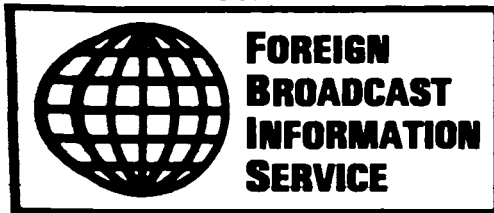


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***RED FLAG***

No 8, 16 APRIL 1987



10 JULY 1987

CHINA

RED FLAG

No 8, 16 APRIL 1987

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

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## STRENGTHENING THE BUILDING OF THE MARXIST THEORETICAL CONTINGENT

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] Building a large Marxist theoretical contingent is a long-term strategic task. This is because during the process of implementing and enforcing the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, upholding the four cardinal principles and the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world, opposing bourgeois liberalization, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we need a number of comrades who have systematically rather than fragmentedly, overall rather than one-sidedly, and realistically rather than empty learned the basic theories of Marxism in order truly to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to analyze new situations and resolve new problems. With such a Marxist theoretical contingent, we can greatly strengthen the fighting power of our party; strengthen the principled stand, systematicness, foresight, and creativeness of the work of all fronts; and quicken the building of socialist modernization in our country.

Judged by the present situation in the ideological and theoretical circles, it is also rather urgent to strengthen the building of the theoretical contingent. The wild spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization not long ago also exposed the weakness of our theoretical work. Because the ideological and theoretical circles failed to form a unified fighting force over the last few years, they were weak in the face of the spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and unable to effectively analyze and refute the wrong viewpoints negating the four cardinal principles and the bourgeois world, historical, political, and literary outlooks as well as the decadent outlook on life, values, morality, and so on which are theoretically based on it and failed to fully explain theoretically the two basic points and their mutual relations of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and convincingly elaborate on and give answers to some of the important issues arising in reform and construction. Therefore, we could not effectively reduce the market for the viewpoints of bourgeois liberalization. We must strive to change the situation in which theoretical work does not tally with the practice of reform and construction.

To accomplish the fundamental tasks for theoretical work, our theoretical workers should, first, understand and firmly believe in Marxism; and second, uphold the principle of integrating theory with practice and never lose contact with the reality in China. A theoretical worker must possess the fundamental stand and basic condition of firmly believing that Marxism can guide the great practice of the Chinese reform and construction and of knowing the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as well as its stands, viewpoints, and methods to judge and handle issues. Only with this condition can we have the ability to theoretically differentiate right from wrong and maintain the correct direction in the face of erroneous ideological trends. Therefore, we can have sufficient theoretical courage to meet the challenge of various incorrect viewpoints and the correct theory to guide us to study the various new issues in reform and construction. As theory is the guide for action, theoretical workers must integrate theory with reality. Since we are going to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, what exactly are the contents and characteristics of this kind of socialism? These are the important realistic issues to be studied. Another special noteworthy issue is that our country is still in the junior stage of socialism. This shows that as socialism is the only road of development in keeping with the actual conditions of our country, we should not engage in capitalism. Because our country is still in the junior stage of socialism, we are, first of all, confronted with the task of eliminating poverty. We should not ignore this most important national condition, put forth excessive demands, and impatiently seek quick success. Clearly expounding on this issue in theory will play an important guiding role in bringing into play the strong points of socialism, formulating the correct plans for reform and drafting the correct economic development strategies, and avoiding rightist or "leftist" deviations.

How to form and strengthen the Marxist theoretical contingent? Most important, we should constantly discover and cultivate it in practice and struggle. The practice of the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization and the socialist modernization construction is an extremely good opportunity to strengthen the building of the Marxist theoretical contingent. All comrades of the ideological and theoretical circles should stand the test in this struggle and practice. We should constantly discover and train comrades who resolutely uphold the four cardinal principles and are enthusiastic about the reform and opening up to the outside world. We should regard them as the backbone to unite most of the theoretical workers to make them improve their Marxist accomplishments in the process of integrating theory with practice and gradually strengthen the Marxist theoretical contingent.

