get rid of the poor and backward state. It cannot succeed without a stable political situation. China cannot take the capitalist road. The reason is very simple: One billion people are in a poor and backward state. If China takes the capitalist road, it is likely that some places and a small number of people will get rich very quickly and a group of millionaires will be generated, forming a new bourgeoisie. But 80 to 90 percent of the people will be able to solve the problems of clothing and food, and we cannot enable our whole country to universally attain a

comparatively well-off level. Furthermore, a serious employment problem will be generated and a large number of people will have no employment opportunities. Each year, 7 to 8 million young people in our country get jobs. Although we must find many ways to solve the employment problem, including a way to introduce foreign investment, basically speaking, the socialist system must be relied on to solve the employment problem. We will, therefore, not tolerate opposition to socialism. It is impossible to build socialism with Chinese characteristics without the Communist Party's leadership. This is a truth Chinese history has already proved. If we do not adhere to the Communist Party's leadership and persist in taking the socialist road many of China's practical social contradictions cannot be mitigated and resolved and we cannot have a political situation of stability and unity. Without a situation of stability and unity, it is impossible to carry out reform, opening up, and the four modernizations in a guided and orderly way. The lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution" have proved that with turmoil, we cannot advance, on the contrary, we will regress. We suffered from 10 years of turmoil and people can no longer suffer from another turmoil. People will not allow this. Under the present conditions in China it can be said that without an environment of stability and unity we cannot begin to talk about reform, opening up, modernization, and democratic construction. Therefore, all the obstacles that hinder us from taking the socialist road must be removed and all the factors which lead to chaos and even to turmoil in China must be eliminated. This is not only what we are stressing today but what we have always stressed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. We must do so more in the future. The ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization that ran rampant in a certain period of time in the past led to a disturbance created by some students in December last year. This incident made us clearly see that only by eliminating the negative factors can we develop even better.

We oppose bourgeois liberalization because we want to create a good political and social environment for reform, opening up, and the four modernizations. Both of them are, therefore, related to each other and united. Some people who have disseminated the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization behaved more "thoroughly" and "radically" than others under the pretext of reform and opening up. It seemed that whoever disagreed with them about their propositions did not want reform and opening up. This false appearance often perplexed people who lacked social experience and did not understand the actual situation of reform and opening up in China. In fact, the achievements scored through reform and opening up in China over the past 8 years are generally acknowledged by the whole world and the achievements in reform, opening up, and invigoration have been scored under the leadership of the CPC. How can those propositions which slander and uglify the Communist Party and attempt to weaken and get rid of the leadership of the Communist Party be beneficial to reform and opening up? According to their propositions, we could only carry out reform and opening up to the extent of a capitalist road. Furthermore, facts have proved that the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization running rampant seriously interfered with and hindered reform and opening up. Several years ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee decided to implement the policy of opening up and at the same time, demanded

that the trend of liberalization be curbed. These are mutually related problems. If we do not curb this trend we cannot implement the policy of opening up." "To embark on the four modernizations and to implement the policy of opening up, we must not advocate bourgeois liberalization. Once the ideological trend of liberalization develops, our cause will be disturbed." "If we advocate bourgeois liberalization in our country, it means that we are taking the capitalist road. We could not realize unification. It is not a matter of unifying Taiwan but a matter of internal unification on the mainland. If we advocate bourgeois liberalization our interior will become a chaotic society, in which no construction whatsoever will be successful. This is a very crucial matter of principle to us." Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently pointed out: Opposing bourgeois liberalization is parallel to our four modernizations and the process of opposing bourgeois liberalization has existed in the whole process of the four modernizations. He also said that we must embark on the four modernizations for 50 to 70 years and that the problem of opposing bourgeois liberalization will exist in the next 50 to 70 years. Since this is long-term work, we cannot support a movement, we can only carry out regular propaganda work and education. Where necessary we must take some administrative and legal measures. We must have a stable political situation to unswervingly implement the principles so that we can embark on the four modernizations in an orderly way. These expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping are very profound and important and give us much food for thought. Thus fully shows that adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization is a basic guarantee for implementing the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration as well as a fundamental guarantee for the long-term and stable economic development and for the long-term political stability and peace in China.

THE POLICY OF REFORM, OPENING UP, AND INVIGORATION WILL BY NO MEANS CHANGE. IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUOUSLY WORK HARD TO CARRY OUT EXPLORATION AND TO CONTINUOUSLY WAGE A STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO FRONTS.

After we completely understand the relations between adhering to the four cardinal principles and adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration, the problem of whether or not the policies currently in effect will change can be easily solved. We have already said that reform, opening up, and invigoration has brought about very substantial benefits, played a large part in promoting the development of the productive forces, and effected a series of profound changes in the economic life, social life, mode of work, and mental state. On the basis of promoting economic development, reform has markedly improved the livelihood of urban and rural people. Why should we change such an effective policy which has been tested by practice and which has brought about tremendous material benefits to the great majority of people throughout our country? China's leaders will surely not change this policy and there is no foundation for changing this policy existing among the Chinese people. The policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration which has been implemented for 8 years has deeply taken root among the Chinese people. The economy and social life of China has operated on the track of reform, opening up, and invigoration and no force can reverse the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration. This is an inexorable trend of the historical development of China as well as the common desire of the Chinese people,

independent of man's will. A change in the line, principles, and policies formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee signifies retrogression, which can find no way out. If we do not persist in reform, opening up, and invigoration, we cannot achieve formulated strategic targets, attain the aim of getting rid of poverty and becoming comparatively well-off by the end of this century, and reach the goal of economically approximating that of a developed country in the middle of the next century. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has, therefore, reiterated time and again that on the whole, we have four no-changes: no change in adhering to the four cardinal principles, no change in wholeheartedly embarking on the four modernizations, no change in opening to the outside world and opening to places within our country, and no change in carrying out economic structure reform and political structure reform. Not only our generation but also our next generation must carry out reform. We should not only open up in this century but also in the next century.

Some comrades are worried that opposing bourgeois liberalization will hinder people from carrying out theoretic and practical exploration on the new problems posed in the course of all-round reform. This worry is unnecessary. In opposing bourgeois liberalization we must not only regard as a criterion the line formulated since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee but also regard the complete implementation of this line as the aim. The demarcation line is, therefore, very clear. We want to oppose the incorrect ideological trend which is aimed at negating the four cardinal principles but not oppose exploration. Not only must we not oppose all explorations, but we must vigorously advocate those which are useful to the four socialist modernizations. Since reform work is unprecedented we must surely allow it to be explored theoretically and tested in practice. We advocate and encourage that the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method be used in exploring and solving all new problems posed in the course of reform.

In fact, what we have done since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is, in the final analysis, exploration. Rural reform is a test and exploration, opening up and setting up special economic zones is a test and exploration, all-round urban reform is also a test and exploration, likewise, reform of the political structure to be carried out is a test and exploration. Summarily, building socialism with Chinese characteristics in light of China's realities is an unprecedented brave exploration. We have scored tremendous achievements in exploration but as far as our great cause is concerned, it is merely a start. There are a lot of problems in all spheres and areas which need our exploration. For example, how we can even better integrate adhering to the four cardinal principles with reform, opening up, and invigoration and unite them even better is a big question which needs continuous exploration. In a word, there is a vast field and good conditions for people in China to carry out exploration today. There is ample scope for all explorers who cherish an aspiration for the invigoration of the Chinese nation.

Of course, if we want to make our exploration effective and needed by the times and by the great cause of the four modernizations in China we must proceed from realities and conform to the basic demand and interests of the

Chinese people. We must, therefore, not deviate from adhering to the four cardinal principles which is the general track of China's historical development. The four adherences will not hinder exploration but are just needed to enable exploration to carry on along the correct road. No one can deny that since the Third Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has adhered to the four cardinal principles. No one can deny that the CPC Central Committee has led all people throughout our country to carry out brave exploration. The CPC Central Committee has set an example for us in areas of exploration, such as carrying out bold exploration on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles, integrating the firmness of the basic political principle with the flexibility and creativeness of proceeding from China's realities, linking outstanding revolutionary courage and resourcefulness with a scientific matter-of-fact attitude, being bold and prudent, learning from experiences at all times, sticking to correctness correcting what is wrong, and avoiding faults. We have proved with practical experience that adhering to the four cardinal principles and bold exploration can be integrated and united. Since we carry out exploration, we can hardly avoid making mistakes. This happens to the country, political parties, and individuals. We must, therefore, by no means confuse the mistakes made in the course of exploration with bourgeois liberalization which opposes the Communist Party's leadership and negates socialism as the basic political principle and political orientation.

To completely implement the party's line formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and to integrate and unite the two basic points of adhering to the four cardinal principles and adhering to the policy of reform, opening up, and invigoration, it is necessary to wage a struggle between two fronts ideologically and politically. We must oppose both "leftist" interference and rightist interference and oppose the "left" if there is a "left" and oppose the right if there is a right. We must, by no means, take the road back and go in for the "left" again. We must not indiscriminately imitate the method of capitalism and advocate "total Westernization." As we drive a car, we must firmly grasp the steering wheel, have an identical target, and unremittingly advance on the road to building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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OPPOSE BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION IN A RESOLUTE, HEALTHY, AND SUSTAINED WAY

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[Commentator's article]

[Text] Since the struggle against bourgeois liberalization was launched at the end of last year, great changes have taken place in China's political and ideological fields. These are principally that the wild spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization has begun to be reversed and that the "great climate" for opposing bourgeois liberalization is taking shape. This can be attributed to the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and to the combined efforts of the party committees at all levels to seriously implement the principles and policies of the central authorities.

Of course, this is only a beginning. It will still take a great deal of time and a lot of very hard work to eliminate the ideological chaos and the bad influence caused by the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization over the last few years. Following the "Cultural Revolution," we engaged in bringing order out of chaos to resolve the chaos produced by the "Cultural Revolution" and the previous "leftist" mistakes. Now, we have to resolve the chaos caused by bourgeois liberalization. These two are different in nature, since one is opposed to the "left" while the other is opposed to the right. They are different in breadth and depth, since the former greatly exceeds the latter. The mistakes of the "Cultural Revolution" as well as the previous mistakes had lasted a long time, involving economy, politics, ideology, culture, and other fields. However, this time the work is mainly to be carried out in the political and ideological fields, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping has stated, in the theoretical, ideological, and cultural departments. However, to bring order out of the chaos of bourgeois liberalization within these fields will be no less difficult than on the former occasion. Since the broad masses of cadres and the people had all personally suffered from the "Cultural Revolution" and experienced the great damage it did to our country, nation, and people, after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee it was relatively easy for us to smoothly bring order out of chaos. However, this time many people have not yet realized the harmfulness of bourgeois liberalization. Therefore, the task for us now is arduous as well as rather difficult and we must fully understand it. The key to opposing bourgeois liberalization in a resolute, healthy, and sustained way lies in our seriously and comprehensively implementing the "Notice of the

CPC Central Committee on Several Questions Regarding the Struggle Against Bourgeois Liberalization." In the light of the spirit of the document, we should do our work thoroughly and painstakingly in a down-to-earth manner, including theoretical, ideological, and propaganda work, the consolidation of public opinion, and so on. Moreover, we should coordinate and cooperate with other aspects of work to gradually deepen this struggle.

However, some comrades do not have a sufficient understanding of the protracted nature of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, believing that it will be over within a few months. Obviously, this is wrong. Recently, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that opposition to bourgeois liberalization will run parallel to our four modernizations drive and that a process of opposing bourgeois liberalization will exist throughout the entire process of building the four modernizations. He also pointed out that, fundamentally speaking, this will be a long-term affair. We will have to spend 50 to 70 years building the four modernizations and the issue of opposing bourgeois liberalization will exist throughout that period.

Why should the struggle against bourgeois liberalization last so long?

Judging by the international environment, some forces in the Western capitalist countries are always expecting our socialist system to change into their so-called "free system." This is their strategy of "peaceful evolution" against the socialist countries. In the entire process of modernization, our country should always be open to the outside world, as opening up to the world will greatly benefit the development of productive forces and is necessary to the development of the socialist economy in China. In the future, we shall further open up to the outside world. Nevertheless, although opening up to the outside world will mainly have positive effects, it will also inevitably give rise to some accompanying negative factors. Moreover, with corrosive influence of various capitalist decadent ideas coming into our country, the corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalization will also come. As our opening up to the outside world will last for a long time, this dictates that the struggle against bourgeois liberalization must also persist.

Judged by the actual conditions in our country, we are still in the junior stage of socialism. This is evident not only in the aspect of productive forces but also in the production relations, superstructure, ideology, and other aspects. The development level of the productive forces in our country is still not high and the economy is still very backward, and therefore we should concentrate on the development of productive forces to fully develop the commodity economy. The production relations must suit the development level of the productive forces in our country. Therefore, on the premise of the public ownership occupying a dominant position, we should develop various economic elements, including the individual and private economies (which includes Chinese private enterprises and the enterprises owned and run by foreign businessmen) as supplements to the socialist economy, rather than only developing public ownership as well as ownership by the whole people. Regarding the distribution relations, while focusing on the principle of distribution according to work, we should also allow the existence of other

distribution patterns. Efforts should be made to encourage some areas and some people to get rich first. While being compatible with the economic basis of the junior stage of socialism, the superstructure should also retain its own characteristics. For example, we should develop the socialist democracy and build a country with a high degree of democracy. However, we cannot possibly attain a high degree of democracy overnight. There must be a gradual process of building. In the aspect of ideology, we should uphold the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Nevertheless, the influence of feudal and decadent bourgeois ideas as well as the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization will exist for a long time. Speaking of the junior stage of socialism, we should analyze its performances in the light of not only the productive forces but also the production relations, superstructure, ideology, and so on. Only when the productive forces are highly developed, the modernizations are realized, the people's livelihood is greatly increased, and the strong points of the socialist economic and political systems are fully demonstrated, can those ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization negating the socialist system and favoring the capitalist road be fundamentally overcome. Proceeding from a correct understanding of the socialist development stage which we are now in, we should logically reach such a conclusion that we must protractedly oppose bourgeois liberalization.

To oppose bourgeois liberalization in a determined, healthy, and sustained way, we should do it, first, resolutely and second, healthily. If we do not do it resolutely, we can hardly sustain it. Notwithstanding that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed opposing bourgeois liberalization, some of our comrades did not take a clear-cut stand and resolute attitude. As they did not continue the struggle but gave it up halfway, the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization became more and more serious. Therefore, we must be resolute. Of course, it is insufficient only to be resolute. If we act recklessly, engage in "leftist practices," expand the struggle, or even hinder the reform and opening up to the outside world, we can hardly carry on the struggle in a sustained manner. Therefore, if we do not oppose bourgeois liberalization in a resolute and healthy manner, we cannot possibly carry on the struggle in a sustained way. How can the struggle be healthy, then? The notice of the central authorities on some questions regarding the struggle against the bourgeois liberalization has fully expounded and defined the scope, stresses, policies and methods of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. This is a guarantee for carrying out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization as well as a guarantee for avoiding the use of "leftism" to oppose rightism. Only by healthily carrying out the struggle against the bourgeois liberalization can we provide opening up to the outside world and reform with a stable political situation and social environment and ensure that opening up to the outside world and reform correctly forge ahead. In this sense, the struggle against bourgeois liberalization is necessary not only to upholding the four cardinal principles but also upholding the reform and opening up to the outside world. What is the criterion for judging whether the struggle against bourgeois liberalization is healthily carried out? In the final analysis, we should see whether the struggle can promote the overall implementation of the lines, principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee

focusing on upholding the four cardinal principles as well as persisting in reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy.

Some comrades believe that now that the central authorities have issued the notice on some questions regarding the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, the struggle is going to blow over soon and there is little more to do. Obviously, they shouldn't draw such a conclusion from the notice of the central authorities. If the struggle is not to be carried out, why should we stress the policies? Wouldn't it be simple to declare the struggle over? As the spirits of several relevant documents of the central authorities are identical, people should not cut them apart or even set them against each other. Instead of taking a one-sided approach to the notice of the central authorities, people should develop an overall and correct understanding of it. The central authorities' notice has elaborated the scope, stresses, policies, and methods; and these are all very necessary, important, and correct. At present, people have all seen the content of the notice concerning the demarcation lines of policy. However, some comrades have not yet paid sufficient attention to the content of the document concerning preventing the struggle from being given up halfway and completed perfunctorily. The purpose of stressing policies is not to restrain the struggle but protractedly carry it out in a resolute and healthy way. This is the principle and spirit of the notice of the central authorities. Its basic point is to oppose rightism and bourgeois liberalization, rather than using "leftism" to oppose rightism.

To sustainedly carry it out, we must do it in both a resolute and healthy way. We should attach importance to these two aspects, rather than overlooking either of them. The historical experiences over the last few years have taught us that irresolution always gives rise to problems. But let us not mention things which happened long ago now. Following the 12th CPC Congress, the second plenary session of the party Central Committee was called in October 1983. During the session, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that the struggle against spiritual pollution should not be extended to the ideological front. This was approved by all the participants. However, the struggle was later discontinued. Why? Of course, as Comrade Zhao Ziyang said at the second meeting of the Sixth National People's Congress, some inappropriate practices had occurred in some localities and units amid the struggle against the spiritual pollution. Nevertheless, these were promptly stopped after being discovered. Why was the struggle against spiritual pollution not continued? Because of the irresolute, weak, and slack attitude that resulted in the development of the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization. At the National Conference of Party Delegates called in September 1985, Comrades Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Li Xiannian, and Zhao Ziyang all stressed strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization, the ideological and political work, and the study of Marxism. They also stressed upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. Nevertheless, these were still not very well implemented. Why was this? Was there a "leftist" mistake in enforcing these directives? No, there was never such a problem. It was still the irresolute attitude and the fact that the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates was not resolutely implemented that resulted in

the further development of bourgeois liberalization. At the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again expressed opposition to bourgeois liberalization. But that struggle was not carried out. Why? We all know very well that as this speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping was not even very well transmitted to the lower levels, it was, of course, out of the question to resolutely implement it. If this speech had been earnestly transmitted to the lower levels and resolutely implemented, our party would have been completely able to check the spreading of the unhealthy ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization and those large-scale student strikes in December of last year would not have occurred. At the end of December last year, the central authorities took a clear-cut stand to resolutely oppose bourgeois liberalization. In just 3 months since then we have already succeeded in checking the spread of the unhealthy ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization. This is a very good demonstration that it is always the irresolute attitude that gives rise to problems. Of course, this irresolute attitude is mainly related to the issue of "climate." At present, as the "climate" has changed and the spirit, principles, and policies of the central authorities have been clearly defined, our task is to resolutely carry them out.

At present, to carry out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, we should primarily grasp the following things well: First, we should organize the cadres at all levels to earnestly study two books by Comrade Deng Xiaoping entitled "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" (revised and enlarged edition) and "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles and Oppose Bourgeois Liberalization." Over the last few years, the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization spread unchecked and the ideological front was weak and confused. These were related to the fact that some leading cadres and many cadres and party members involved in theoretical, propaganda, and cultural work did not earnestly study the documents of the central authorities, in particular the works by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, or Marxism. Therefore, when a new trend came, some comrades could not distinguish truth from falsehood. In the final analysis, they lack an understanding of Marxism. This time they must attach importance to the study of these two books to master the weapon well. Second, we should resolutely and properly consolidate the newspapers and journals. This is an important content of the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization as well as a task of ideological building with far-reaching significance. The party committees at all levels should pay sufficient attention to this work, strengthen the leadership in newspapers and journals and effectively grasp consolidation well. Third, we should organize publication of a series of articles expounding the four cardinal principles and criticizing the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization. This is a key to carrying out this struggle profoundly as well as being an important capital building in the realm of ideology. As for those erroneous viewpoints affecting philosophy, social science, literature and art, social ethics and morality, and other aspects, under the guidance of Marxism we should adopt the method of starting discussions and making criticism and self-criticism to seriously analyze things and distinguish truth from falsehood. Fourth, we should attach importance to carrying on propaganda and education in building socialism with Chinese

characteristics in the enterprises in urban areas. The positive education must reflect two basic points: First, upholding the four cardinal principles; and second, upholding the principle of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy. It is imperative to unify and integrate the two.

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LU XUN IS AN INTEGRAL WHOLE--SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON THE STUDY OF LU XUN THOUGHT

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[Article by Wei Jianlin [5898 1696 2651]]

[Text] Lu Xun had various achievements. His knowledge was remarkably extensive and profound. Therefore, the following situation might possibly occur. In order to verify their casual views, people might try to find sufficient traces of proof from the rolls of Lu Xun's writings. This would give Lu Xun various faces. The important question lies in the fact that Lu Xun was an integral whole. He was an integral whole who rose objectively from movements and social reform that took place in modern Chinese history. He participated in and developed literary, cultural, and social activities. The "gang of four" did not rely on facts; it tended to act according to its subjective will. If subjectiveness is to be the starting point of everything, Lu Xun must be misrepresented and dismembered. Political criticism could perhaps be regarded as a past event, but the basic difference in the study of Lu Xun is significant in the long run.

Lu Xun was born at a time when China was reduced to a semicolony as a result of imperialist invasion and feudal corruption. The Taiping Rebellion put a tragic end to individual peasant opposition to feudal rule, and the Boxer Uprising tragically ended individual peasant opposition to imperialist invasion. History was not only a record of the heroic achievements of peasant struggle but also an inspiration to people as it shows them that liberation of the Chinese nation and society required new revolutionary classes and leading ideas. Gong Zizhen, Wei Yuan, Hong Xiuquan, Kang Youwei, and Yen Fu were the first few to seek truth from the West. The Hundred Days' Reform of Kang and Liang proclaimed the bankruptcy of capitalist reformism, and capitalist revolution sprang up as a new topic in history. One of the great leaders of this capitalist reform was Sun Zhongshan. This was a time when Lu Xun was at a youthful age and when he started to build himself up as Lu Xun. From that time on, Lu Xun consciously linked his own fate with that of his motherland. When he studied in Japan, his leading ideology was the same as that of his teacher; both loved their own country. Two things indicated that his achievements would be unmatched even by Zhang Taiyan. One was the emphasis he put on advanced Western scientific and cultural knowledge. He was not an expert in natural science, but he took the initiative to introduce the most updated information and knowledge in physics, chemistry,

geology, mineralogy, biology, astronomy, and so on in his writings such as "On Germanium," "A Concise Account of China's Geology," "Travel to the Moon," "Tour of the Underground," "The History of Human Beings," and "Text on History of Science." The other thing was as he later said in the foreword of "Outcry": "No matter how strong and healthy ignorant fellow countrymen are physically, they are only useless people for demonstration. We need not grieve for them even if they are sick or dead. Therefore, what we should do first is to change their mental spirit." He was very keen on introducing foreign literary works to his fellow countrymen. Such an introduction was a selective one with attention focused on reflecting the lives and struggles of oppressed nations and people. In his "Mo Luo Sui Li Shuo" [2302 5012 6108 0500 6141] he said: "All opposing desires and revolutionary acts that are not accepted by people are recorded in this book." He admitted that he was influenced by Russian literature. It was therefore natural that many 19th century Russian literary works that profoundly reflected people's misfortune and their demand for liberation were highly appraised by Lu Xun. In translating and introducing foreign literary works, Lu Xun was motivated by his subtle patriotic emotions. He hoped to expose atrocities and the darkness of oppressors so that people would be awakened to rebel. "I dedicate my blood to the Chinese nation," which was one of his well-known lines at that time, intensely reflected such a feeling. He changed from a medical discipline to a literary one because he found that medicine could not cure problems of society. Lu Xun's views and ideas on these problems were far more brilliant and outstanding than those of advanced Chinese who were active in Japan. Therefore, Lu Xun was given an internal motivating force to continue his advance and progress.

Lu Xun began writing novels, essays, and editorials some time around the May 4th Movement. He wrote in various styles to achieve the same aims and targets. In his letter to Xu Guangping he wrote: "The condition of current Chinese literary circles is not that favorable, but fortunately there are still people who are devoted to poetry and novels. What we lack are 'commentaries on civilization' and 'commentaries on society.'" (Taken from "Letters From Two Places," 28 April 1925) Lu Xun's novels directed the development of realistic literature in China. In Lu Xun's novels, there is no preaching or slogans. Displayed to the readers are manifold scenes and lively features of society that closely linked with the old system and artistically portrayed.

Lu Xun adopted a welcoming but cautious attitude toward the October Revolution of the Soviet Union. In "Violence," No 59 of "Hot Wind," he described the revolution as "the dawn of a new century." He also had contacts with Communist Party members like Chen Duxiu, Li Daizhao, and some of his students. With Lu Xun's support, the Unnamed Society was established in 1925. Lu Xun helped the society in editing and publishing the UNNAMED JOURNAL, a journal that published translated works. These translated works included some literary works of Soviet writers and "Literary Debate of the Soviet Union" translated by Ren Guozhen, a Communist Party member. All this knowledge had to be further deepened by a revolution of blood and fire, otherwise the world outlook of Lu Xun could never be fundamentally altered. When the road to salvation of the country and people could not be found,

Lu Xun would sometimes get depressed and disappointed. This feeling was vividly portrayed in the prose "Wild Grass." He said that he did not want to see youths being troubled by such emotions. The depression of such an explorer and fighter was far more significant than the "sense of victory" that those ignorant people had when they managed to find a small fault in the revolutionaries. "Despair and hope resemble each other in the way that they are both extreme and impractical." When original hope is dashed and one does not want to give up hope, he has to reassure himself of life and continue on with the fight and exploration. It was therefore not surprising that he quoted Qu Yuan's "In Face of Misfortune," "Facing a long and difficult journey, I have to explore further and equip myself properly" in the foreword of his "Hesitation." In "Writing Under the Lamp," a prose that was included in "Grave," he described old China as a feast of man's flesh and he cried out loudly: "Smash the eaters, crush the feast, and destroy the kitchen are the missions of today's youths." Such a belief had never been shaken. When he was in Beijing, he had literary fights with Zhang Shizhao, Chen Yuan, and Yang Yinyu. In a letter written in 1934, he recalled all these essays and said that though he claimed the literary fights were pure personal matters, they were actually conducted because of "public hatred" and not "private conflicts." In Guangzhou, he had contacts with people in charge of the CPC. The "purge" conducted by the Kuomintang [KMT] made him understand the Communist Party further. After witnessing the KMT's savage acts, his ideology was greatly shaken. Therefore, he said that the theory of evolution was ultimately "shattered" by the reality of blood, and he would no longer unconditionally "worship youths." Clouded by such a feeling, he went to Shanghai. He was delighted that he could cooperate with the Creation Society. But a pen debate ensued. People of the Creation Society wrote in their essays that Yu Dafu's "Degradation" was better than Lu Xun's "Outcry" as the former revealed the life and ideology of modern people while the latter lacked flavor of the era. Lu Xun thus looked down upon these people from that time onwards. This debate could be regarded as a misunderstanding or perhaps a natural event. People of the Creation Society did not have an equally profound insight as Lu Xun in the social conditions and class struggle of China. Lu Xun faced reality and was based in reality. He made reality the starting point when examining various theories and political thought. Looking from the consequences, the merit of this debate was that it pushed Lu Xun to further study the materialist concept of history and the literary theory of Marxism.

When he came to Shanghai, Lu Xun's attitude toward the Communist Party was very affirmative and clear. He actively participated in the League for the Protection of the Chinese People's Rights supported by the party and the "Left Association" led by the party. He made close friends with Comrade Qu Qiubai. He met General Chen Geng and delivered to him the essays compiled by the late Comrade Fang Minzhi. In a congratulatory message to the central organ of the party he said: "Hopes are placed on all of you to bring forward the future of mankind and China." This in fact showed that Lu Xun had made very thorough political consideration and selection. Lu Xun did not follow fashion or act rashly. He adhered to his beliefs and would not change them overnight. Having understood the substantial failure of the capitalist 1911 Revolution and witnessed the KMT's internal "purge," Lu Xun as a man who

was faithful of history and accomplishments and as a patriot who loved his motherland wholeheartedly, had to turn his focus of attention to other revolutionary classes. The conclusion that "only the new proletarians have a future" was certainly not an administrative order or a decree or a temptation of the "ruble." It was not only taken from his books, but it was in fact a natural result obtained from personal involvement and comparison of the strengths of various classes, different political thoughts, and proposals to save the country. In this way, Lu Xun would not change his mind and beliefs easily once they had been made up and formulated.

As a communist, Lu Xun's ideological thought embarked on a new horizon. His thought reached its maturity in the Left-wing Literature and Art Movement. He departed from his past and conducted self-criticism. He understood the advantages of Marxism and corrected the deviations in the theory of evolution. On the other hand, since he did not join the "Left Association" and proposed to simplify matters related to literature and society, he became the most persistent force in opposing feudalism at the founding meeting of the "Left Association." Lu Xun did not randomly put up class signs for people and social phenomena; he would not hastily categorize matters into various groupings but would make an effort to expose the relations that went between people and the nature of society. The final collections of essays he compiled before his death were "Essays on Qiejie Pavilion," "Essays on Qiejie Pavilion, Part Two," and "Essays on Qiejie Pavilion, Last Part." In these collections, there are many works on the disclosure of people's complicated relations in old Chinese society. In his "Literature, Art and Revolution" of 1928, he said that it was acceptable to call literature and art propaganda, but in doing so, one should attach importance to the content and techniques of expression and should not be too preoccupied with hanging signboards. "I think all literature and art is propaganda, but not all propaganda is literature and art. It is like the condition that all flowers are colored (if I take white as a color), but not all colored things are flowers. Apart from slogans, catchwords, notices, telegrams, and textbooks, revolutionaries still adopt the means of literature and art for propaganda because they are literature and art." Most of the works in "New Compilation of Stories" were written at that time. After "Getting Out of the Strategic Pass" was published, some people from the left-wing literature and art circle thought it unrelated to the revolution. Qiu Yunduo's criticism of "Getting Out of the Strategic Pass" was published in journals edited by the "Left Association." His debate with "his comrades-in-arms of the same camp" was on whether they admitted and respected the special law governing literature and art. Besides writing essays and novels, he tended to put more emphasis on introducing Soviet literature but adopted a neutral position in literary works without any bias or factional emotions. The "Works of Rendition" that he edited introduced a large variety of literature of various countries. When he was in his later age, he still tried his utmost to translate "Dead Souls" in spite of his ill health. He had not finished translating part two when he died. Lu Xun was a faithful and reliable comrade and battle companion of the party. He was assertive and serious in his political principles and he adopted an earnest attitude toward life. Therefore, he was puzzled and disappointed by the silent dissolution of the "Left Association."

Lu Xun was great in the way he respected facts and handled matters from a scientific and comprehensive approach. His mature character was especially remarkable in questions that demanded mastery of the Marxist world outlook.

As for his attitude toward Chinese culture, since Lu Xun was a man from "the old camp," he had a very thorough understanding of the backwardness and darkness of Chinese feudal culture. He fought and struggled against feudal cultural traditions throughout his life. His assertiveness in opposing feudalism originated from his comprehensive and scientific understanding of Chinese society and history. To him Chinese culture was not utterly worthless and he was positive toward it. In fact, he adopted the same attitude toward social and political affairs as well as literary matters. Lu Xun prepared many years before compiling a history of Chinese literature. His "A Brief Account of the History of Chinese Novels" and "The History of Literature of the Han Dynasty" were of considerable significance in exploring ancient Chinese literature. Seriousness was demonstrated in setting up a system and proper arrangement was made in collecting information related to the ancient past and conducting textual research of history materials. These works have gained considerably high academic status. He had high praise for great writers like Qu Yuan, Sima Qian, and Cao Xueqin. Though he advocated that youths should not study Chinese books, he still gave them a list of ancient Chinese books that he thought they should read. Many of his essays were extended from ancient Chinese historical books and records. In checking the authoritative text "Ji Kang's Collection," he collected various editions and compared them. Therefore he was confident that there was no other edition better than his. Lu Xun admired Ji Kang not because he was a materialist but because he was a brave man who fought against the unscrupulous act of the ruling class in seizing authority and power. He had various achievements in studying ancient Chinese culture. In editing "A Collection of Old Novels" and "Short Stories of the Tang and Song Dynasties"; in proof-reading "Lingbiao Luyi" by Liu Xun, a Tang scholar; and in compiling "The Book of the Late Han Dynasty" and "The Old Regional Stories of Huiji Prefecture," he expended all his energies. He collected hundreds of rubbings of Han Tablet designs and compiled a catalog of statues and a catalog of epitaphs of the six dynasties. He highly appraised the art of the Tang Dynasty. In his later age, he cooperated with Zheng Zhenduo and published "The Beijing Annotation" and "The Annotation of Shizhu Zhai." To him, this bore the same importance as the hearty introduction of foreign literature and art.

Let us look at Lu Xun's study of the "nature of his fellow countrymen." When he studied in Japan and when he stayed in Beijing, he never made any indifferent criticism or sarcastic comments, nor did he offer any shallow sympathy for the weaknesses of the masses from a commanding position. The apathy and ignorance of the masses made him grieved, angry, and worried. He showed no mercy but vividly exposed and pointed out all errors and offered salutary advice with tears in his heart. He hoped that people would be aroused to overcome their shortcomings. This led people to remember a famous saying of Marx: We should let the suppressed be aware of their suppression and the humiliated be aware of their humiliation. In order to arouse the people's courage, Lu Xun thought that they had to be shocked into

action. As a serious realist, he was able to discover the internal power lying deep inside the hearts and souls of the masses, though they were backward, that could change their backwardness as well as the objective world. Ah Q finally "revolutionized" in his way by coiling up his pigtail on his head. The suspicion put forward by Amah Xianglin before she died shook people's hearts. Though Ah Ai of "Divorce" was still far away from the path of consciousness, she after all cried out her demand to protest. He opposed the so-called self-perfection and self-actualization that were some of the self-centered features of his "fellow countrymen." He attached great importance to actual practices. After the May 4th Movement, he objected to the idea of urging people to step into the research room or move into the palace of art. As he thought that such an idea was destructive, he urged youths to study the book of life. With the establishment of the Marxist world outlook, he was both assertive and skillful in the application of such scientific methods as Marxist class analysis and social analysis. In the foreword of "Two Hearts," he said that he often talked about his own affairs like how he ran into a stone wall and how he acted as a snail. He felt that he was not only heavily burdened with the world's sorrows and worries but also suffered for the masses. He criticized himself for being self-centered and not regarding the masses as the principal body. He thought that one could make public accomplishments only if he became a member of the masses. His criticism on the functions of history of the masses and his judgment which reads, "If one wants to discuss China, he should not be fooled by the cosmetic powder coated on the outside but must look at the bones and muscles," are still significant and fresh to us now.

Let us look at his attitude toward foreign culture. Of the 20 rolls of "The Works of Lu Xun," 10 rolls were collections of translated works while the rest were somewhat related to these translations to a certain extent. We already mentioned that his translations and introductions were selective. The basis of selection was built on the objective demand of liberation of the Chinese people. Besides this basis, one could certainly pick "any ism at hand" as a casual explanation but this was not the original idea of Lu Xun. In 1922, he pointed out in an article that it was really abuse of critics' authority if they could go lurking into literature and art circles by means of one or two old commentaries on "Western literature." He attacked those people who believed that other than old gentlemen and ladies, only intellectuals, scholars, artists, professors, and ladies could be protagonists in literature and art. These people even propagated themselves as "gentlemen studying in the United States" and "they did not really know why some people liked to describe the lower walks of life." His disdain of enslavement ideas which sprang from the semicolonial society, the "disguised foreign devils," and those "yellow-faced fellows who appear like Western bastards" was known to everyone. He never took the introduction of foreign culture as mere translation or the borrowing of jargon incomprehensible and puzzling to people. In translating "Questions Related to the New Literature of Modern Times" written by a Japanese called Noboru Katakami, he wrote the following introduction which never aroused the people's interest but did reflect his principle and attitude toward the matter:

How does new fashion penetrate into China? It does so by application of a few terminologies. The advocators believe that they will curse enemies to death while enemies believe that they will be cursed to death. After hubbubbing for a year or less, everything finally fades away. Ideologies like romanticism, naturalism, expressionism, futurism, and so on seem to be all passing away. But do they really exist? Let us take this opportunity and examine theories and facts. We know that both will be useless as a matter of reality if we cry out nonsense and adopt unjustified means to ban them. The only way to remedy the situation is to secure newly developed literature of foreign countries from "incantations" of China; otherwise there will be no new hope for Chinese literature. This is all.

As for how Lu Xun was understood as an integral whole, the Chinese people, the literary circles, the cultural circles, the ideological circles, and even the CPC all had their respective common opinions. After Lu Xun's death, Cai Yuanpei wrote the following elegiac couplet: "The history of Chinese novels is the most serious compilation among all and his last words are painful to those less qualified and ethical writers engaged in the creation of literature." Guo Moruo's elegiac couplet read: "I respect him wholeheartedly because of his work 'Two Hearts,' but I regret not being able to meet him." In his article written in memory of Lu Xun, Mao Dun said that he "symbolizes the struggle of national liberation" and "guarantees the future of the Chinese nation." Zou Taofen said: "We can never forget this great man who fought for national liberation and shall remember his persistent and unyielding character that wins our respect." Ye Shengtao said: "If the Chinese nation is liberated one day, it is certainly because everyone has the same spirit like him." Hu Yuzhi said that in the past, many poets and great writers of our country were talented but they were all separated from the masses as if there was a channel lying between them. "But Lu Xun is the first and only one to link up the channel and have close contacts with the masses." Xia Yan said: "When saying a silent prayer to this giant in front of his grave, we should take his anger as our anger, his hatred as our hatred, and his determination as our determination so as to carry forward his unaccomplished career and achieve the goal of setting free and liberating the Chinese nation." These comments were representative in Chinese literature and art circles, cultural circles and ideological circles. Thousands of people understood the ideological and historical achievements of this giant in the midst of mourning. The elegiac couplets compiled by the Shanghai workers called Lu Xun "our friend," "our teacher," and "advanced thinker" while those compiled by young students read: "If Gentleman Lu Xun does not die, the Chinese nation will live forever." Writers believed that Gentleman Lu Xun "devoted his life to the imperialist fight and was unyielding till death."

The comment made by the CPC could chiefly be reflected in "A Discussion on New Democratism" written by Comrade Mao Zedong. It said that Lu Xun had not sycophancy or obsequiousness and his direction was the direction of the new culture of the Chinese nation. The CPC has never made any alteration of this comment. This comment coincided with those made by literary, cultural, and ideological circles and gained general applause from the people. It was because it scientifically presented the objective existence of the entire

outlook of Lu Xun. For half a year, not one serious research fellow who studied Lu Xun questioned or denied this comment. People opposed Lu Xun when he was alive, but cries of opposition were not heard after his death. Lu Xun's objectives have become or are now turning into facts. In the progress of history, the Chinese nation will gradually understand the value and eternity of this great cultural man.

We remember Lu Xun and shall or should remember him forever. In order to further understand Lu Xun and his ideology and the significance of his activities in the light of developments, we must study from various respects and angles and implement the policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" so that the two can enlighten and complement each other. However, Lu Xun's outlook should be taken as an integral whole in any study whether it is conducted in one respect or another. Lu Xun commented on some selected works, saying that those people who selected them were shortsighted and misrepresented the original meaning and characteristics of the writer. Such a scientific and practical attitude is what we should learn in studying Lu Xun.