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CSO: 4005/657

STRENGTHEN EDUCATION IN PARTY SPIRIT, DEFEND THE PARTY'S POLITICAL DISCIPLINE

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 3-5

[Article by Wang Heshou [3769 7729 1108]]

[Text] 1. It Is Necessary To Attach Importance to Education in Party Spirit and Examination and Supervision Work

Over the past 8 years or so, the party's discipline inspection committees at all levels have done a great deal of work to defend party discipline and rectify party style, such as redressing unjust, false, and wrong cases mishandled in the past and during the "Great Cultural Revolution," weeding out [qing li 3237 3810] "people of three categories," and restoring normal inner-party life. Since implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, in light of the situation in which large numbers of economic criminal activities have appeared, they have been entrusted by the party Central Committee and the State Council to shoulder the task of cracking down on serious criminal activities in the economic field. A large number of major and serious economic crime cases have been handled. Some party members who have committed mistakes have been punished within the party, and some have been dealt with by the judiciary departments according to law. At the same time, they have concentrated their strength on checking one unhealthy tendency after another, which exist widely in our society. Great achievements have been made in all these fields of work.

While reviewing our work in the past, we must affirm our achievements and also learn the existing problems. To use a common expression, our problem is that we have only done half of the work on two occasions. First, we have handled cases of violating law and discipline, but we have not made use of the cases to carry out education in party spirit. Thus, we have only done the first half of the work and have not finished the second. Second, we have only grasped some concrete cases of violating discipline, such as taking advantage of one's power to seek private gains, taking bribes and committing corruption, eating and drinking extravagantly, and the unhealthy tendencies in the work of "three recruits and two changes," which is certainly necessary, but we have not grasped well or have not attached due importance to the work of examining and supervising the implementation of the party's line, policies, principles, and resolutions and various tendencies (both positive factors and negative tendencies) concerning party spirit and party discipline. Regarding

some common mistakes and erroneous styles of thinking existing in our party, such as individualism, bureaucratism, liberalism, not taking the whole situation into consideration, seeking good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle, being too particular about personal gains and losses, and the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, the discipline inspection committees should point them out as soon as they appear so that the whole party can be on the alert against them. The purpose of taking disciplinary measures against a party member is to educate him and the people around. It is also necessary to make use of typical cases to educate the whole party. We must give wide publicity to the positive factors and advanced people and deeds of our party; likewise, we must severely criticize all bad tendencies through editorials, articles, and circulars. At present, it seems that rectifying the erroneous style of thinking of party members is a more important work. It has a greater influence on party style and party discipline.

Is the Discipline Inspection Commission "overstepping its authority" if it also grasps education in party spirit, or is it "hitting the ball over the net"? In our party, all departments, including the Organizational Department, Propaganda Department, and Discipline Inspection Commission, should grasp education in party spirit and oppose all erroneous ideological trends. There should not be a net between departments that should grasp this education and those that should not. If education in party spirit is neglected, our discipline inspection departments are just doing half of their work. The discipline inspection committee is not an organization merely to handle cases; it is also an important ideological and political work department of our party.

## 2. Political Discipline Is the Most Important Discipline of Our Party

As stipulated by the party Constitution, the Discipline Inspection Commission has three main tasks: 1) To defend the party Constitution and other important rules and regulations; 2) to assist party committees in rectifying party style; and 3) to examine the implementation of the party's line, policies, principles, and resolutions. The general program of the party Constitution emphasizes that it is important to maintain a high degree of ideological and political unity and to adhere to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to the leadership of the party, and to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Violating these principles means violating the party's political discipline. Adopting a pragmatist attitude toward the party's line, policies, principles, and resolutions, that is, only implementing those that suit our taste and resisting or resisting in a disguised form those that do not, is violation of the party's organizational discipline, but in essence, it is also violation of the party's political discipline. In assisting party committees to rectify party style, there are also many problems concerning political discipline. Political discipline is a major and fundamental question in rectifying party style and in party building.