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THE INFLUENCE OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NATURAL SCIENCES ON PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

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[Article by Sun Xianyuan [1327 7359 0337]]

[Text] The influence of the natural sciences on social sciences has long existed, but in the modern age, this influence has clearly strengthened. We should pay attention to the influence of new developments in the natural sciences on philosophical and social scientific research, draw on new ideas, concepts, and methods from the natural sciences and, in an overall way, master the modern scientific spirit, shown by the newest developments in modern natural sciences, to promote philosophical social scientific research.

The Osmosis of Scientific Concepts

In social scientific research, in general, there is a continual transplanting of new concepts and ideas from the natural sciences. This makes the natural sciences one of the ideological resources for the development of the social sciences. Today, social scientific theory utilizes a number of social scientific concepts. These include, for example, power, systems, factors, structures, levels, information, feedback, controls, functions, fluctuations, entropy, and so on. However, this is not the only influence, and is not the major influence. In fact, the influence of changes in natural science concepts on the social sciences is greater, and the major influence. Copernicus' "Theory of Planetary Motion" was praised by Engels as an independent declaration which began to liberate the natural sciences from theology. The putting forward of the heliocentric theory was a revolution in terms of concepts, and the significance of its antireligious and antitheological nature was very far-reaching and influenced the entire age. Before Copernicus put forward the heliocentric theory, the Renaissance movement had already begun in Italy. Its new ideological trend in the cultural sphere was humanism [ren wen zhu yi 0086 2429 0031 5030]. Clearly, Copernicus' revolution in astronomy occurred under the banner of humanism. However, this revolution conversely promoted development of the ideological trend of humanism, and provided it with a natural scientific basis. This transformation in scientific concepts became one of the theses in the theoretical innovation of philosophy and the social sciences from that time onward. The introduction of the theory of biological evolution used the concept of the evolution of species to replace that of

species being unchanging, and achieved a transformation in scientific concepts. It not only laid a scientific basis for the science of biology, but also played an enlightening role in the understanding of class struggle in human society. Thus Marx saw Darwin's work "On the Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection" as "a basis in natural science for the historical class struggle." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 30, p 574) What is further worth pointing out is that, under the influence of natural scientific concepts of the natural laws and processes related to the development of the natural world, William Petty and others tried to find the "natural patterns" of capitalism and put forward a theory about the internal relations in capitalist production. Spinoza put forward the concept of natural laws, and used it to understand the natural patterns and laws upon which all things are established. Following the further development of the concepts of natural patterns in social research, Marx revealed that the development of socioeconomic patterns is a natural historic process, and this laid a scientific basis for all social scientific theory.

The development of the modern natural sciences has created a series of new concepts. In the theory of relativity, Einstein used the concept of relative simultaneity to replace that of absolute simultaneity, negating the existence of the best frame of reference for the state of absolute static rest, and thereby achieving a great change in temporal-spatial concepts. This new temporal-spatial concept provided a natural scientific basis for proving the temporal-spatial concepts and the motion concepts of dialectical materialist philosophy. The effects of relativism (that is, distance decreases and time expands) show that the selection of different frames of reference can change the measurement of time and space. This proved the indivisibility of time-space and motion, time and space, and time-space and matter, strengthening people's understanding of the dialectic of the relative and the absolute. These concepts permeated the philosophical and social sciences enriching the theory of reflection in dialectical materialism and bringing enlightenment to social scientific research whereby it gained more directions and wider fields of vision. This required the selection of more "frames of reference" from which to study objects, which revealed their many relationships and different patterns and allowed an overall understanding of objective things.

With the backdrop of the newest achievements in modern natural sciences, great changes have occurred in concepts of patterns. The laws of classical physics were determinist laws. The emergence of statistical physics and the achievements of modern structural theories of dissipation and coordination studies have enabled people to gradually come to accept the patterns of the theory of probability. The probability, indefinite nature, and the trend of ebb and flow in the process of development of things have also begun to draw people's attention. Generally, social patterns are not strict and fixed, but are possible forms of manifestation. For example, the law of value reveals the inevitability of a commodity's value, determining its price. However, because of the influence of market supply and demand factors, the price will fluctuate around the value, demonstrating the characteristics of statistics and probability. It can be held that neither is the pattern whereby the relations of production must be in accord with the productive

forces a strictly determined one. In today's world, the nonrigid relative relationships between the productive forces and the relations of production in various countries has shown this accordance is only a possibility. This is because there is no linear relationship between the production forces and the relations of production, and there is no exclusive corresponding advanced relations of production, which are directly manifested as advanced production forces. Can we then hold that, between the productive forces and the relations of production, there exist patterns of probability? Judging from the achievements of modern science, this is undoubted. In that case then, regarding the relationships between productive forces and production in the different countries of the contemporary three worlds, it will be possible to provide a fairly convincing explanation. Not only this, it also requires the introduction, as far as possible, of patterns of probability which accord with the phenomena of those in all social development. Thereby, this will provide ideological materials for the development of dialectical and historical materialism.

The new concepts in natural sciences not only assist in the opening of avenues in social research, but also assist in providing inspiration for new developmental directions in the social sciences. Throughout history, many new ideas have first appeared in the natural sciences, and then seeped into the social sciences. Changes in natural scientific concepts are subject to some influence from social factors, but they are mainly due to the development of natural science itself. It should be pointed out that the original concepts in natural sciences are suited to the original field of research. As the research deepens and the field being explored expands, new scientific facts emerge, requiring the changing of old theories. For example, in the low-speed motion of macro-objects, absolute simultaneity is correct, because, in low-speed motion, the effects of reduction in length and accelerating time are extremely minute and people cannot observe them. However, in the realm of high-speed motion, the concept of absolute simultaneity does not accord. Scientific concepts do not directly equate with specific scientific theories, but are a further distillation and crystallization of scientific theory. With the discovery of new scientific facts, first it produces a clash with the existing scientific theories, as the old theories cannot explain the new scientific facts. This clash pushes people into seeking new forms of explanation, and they thus establish new theories and form new concepts. Thus, the contradiction between scientific facts and theory will inevitably lead to a clash between new and old concepts. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, faced with new scientific facts, many people made unstinting efforts to break through the old restrictions of Newtonian mechanics, but were unsuccessful. This is because they were thinking about the new scientific facts only on the basis of the old concepts. It took Einstein to discover relativity, to establish a completely new theoretical structure, and to break through the concept of absolute simultaneity, giving rise to a revolution in physics. What should be pointed out is that, when workers in the social sciences draw on new concepts from the natural sciences, it is not blind copying or mechanical application of specific theoretical concepts, nor is it seeking specific modes of explanation. Rather, they sum up the essence of the spirit of the times permeating natural science theory, and with this scientific concept as

the motive force, they break through those old concepts, which do not accord with objective facts, make new explorations in the social sphere, develop new ideas, and set down new concepts.

### The Transplanting of Scientific Methods

The natural sciences in their own research practice create a series of scientific research methods. We should actively make use of those suited to philosophical and social scientific research. In addition, natural scientific theories themselves can be changed into research methods and, similarly, we must carefully select and utilize these. For example, all mathematical theories can be changed into mathematical methods. By applying these to social scientific research, we can have social sciences change from qualitative to quantitative analysis. Currently, the trend to mathematicization of the social sciences is daily strengthening, and this is a necessary requirement in scientific development. Mathematics is a science of form and number, and particularly of numerical relationships. It is an internal relationship, universally existing between natural and social phenomena. Mathematics has its universal applicability, both in natural and social sciences. Proceeding from qualitative to quantitative analysis, and exploring the numerical relationships between social phenomena, is clearly progress in social scientific research. What is particularly worth noting is that the application of mathematics to research in the field of economics, so that the science of economics accords with the demands of socialist modernization, is a problem currently urgently waiting resolution. If the science of economics cannot realize mathematicization at a higher level, we shall lack a firm base on which to make economic developmental decisionmaking more scientific. In the last few years, systems, control, and information theories have been increasingly widely applied in the social sciences. Not only have philosophy workers applied the theories and methods of the "three theories," and deepened the existing categories and principles, but other sciences, like economics, law, literature and art theory, journalist studies, historiography, educational studies, psychology, and so on, have all used the "three theories" to conduct research in their field. Thus, modern methods in the natural sciences can become a new tool in exploring modern social questions.

People have paid attention to the methods of mathematics and the "three theories" quite easily, but have not yet paid sufficient attention to extending the basic theories of the natural sciences. For example, in modern science, the dissipation structural theory, coordination studies, and mutation theory have put forward theories on self-organization. It is generally held that the phenomenon of self-organization exists in the natural work, and also in human society. The various types of organization in society can be seen as, or similar to, types of self-organizational phenomenon. Therefore, we can change self-organization theory into a method for researching social questions. Currently, there are many people working in this area. In respect to the influence of natural scientific methods on social science research, we should widen our vision a little. We cannot see the new natural scientific methods solely as the "three theories" methods. Rather, we should recognize that all natural scientific theories can be changed into research methods. The new natural scientific theories and new

concepts, like the new methods in the natural sciences, have no absolute limits. The reason we must comprehensively grasp the basic spirit of modern natural sciences is, not only so that we can understand the new concepts of the modern natural sciences, but also so that we can change these new concepts into new methods, and bring into play their enlightening roles in philosophical and social scientific research.

When we stress the important role of natural scientific methods in social scientific research, it does not mean that natural scientific methods can resolve all problems in social scientific research. This is because, when natural scientific methods are applied to philosophical and social scientific research, they also have definite limits. For example, as far as mathematics is concerned, all things are a unity of quality and quantity. Therefore, all scientific research should combine qualitative and quantitative analysis. However, the degree of mathematicization of quantitative analysis must be subordinate to the demands of qualitative analysis, and it cannot surpass the specific, historical unity of quality and quantity. If we divorce ourselves from the qualitative patterns of the research objects in each science, and solely pursue mathematicization, it may change the nature of the science. The problem of mathematicization of philosophy is an example of this. The pattern of mutual qualitative and quantitative change is one of the basic patterns of dialectics. Mutation theory achieves the mathematicization of qualitative and quantitative relationships, and quantitatively explains the mutual transformation in quantitative and qualitative changes. It is extremely clear that mutation theory is neither philosophy nor mathematics. The temporal-spatial concepts of dialectical materialism qualitatively explain the indivisibility of time-space and matter, time-space and motion, and time and space, and provide logical proof. As to quantitative research on these relationships, this is completed by the theory of relativity. It is equally clear that the theory of relativity is not philosophy, but physics. The utilization of mathematical methods in philosophical and social scientific research is only a direction for efforts, and we should have sufficient understanding of its importance. However, this utilization has certain limits, and it is not a case of the greater the degree of mathematicization, the better. We should pay attention to this point.

Therefore, in using natural scientific methods in philosophical and social scientific research, we must pay great attention to the characteristics of philosophy and the social sciences themselves, the special demands of the research topics, and the multiplicity of research methods. When absorbing natural scientific methods, we must be creative, so that such methods become "suitable" for philosophical and social scientific research. The absorption of methods is a process of recreation, and should be combined with the contents of that discipline, so that it is made specific and precise and, in overall accordance with the demands of the scientific ideological system of dialectical and historical materialism, enriches and develops that discipline. Currently, some works, when using natural scientific methods, draw on many new works from natural science, but do not use them in their original meaning. They are given new, precise meanings not connected with the reality of that discipline. The result is that these works cannot help becoming more obscure, and will be of no advantage in deepening research. We should avoid

this. As to using new methods in the natural sciences to negate dialectical and historical materialism, or attempting to use some type of new system to replace dialectical materialism, these are major and total mistakes.

### The Basis and Avenues of Influence

Apart from scientific concepts and methods, the use of the scientific spirit of the natural sciences to promote more scientific social scientific research is an important aspect by which the development of modern natural sciences influence philosophical and social scientific research. Thus, the strength of natural sciences is, not only in that they are general forces of production in society, but also in their scientific concepts, methods and spirit, which promote philosophical and social scientific research and influence mankind's ways of thought and of life.

The natural world and the society of man are both part of the material world. Society is a product of the development of the natural world over a long period. The natural world is the basis for the existence and development of society. All activities in society are those of man's aims, consciousness, and ideas, and show that social movement is a higher level of activity than natural movement. However, higher levels of movement developed on the basis of lower forms. Thus, deep research into many social phenomena must touch on the issue of natural patterns. Anthropology, population studies, economies, sociology, theories of ideology, psychology, and so on must draw on research achievements in the natural sciences. At the point of contact between the natural world and the society of man, there is an area of common development for natural and social sciences, and this promotes the continued emergence of overlapping, border, and composite sciences, and encourages the osmosis and unifying of natural and social sciences. In the further development of social sciences, osmosis from the natural sciences will daily increase.

In the long river of human history, the struggle for production has always been the basis for the existence of society and mankind itself. All social struggle is, in the end, for the purpose of being better able to struggle with nature. Since mankind came into being, all material and spiritual civilizations have been the result of the struggle by man to remake nature and transform society at the same time. Engels pointed out: "All our established physics, chemistry, and biology is absolutely centered on the earth, and is only established for the earth." If we "demanded an uncentered science, it would result in all sciences coming to a halt." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, pp 559-560) That is to say, all sciences serve the existence and development of mankind. The application of natural scientific research results in the struggle to transform society and nature inevitably involves a series of social questions, which requires that we fully consider the social conditions for those applications, and the possible social consequences. The fusing of natural and social sciences is an inevitable trend in scientific development. Marx long ago predicted that "natural sciences will in future include sciences relating to people, just like sciences relating to people will include natural sciences: This will be one science." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 128) This is the unity of the natural world and society, which determines the fusing of

natural and social sciences. This enables the scientific concepts, methods, and spirit of the natural sciences to permeate philosophy and the social sciences, and become important forces in promoting the development of philosophy and the social sciences. If we accept that the society of mankind is the product of a long period of development in the natural world, and that it is the continuation and extension of natural movement, and we use the natural scientific concepts of natural patterns and processes to examine society, then to find that the development of society has, in the same way, its own objective patterns, and that the development of social forms is a natural, historical process, completely accords with logic.

Scientific concepts, methods, and spirit form a unified force, and we depend on philosophical summary to achieve the raising of thought to a higher level. That is, scientific concepts, methods, and spirit in the natural sciences are raised from the specific to the particular, and, then again, raised from the particular to the general. They then become universal, philosophical principles and methods, and are raised to world views and methodologies. This is the movement of thought from the specific to the general. The basic principles and methods of philosophy play a guiding role in the social sciences and promote social scientific research. This is the trend of thought from the general to the specific. Through the general intermediary link of philosophy, natural and social sciences realize the "specific--general--specific" transformation, and the two are linked together. In the transformation process, generally principles and methods of philosophy return to the natural sciences, and guide natural scientific research. Of course, in the scientific concepts, methods, and spirit of the social sciences, the issue of philosophical summary equally exists, while the natural sciences also similarly need to absorb spiritual force for the social sciences.

#### Marxist Philosophy Can Guide Natural Scientific Research

It should be specially pointed out that the development of the natural sciences is not only linked to that of the productive forces in a certain period, and to scientific practice in a certain period, but also to the ideological system of a certain period. As a positivist science, its development is essentially linked with development of the materialist ideological system. Also, the simultaneously existing idealist ideological system, right through to religions, is always striving to take new concepts from the natural sciences into its own system. This is the struggle which has always existed for natural sciences within the category of philosophy. In other words, there is no natural science which can divorce itself from the guidance of a certain ideological system. If it is not subject to the guidance of materialism, it will be subject to the guidance of idealism. This happens, regardless of whether science workers are aware of it or not. Of course, in the relationship between natural scientific, philosophy and the social sciences, there are questions worthy of further discussion. However, why do we stress that Marxist philosophy is able to guide the natural sciences? It is because Marxist philosophy is a science continually enriched and developed in the light of history and scientific progress. After critically examining natural and social sciences, the universal principles and methods it abstracts from an ordered, scientific, ideological

system unifying the world view, epistemology, and methodology, and this is completely in accord with the natural sciences. A major reason some comrades are not too enthusiastic about the guidance of Marxism, apart from the counterreaction produced by the "mass criticism" carried out against natural scientific theory through the method of giving philosophical labels, is that they do not understand the innate relationship between Marxist philosophy and natural sciences. The simple method of pinning on philosophical labels has already been corrected in practice, and if it appears again in future, it will continue to be corrected. However, we cannot, because of this, negate the guiding role of Marxist philosophy. As to the views of some comrades, who hold that Marxism's universal principles have not been verified, or basically cannot be verified, and it has no right to issue orders to the natural sciences, that is a mistaken understanding. This is because Marxist philosophy grew from natural and social science, and therefore every achievement in natural science is a verification of the universal principles of Marxist philosophy. The guidance of Marxist philosophy over natural scientific research is not the issuing of orders. It first provides a world view, epistemology, and methodology for science, and is able to assist people in their understanding of the objective world, to consciously avoid or overcome the subjectivity, superficiality, and one-sidedness which so easily occur. Marxism is the theoretical basis of the socialist cause and of the party's leadership, and scientific and cultural construction, which are parts of the socialist cause, cannot be divorced from the leadership of Marxism. Social scientific research must be under the leadership of the party, and must be firm in serving socialist modernization. This is the foremost question of political orientation which natural science workers must resolve. We absolutely cannot allow the negation of the role of Marxist philosophy in guiding the natural sciences, as that would result in our scientific undertakings being divorced from the socialist track and the party's leadership.

Modern natural sciences are an important force in promoting the development of Marxist philosophy. This philosophy is an ideological weapon in guiding natural scientific research. We should encourage natural science workers to study and master Marxist philosophy and, at the same time, encourage philosophy and social science workers to study the natural sciences and sum up the newest achievements in natural scientific development. Natural science workers and philosophy and social science workers must unite and form a firm alliance, adhere to and develop Marxism, and make common efforts to achieve greater glory for the scientific cause.

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## COMMENTS ON THE MODERN IRRATIONALIST TIDE OF THOUGHT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 pp 22-28

[Article by Xia Jun [1115 6511]]

[Text] Modern Western philosophy studies two broad categories of problems: those concerning various sciences and those concerning man. Modern irrationalism is a broad trend of thought; it mainly concerns man, and also concerns the broad realm of Western ideology, culture, and social life. Therefore, analyzing and studying its nature and profound influence will undoubtedly be of great practical significance to our understanding of many phenomena and problems occurring in Western society.

### I

In man's history of cognition, the position of logic and rationality is indisputable. It can be said that man's history of cognition is a history of development of logic and rationality. But people seldom notice the fact that the development of logical and rational cognition has always been interwoven with illogical and irrational cognition. Judging from the whole body of human knowledge, purely logical or purely rational things have never existed. Rationality in its general sense refers to man's rational, restraining, and conscious aspect, whereas irrationality refers to his instinctive, self-indulgent, and blind aspect. Rationality and irrationality constitute the two flanks of man's mental activities; they fit in with and permeate each other. Man's achievements in mental activities, scientific discoveries, and artistic and literary creation are mainly the crystallization of man's rationality; they also embody the synthesized and unified functioning of rational and irrational activities, reflecting his desires, inspiration, and many varied emotional vexations and impulses. It should be pointed out that rationality and irrationality do not have an equal status. Considering the development of cognition, the development from irrationality to rationality involves a relationship of hierarchical progression and a process of gradual deepening and sublimation; this is an advance and leap in cognition.

It is important that aside from distinguishing between rationality and irrationality, we must also distinguish between irrationality and irrationalism. Man's mental activities like sentiments, desires, intuition, willpower, and so on exist objectively, and the study of these mental activities is a

meaningful job. However, irrationalism is something different. It does not scientifically view irrational mental activities; it only exaggerates them or considers them in absolute terms; that is it views sentiments, desires, intuition, willpower, and so on as the basic means of cognition or a set of things which govern everything else. Therefore, it is erroneous not only as a theory of knowledge, but also as an ontological system or as a methodology.