At present, in order to defend the party's political discipline, it is first necessary to definitely and resolutely oppose bourgeois liberalization. The main expression of bourgeois liberalization is opposing the four cardinal



principles and advocating the capitalist road. If we allow the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization to spread unchecked, political mistakes will be committed in the political, economic, and cultural fields. All ugly things of society, such as people cheating one another, being bent solely on profit, looking for money everywhere, and engaging in speculation and profiteering, will be seen everywhere, which will lead to polarization and capitalism. In the ideological and cultural fields, there will be more spiritual pollution, and some decadent ideologies, theories, and literature and art will corrode the soul of people. Therefore, the most fundamental task of party building is to unify our thinking on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles. Anyone who opposes the four cardinal principles is violating the party's political discipline, which is the most important discipline of our party.

### 3. To Defend Political Discipline It Is Necessary To Grasp Education in Party Spirit

Just as violating other disciplines, the fundamental reason for violating the party's political discipline is impurity in party spirit. There are two aspects of party spirit: 1) the communist ideals, that is, fighting all one's life for the communist cause; and 2) lofty moral character and work style. In the years of war, it was dangerous to fight for the party's cause and one should not have feared being killed. Now, our party is the party in power. Most party members need to go through the test of life and death under normal conditions. However, all party members face the test of making a clear distinction between public and private interests and they must make their choice. To pass this test successfully, one should not place one's personal interests first but should work hard for the party's cause. There are actually some people in our party who cannot pass this test. They ignore party discipline, look for money everywhere, forget their commitments and friends at the sight of profits, are fond of organizing small factions and playing politics, and get up to little tricks. They are sure to commit mistakes and suffer setbacks however great their abilities and skills.

How do Communist Party members strengthen their party spirit? They can strengthen it through education in party spirit. The second half of the work mentioned above refers to this education. Of course, education cannot solve all problems. It is also necessary to establish necessary regulations and systems and enforce party discipline. Nevertheless, education in party spirit is a very important and effective measure to ensure the ideological unity of our party and to prevent corruption and violation of discipline. Firmly grasping political discipline and opposing bourgeois liberalization are more important forms of education in party spirit. This is also a realistic work to ensure smooth progress of the reform of the economic and political structures.

During the education in party spirit, some comrades said that there are contradictions between the current policies and the principle of party spirit. This is a one-sided view. The current policies of the party Central Committee are correct. Of course, there are also some policies for exploration and experimentation that have to be proved through practice. Generally speaking,

there are no contradictions between the policies of the party Central Committee and party spirit, because the policies were formulated under the guidance of Marxism for promoting the construction of both socialist material and spiritual civilizations. Moreover, the implementation of the policies must be ensured by party spirit. There are chiefly two reasons for the so-called phenomenon of policies deviating from party spirit. First, the people who implement the policies have run counter to the demands of party spirit and thus distorted the policies in the course of implementation. For example, transferring power to a lower level is an important policy of our party. But some people have been acting recklessly since power was transferred. This is not a mistake of policy, but an expression of impurity in party spirit of party members who have implemented the policy in a wrong way. Second, in some areas and departments, due to one-sidedness and mistakes in understanding, some erroneous concrete policies have been worked out while implementing the line, policies, and principles of the central authorities. This should be corrected in accordance with the spirit of the central policies. Some concrete policies were worked out for exploration and experiment. If they are proved to be correct through practice, they should be carried out continuously, but if they are proved to be wrong, they should be revised in light of the real situation. In short, we should not conclude from this that there are contradictions between the basic policies of the party Central Committee and the principle of party spirit.

#### 4. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's Speech on 30 December 1986 Is an Important Teaching Material for the Current Education in Party Spirit

This important speech of Comrade Deng Xiaoping is not merely aimed at the student demonstrations. It discussed many important theoretical questions, from which we can learn the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method for solving practical problems.

Over the past few years, since we did not take a clear-cut stand and resolute measures to oppose bourgeois liberalization, some people naturally doubted and negated the four cardinal principles. What is bourgeois liberalization? Generally speaking, it means negation of the four cardinal principles. Some people, such as Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, and Liu Binyan, advocated that we should not only introduce advanced technology from the capitalist world but should also introduce their political system and ideology. They negated socialism and the people's democratic dictatorship, saying that our current system is bureaucratic and autocratic. They also negated the leadership of the Communist Party. Liu Binyan said straightforwardly that his reportage was aimed at expounding a "truth," that is, the Communist Party is corrupt. To oppose bourgeois liberalization, it is necessary to conscientiously safeguard the four cardinal principles and primarily, the leadership of the Communist Party. Our party is a condensed strength of the 1 billion people. In our country, without the leadership of the Communist Party, there would not be a core in organizing the construction of socialist modernization. To defend the party's principles, we must resolutely expel from the party those who are fond of advocating bourgeois liberalization and who refuse to mend their ways. We should not be lenient to them. This is a necessary principled stand for ensuring the purity of our party organization and the unity of the party.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that in the previous period, since we were weak on the ideological and theoretical front, we lost our position. In this way he emphasized the importance of ideology and theory. If we are weak on the ideological and theoretical front, this position could be occupied by Wang Ruowang, Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, and the like. In the previous period, some newspapers carried both the party's decisions and the remarks of bourgeois liberalization. This was a serious violation of principle and political discipline, which resulted in ideological confusion.

Without the party's democratic dictatorship, the socialist road cannot be guaranteed. To ensure that the people's democratic dictatorship is carried out, we must not only talk about the means of dictatorship, but must also apply them whenever necessary. "We advocate democracy, but we must not mechanically copy bourgeois democracy and must not practice the system of separation of the three powers." Our democracy is democracy of the broad masses of people, not the false democracy of the bourgeoisie. Socialist democracy is incomparably superior to capitalist democracy. In a bourgeois state, it seems that all people enjoy universal suffrage, but actually, what roles can the ordinary people play? The result of the U.S. presidential election is always the victory of either the Democrats or the Republicans, which is decided by a certain large bourgeois financial group. The financial group can spend hundreds of thousands or even millions of U.S. dollars to help its candidate win the presidential campaign. After the president is elected, Congress will vote for anything that is favorable to that capital group and vote down anything unfavorable to the group. Can this also be called democracy? In the capitalist countries, how can ordinary people enjoy real democracy? Therefore, when we talk about the people's democratic dictatorship and socialist democracy, we must realize that justice is on our side and must be bold and assured.

The main body of socialism is public ownership. "We must allow some areas and some people to become rich before the others, but all this is aimed at achieving common prosperity in the end. Therefore, it is necessary to prevent polarization." "The policy of opening up to the outside world we are now carrying out, the study of foreign technology, and the use of foreign capital are all supplementary measures to socialist construction." Under the guidance of the party's correct policy, using foreign funds should not deviate from the socialist road. In other words, the purpose of using foreign funds is to promote our socialist construction.

In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again reiterated the necessity of opposing spiritual pollution. The main symbol of spiritual pollution is bourgeois liberalization. As far as we remember, not long after we proposed to oppose spiritual pollution, it was no longer mentioned. Instead, it was said that it is impossible to eliminate spiritual pollution and it is not correct to do so. At the same time, some improper measures were taken by some units and areas, such as not allowing female comrades to perm their hair or wear high-heeled shoes. Such mistakes were corrected soon after they were discovered, but some people made use of them to negate our effort to eliminate spiritual pollution. Facts have proved that if we do not oppose

spiritual pollution, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and many erroneous trends will be encouraged.

These are important Marxist theories expounded by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in light of China's realities at present. Provided we conscientiously study this speech and learn to use the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to analyze and solve practical problems, we will surely be able to avoid mistakes in our work. Therefore, studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech is not only theoretical education, but also important education in party spirit.

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CSO: 4005/657

CARRY FORWARD AND FURTHER DEVELOP THE GLORIOUS TRADITIONS OF THE MOTHERLAND'S LITERATURE HISTORY--ANOTHER DISCUSSION WITH COMRADE LIU ZAIFU

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 6-14

[First part of article by Yao Xueyin [1202 7185 0995]; passages within slantlines underlined]

[Text] I. Why Do I Write This Thesis?