Irrationalism in the broad sense is inexplicably connected with idealism and with the development of fidelism, mysticism, and obscurantism. Irrationalist theories seldom appear in a pure form; they are often integrated with propositions of general idealism; nevertheless, they do differ from the latter. Irrationalism objects to materialist rationalism and also idealist rationalism. It is a special form of idealism. Generally speaking, in the history of cognition, those theories which advocate belief, play down rationality, or exaggerate feeling or other psychological modes can all be regarded as ideological sources of modern irrationalism.

In ancient unenlightened times, in fighting against nature, people first acquired perceptions about the external world of nature, the conditions of survival, and various specific material forms; moreover, they also put forth many different conjectures on the mental states and perceptual abilities of man himself, like willpower, illusions, dreams, desires, and so on. Thus, the concept of "soul" was naturally put forth. Ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, like the philosophical thought of Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, contains both rationality and irrationality. In Europe, during the long, barbarian, and dark Middle Ages, the spiritual rule of religion cruelly smothered science, rationality, and wisdom. The crude and vulgar theories of religious obscurantism often used simple logical forms to strive to prove the existence of an illusory god. In this regard, famous quotations from the ancient doctor of the Christian church, Tertullianus, like: "I believe it precisely because it is absurd," are highly illuminating.

During the 13th and 14th centuries, with the initial development of experimental natural sciences, the brilliance of science and rationality began to break through the darkness of the Middle Ages. The famous poet Dante of that time said: "Think about what you were born to be; you were born not for living a beast's life, but for going after virtue and knowledge." This was a call for rationality! With the rise of the humanist trend of thought in the 15th and 16th centuries, science and rationality developed amid vigorous struggle against feudalism. During the Renaissance, the relationship between the rationalist and irrationalist trends of thought was not one of simple contradiction. On one hand, science and rationality were forcefully pounding at religious obscurantism; but on the other hand, rational and irrational things, being considered as two inseparable parts of human nature, were naturally fused together and used in the struggle against divinity and asceticism which throttled human nature. This characteristic in the history of cognition deserves our attention. Humanism developed in this period not only paved the way ideologically and theoretically for the development of modern science in Europe, but was also the precursor of modern enlightenment and humanism (including humanism containing elements of irrationalism).

At the turn of the 17th century, Europe entered an initial stage of bourgeois revolution, and in philosophy there appeared a struggle between empiricism and rationality, between materialism and idealism. While hotly debating about questions of the theory of knowledge, the philosophers naturally had to deal with questions about various forms of irrationality. Their views on these questions were in different degrees influenced by the metaphysical mode of thinking and subjectivist empiricism. Thus, Descartes' expositions hold that sentiments are determined by the mind, and are linked to certain external objects to give rise to internal emotions, like surprise, affection, hate, desire, pleasure, grief, and so on. This is apparently a kind of dualism. In addition, Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, Leibnitz, and Hume, proceeding from their own particular philosophical viewpoints, also discussed psychological activities like sentiments, desires, and so on. These viewpoints, called "the doctrine of association" in psychology, have considerably influenced modern irrationalism. It should be mentioned that the conflict between British empiricism and irrationalism of the European continent on questions of the theory of knowledge has had a profound influence on contemporary Western philosophy.

In 18th century France, philosophy was experiencing an era of rationalism. A number of great enlightenment scholars and combative materialists mercilessly criticized European feudalism and religious obscurantism. They held high the banner of rationality, and were full of confidence in man's ability to know the world and in the power of rationality. However, some of them not only failed to thoroughly criticize the nature of religion, thus leaving room for the development of fidelism, but also created conditions for the formation of modern irrationalism by virtue of their mechanical materialist viewpoints.

German idealist philosophy from the time of Kant to Hegel not only brought modern Western philosophy to a new height, but also played a particularly important role in the history of formation and development of modern Western irrationalism. Both the positive progressive factors and the negative conservative factors in German idealism have been opposed and also employed by modern irrationalism. In particular, Hegelian philosophy has frequently been a target for attack and adoption by modern irrationalist philosophers. On one hand, in attacking Hegelian dialectics, they expound their anti-dialectical and illogical stand on which they view the nature and laws of the world; on the other hand, some philosophers, like Ke-lang-na [0344 2597 4780], impose irrationalism on Hegelian theory on account of the latter's idealist and mysticist nature, saying that Hegel's rationalism contains some kind of irrationalism, and that Hegel was the greatest irrationalist in the history of philosophy. The dross in classical German idealism, that is, its fidelist and mysticist doctrines on perception, spiritual phenomena, the self, the absolute, and so on, is the ideological source of modern irrationalism. Overall, modern irrationalism is theoretically opposite to modern European idealist philosophy. It amounts to a reaction to idealist philosophy. It abhors any formulas or rules, proclaims opposition to determinism and mechanism, attempts to get rid of all restrictions and constraints, advocates discovering man's nature, and demands absolute freedom. These are not only the theoretical characteristics of modern irrationalists, but also constitute the goal they go after in action.

The birth of modern irrationalism is not only due to theoretical reasons, but is also connected with history and the times. A reason concerns the development of modern natural sciences. The mechanical and metaphysical mode of cognition was in a dominant position in history. Its characteristic of seeing things as isolated, static, and one-sided became an obstacle to scientific progress by the end of the 19th century. It would inevitably be replaced by dialectical materialism. At the same time, the Western nations were making the transition from capitalism to imperialism. Under this particular historical condition, Marxist philosophy, as the scientific world outlook, rocked the entire realm of Western ideology, and has therefore drawn distortions and attacks by various theoretical schools, including certain categories of irrationalism. Moreover, the economic crises of capitalist society, the unprecedented damage to Western civilization caused by two global imperialist wars, and the new social contradictions caused by the development of advanced modern science and technology, make "man's value" and "man's situation" some highly sensitive and piercing questions in the West. These are social and historical reasons for the birth of modern irrationalism.

## II

Modern irrationalism is a special way of thinking whereby man understands the world and himself. Judging from the process of development of human knowledge, it is merely some kind of synthesis of various forms of idealism in history. Considering its social cause, it is a reflection of the contradictions of modern capitalist society in the realm of ideology and culture. Moreover, many problems involved in this trend of thought are not peculiar to modern times, but represent the logical development of man's prolonged exploration. For example, its study of irrational states and its examination and exploration of major theoretical questions like the nature and role of man's own consciousness and mental phenomena concern propositions which have existed since ancient times. Therefore, mastering modern irrationalism's characteristics in connection with the times and mastering its logical basis inherent in the history of development of human knowledge are two important links in our study of modern irrationalism.

Theoretical circles have different views on what ideologies, theories, or schools are the sources of modern irrationalism. Generally speaking, the theory of the sole importance of will, developed since the 19th century and represented by Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, is the direct ideological source of modern irrationalism. The philosophy of life of Dilthey and Bergson, phenomenology-existentialism, Freudism, and irrationalist elements in historical studies, religious philosophy, sociology, politics, literature and art, and philosophy of science, can all be regarded as theoretical expressions of modern irrationalism. Therefore, modern irrationalism is not a specific academic school, but a general trend of thought in the modern ideological and cultural realms of the West. The main substance and basic characteristics of this trend of thought can be analyzed from different angles and aspects, and can be roughly broken down into the following several points:

## 1) Having "the Individual's Existence" as the Noumenon

Modern irrationalists are not interested in questions of the so-called general ontology. They belittle or ignore the existence of the objective external world, but view the existence of the irrational, isolated man, of self-consciousness, as of decisive importance. For example existentialists like Kierkegaard, Heidegger, and Sartre often view the existence of the external world merely as the place of environment where subjective will or self-consciousness overflows, extends, and bursts out, as something subordinated to subjective will and self-consciousness. Some modern irrationalist viewpoints embody both subjective idealism and objective idealism. Overall, however, the majority of modern irrationalists are solipsists who regard the individual's existence and the expression of his consciousness as the thing-in-itself. "The self" (the self's existence or the expression of the self's consciousness) is viewed as the ultimate source which gives rise to everything else in the world, and the prerequisite for objective existence, without the existence and consciousness of "the self," nothing could exist. Of course, some of them are afraid to expound "solipsism" and they try to avoid this "submerged reef"; therefore, their theories contain attempts to cover up vacillations, thus exhibiting a dualistic flavor of varying intensity. However, because they consider the individual's existence and self-consciousness in absolute terms, they often unavoidably land themselves in the quagmire of subjective idealism.

The relationship between "the self" and the environment is major proposition which modern irrationalism intensively studies. The role and destiny of the individual's existence in capitalist society often perplex the modern irrationalists; the conflict between man and the environment of his existence is very prominent. Heidegger said man was "depraved," and Jaspers said that "human nature is stifled." They perceived from different angles man's place in capitalist society, but could not correctly explain the nature of this society and various phenomena like the alienation of human nature.

## 2) Having Irrational Sentiments as the Basic Question for Study

Sentiments and psychological states are usually questions for study in psychology. From the viewpoint of philosophy, these questions occupy a definite position in the study of the theory of knowledge. In this regard, there are both connections and differences between general psychology and philosophy. A marked characteristic of modern irrationalism is that man's feelings, desires, sentiments, instincts, and so on are viewed as something determining everything else, as the "noumenal attribute" of the individual's existence. In the modern irrationalists' view, the world is basically unintelligible; what the self and the world are roughly like can be realized only in a frenzied, obscure, and hazy light through self-consciousness; this is because they think the world is intrinsically chaotic, absurd, and elusive. Some even say that people can really understand this world only when they are insane.

Modern irrationalism not only plays down or negates man's rational cognitive ability, but also denies that cognition is a dialectical process of development from perception to rationality, and denies the role of practice in cognition. It views man's gaining of knowledge as an innate instinct which is perfectly fickle and arbitrary, not governed by any laws. Intuitionism, represented by Bergson, demands the subordination of rationality to intuition, holding that intuition alone is the highest and most profound form of cognition. Moreover, irrationalism denies the existence of any objective truth, but holds that only man's own perception and the state of his sentiments are real and reliable, and that cognition depends solely on man's irrational "experience" or "comprehension." If one must assert the existence of truth, then this "truth" can only depend on man's sentiments; for example, if I am "vexed," it is because the world itself is annoying; I am "afraid" because the world itself is frightening; and I feel "absurd" because the world itself is devoid of reason and inexplicable.

This characteristic of attaching importance to sentiments only does to a certain extent reflect the mental state of people in modern Western society. It is closely related to the economic conditions, social life, ideology, and culture of Western society. Thus, these sentiments have definite causes.

### 3) Pessimistic Theoretical Keynote

Some Western scholars who advocate irrationalism are believers of the Christian religion, like Kierkegaard, Maritain, Ma-sai-er [7456 1049 3643], and so on. For some others, although they claim themselves to be atheists, disbelieve the existence of a god who has the character of a person, or even deride the existence of God and vilify traditional religions, their theories still carry the flavor of fidelism in varying degrees.

What is man's lot in the face of the numerous different things in the world which are constantly changing? The majority of modern irrationalists hold that man is powerless and can merely subject themselves to destiny; life comprises sufferings and man's future is hopeless; and people will forever be shrouded in the shadow of death. This keynote of irrationalism is naturally linked to certain basic facets of the spirit of religion and theology; they share things in common.

It can be seen that modern irrationalism is spreading some negative religious sentiments and is pessimistic theoretically. Some modern irrationalist philosophers strongly stress the "impulsive force of life" and the "will of life" in their works; it seems that they are full of confidence in man and man's power and they can considerably encourage readers. Owing to their viewpoints about history and the real world, however, it is very difficult to relate this "impulsive force" and "will" to the transformation of the world. To a great extent this kind of "impulsive force" and "will" merely amount to an irrational impulse which is not based on the scientific understanding of history and reality. Although some of these scholars call themselves "optimists," their basic irrationalist theories necessarily mean that this so-called optimism is empty, blind, and baseless.

#### 4) Adopting a Negative Attitude Toward Morality

Modern irrationalism advocates the so-called free will and freedom of choice, and negates the role and the objective basis of moral norms. To some irrationalist theorists, the expression and satisfaction of the individual's instinctive desires represent a law of nature and are naturally justifiable, whereas moral norms suppress man's instincts and human nature. Thus, they negate in a general sense the necessity and historical characteristic of moral norms. Some other philosophers state that views on morality are merely expressions of the preferences in individual or collective sentiments, and are meaningless propositions which can neither be proved nor refuted. There are also some who advocate "absolute freedom" and blind "philosophy of action." Although sometimes they acknowledge to a certain extent the restricting effect of the objective environment on man's behavior, they in the final analysis designate freedom of choice as a noumenal attribute of self-consciousness and hold that it is unconditional.

#### 5) Doctrines That Negate the Importance of History

Modern irrationalism denies the objective laws of historical development and denies that the mode of production determines social and historical development. Basically, it is a specific form of historical idealism. Some Western scholars view history as an irrational process of rise and decline of an organism. Some view history as the process of expression of individuals' will or desires. Some others ascribe social and historical phenomena to consequences of the activity of certain instincts. For example, the Austrian psychoanalyst Freud and his successors attribute historical development, science, art, and the entirety of culture to the working of "sexual desire," thus basically negating the objective nature of historical development.

### III

The modern irrationalist trend of thought has far surpassed the confines of philosophical idealism; it is closely related to many disciplines like psychology, sociology, politics, history, religious studies, and literature and art, and also the whole body of Western ideology, culture, lifestyle, and social customs; it is also extensively exerting influence.

A marked characteristic of modern irrationalism in its theoretical form is the fusion of philosophy and literature and art. Many modern Western philosophers are also writers, dramatists, or poets, like Nietzsche, Bergson, Heidegger, Sartre, and so on. Their theories are often expressed in symbolic, audiovisual artistic forms. Although using literature and art to expound certain philosophical viewpoints is not peculiar to modern irrationalism, it very naturally takes literature and art as appropriate forms of expression owing to its theoretical characteristic, that is, its negation of science and rationality and its rejection of abstract thinking and logic.

A major theoretical basis of modernist literature, drama, painting, music, and dancing is modern irrationalism. Bergson's intuitionism, James' "stream of consciousness" school, and Freud's "subconsciousness" theory have considerably influenced modern art. Certain highly popular artistic schools in the West, like the "Black Humor" school of literature, the "Absurd" school of drama, "Dadaist" painting, and so on, as exemplified by the novels of Kafka and Camus, the dramas of Ionesco and Beckett, the music of Wagner, Schoenberg, and Stravinsky, and so on, have to various extents been influenced by the trends of thought of the doctrine of sole importance of will, Freudianism, and existentialism. Moreover, these literary and artistic forms are also the concrete expression of the modern irrationalist outlook on aesthetics.

Modern irrationalism not only finds expression in matters concerning man, but also in varying degrees influences the philosophy of science and the method of scientific study. Generally speaking, mental conditions like intuition and inspiration play a practical role in creative activities (including scientific study activities), but it is wrong to exaggerate the role of irrational mental conditions like intuition, inspiration, sudden realization in scientific study; to use intuition to deny the role of scientific rationality; or to use those mental conditions to confound religion and science. Some Western scholars even say that astrology is a science and sweepingly say that science can "give rise to fabrications" and "prove fabrications." Some other scholars, unable to clearly understand the mysteries of the process of scientific invention and creation, exaggerate the role of fortuity, opportunity, and arbitrariness, and unconsciously view scientific discoveries and the structure and development of science as resulting from the working of irrational mental states. The American philosopher of science Fei-ye-a-ben-de [6316 5102 7093 2609 1795] put forth the so-called "anarchistic methodology," holding that science is an anarchistic undertaking, that science is "much more irrational" than methodology, and that making science more accurate and rational will only "disgrace" science. To him, scientific laws are out of the question and regular scientific methods are nonexistent. His principle is: "Any way will do." Very often, of course, irrationalism does not very clearly manifest itself in scientific study; rational elements and erroneous things are often mingled together. Thus, we must concretely analyze the relevant theories of viewpoints and must not discard rational and correct things as well.

Neo-Thomism, the official theology of Christianity in this age, is changing in theological theory. The logical proof offered in the Middle Ages by Thomas Aquinas' ontology about God clearly fails to satisfy the needs of religious propaganda in the contemporary age, and many schools holding diverse views have appeared in modern religious studies. Neo-Thomism also stresses "modernization" and "secularization" and is carrying out "dialogue" with various irrationalist theories, using them to explain religion and theology; for example, it uses existentialist viewpoints to illustrate that God is necessary to man's existence; it directs existentialism toward religious belief, or derives existentialism from religious belief. Philosophers like Jaspers, Ma-sai-er [7456 1049 3643], Tillich, La-na [4780 2139], Mai-ke-rui-li [7796 0344 3843 0448], and so on have tried to seek

things common to Christian doctrines and existentialism. Existentialist "realization" of "the existence of the self" differs little from the Chan sect's "realization of the way" and "Chan meditation." Both of them advocate seeking spiritual detachment through the self and the inner mind. Aside from religious bodies, currently there are also many different superstitious groups in the West. Some of them enforce extremely savage and cruel rules and regulations; many believers, male and female, willingly allow themselves to be ruled and trampled on by their chieftains, or even give up their own lives. These believers forsake science to go after heresies, forsake truth to indulge in superstition, and forsake so-called personal freedom to subordinate themselves to cruel restriction. The birth of this abnormal mentality is naturally and necessarily related to social life in the West. Actually, the seeking of either "tranquility and inaction" or cruel excitement reflects the same spiritual collapse in modern Western capitalist society; moreover, it "portends" the future: that is, these abnormal phenomena will not die out so long as capitalist society exists.

Modern irrationalism also pervades Western social and political life. Under certain historical conditions, irrationalists' despise and attack of rationality and science are liable to be exploited by certain political careerists as a theoretical basis for opposing the people and society. Nietzsche's philosophy is an example. Although Nietzsche's "will to power" theory differs from fascism, it was actually used by fascists to propagate aggressive war based on the law of the jungle. Moreover, Nietzsche advocated his philosophy of the "superman"; this egoistic doctrine proceeding from the self is diametrically opposed to human civilization and progress.

Modern irrationalism concerns itself with questions about man, particularly the contradictions between man and the environment of existence. It is directly related to a definite outlook on life and value judgment, and therefore very naturally influences in various ways the lifestyle and social customs in the West. Some Westerners interpret existentialism according to their own conceptions; they regard it as a style of living and link it to ballrooms, bars, hairstyle, and fashion. The solipsism and hedonism reflected in certain modern irrationalist theories often give rise to certain fads in society and certain phenomena which appear to be anomalous and absurd. For example, during the "hippie" movement which was all the rage for a period, the grotesque dress and hairstyle and the desire for pleasure and violent excitement showed that some Westerners were discontented with the "developed industrial society" and they resorted to the venting of blind and instinctive desires and sentiments. These bizarre phenomena in the West amount to an ideological, cultural, and social problem which is closely related to the economic and political situation of Western society. Modern irrationalism catalyzes their occurrence.

Thus, the modern irrationalist trend of thought is a mirror of Western society's ideology and an ideological source of many social problems and phenomena in the West. Therefore, when we implement the open policy and build our socialist spiritual civilization, it is absolutely necessary to analyze and study this trend of thought.

First, this study helps us understand Western society in depth and perceive its inherent nature and ideological basis through various phenomena in it. These phenomena in the final analysis result from the economic relations and social systems of Western society and are directly or indirectly related to the ideology of Western society, including modern irrationalism. A thorough understanding of Western society should include a comprehensive analysis of its historical conditions, social structure, economic relations, cultural setting, ideology, and customs of life. This can help minimize superficiality and blindness and enhance consciousness, so that we can opportunely readjust and determine our ways and methods of conducting dialogue and various categories of contact (including cultural exchange) with Western society.

Second, this study is conducive to the development of theoretical research. Undoubtedly, the development of human civilization depends to a great extent on the progress of science and rationality, but irrationalism is a trend of thought contradictory to rationality and science. As a spiritual phenomenon, and like the development of idealism, however, it represents a process in the history of development of human knowledge. Analyzing and studying this process can help enrich and deepen materialism and help develop Marxist philosophy. Moreover, study of certain questions by modern irrationalism, like man's nature, psychology, emotional state, and so on, furnishes from various approaches ideological materials useful to the scientific study of these questions (for example, in sciences of thinking and in social psychology). Some modern irrationalist philosophers' study of man's irrational states has furnished contributions of varying magnitude to revealing man's psychological mechanism and cognitive ability, and nature of thinking, and the effects of social mentality and moods on social life. All this is conducive to the development of Marxist philosophy, particularly the Marxist theory of knowledge. Moreover, some Western philosophers also mercilessly castigate the dark side of capitalist society. They reveal various problems of capitalist society in relation to human nature and man's value and also the intense contradiction between the highly developed material civilization and the extremely empty and impoverished spiritual world of the West. This is useful for our reference in our improvement of discriminating ability, distinguishing of progress and healthy things from retrogression and decadent things, and building of our new socialist spiritual civilization.

Third, this study is conducive to cultural and artistic development. Irrationalism exerts relatively marked influence on modern culture, art, and scientific study. In a certain sense, it is useful for reference. For example, the study of the special role of irrational intuition, inspiration, sudden realization, and tacit understanding in scientific study and artistic creation is useful for reference in studying and exploring the process, methods, and style of creation in the fields of literature, drama, painting, sculpture, music, dancing, movie and television program production, and so on. Of course, using it for reference is not tantamount to copying it. Marxism must be geared to the development of the whole body of culture in the world. The analysis of modern Western literary and artistic works must be related to these works' characteristics in relation to the times and their

ideological essence; only thus can it be pertinent and profound and can it help us assimilate things that are useful for enriching and developing socialist culture and art. In the case of some Western artistic works which exaggerate man's instincts and self-indulgence, advocate self-centered individualism and liberalism, spread pessimism, and so on, we must adopt a critical attitude and must not blindly praise and propagate them.

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## AN ANALYSIS OF THE 'ECONOMIC MIRACLES' OF ASIA'S 'FOUR LITTLE DRAGONS'

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[Article by Wu Ninggeng [1566 1380 5087]]

[Text] Over the past 20 years and more, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea have made world news headlines because of their rapid economic development, and are now known as Asia's "four little dragons" and the "newly rising industrialized countries and regions." Some Western scholars have publicized their accomplishments as the "economic miracles" of the postwar capitalist world. However, in regard to their pattern of development, all along the observations of international scholastic circles have greatly differed from each other. The crucial point of their disputes has concerned: the main causes of these four countries' high economic growth rates; understanding the nature and prospects of this kind of development; and whether their pattern of development can be taken as the "model" for other developing countries to follow. This article makes an analysis of these problems.

### I

According to statistics compiled by the World Bank, the economic growth rate of Asia's "four little dragons" has been extremely high. From 1965 to 1984 their gross domestic output value averaged an annual increase of around 8 percent and their exports averaged an annual growth rate of over 10 percent. These growth rates were much faster than those of the Western developed countries and also surpassed the rates of the developing countries. In 1984, the total volume of their exports was as follows: Taiwan, \$30.5 billion; South Korea, \$28.3 billion; Hong Kong, \$28.3 billion; and Singapore, \$24.1 billion. Worthy of mention is that both Singapore and Hong Kong are small islands but have today developed into important world centers of manufacturing, trade, finance, shipping, tourism, and information and have attracted the world's attention.

The reasons for their ability to realize high economic growth within a short period are many-sided. Among them are certain general factors suited to modern economic development, and also certain elements unique to them. Moreover, they themselves have different conditions of their own which require concrete analyses. Generally speaking, the main causes of their rapid economic development are as follows:

First, their special geographical environment and historical conditions.

Looking at them offhand, it can be seen that these regions all possess comparatively poor natural resources. In Singapore and Hong Kong, the residents' drinking water depends on other people. In this regard, Taiwan and South Korea's conditions are a little better, but their known industrial and mining resources are small. Nevertheless, all of them possess a common strong point: They are located along a maritime communication passageway and have good deep-water ports. For example, Singapore is situated at the entrance to the Malacca Strait and is the shipping nucleus between two oceans. It has an important strategic location. While its total land area is only 600 square kilometers, its coastline extends over 134 kilometers, being the world's fourth largest port. Hong Kong has somewhat similar conditions. Its Victoria Harbor located between Hong Kong Island and Kowloon is one of the world's celebrated natural seaports.

Because of special historical reasons, in the past all these places established a certain material foundation. For a prolonged period, the British colonists converted Singapore and Hong Kong into free ports, engaging in entrepot trade between Southeast Asia and different parts of the world. As a result, here commerce, the service trade, and the financial trade all have had a rather long period of development and fairly good basic social facilities. Before 1945, South Korea and Taiwan were under the rule of Japanese imperialism. To facilitate their plundering, the Japanese built up in these two places certain industrial and basic facilities. In particular, in 1949 when the Chinese people's revolution overran the mainland, the KMT authorities took from the mainland a large amount of capital, equipment, and technological personnel to Taiwan. In early 1949 alone, they removed to Taiwan 400,000 taels of gold from the national treasury. Of the 100 large syndicates of enterprises in Taiwan today, over 20 formerly belonged to mainland capital. They made up roughly 33.33 percent of the gross value of assets. Hong Kong's light and textile industries, one of the pillars of Hong Kong's manufacturing industries, were developed in the early 1950's. Their capital, technology, and equipment also came mainly from Shanghai.

Second, great support from a special international environment and international capital headed by the United States.

The economic "flying start" of the "four little dragons" mostly took place in the 1960's. During this period a number of special factors played an important role in their economic growth. 1) At the time, in the Western developed countries, under the promotion of the new technological revolution, the West's productive forces achieved a great development. For the sake of readjusting their own industrial structure, the Western developed countries gradually transferred those of their industries which generally consumed a large amount of labor power and raw materials and caused serious environmental pollution to the developing countries and regions. The "four small dragons," because they possessed conditions such as superior geographic locations; definite industrial foundations; relatively cheap, but also high-quality labor; a relatively stable political situation; and the backing of certain superior policies, naturally became the ideal spots for investment

by the transcontinental corporations of the Western countries. 2) At the time, the economies of the Western developed countries were experiencing a relatively prosperous period: the absorption capacity of their markets was correspondingly expanding, their trade barriers were gradually diminishing, and above all, the special relationships between the "four little dragons" and the Western countries enabled their exports to the developed countries to enjoy special treatment for a prolonged period. 3) During the 1960's the United States was also continuously accelerating its war of aggression against Vietnam. Because the "four little dragons" were all situated near Vietnam, the "Vietnam war" doubtlessly served as an effective stimulant to the development of their economies, trade, and tourism. More importantly, the United States, since its setback in the Korean war, continued to pursue its global strategy and in Eastern Asia devoted its full efforts to supporting and building up Taiwan and South Korea. In addition to signing military pacts, establishing military bases, stationing of troops long term, and providing military aid, it directly and indirectly provided the two areas with a large amount of economic aid and loans. For example, from 1949 to 1980, U.S. and Western countries' economic aid and loans given to, as well as directly invested in Taiwan totaled over \$12 billion, of which over \$9 billion (not including military loans) was provided by the United States. As for South Korea, from 1945 to the end of the 1970's, the aid, loans and investments rendered by the United States, other Western countries, and international organs to South Korea amounted to a total of some \$26 billion. Obviously, this sort of situation was uncommon in other regions.

Finally, enforcement of economic tactics of war and policies suited to the conditions of the localities.

Among the "four small dragons," Hong Kong's situation has been relatively special. For the sake of maintaining Hong Kong's free port status, Hong Kong's British authorities have for a prolonged period carried out a non-interference policy vis-a-vis Hong Kong's economy. The others all enforced for a time the import-replacement strategy--that is, the strategy of gradually replacing the past practice of importing manufactured goods by means of developing local manufacturing industries. However, they soon discovered that due to the sharp increases in the import of raw materials and equipment, their international payments situation ran into serious difficulties. At the same time, their small domestic markets adversely affected the benefits and development of the enterprises. Thus, following the beginning of the 1960's, they successively shifted over to a development strategy of the export-oriented type--that is, utilizing their own advantageous conditions and their cheap labor, and absorbing foreign capital and introducing foreign technology, they greatly developed their export-processing and equipment industries and thus, through the active expansion of their export trade, brought about growth for the entire economy.

In order to coordinate enforcement of this strategy, they also undertook a series of related measures. The principal measures were: Enforcement of a number of social improvement policies. For example, both Taiwan and South Korea, while strengthening their internal dictatorial rule, were forced in the 1950's to enforce land reform, thereby easing to a certain extent their

contradictions and creating conditions for the restoration and development of agriculture. As for Singapore, it is a city-state. For the purpose of regulating labor-capital relations and stabilizing the internal political situation, the government enforced a cumulative income tax system and a central public accumulation fund, actively solved the people's residential problem, and also proceeded to make a planned increase of the salaries and wages of staff members and workers and to control currency inflation. Simultaneously, in order to encourage and absorb capital investments from at home and abroad, these countries greatly strengthened their basic facilities and actively improved their transport and communication conditions; further closely watched market changes and devoted great efforts to expanding their exports abroad; and strengthened their domestic capital accumulation, adopted special and preferential policies toward foreign capital, reformed administrative organs, and improved business efficiency. These four countries placed special emphasis on developing education, on the development of manpower resources, and so on. All the above played an important and active role in promoting their economic development.

## II

As a result of the interplay of these various conditions, particularly after the local populace paid an enormous price, Asia's "four little dragons" realized an economic "leap forward." No doubt, concerning their experiences neither an attitude of acceptance nor rejection is suitable. It should only be admitted that their concrete experiences, be they successful or not, are enlightening for other developing nations. In particular, in regard to certain of their successful experiences which conformed with the laws of modern economic development in the progress of their economic development, people should earnestly study them and sum them up. At the same time, it should be seen that it may not be possible for other developing countries to copy their entire development pattern. Besides, they themselves still have many unresolvable contradictions.

First, their development is the product of the special postwar historical conditions and international environment, while now that time has passed away and the situation has changed. Seen from the angle of the world's economy, the situation of the 1980's is completely different from that of 20 years ago. The world's capitalist system has already passed from the past relative prosperity to a period of unstable and low-speed growth. The growth rate has slowed considerably; the unemployment problem has become extremely grave; international trade has been in a tottering state; the financial and currency situation is unstable; and the various contradictions in the economic sectors are unprecedentedly sharp and serious. Under such conditions, in the Western countries trade protectionism has prevailed in an undiminished manner, capital transfer arising from the readjustment of structures has greatly slowed, and the Western countries themselves are showing an increasing unwillingness to extend official aid to the developing countries, while the conditions and terms for loans in the international money market have become more exacting each day. Quite obviously, in the current international economic environment, not only is it difficult for some new "little dragons" to emerge, but the existing "four small dragons" are also facing a rather precarious situation.

Second, in their development pattern, there are many contradictions and drawbacks that are difficult to overcome. Of them the most outstanding is the fragile and subordinate character of their economic structure. Their development pattern has basically been one of large imports and large exports--that is, a large amount of imports, followed by processing and assembling, and then a large amount of exports. The raw materials, machineries, and equipment they need mostly have to be imported while the great proportion of their processed products must be exported. In 1984 the following were the ratios between the gross value of their foreign trade and the gross value of their domestic output: Singapore, 289:100; Hong Kong, 186:100; Taiwan, 93:100; and South Korea, 72:100. Thus, their degree of dependence on foreign trade was extremely great. At the same time, in regard to market composition, most of the export trade volume of South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, and 50 percent of that of Singapore went to the Western developed countries, particularly the United States. Because of this these countries' economic development is restrained to a rather large degree by the economic changes in the Western developed countries, particularly the United States. At a time when the economy of the Western developed countries is at high tide, marketing of their export products is brisk and everyone is happy. But on the other hand, troubles lie ahead. Since the mid-1970's two major economic crises have erupted in the capitalist world in which each of the "four little dragons'" economies were deeply affected. In particular, in 1985, due to causes such as curtailment of their foreign trade exports, their economies were thrown into dire straits and their average growth rate was only 2.3 percent, with Hong Kong's growth rate only 0.8 percent while Singapore's growth rate was minus 1.7 percent, a phenomenon seldom seen in the past 20 years. Last year, their economies changed for the better. The causes for this were principally the large drop in the prices of primary products and crude oil on the world market, as well as the changes in exchange rates on the international money market. Due to their currencies all being linked to the U.S. dollar, the large-scale depreciation of the dollar and the corresponding rise in the value of the Japanese yen and the West German deutsche mark have strengthened the competitiveness of their export products. On the other hand, the rise in trade protectionism by the United States has exerted increasing pressure on them. In order to reverse the trend of a large unfavorable trade balance, the United States has not only asked them to further "open their markets" but has also abolished the "universal preferential" treatment hitherto enjoyed by certain products, and has demanded that the four countries restrain and reduce exports to the United States of such products as textiles, apparel, footwear, etc., while also secretly implying demand that they increase the value of their respective currencies. Early this year, the U.S. Government further announced the abolition, effective from 1 July of the year, of exemption from customs duties of some 290 categories of exports to the United States from Taiwan and South Korea. The new measure reduced Taiwan's preferential trade volume by over one-third, affecting over 130 categories of products. Obviously, by so doing the United States has cast a dark shadow over their future development.

Facing the rapidly changing external situation, since the 1970's the four countries have in varying degrees and each in its own way resorted to various means to readjust their industrial structures. With the help of foreign

capital and technology, they have greatly developed their crude oil refining, shipbuilding, iron and steel industries, automobile manufacturing, and petrochemical and electronics industries in an attempt to shift from the past labor-intensive industrial structure to an industrial structure mainly of the capital-intensive and technology-intensive type. Nevertheless, these new industries have not only been heavily dependent on the world market and suffered from the restrictions imposed by the rise or decline of the world economy, but have also, more importantly, since they had depended mostly on foreign capital for their establishment, been in varying degrees subjected to the control of foreign capital. For example, among Singapore's manufacturing industries, by the end of the 1970's wholly foreign-owned enterprises made up 12 percent of the total number of enterprises in Singapore, their output value accounted for 59 percent of the whole; and the export volume of their products amounted to 71 percent. If joint ventures formed by foreign capital and local capital are included, the proportion of foreign capital is even larger. From 1974 to 1984 the income of foreign enterprises and individuals in Singapore increased over 200 percent. The cumulative total of their income was over 60 billion Singapore dollars, equivalent to over 600 percent of the gross value of the fixed assets owned by foreign investment for 1984. Therefore, leading officials of Singapore have remarked that the bulk of Singapore's earnings have been taken away by foreigners.

Finally, their pattern is a kind of capitalist development pattern, built on the foundation of heavy exploitation of the vast masses of people. This cannot avoid leading to a division of society into two poles. It is true that these years their economic growth has been rather high. However, for the sake of augmenting their competitive capability in exports, all along they have insisted on a policy of low wages. In the 1960's the average wage of their rank-and-file workers was in general equivalent to about one-tenth of the wages paid in the United States and one-fourth of those in Japan. Since then, the gross value of their per-capita national income has increased several times already, but the low salaries and wages have basically not changed. By the end of the 1970's, the Singapore Government had made a large-scale increase in workers' wages, but this resulted in a sharp rise in the production cost of products and in foreign capital's diminishing interest in investing in Singapore. This in turn brought about the 1985 economic depression. Facing this situation, the government was compelled to resort to freezing salaries and wages and also to the tactic of tax-exemption and other measures of encouragement in order to stimulate a revival of the economy.

In general, despite their different conditions, under the existing economic system and pattern of development, the law of capital accumulation is bound to play its role and the division of society into two extreme poles is inevitable. On the one hand, the wealth of the large capitalist class is expanding rapidly; on the other hand, the livelihood of the vast masses of people is still in a rather precarious state. Take Hong Kong for example: According to an investigation made in 1986, the average remuneration of salary-earners in general was HK\$2,500 (that of the rank-and-file workers averaged only about HK\$2,000). After deducting the high rental housing, communications, and food costs very little was left. In order to live

better and prepare for emergencies, people had to work overtime and work very hard. Due to the insufficient protection against unemployment and insufficient social security benefits, the lot of the unemployed, the aged, and the disabled is all the more difficult.

At present, each of the "four little dragons" has its own serious economic difficulties. South Korea's foreign debt has mounted to nearly \$50 billion and its political situation is extremely unstable. Taiwan has a large amount of foreign exchange reserves but the pressure of currency inflation is increasing daily, and investment in Taiwan is at a low ebb. Singapore has achieved certain results in its readjustment work but still lacks the strength to effect a full economic revival. Hong Kong has been governed under a policy of freedom and liberalism and its enterprises have enjoyed high flexibility, but their scientific and technological background is after all weak and the competitive pressures they are facing are becoming increasingly stronger. More importantly, because there is little likelihood that the Western developed countries will back off from their trade protectionism; because international trade is incapable of accommodating more rapid expansion and development; and also because of the high degree of monopoly and control of technology exercised by the Western transcontinental corporations, the change in the industrial pattern of the "four small dragons" will meet with great difficulties. Hence, people anticipate that within the foreseeable future, it will be difficult for the four countries' economic growth rates to maintain the speed of the past 20 years.

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## SEVERAL POINTERS ABOUT MARKET REGULATION

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[Article by Jian Xuemo [5592 1331 2875]]

[Text] A basic theory on which China's economic reform is grounded is the recognition of the socialist economy as a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. The commodity economy cannot operate without the market, therefore a correct understanding and use of the market mechanism and market regulation is a core issue for the reform of the economic structure and the development of the socialist commodity economy.

### I

The market mechanism is the mechanism through which the objective law of the commodity economy or, to be more precise, the law of value, exercises its influence on the market. It shows itself as the influence of the supply-demand relations of a commodity in the market on the price-value relations of the commodity, and thus on commodity production and circulation. For example, when supply falls short of demand, the commodity price will naturally rise. And when the rising price exceeds the value of a commodity, the commodity dealer will be able to make a profit that is higher than the average social profit rate. This will stimulate production, leading to an increase in the supply of this commodity and resulting in an equilibrium between supply and demand. However, if supply exceeds demand on the market, the price, production, and the supply-demand relations will change in the opposite direction.

The above rule of the market mechanism is an objective reality independent of man's will. It works all the time even if one overlooks or even despises it. Under the old structure, the ossified price system resulted in a remarkable discrepancy between price and value and serious divorce between supply and demand. What will the consequences of this be? In a case where the supply of a commodity falls short of the demand for it, failure to raise the price accordingly to stimulate production and keep down demand will inevitably lead to the commodity being out of stock. In the case of production means, this will hinder the development of production; and, in the case of consumer goods, this will mean a failure to meet the people's everyday needs. Where the supply of a commodity exceeds the demand for it, failure to lower the

price accordingly to curtail production and stimulate demand will inevitably lead to an ever greater stockpile. Stockpiling of production means or of consumer goods signifies a great deal of material wealth being locked in the circulation sector which will counteract the social economic results. Therefore, any hindrance to the regulatory function of the market mechanism will inevitably result in penalty under the objective law.

The market mechanism is an objective reality. It can work in two different ways--either spontaneously or through application by man.

Before the birth of socialist society, all types of the commodity economy that existed in history were based on private ownership, and the market mechanism worked spontaneously and acted as an "invisible hand" which regulated production and circulation, manipulating commodity producers behind them.

The socialist commodity economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. To be sure, in the socialist commodity economy, there exist free markets and free prices, and the production and circulation of some commodities are not covered by the state plan but subject to the spontaneous market regulation. On the whole, however, the socialist market is kept under control by the state plan and many commodities do not assume their prices on their own but under the control of the state plan either in the form of uniform prices fixed by the state or in the form of floating prices where their fluctuating margin is fixed by the state. Here the market mechanism is functioning in another form as one under the control of the state plan. Therefore, part of the socialist commodity economy can still be identified as market economy which is subject to the market's spontaneous regulation. The main body of this socialist commodity economy is regulated by the law of planned development or, through the state-controlled market mechanism, by man who takes the initiative in applying the law of value; and it shows itself as a planned economy. Thus it can be seen that the socialist commodity economy is different from any commodity economy in history based on private ownership but is a new type of commodity economy featuring the integration of the planned economy and the market economy.

The function of plan regulation was idealized in the traditional conception and the role of market regulation was completely repudiated in the past. Today, we should have a realistic understanding of the strong and weak points of market regulation, identify a reasonable target mode for the reform of the economic structure, and set up the most efficient regulatory mechanism to facilitate the socialist commodity economy.

## II

As a form in which the law of value is functioning, market regulation demands that the expansion and reduction of production, the debiting and crediting of funds, as well as the increase and decrease in productive forces, be dominated by the relations between supply and demand and between price and value in the market. Such a form of regulation is regarded, in the traditional conception,

as a negative factor disrupting the plan. In fact, market regulation can play a positive role in any type of commodity economy. It has the following four advantages:

First, the spontaneous market regulation mechanism is the automatic regulator for microscopic balance of the commodity economy. For example, the spontaneous rise and decline of commodity prices in the market is the automatic regulator for the equilibrium between the supply of and demand for commodities; the spontaneous rise and decline of interest rates in the money market is the automatic regulator for the equilibrium between the supply of and demand for funds; the spontaneous rise and decline of exchange rates in the foreign exchange market is the automatic regulator for the equilibrium between the supply of and demand for foreign exchange, and so on. These kinds of automatic regulators enable the balance between human, financial, and material resources and the efficient allocation of resources through self-regulation.

Second, under the spontaneous regulation by the market mechanism, decisions on enterprises' microeconomic activities are made separately by commodity producers directly based on the market information available. Therefore, the decisionmaking process is prompt and efficiency is high.

Third, under market regulation, the decisionmaker is the executor. Since decisions are made in light of the interests of enterprises, it is natural that the decisions are actively executed.

Fourth, market regulation is also an effective mechanism to facilitate competition. The pressure of competition compels commodity producers to achieve success and raise their profits only by constantly introducing new productive technology, improving management, and raising service quality.

All these advantages of market regulation can be made use of by any type of commodity economy. Under the socialist structure, these advantages can be brought into play so long as certain conditions ensuring the functioning of market regulation are available. After we lifted the restrictions on the prices of foodstuffs and practiced market regulation in China, most products that had been out of stock for a long time have undergone the following process of change: supply falling short of demand--price rising--stimulation of production, increase in supply--re-decline of prices. Such a process of change has been most clearly shown in the change in the supply of and demand for live fish and peanuts. In the past, under a structure where restrictions were artificially imposed on the role of market regulation, live fish had been unobtainable in many places for years, while the popular snack, peanuts, became a rare foodstuff which was only supplied during the Spring Festival season on a ration of 0.5 jin per household. Only a short time after the introduction of market regulation, many places began to be supplied with live fish at reasonable prices and peanuts recovered their position as a popular snack. The prices of some rare wild animals as limited resources, such as fresh-water crabs and soft-shelled turtles, have risen by almost 10 times after the introduction of market regulation. High prices and attractive profits have been pushing people to make every effort to look for a method of artificial propagation and initial success has already been achieved,

showing a prospect of drastic increase in production output and a substantial drop in prices. Thus it can be seen that the traditional concept regarding market regulation as a pure "trouble maker" is just groundless.

Market regulation has both strong and weak points:

First, market regulation can play the role of automatic regulator only to achieve the microscopic balance of commodity production but cannot automatically achieve a macroscopic balance of the whole national economy. This is because the macroscopic equilibrium between the aggregate supply and demand is conditional on the balance between the total volumes of consumption, savings, and investment in the course of distribution and use of the national income. And the spontaneous regulation by the law of value simply cannot do anything to achieve such a macroscopic balance. Evidence for this is the regular existence of enormous unemployment and lack of aggregate demand, and the periodical economic crises due to overproduction in the capitalist economy under market regulation.

Second, prices in the market which fluctuate daily reflect only the short-term trend of the market rather than the long-term trend of supply and demand. By making decisions on their own separately, commodity producers can make prompt changes in production and operation in light of the feedback from the market. But they cannot predict how other commodity producers would react to this same feedback from the market. Therefore, commodity producers' behavior which is dominated by the spontaneous effect of the market mechanism is more or less a blind, and market regulation will always result in surplus or shortage and thus waste of resources. In the past few years, actuated by high prices and attractive profits, many localities have established new bicycle plants, watch plants, and sewing machine plants, haphazardly introduced assembly lines of household electric appliances, and blindly built high-class hotels. All these are good proofs of the rule.

Third, the function of market regulation is effected in the pursuit of partial and local interests by enterprises. On the one hand, the partial interests of enterprises are in keeping with the overall interests of society; but, on the other hand, they contradict each other. For example, although the prevention of environmental pollution is an important part of the overall interests of society, enterprises will always try to evade the enormous expenses of antipollution treatment in view of their own partial interests. Road construction, tree planting, flood prevention, navigation channel management, and other infrastructure projects are of great importance to the development of the national economy as a whole, but they do not specially benefit only a single enterprise. Therefore the infrastructure projects promising tremendous social benefits are always started by governments in a unified way rather than actuated by market regulation.

Fourth, market regulation is favorable to competition, and competition will naturally lead to monopoly. If monopoly is not checked, the prosperous situation resulting from competition is bound to be superseded by the stagnancy and decadence which accompany monopoly.

### III

We must adopt an overall point of view regarding the role of market regulation in the socialist commodity economy. It will be unfavorable to socialist construction if we fail to thoroughly appreciate and fully exploit the advantages of market regulation. It will also be unfavorable to socialist construction if we overestimate the positive functions of market regulation but ignore its shortcomings and disadvantages.

The advantages of market regulation show that the spontaneously functioning market mechanism is favorable and indispensable to the socialist commodity economy. In modern economy where production is highly socialized, the demands for various means of production and subsistence are extraordinarily complicated and varying and it needs production means and consumer goods of different natures, specifications, and designs to fulfill these demands. It is impossible to bring the production and supply of hundreds of thousands of commodities under plan regulation and keep an equilibrium between supply and demand at the same time. Nobody can do this job well. If one persists in doing it, one will inevitably make mistakes due to one's subjectivism. What cannot be done or cannot be done properly by plan regulation can be easily accomplished by spontaneous regulations through the market mechanism if free rein is given to the latter. After the system of unified and fixed purchase of agricultural and sideline products was abrogated and a system of free purchase at negotiated prices was applied to a vast majority of agricultural and sideline products, the production structure which is subject to market regulation immediately adjusted on its own to meet the actual needs of society, and the needs of light industrial production, export trade, and people's everyday life have been better met than ever before. This development is obvious to all. Meanwhile, after the restrictions on the sale of small commodities were lifted, departments in charge of planning no longer had to be worried about trivial things such as hair clips' being out of stock. As far as the microscopic equilibrium between product supply and demand is concerned, market regulation can play a role that plan regulation can never play.

In the past some people reckoned that market regulation was only applicable to some nonstaple food products and those manufactured goods for daily use with small output value but wide variety. This view might have suited the specific circumstances in our country during a certain period. But it appears that this cannot be taken as the theoretical limit of the validity of the function of market regulation. As far as microscopic balance is concerned, the scope of validity of market regulation can be extended far beyond those agricultural and sideline products as well as small commodities for daily use.

Then can we say that market regulation should become the major regulatory mechanism for China's socialist commodity economy? I think the answer is no. While fully recognizing the function of market regulation, we should never overestimate it nor deny the necessity of plan regulation. The above analysis of the weak points of market regulation has already shown that market regulation is not versatile in any type of commodity economy, and it is subject to even more limitations in the socialist commodity economy.

The socialist commodity economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership, where the whole national economy is directed at a definite goal of strategic development. China's strategic goal of economic development at least includes the following aspects: 1) To achieve continuous, steady, and moderate growth--the country's gross industrial and agricultural output value is to be quadrupled from 1981 to 2000, in other words, it is to increase by an average of 7.2 percent every year. 2) To ensure the constant improvement of economic results on the basis of modernization of science, technology, and management. 3) To improve the people's livelihood step by step while constantly raising the labor productivity and then attain a well-to-do living standard by the turn of the century. 4) To keep commodity prices basically stable. It is quite obvious that this macroscopic strategic goal can never be accomplished through spontaneous market regulation but through plan regulation and the conscientious efforts of socialist joint laborers.

Then, can we imagine that market regulation and plan regulation will share out the work, exercising the functions of macroscopic and microscopic regulation of the socialist commodity economy respectively? This is also impossible.

Macroscopic and microscopic regulations, as two functions at two different levels of the planned administration of the socialist commodity economy, are different from each other on the one hand but also linked together on the other. When enterprises' microscopic activities are wholly subject to market regulation, a planned proportionate development of the national economy as a whole is impossible. To ensure a planned proportionate development of the national economy as a whole, plan regulation in a socialist country must not only keep macroscopic economic activities under control but must also play a part in microscopic economic activities.

In my opinion, plan regulation exerts control over the operation of the socialist commodity economy mainly at the following three levels: The first level is macroeconomic equilibrium, including the static equilibrium between aggregate supply and aggregate demand, and the dynamic equilibrium between, and the harmonious development of these two major sectors which guarantee a certain growth rate and are in keeping with the ratio between accumulation and consumption. This target is to be fulfilled through plan regulation rather than market regulation. The second level is the structural balance between different sectors of the national economy, including a readjustment of the sectoral structure that is needed to achieve such a balance. For example, in order to fulfill our country's strategic goal in the new historical period, we need to give priority to the development of some key sectors, such as agriculture, energy, communications, education, and science. Targets at this level may be affected by market regulation. In the main, however, they should be fulfilled by the means of plan regulation, including planned direct investments by the state; the use of such economic levers as pricing, interest rates, tax rates, subsidies for foreign trade, and so on; as well as the conscientious utilization of the guidance function of the market mechanism. The third level is the microscopic supply-demand equilibrium of individual products. Theoretically speaking targets at this level basically can be fulfilled through enterprises' self-operation under the control by market

regulation. However, even at this level, the state does not wash its hands of the business but plays a role by exercising plan regulation. The state should, by the means of mandatory plans or guiding plans, exert control over the prices of a few key products having an important bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood, as well as over the investment in and technological transformation of a small number of large-sized enterprises which are playing a key role in the national economy as a whole. Besides, it is definitely necessary for the state to exercise plan regulation by administrative means or by using various economic levers, in case the production and supply of certain means of subsistence and primary raw materials becomes abnormal.

In studying the regulatory mechanism of China's socialist commodity economy, we must never forget an important objective reality, namely, China is a developing socialist country. This objective reality shows that as compared with economically developed countries, China lags far behind in science and technology, and the tremendous gap can only be narrowed and eliminated through socialist modernization for several decades. To catch up with developed countries in science and technology as soon as possible, we must rely on plan regulation rather than practice a laissez-faire policy. China should study in a planned way basic, applied, and management sciences, and develop, introduce, and popularize new technology, equipment, and materials-- these programs just cannot be completely subject to market regulation.

While the macroscopic administration of the socialist commodity economy must be subject to plan regulation, the microscopic activities of enterprises should not be put completely under market regulation but be subject to a varying degree of direct or indirect control by the state plan in the form of mandatory plans, guiding plans, and market regulation. As conditions become ripe, the role of the mandatory plan will gradually weaken and that of the guiding plan and market regulation will gradually expand.

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A SCIENTIFIC APPROACH IS NECESSARY TO ELIMINATE THE PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF FEUDALISM

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[Article by Shi Youxin [2457 0645 2946]]

[Text] Eliminating the pernicious influence of feudalism and resisting the corrosive influence of the decadent feudal ideology are important tasks in carrying out socialist material and spiritual civilizations in China. These tasks must be conscientiously fulfilled. What is the correct approach to fulfilling these tasks? In an article entitled "On the Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership" in 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out: In eliminating the pernicious influence of feudalism, "it is necessary to adopt a fact-finding, scientific approach and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to analyze the manifestations of the pernicious influence of feudalism specifically and accurately." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 295) But advocators of bourgeois liberalization, including Fang Lizhi, indiscriminately classed everything in China as a remnant of feudalism and stood for the overall introduction of capitalism. This has brought about confusion in the minds of some people. It is precisely here that the principled difference between their views and ours lies.

We should first and foremost solve the question of how to view and appraise the pernicious influence of feudalism in our country today. As we are aware, an appropriate limit should be observed in analyzing a problem; an analysis that goes beyond an appropriate limit may turn truth into falsehood. This also applies to the analysis of the pernicious influence of feudalism in China. Naturally, the pernicious influence of feudalism has manifested itself in politics, economy, culture, and morality in different degrees. The patriarchal clan system, privilege mentality, autocracy, factionalism, and looking upon females as being inferior to males are all manifestations of the pernicious influence of feudalism. These remnants of feudalism sometimes manifest themselves very seriously in different spheres, different localities, different departments, and different people. It is wrong to underestimate them and overlook the harm they have produced. But as a result of the long period of the democratic and socialist revolutions, the pernicious influence of feudalism no longer occupies a dominant position in China's social life, and it is impossible for it to develop to such an extent that it will change the socialist nature of the country. In our country, Marxism-Leninism-Mao

Zedong Thought has always been the guiding principle and theoretical basis of our cause. It is also the guide to the actions of the people of various nationalities in the country. The socialist economy under ownership by the whole people or under collective ownership always occupies a leading position. In this economy, the system of from each according to his ability and to each according to work is exercised. The people are the masters of the country and enjoy adequate democracy. The new-type relationship of unity, mutual aid, equality, and fraternal love has greatly developed. But, turning a blind eye to these basic facts in our society, advocates of bourgeois liberalization asserted that our society "is in essence a feudal or semi-feudal society," that our country "is a modern feudal country under a dictatorial system characterized by the centralization of state power," and that even Marxism in China has been feudalized. According to what they said, our country is not a socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party but a feudal country under an autocratic rule. People cannot but ask: What is their real intention in "opposing feudalism"?

As the remnants of feudalism still exist, the work of eliminating them should be carried out under socialist conditions. This is not dependent on man's will but is the outcome of historical development. As everyone is aware, China's feudal society lasted over 2,000 years, and feudalism dates back to ancient times. Opposing feudalism was a task that should have been fulfilled by the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois democratic revolution. The 1911 Revolution overthrew the Qing Dynasty, thereby putting an end to the autocratic rule of feudalism that lasted over 2,000 years and enabling the concepts of "democracy" and "republic" to take root in the minds of the people. This was a great victory in the struggle against feudalism. But because the Chinese bourgeoisie lived in an era and conditions different from those in Europe where the European bourgeoisie was in the ascendant, it could not thoroughly fulfill the task of opposing feudalism. This task has therefore fallen to the Chinese proletariat. Since its founding, the CPC has inherited the fine tradition of the May 4th Movement of thoroughly opposing feudalism, regarded opposing feudalism as an important combat task, and carried out a long-term indomitable struggle. The victory in the new democratic revolution put an end to the feudal and semifeudal position of China. The land reform that swept through China on a gigantic scale successfully overthrew the feudal ownership system of land and extricated several hundred million peasants from feudal exploitation and oppression. Moreover, the party also carried out the struggle against feudal despots and reactionary secret societies. It criticized the influence of feudal ideology and made great achievements in this regard. But due to the rapid shift to the socialist revolution, the serious nature of the remnants of feudalism was overlooked and the work of eliminating its pernicious influence was not continued. Such a situation in the development of modern Chinese history determines that the work of eliminating the remnants of feudalism should not be carried out by the bourgeoisie but by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the criticism of feudalism should be conducted by applying the scientific ideological weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Advocators of bourgeois liberalization propagate the overall introduction of the capitalist ideological system in the hope of opposing and eliminating the remnants of feudalism. This is utterly divorced from China's actual conditions and is a type of retrogression in history.

In eliminating the remnants of feudalism, it is necessary to analyze the facts; it will not do to connect every problem with feudalism. It is true that some of the shortcomings in our society have much to do with the remnants of feudalism, but some do not. For example, bureaucracy is a very complicated historical phenomenon that has remained for a long time. Apart from being left over from feudal society, bureaucracy in our present society is closely related to the long-term practice of centralized management and to the lack of implementation of strict administrative laws and personal responsibility in the leading organs of the party, the state, enterprises, and other undertakings. This indicates that we cannot class every problem as a remnant of feudalism, because by doing so we cannot find the key to resolving it. In eliminating the vestiges of feudalism, it is necessary to reform and perfect various systems, apart from strengthening ideological education. In the course of reform, we should carry out meticulous investigation and study and handle different problems in different ways. Confusion will arise if we negate the authority of leaders, discipline, and centralization in the course of criticizing feudal autocracy, if we deny leaders' personal roles in history in the course of overcoming personality cult, and if we advocate egalitarianism in the course of opposing privileges. Therefore, it absolutely will not do to regard problems resulting from the lack of experience and flawed rules and regulations as vestiges of feudalism and subject them to criticism, or to regard proletarian and socialist principles as remnants of feudalism and discard them. Of course, neither should we mistake the pernicious influence of feudalism for something of a socialist and proletarian nature and preserve it.

Eliminating the vestiges of feudalism will certainly involve the question of how to treat Chinese cultural heritage. The Chinese nation has a history of civilization of over 5,000 years. It has created a brilliant culture and left a cultural heritage. Both the essence and dross of this cultural heritage arose in feudal society. Naturally, it bears the imprints of the ideology of that society. But we should not regard this cultural heritage as the vestige of feudalism or a heavy burden on us just because it bears the imprints of the ideology of that society. Regarding this cultural heritage as the vestige of feudalism does not correspond with historical facts, nor can it help people explain the important impact the existence and development of the Chinese culture have produced on the progress of the world. The correct attitude is to inherit it on the basis of a conscientious and dialectical study and analysis, so as to develop the essential and positive part and promote our socialist material and spiritual civilizations. What we should eliminate is the decadent feudal ideology that is hampering the progress of our society. The purpose of advocates of bourgeois liberalization in totally negating our cultural heritage is to introduce "total Westernization" in our country. Therefore, treating a cultural heritage without analysis is harmful and is therefore not to be recommended.

Advocators of bourgeois liberalization only oppose feudalism and not capitalism. They are divorced from the actual conditions of China. In fact, the decadent bourgeois ideology also has deep-rooted influence in our country. Therefore, eliminating the vestiges of feudalism should be combined with opposing decadent bourgeois ideology. The influence of the decadent bourgeois

ideology has existed in our country for a long time. As an ideology, the decadent bourgeois ideology has not disappeared from our social life despite the fact that since the founding of new China it has been subjected to criticism and repudiation on many occasions and that the party has repeatedly reminded the people to resist its influence. Sometimes this ideology is not very prominent, but it immediately runs rampant once a proper climate arises. Following the implementation of the policy of opening up to the world and enlivening the domestic economy, the decadent bourgeois ideology and colonial enslavement mentality in the country are beginning to slip back into their old ways along with the inflow of decadent bourgeois ideology and life style from abroad. This has been proved by a host of facts. It is not strange that the decadent bourgeois ideology or the enslavement mentality generally falls into combination with the vestiges of feudalism. Although feudal and capitalist ideologies arose in different eras on different bases and manifest themselves in different forms, they are the ideologies of the exploiting classes and are basically characterized by egoism. After China entered the contemporary era, feudal and capitalist ideologies began to coexist, and quite frequently their contradictions were alleviated by their unanimity in exploiting and dominating the working people. In the end, they became completely combined. With regard to the corrosive influence the decadent ideologies of the exploiting classes have produced on the people, this is not the result of one ideology but the result of the combined role of feudal ideology, capitalist ideology, and the enslavement mentality. In the meantime, we should also understand that feudalism and capitalism are opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In their combination, capitalism generally constitutes the main factor. This is determined by the nature of the era. This situation explicitly indicates that in the course of carrying out the two civilizations, we should not oppose capitalism without opposing feudalism, nor should we oppose feudalism without opposing capitalism. In eliminating the vestiges of feudalism in particular, we should never relax our efforts to oppose and criticize the decadent bourgeois ideology, the enslavement mentality, anarchism, ultra-individualism, the idea of "putting money above everything else," and the tendency of worshipping capitalism and advocating bourgeois liberalization. As pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, "otherwise, we will find it impossible to carry out socialist construction but will instead be corroded and corrupted by various capitalist influences." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 328) Of course, the vestiges of feudalism, capitalist ideology, and the enslavement mentality affect different localities, different departments, and different people in different degrees. So we should make an analysis of each specific effect they produce instead of introducing a single solution to them.

For cadres and the masses, eliminating the vestiges of feudalism is a process of self-education and self-transformation as well as of adapting their thoughts to the needs of socialist modernization. Insofar as reforms in party and government organs are concerned, eliminating the vestiges of feudalism is aimed at improving and strengthening party leadership; ensuring the democratization of the political activities of the party and the state, the democratization of economic management, and the democratization of the entire social life; and promoting the smooth development of socialist modernization. In a word, the fundamental purpose of eliminating the vestiges of feudalism is

to carry out socialist construction better. Any attempt "to oppose feudalism" in violation of this fundamental purpose will only lead people astray.

When we stress the importance of taking a fact-finding, scientific approach to eliminating the vestiges of feudalism, we do not mean that we should relax our vigilance on the pernicious influence they produce. The purpose of emphasizing this point is to remove all obstacles to the work of eliminating the vestiges of feudalism. The key to eliminating the vestiges of feudalism is to destroy the basis for their settlement and growth. We believe that the pernicious influence of feudalism will be completely and thoroughly eliminated so long as we work hard to develop the planned socialist commodity economy, strive to improve the social productive forces, try to speed up the popularization and development of education, science, and culture, and persist in improving the people's scientific and cultural quality as well as in perfecting the democratic and legal systems.

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## READ TWO BOOKS CONSCIENTIOUSLY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 pp 40-41

[Short commentary]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping's two books: "Build Socialism With Distinctive Chinese Characteristics" (revised and enlarged edition) and "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, Oppose Bourgeois Liberalization--Extracts From Relevant Important Documents Published Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," which were published by the People's Publishing House, have been put on sale recently. They are basic teaching materials for this year's political and theoretical studies for our cadres at various levels and should be studied conscientiously.

The struggle we are carrying out now in order to uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization is an important event concerning the destiny of our party and state and the future of our socialist modernization drive. It is of far-reaching significance. We must not fail to see that some comrades in our cadres' contingent, including some leading cadres and some cadres and party members engaging in ideological and cultural work, such as theoretical work, literature and art work, journalism, and publication, have neglected the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought for a long time and the study of the party's line, policies, and principles. This is an important reason for the weak and confused situation on the ideological front and the spreading of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization some time ago. We must sum up experiences and lessons in this respect. At present, we must first do a good job in organizing this study well so as to arm ourselves ideologically and theoretically.

The book "Build Socialism With Distinctive Chinese Characteristics" collects some important speeches made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping since the 12th CPC National Congress, mainly expounding the important thinking of proceeding from the reality, combining the universal truth of Marxism with China's concrete practice, following our own path, and building socialism with distincting Chinese characteristics. This includes: The main task of socialism is to develop the productive forces; the magnificent goal for China's socialist modernization drive; opening up to the outside world and reform is the only road we should take in building socialist modernization;

in reform, opening up, and invigoration, it is necessary to uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization; strengthen the building of socialist democracy and legal system; strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization; and strive to realize the reunification of the motherland and safeguard world peace. The book "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles, Oppose Bourgeois Liberalization" mainly expounds that upholding the four cardinal principles is the foundation for us in founding and running the state, the political basis for uniting the people throughout the country in building the four modernizations, and the foundation of various internal and external policies; that it is necessary to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, carrying out the education in "four hases" [having lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline], and increase the people's ability in resisting the decadent capitalist and feudalist ideologies and spiritual pollution; that it is necessary to oppose bourgeois liberalization on a clear-cut stand and overcome the status of being weak and confused on the political and ideological fronts; and that it is necessary to carry out realistic ideological struggles on the two fronts against both "leftist" and rightist mistakes wherever they exist. To study these two books conscientiously will be of great significance to unifying the thinking of the whole party and the cadres at various levels, to upholding the four cardinal principles and carrying out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization resolutely, healthily, and protractedly, to continuing and correctly carrying out overall reform, opening up to the outside world, and developing the socialist commodity economy, and to correctly understanding and implementing the line, policies, and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

While studying these two books, it is necessary to adhere to the principle of combining theory with practice. It is necessary to conscientiously study the theories and try our best to understand every important point of the books so as to achieve mastery of the ideological content and essence of the books through comprehensive studies. It is necessary to acquire a good understanding of the important significance of upholding the four cardinal principles by linking our study with the realities on the political and ideological fronts and the realities of our own units, especially with the various expressions of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, and to sum up experiences correctly and raise our consciousness. At present, the party members and cadres on the political and ideological fronts and in cultural departments must lay special stress on solving the problems concerning political principles and political orientation in light of their realities and carry out criticism and discussion of some erroneous viewpoints which have greater influences so as to draw a distinction between right and wrong and to raise their ideological level. While studying the books, it is also necessary to link the study with reform and opening up, correctly understand the internal relations between reform, opening up, and upholding the four cardinal principles, and use the Marxist viewpoints and methods to continuously explore and solve the problems in reform, opening up, and construction, so that we can do a better job in various fields of reform and socialist modernization.

The important documents and articles selected for the two books are the outcome of combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of Chinese revolution and modernization drive. They have enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought while applying them. We must overcome the erroneous trend that separates the study of Marxist-Leninist works and the study of important documents of our party and that sets the two against each other. While studying the two books, we must also study some relevant works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong. In the regular theoretical education in Marxism-Leninism, which is being carried out in various areas for the training of cadres and in all other political and theoretical educations for cadres, it is also necessary to link the education with the study of these two books, and to link the basic viewpoints and important expositions of the two books with the basic principles of Marxism. This will help us deepen our theoretical understanding and draw a clear distinction between right and wrong on fundamental questions and will help us further enhance our ability to explore and solve the basic political, economic, social, and cultural problems in the new period.

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STUDY OUTLINE OF EXPOSITIONS FROM CENTRAL DOCUMENTS ON ADHERING TO THE FOUR  
CARDINAL PRINCIPLES AND OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 pp 41-46

[Article by RED FLAG Theoretical Education Editorial Office; capitalized  
passages published in boldface]

[Text] 3. Seriously Surmount the State of Weakness and Laxity on the  
Ideological Front

Strengthening party leadership on the ideological front and seriously surmounting the state of weakness and laxity on the same front is an important condition for adhering to the four cardinal principles with a clear-cut stand and carrying out the struggle against bourgeois liberalization resolutely, healthily, and protractedly. It is a pressing task for the whole party at present. In studying this subject, we should grasp the following three main points:

- (1) The state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front is an important reason for the spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization;
- (2) Surmounting the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front has been a consistent guiding ideology of the party Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee;
- (3) The ways to surmount the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front.

WHEN STUDYING THE FIRST POINT, IT IS NECESSARY TO CLARIFY THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS: 1) THE MAIN EXPRESSIONS OF WEAKNESS AND LAXITY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT; AND 2) THE HARMFULNESS OF THE STATE OF WEAKNESS AND LAXITY.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, a great deal of work has been done and remarkable achievements have been made on the ideological front in propagating Marxism and the party's line, policies, and principles and in emancipating the mind and putting to right things that have been thrown into disorder. However, there are also some serious defects. The main defect is that we have not actively, boldly, and forcefully propagated

the four cardinal principles, have not carried out forceful struggles against ideas and remarks that run counter to the four cardinal principles, and have been in a state of weakness and laxity in dealing with the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. This can be seen from the following phenomena: On the question of carrying out ideological struggles and taking organizational measures against the erroneous trends and bad people and bad deeds, there have appeared within the party over the past few years the phenomena such as being tolerant, irresolute, hesitant, and softhearted, being afraid of difficulties, and making unprincipled concessions in order to avoid trouble; some party members and party-member leading cadres have adopted an attitude of liberalism toward anti-Marxist ideas, turning a blind eye to them or even holding that they are expressions of the "double-hundred" policy and the lively political situation; for some time, in inner-party life or newspapers and journals, very few people dared to carry out serious ideological struggles against certain viewpoints that are brazenly against party leadership and socialism, and some people, who knew very well that those viewpoints were wrong, were reluctant or dared not make criticisms against those viewpoints for fear that they might offend other people; some people went so far as to "criticize" the solemn revolutionary slogans such as "serve the people wholeheartedly," "the individual is subordinate to the organization," "fear neither hardship nor death," "being selfless," and "utter devotion to others without any thought of self," but such absurd "criticisms" were still not resisted, but were supported by some people in our ranks; some comrades in charge of leadership work have adopted a policy of tolerance and protection toward a small number of people who have taken the lead in advocating bourgeois liberalization, and some main propaganda and mass media positions and the platforms of certain institutions of higher learning have also given the green light to the spreading of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. The question of weakness and laxity on the ideological front is a kind of mental attitude widely existing in our party and a common and major problem in our party over the past few years. Bourgeois liberalization has been spreading unchecked in some areas because the leaders of those areas have not taken a resolute attitude and action against bourgeois liberalization and have not adhered to the four cardinal principles and opposed bourgeois liberalization with a clear-cut stand. It is necessary to have a sufficient understanding of the seriousness of this problem and the imperativeness of solving the problem. Surmounting the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front has become a very important problem that should be solved without delay.

The state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front enabled the erroneous remarks of bourgeois liberalization to spread unchecked for some time, which seriously endangered many aspects of our country's political, economic and social life. First, most of these erroneous views of bourgeois liberalization have been openly published by newspapers and magazines or spread among the masses through public speeches, therefore, they have a vast influence; moreover, since they have been expressed in some indistinct terms that are apparently right but actually wrong under the banners of "emancipating the mind," "reform," and "opening up" and have obscured the demarcation lines between truth and falsehood, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and socialism and capitalism, and since all this has not yet

been clarified, they have brought about great confusion in the people's thinking and are particularly harmful to those people who do not have a high theoretical level and who lack the ability to distinguish right from wrong, especially those young students who lack practical experience. Second, both reform and the socialist modernization drive need a stable political environment and social environment, but the spreading of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization has bred inactivity, laxity, and disunity among the masses, corroded the people's soul and will, encouraged individualism of every description and the ideological trend of doubting or even negating socialism and the party leadership, and brought about a situation of political turbulence and social disorder. This state of confusion "has provided favorable conditions for those who are always looking for a change to stir up trouble." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 324) Although there are many reasons for various negative phenomena, evil trends, and crimes in our society at present and the hostile and antisocialist activities of some people, as well as for the troubles stirred up by a small number of students in several cities at the end of last year, and we cannot attribute all this to the confusion on the ideological front, we still cannot underestimate the influence of the confusion on the ideological front. Third, since there were no necessary and forceful measures to criticize and curb the erroneous views of bourgeois liberalization--on the contrary, some of those erroneous views were protected and encouraged--the spreading of the ideological trend of liberalization became more serious. Some people even made use of the opportunity of the reform of the political structure to advertise their political propositions. They directly demanded abolition of the four cardinal principles and advocated "total Westernization" and practicing the capitalist economic and political systems. From this we can see that the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front is an important reason for the spread of bourgeois liberalization. In October 1983, when criticizing the spiritual pollution on the ideological front, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: We must not underestimate the seriousness of a bit of spiritual pollution. In a short period of time, we may not see how harmful it is, but if we do not pay attention to it and do not adopt resolute measures to stop it and, instead, if we allow it to spread unchecked, more people will be affected and follow the wrong path, and the consequences may be very serious. Judging from the current situation, the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front has a bearing on the correct implementation of the party's line, policies, and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and, in the long term, it is an important question concerning who will be the successors of our cause and concerning the destiny of the party and the state and the future of our socialist cause. It should never be treated casually.

WHEN STUDYING THE SECOND POINT, IT IS NECESSARY TO LAY STRESS ON CLARIFYING THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS: 1) ON THE QUESTION OF SURMOUNTING THE STATE OF WEAKNESS AND LAXITY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT, THE GUIDING IDEOLOGY OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS ALWAYS BEEN DEFINITE SINCE THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE; AND 2) IT IS NECESSARY TO CONSCIENTIOUSLY ABSORB PAST EXPERIENCES AND LESSONS AND CLARIFY THE CONFUSED IDEAS OF THE PAST FEW YEARS ON THIS QUESTION.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, while emphasizing the necessity of adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization, the party Central Committee has also repeatedly put forth the question of paying attention to overcoming weakness and laxity on the ideological front. In March 1979, at the forum on the principles for the party's theoretical work, in view of the ideological trend of doubting and opposing the four cardinal principles, which was spread by a small number of people in our society, Comrade Deng Xiaoping criticized certain comrades in our party for not recognizing the danger of this trend and even directly or indirectly supporting this trend in varying degrees. Later, in his speeches at the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists held in October 1979, at the meeting of cadres called by the CPC Central Committee in January 1980, and at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee held in December 1980, as well as in the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" adopted by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in February 1980 and the decision of the CPC Central Committee on the policy on newspapers, journals, and news broadcasts in January 1981, while affirming the achievements of the ideological front in the preceding years, it was also pointed out clearly that there were serious defects in this work, requiring the propaganda departments to make positive efforts to boldly publicize the four cardinal principles, remain clear-headed in dealing with the ideas and remarks which doubted and distorted the party's line, policies, and principles and opposed and calumniated the four cardinal principles, and make patient and meticulous explanations or even carry out necessary struggles against those ideas and remarks. In the struggle against illegal organizations and publications, we should never be hesitant and vague. In July 1981, when talking with the leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again pointed out clearly: "At present, a problem that we should pay attention to is, in my opinion, the state of weakness and laxity, not being bold at carrying out criticisms against the erroneous trends. In August the same year, the CPC Central Committee Secretariat held a national forum on the question of the ideological front. The forum conscientiously analyzed the reasons for the state of weakness and laxity in the leadership of the ideological front, summed up the historical experiences of our party in carrying out criticism, self-criticism, and struggles in the ideological field, and studied the correct methods and ways to surmount the state of weakness and laxity and to enhance and invigorate party leadership over the ideological front. In October 1983, at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping affirmed the achievements of the forum on the question of the ideological front. At the same time, in view of some new problems in society, he pointed out once again: "A major problem that should be solved first is the rightist trend of being weak and lax." (Deng Xiaoping: "Build Socialism With Distinctive Chinese Characteristics," revised and enlarged edition, p 36) As to some erroneous views challenging Marxism, "the Marxists should come out and speak. Communist Party members on the ideological front, especially those who are responsible for leadership work and who have a greater influence, should stand in the forefront of the struggle." (Ibid., p 34) From all this we can see that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the guiding ideology of the party Central Committee has always been

definite. The relevant expositions of the central documents provide us with a powerful ideological weapon for analyzing and understanding the situation and tasks of the ideological front and for doing the work on the ideological front well.

However, practice shows that the correct guiding ideology of the central authorities on the ideological front has not been forcefully implemented in practical work. Although the central authorities have reiterated the necessity to take resolute measures to surmount the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front, this state continues to exist. Although the trend of bourgeois liberalization was once somewhat restrained after being criticized, it has not yet been completely overcome, and has even become more serious in some aspects. There are profound lessons in this. The main lesson is that some comrades do not understand in an all-round way the party's line, policies, and principles mapped out since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and have not correctly learned from past experiences and lessons. For example, our main mistake in the past was conducting overdramatic struggles. We should learn from this lesson. However, some comrades have thus gone to another extreme and are reluctant or dare not carry out criticisms against erroneous trends, fearing that they might commit the "leftist" mistakes again. Some comrades have set carrying out criticism against adhering to the "double-hundred" policy, fearing that carrying out correct criticism against the erroneous trends may endanger the lively situation of stability and unity, the emancipation of mind, and prosperity in the cultural field, which have been achieved since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Some comrades have distorted the content of the "double-hundred" policy, holding that "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" means anyone can write anything in his mind, say anything he wants to say, publicize anything he wants to publicize, and publish anything he wants to publish without taking any principles into consideration, and nobody can criticize or interfere in what he has done. Yet other comrades hold that by emancipating the mind, adhering to reform and opening up, and creating a social environment of daring to make explorations and daring to contend, one can deviate from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, deviate from the successful revolutionary practice of the party and the people over the past decades, deviate from the party's fundamental policies and the fundamental principles of party discipline and state laws on some fundamental and principled political and theoretical questions and can freely spread any of his own viewpoints. The comrades holding the above-mentioned erroneous views certainly find it difficult to adhere to principles, abide by party discipline, and maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee. They certainly cannot have the revolutionary spirit of criticism and self-criticism and carry out resolute struggles against all kinds of erroneous ideas and remarks. On the other hand, in their thinking, some comrades are often one-sided when looking at things. At a time when it is necessary to correct one deviation, they think they can take a laissez-faire attitude toward another deviation. In order to surmount the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front, we must sum up our past experiences and lessons in a correct way and conscientiously overcome confusion in the ideological field.

WHEN STUDYING THE THIRD POINT, IT IS NECESSARY TO LAY STRESS ON CLARIFYING THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS: 1) IT IS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT AND CARRY OUT RECTIFICATION IN THE PRESS CIRCLES, INCLUDING NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS; 2) IT IS NECESSARY TO USE THE MARXIST WEAPON OF CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM IN A CORRECT WAY; 3) IT IS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN EDUCATION IN THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL DISCIPLINE; AND 4) IT IS NECESSARY TO DO A GOOD JOB IN IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK.

The party's newspapers and journals, the state's broadcasting and television services, and other relevant publications are the mouthpiece of the party and the people. They must, under the leadership of the party, unconditionally propagate the line, policies, and principles of the party and the government, the superiority of the socialist system, the correctness of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the strength of the party leadership and the unity between the party and the masses of people, and the great achievements and bright future of socialist China, and educate the young people of the contemporary era that their most lofty mission and honor is to fight for the bright future of socialist China. We should never allow or tolerate anyone making use of the party's means of propaganda to spread ideas and remarks doubting and calumniating the four cardinal principles. The party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over and improve the work in newspapers and journals, journalism, broadcasting, and television, overhaul and replenish the propaganda contingent, and help them raise their Marxist theoretical level and the quality of work and constantly improve the art of propaganda so as to achieve better results in this respect. It is necessary to make up our minds to stop publication of some newspapers and journals which are following a wrong political orientation and are inferior in quality. Those publications which run counter to the Constitution and laws and take opposing the four cardinal principles as their purpose should be banned according to law. The party organizations in newspapers and journals and other mass media positions must conscientiously carry out education among the party members and cadres in adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization so as to gain a more definite understanding of the guiding ideology and political orientation. At the same time, it is also necessary to consolidate organization. A small number of people who have been advocating bourgeois liberalization for a long time and still refuse to abide by the party's propaganda discipline and to mend their ways despite repeated admonition should be transferred to other posts. It is necessary to further straighten out the ideological and political orientation of newspapers and journals and other mass media positions through consolidation so that the propaganda of Marxism, socialism, and communism, especially the correct viewpoints on all major theoretical and principled questions can really play their leading role on the ideological front and so that our newspapers and journals and other mass media outlets can maintain their powerful fighting capacity and become the ideological center of stability and unity of the whole country.

The main way to solve the problem of confusion on the ideological front is still criticism and self-criticism. An erroneous ideological trend that has a wide influence is different from a minor mistake in a specific field. If it is not criticized and controlled, it will endanger the spiritual health

and stability and unity of the whole society, just like an infectious disease, or will even bring about a great disaster like the "Great Cultural Revolution." Although some Marxist criticisms were carried out in the past against certain erroneous trends in the theoretical and literature and art circles, the results were not satisfactory. First, the criticisms themselves were not significant enough in quality and in weight. Second, there was strong resistance against criticism. Although criticisms were not often made, they were often regarded as "joint attack" and "wielding big sticks." The fact is that those making the criticism were often attacked and those criticized were sympathized with and protected. Since the activities of quite a few party organizations were imperfect, it was very difficult to carry out criticisms and self-criticisms. Instead of taking the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism and fighting against unhealthy trends, some leading cadres tried to evade contradictions everywhere so that they might not offend anybody. This abnormal situation should be thoroughly changed. We must learn from our past lessons and resolutely avoid the "leftist" practices of the past, it is more important to prevent criticizing the right from the "left." However, it is surely wrong if we do not carry out ideological work and criticism and self-criticism. The weapon of criticism should not be discarded. In order to carry out correct criticism, we must have the truth and have correct methods. So long as the criticized are not verified as hostile elements or other incurably bad people, we must help them enthusiastically and, starting from the desire for unity and through criticism and self-criticism, strive to unite with them on a new basis. The erring comrades will be welcomed if they have recognized and corrected their mistakes through conscientious self-criticism.

In order to surmount the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front, it is necessary to strictly enforce party discipline and greatly strengthen the party's organizational discipline. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "If a party allowed each member to speak and act freely according to his own will, naturally it would have no unity of will and no power to fulfill its tasks." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 235) To surmount the state of weakness and laxity on the ideological front, it is necessary to particularly emphasize the principles of the individual being subordinate to the organization, the minority being subordinate to the majority, the lower level being subordinate to the higher level, and the entire membership being subordinate to the Central Committee. It is necessary to implement these principles strictly. If a party member has complaints about the party's decision, he may reserve his opinions and air his views to the central authorities directly or through local organizations. The party organizations at all levels should take these opinions into serious consideration. However, once a decision is made by the central authorities, all party members must obey it and speak in accordance with the decision until it is changed. They are not allowed to spread the ideas of doubting, complaining about, and opposing the line, policies, and principles of the CPC Central Committee. The party's newspapers and journals must unconditionally publicize the party's propositions. All Communist Party members, no matter if they are specialists, scholars, writers, or artists, must strengthen their party spirit and abide by the party Constitution and discipline. They are not allowed to regard themselves as special people having a higher political level

than the party and to go their own ways. It is more important for the Communist Party members working in the press circles to raise their political consciousness and hold fast to their positions. Nobody is allowed to boycott the leadership of the central authorities under any pretext. All party members must maintain unanimity with the party Central Committee on political affairs. If anyone seriously violates this principle, the party organizations and discipline inspection committees at various levels must resolutely discipline him.

Apart from implementing policies and principles and making decisions on the use of major cadres, the party's leading organs at various levels must also concentrate their time and efforts on ideological and political work, on work concerning people, and on mass work. They must conscientiously study the question of how to blaze a new trail in ideological and political work after shifting the focus of work to economic construction so that it suits the new conditions, and must prevent the trend of neglecting ideological and political work while immersing themselves in economic work. The party committees at all levels, especially the main responsible comrades of the party committees, must pay close attention to and carry out profound study of the situation and problems on the ideological front and help the broad masses of party members through timely, painstaking, and thoroughgoing ideological and political work to correctly sum up the historical experiences of our party's work since the founding of the state, correctly understand the superiority of the socialist system and the great achievements we have made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, deepen their understanding of our national situation and the realities of our reform and construction, and implement the party's line, policies, and principles in an all-round way. They must help the masses of people solve various problems in their understanding that have emerged in the course of reform and construction and guide them to contribute their shares to the magnificent cause of rejuvenating China. They must educate the comrades in our party to foster the spirit of being selfless, taking the interests of the whole into consideration, hard-working, and being honest in performing their duties, and to foster the communist ideas and morality. They must mobilize and educate the people of all nationalities throughout the country on the basis of the common ideal to strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization and must cultivate them as socialist citizens who have lofty ideals, morality, cultural knowledge, and sense of discipline who are needed by the socialist modernization drive. At present, the main task of our ideological and political work is to adhere to the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization. It is necessary to organize the cadres and masses to study relevant documents and criticize the erroneous viewpoints of bourgeois liberalization so as to draw a clear line of demarcation between right and wrong on some fundamental political principles and political orientation, and so as to raise their consciousness. In a word, it is necessary to take the education in socialist and communist ideas and the propaganda of the four cardinal principles as the central task of ideological and political work and oppose the trend of relaxing ideological and political work and weakening the role and authority of the ideological and political work departments for various excuses. Provided we conscientiously surmount the state of weakness and laxity on the

ideological front, uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization on a clear-cut stand, and effectively improve our work in various fields, we will surely be able to further increase the Marxist level of the whole party, forcefully promote the work of strengthening the party ideologically, improving the party's work style, and building spiritual civilization in our society, and ensure the smooth progress of reform and the socialist modernization drive.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 p 46

[Text] Thoughts From an Article

Comrade Editor:

The article "Develop Agriculture Intensively by Depending on Science and Technology" carried in RED FLAG issue No 4 of 1987 touched on a very important question: What road should agricultural development take?

Strictly speaking, our country is still an agricultural country. Of a population of 1 billion people, 800 million are peasants. The grain problem is still an important one. To import a little grain causes no harm, but it would not be realistic to depend entirely on grain import. On the issue of developing agriculture, we cannot be careless. First of all the development of agriculture depends on policy and then on science. This is an entirely correct national policy. It should be said that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the high-speed growth rate of the output volume of agricultural products has mainly been due to the correctness of the policy. It has aroused the peasant's enthusiasm and at the same time has greatly increased the input of materials and energy into agriculture. After all, agricultural development in our country is restricted by the insufficiency in per capita resources. Also, the average utilization rate of chemical fertilizers is low. Water for agricultural use is in short supply while there are problems in the supply of crude oil and electric power to agriculture. Hence, to increase agricultural production and to reduce the consumption rate of materials, the only way out is to rely on science and technology to improve the utilization rate of the input materials.

However, in certain regions and among certain comrades, dependence on science and technology has not yet attracted sufficient attention. According to reports, in Qinyang County, Henan Province, formerly there were 175 village-level scientific research units but now only 32 remain and of the latter some exist only in name. Very likely this is not an isolated phenomenon. In my opinion, RED FLAG can still do some work in this regard and especially sum up and introduce the good experiences of certain regions. This will be highly

beneficial to promoting agricultural development and realizing the modernization of agriculture.

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## LEI FENG'S SPIRIT IS ETERNAL

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 p 47

[Article by Zhang Yusheng [1728 7183 3932]]

[Text] Fang Lizhi was disgusted with the spirit of Lei Feng. In saying that Lei Feng was a typical example of "the theory of docile tools," he set such exemplary figures as Lei Feng against the reformers, entrepreneurs, inventors, and scientists needed for the contemporary era. He incited young people to use the so-called concepts of "independent consciousness" and "independent value" to resist the spirit of Lei Feng. Is he being responsible to the young people or leading them astray? It is not necessary to say more.

I really admire the party organization of Shanghai's No 5 iron and steel plant. When some people repeatedly tried to negate the spirit of Lei Feng last year, the plant's party organization held a debate among young workers on whether the spirit of Lei Feng still conforms to the spirit of the times. Recently, I looked through the newspapers which published their debate and realized that their understanding of the relationship between the spirit of Lei Feng and the spirit of the times was profound and significant.

Perhaps, since so much time has elapsed, young people nowadays are unfamiliar with the era which created Lei Feng and do not have a profound understanding of the spirit of Lei Feng. In addition, some people have intentionally set the spirit of Lei Feng against the spirit required for building the four modernizations. As a result, some young people are ideologically confused. In connection with reality, Shanghai's No 5 iron and steel plant resolved this question. Hu Dongjun, a forklift operator at the plant, collected scrap steel for the plant over the past 20 years. He collected some 600 tons of scrap steel valued at more than 100,000 yuan over the past 10 years. However, some comrades were against recommending him as an advanced worker because the scrap iron he collected over the past 20 years was not as worthwhile as the quality steel turned out by others. They said it would be better to do something to increase efficiency rather than be engrossed in doing good deeds. That Hu Dongjun, a person like Lei Feng, would have been a pacesetter of the 1950's, but what we actually need in the 1980's is knowledge and efficiency. It is not difficult to correct the deviations in such understanding if we consider the question as it stands. For example, it is certainly good to turn out quality steel, but can we say that collecting

scrap steel valued at over 100,000 yuan is not good? After all, it would be better to immerse oneself in doing good deeds for the plant and others than to appropriate the plant's property and seek private gain at public expense. Of course Hu Dongjun deserves the title of an exemplary element.

The intelligence of Shanghai's No 5 iron and steel plant does not lie in dealing with the question as it stands. The plant drew the following spirit from the ordinary deeds of Hu Dongjun: The spirit of doing solid work, making sacrifice, and rendering service. Herein lies the spirit of Lei Feng. Obviously, this spirit is not outdated or unnecessary in the 1980's. Instead, it should be carried forward. Is it possible to build a career and become reformers, entrepreneurs, inventors, and scientists of the times without the spirit of doing solid work, making sacrifice, and rendering service? Is it possible to do solid work, make sacrifice, and render service without the "independent consciousness" of dedication to the socialist cause? No, certainly not. The spirit of Lei Feng is identical with the spirit of the 1980's. The spirit of Lei Feng and the exemplary figures like him is spiritually interlinked with the energetic people of the times. If we judge a matter superficially rather than in essence, we will see only the skin but not the flesh. It is very important to foster the spirit of doing solid work, making sacrifice, and rendering service among the young people of this generation. So long as we affirm this spirit, the images of Lei Feng and similar exemplary elements should be regarded as eternal examples. The banner of Lei Feng, signifying the spirit of communism, should always flutter in the hearts of youths and all people. The debate at Shanghai's No 5 iron and steel plant has played a fine role in improving the workers' ideological and moral quality and effecting a favorable turn in the general mood of the plant. This shows that the spirit of Lei Feng is eternal.

A comparison between the two indicates who is really concerned with the young people: the party organization of Shanghai's No 5 iron and steel plant or those who indulge in bourgeois liberalization. Party organizations at all levels should hold more debates like this one, which is linked with practice and correctly guides the young people. If they have neglected this aspect in the past, they should earnestly realize its importance in the future.

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HIS MONUMENT RISES TO OUTER SPACE--READING THE REPORT 'SECRET COURSE OF THE FATHER OF 'TWO BOMBS''

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 p 48

[Article by Yang Rupeng [2799 1172 7720]]

[Text] In our country's successful scientific research, Deng Jiaxian is the founding father of the "two bombs" (the atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb), but for a long time his name was known by few people. The author of the report "Secret Course of the Father of the 'Two Bombs'" selected several model and significant episodes of the principal character's secret course of 28 years and, placing the character in a specially selected, ever-changing and vast historical background, placed emphasis on describing his peculiar circumstances and high moral character. The poetic style of the writing, the warm contrasting of events, and the manipulation of a method of description which interlocks time and space have all combined to add to the appealing strength of the narrative on the person and events. This is a song of eulogy to an unknown hero, and the glamor of Deng Jiaxian's spirit is the principal melody of this song of eulogy.

In the early spring of 1958, a special task, that of making China's first atomic bomb, historically fell on the shoulders of Deng Jiaxian. From then on he was not to make his name known to the outside, write books or set forth his views, or make public lectures, or, all the more, go abroad for scientific exchanges. He was, for the sake of performing this task, to devote his whole energy and silently offer his entire life to the task. As a returned PhD from the United States, he could very well have chosen a career that other people would envy. However, the fatherland's prestige is above all and the fatherland's interests are also above all. From his very heart, he made an oath as follows: "We are willing to be unknown heroes throughout our lives. We wish to suffer and bear risks but our work can raise our country's prestige and increase our country's military power. For us to offer our lives to this enterprise is entirely worthwhile." In his secret course, he had no easy paths to follow or flowery circumstances in which to live, only the hardships and unimaginable difficulties of the people. There was no foreign aid, and technological materials were lacking, while theoretical difficulties and technological obstructions came tumbling on one after another. Calculations of extremely complex problems had to depend on simple and hand-operated calculators or the abacus. It was under such conditions

that China's first atomic bomb was exploded. At the time of the surge of the evil waves of the "Great Cultural Revolution," he firmly believed in the strength of the party and of the people, swept aside the interferences of the evil forces, forebore the grievances against his person and family, and with a dauntless spirit reshaped the cracked forces in national defense. In June 1967 (only 2 years and 7 months after the explosion of the first atomic bomb) he exploded the first hydrogen bomb. All this work and strain had caused his fatal illness, but even while cancer was destroying his physical body, he still persevered and, despite great bodily pain, insisted on proceeding 600 meters underground to carry out a vertical shaft observation and test. When nearing the end of his life, he frequently refused expensive medicines or analgesic doses in an effort to remain clearheaded to speedily write up a recommendation to the party Central Committee. Deng Jiaxian's epic started from his following the secret course and reached the high tide of the heroic melody of sacrificing his life for the country.

He is a hero and at the same time an ordinary person. He has his own interests, likes, and pleasures. For the sake of the interests of the fatherland and the people, he sacrificed everything. He had a fascination for Beijing Drama, but only for very brief moments after having gone through tense battles in experimentation could he find time to go to Beijing to wait for a ticket to the theater. He loved his own wife and children but the love which he owed his wife, children, and family he wholly bestowed on the fatherland. He was married for 30 years, but altogether was able to spend only 3 years together with his whole family. People will not forget this spectacle: After having solved the difficult problem of the atomic bomb, he returned home in the middle of the night only "to find his two children asleep and sprawled on the floor, his 4-year-old son reclining by the side of his 6-year-old sister. Only then did he recall that his wife was on night duty and that the children had not had their supper yet. Remorsefully he picked up his two children, kissed the small faces that had already reddened by the cold, and muttered: 'Children! Do forgive your father!...We have succeeded.'"

Deng Jiaxian's secret course was the course of climbing the scientific and technological crest in national defense with great wisdom and valor and was also a course of consciously transforming the subjective world and climbing the pinnacle of ideas and virtue. In this course, his talents and creative power were fully displayed and his human value was realized in the best possible way. The mushroom cloud which rocketed to the sky and made the peoples of the world reevaluate our people's strength, as seen from certain angles, is an enormous monument to Deng Jiaxian. This monument, while rocketing to the sky, is also always present in people's hearts.

In Deng Jiaxian, the most valuable revolutionary spirit was centralized, just and unselfish, single-heartedly devoted, diligent and creative, fighting hard struggles, tempered through severe trials, and always rising to the occasion. Our four modernizations need hundreds and thousands of such unknown heroes, and need to highly commend and play up this spirit of the times of always striving upward. Such people deserve more respect and love from the party and the people. As for those people who worry about personal gains and losses and are always calculating, those "self-designing"

people interested in individualism, and those people who are always grumbling, pessimistic, and losing faith, their souls can surely be purified before the heroic face of Deng Jiaxian.

The literary part of the report still has certain drawbacks. In my opinion, it did not sufficiently describe the principal character's inner activities and sentiments. There was too much written about events. If more details and more sideline and penetrating descriptions about Deng Jiaxian's character had been provided, the literary appeal of the production could have been even more powerful.

(Authors of the report: Wu Xiankui [0702 7359 1145] and Meng Yung [1322 0516]; article carried in MINGYA magazine, Issue 12, 1986.)

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ACHIEVEMENTS IN CONSTRUCTION THAT CATCH THE WORLD'S EYES--A REVIEW OF 'MODERN CHINA'S 100 CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 7, 1 Apr 87 inside back cover

[Book review by Xu Guoxi [1776 0948 0823]]

[Text] Under the leadership of the CPC the Chinese people have seized political power, become masters of the nation, and, following arduous struggles, have achieved enormous success in construction. The book "Modern China's 100 Construction Projects" published by the RED FLAG Publishing House has made use of the vivid facts and a smooth writing style to present magnificent pictures of China's construction projects since the founding of the PRC, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, proving the great truth that only socialism can invigorate China.

The book on China's 100 construction projects is a historical and factual report describing in a relatively comprehensive manner the illustrious accomplishments in our country's economic construction and reflecting the general outlook of construction in certain principal departments of our country's national economy. It comprises over 100 backbone construction projects in various sectors including the electric power industry; the coal industry; the petroleum industry; transportation and telecommunications; the metallurgy industry; the chemical industry; the construction materials industry; the machine-building and electronics industries; light industry; the textile industry; agricultural construction; construction of educational, cultural, public health, and sports enterprises and of urban public facilities, tourism facilities, and so forth. It tells people specifically: In our country "we have established an independent and relatively integrated industrial structure and national economic structure and have achieved enormous results which had been impossible for old China to obtain." This is an effective refutation of the allegations spread by a small group of supporters of capitalist liberalism who willfully negate the accomplishments of socialist construction in our country and state that over the past 30 years all we have had were "failures," and so forth.

One of the special features of this book is the faithful presentation of the tortuous course of the construction of the various enterprises and departments. For example, in touching on the world-famous construction projects

such as the 14 hydropower stations and fuel power stations including the pivotal Gazhouba water conservancy works; the seven coal mines in Datong and other places; the six large oil fields such as Daqing and Shengli; the Chengdu-Kunming, Xiangyang-Zhongqing, Beijing-Qinhuangdao, and Qinghai-Tibet railways; the highways; the Chang Jiang Bridge in Nanjing; the ports of Shanghai and Qinhuangdao; the Shoudu telecommunication facilities and airport; the Anshan Steel Works; the Jilin Chemical Industrial Corporation; the Dalian shipbuilding yard; the No 1 and No 2 motor vehicle manufacturing plants; the Shanxi General Kinescope Plant; and so forth, it separately relates our various people's creative spirit of self-regeneration, their striving for advancement, sense of unity, and waging hard and difficult struggles. Its pages are full of their heroic deeds, which are vivid and appealing, and depicts the magnificent scenes of the socialist modernization of our country. Undoubtedly, they will stir up the people's patriotic feelings and strengthen their confidence in taking the socialist road.

The book contains rich and accurate materials. It not only narrates the course and accomplishment of construction of the various projects but also uses a large amount of facts to serve as the basis for reflecting glorious pictures of the ever-changing scenes in our country's construction. On each and every department, industry or trade, there is a summary of the conditions and figures relative to its construction. This enables people to gain an understanding of the construction outline of the whole department. On each and every enterprise and business project it describes the condition of the construction and provides related figures, including the investment amount of the project (or mine), the value of its fixed assets such as plant building, machinery and equipment, amount of circulating funds, its product variety, nature, volume, quality, output value, and so forth. In addition, comparative figures are given on the unit's historical and current, vertical and lateral conditions. The book may be called a valuable reference work for use by researchers on economic theories and for workers themselves.

The manuscript writers are mostly comrades of the localities wherein the projects are located. Some of the comrades were actually on the scene themselves tasting both the bitter and pleasant experiences in the construction process, and knew perfectly well the actual conditions. Finally, the language of the manuscript is simple in style, presents the facts clearly, and attracts the readers.

Some of the book's drawbacks are that some important and backbone projects have not been included while the narration on certain individual construction projects is too brief. However, generally speaking, it is a good volume which makes a relatively comprehensive reflection of the glorious fruits in our country's socialist modernization program.

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