My thesis "Practice and Theory of Writing" carried in HONGQI, No 21, 1986 has roused the interest of readers at various tiers, but I cannot help asking HONGQI to provide me more space to express certain views of mine about the history of Chinese literature in discussion with Comrade Liu Zaifu. Why is it necessary to talk about the history of Chinese literature? This is because a new "rising" ideological trend in literature and art emerging in recent years has adopted a historical nihilist attitude toward classical Chinese literature and the revolutionary new literature since the May 4th Movement. Such a nihilist attitude holds that the development of contemporary Chinese literature should be viewed not vertically but horizontally. It means that the tradition of Chinese literature should be held in contempt and negated, while all modern Western schools of literature should be studied with efforts. The spread of this view has led to the emergence of various phenomena in the area of writing and theory of art and literature. These phenomena are witnessed by all; I shall spare the analysis here. All I want to say is that the view negating the tradition of Chinese literature is closely connected, and works in concert with, the so-called theory of "total Westernization" emerging in the social ideological area. This cannot but draw people's particular attention.

How to deal with our national tradition, whether we acknowledge the great contributions to mankind, of the 3,000-year history of Chinese literature with the Han in the main is a cardinal issue of right and wrong, and also a question of whether history is scientifically dealt with. Not only all those Chinese people with some learning will attach importance to this issue, but all descendants of the Chinese nation scattered all over the world will pay great attention to the discussion of this issue at home. Although I am not a Marxist theorist in the area of art and literature, nor a scholar in the field of the history of literature, I still venture to take part in the contention.

Why should my opponent in the contention on this issue again be Comrade Liu Zaifu? I think that I owe the readers a brief explanation. To my knowledge, a number of new theorists "rising" in most recent years, namely the "young scholars" referred to by Comrade Liu Zaifu, have gone even farther than Liu himself. Let us quote a statement by Comrade Liu Zaifu in an interview with reporters for HUASHENG BAO [VOICE OF CHINA]:

"Another vexation of mine is finding myself sandwiched between the criticism of two generations of scholars. Some old scholars have found me going too far, while other, young scholars have found me 'not savory enough' for their taste. As a result, I often come under attack from both sides. Such a generation gap is perhaps characterized by a kind of 'difference in knowledge structures' and 'difference in psychological structures.'" (Haixia Wenyi Publishing House: "Current Polemics on the Major Aspect [zhu ti xing 0031 7555 1840] of Literature," p 387)

Despite this, I have a clear idea that his vexation has nothing in common with that of those "old scholars" adhering to the principle of Marxist theory in recent years. He is often amid warm acclaim, and his speeches are often spread by some domestic and Hong Kong newspapers and journals, aside from the journal under his charge in which he is capable of publishing any of his own articles, in addition to many important papers and journals at home most willing to publish his speeches, while things are quite different from those "old scholars" he referred to. For example, it was very difficult to have Comrade Chen Yong's article "On the Methodology of Art and Literature Science" and my article "Practice and Theory of Writing" published in any newspaper or journal, with the exception of HONGQI. In short, he is somewhat vexed in the prime of his life, but not the least anxious about Marxist theory in the field of art and literature being lashed at by the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. His talk with the HUASHENG BAO reporters in July 1986 alone will serve as evidence:

/Since the publication of Chen Yong's article in HONGQI, I have received many phone calls and letters that extended warm support to me, and some writers and scholars abroad have also written to show their concern for me. I have also read papers and journals sent to me from friends working abroad, and learned of the profound attention shown to my case from people abroad. I am deeply moved. I would like to express my heartfelt thanks through you to all my friends at home and abroad who have shown their concern for me./ ("Current Polemics on the Major Aspect of Literature," p 385. The underline is added by the one who has quoted it in the book.)

Armed with Marxism, the CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and a revolutionary political party leading the Chinese people in socialist construction. Regarding the direction and road of China's socialist literature, the CPC should neither intervene through administrative means nor let things drift and remain indifferent, allowing the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization to flood unchecked. For various reasons, articles of non-Marxist theory in the field of art and literature and works of all descriptions other than the school of realism are free to be carried in many party papers and journals, while the publication of articles spreading

Marxist theory in the area of art and literature and works adhering to revolutionary realism can be very difficult. This is an abnormal phenomenon in recent years. Marxist philosophy, including the theory on art and literature under its guidance, is stamped with its class character and nature of struggle, and it has come into being, grown, developed, and expanded through struggles against various schools of bourgeois and feudal ideologies. If Marxist philosophy is to exist and develop while relaxation and harmony in all areas is sought, then all kinds of antagonistic ideologies would join forces to attack and contend with it for the masses, ground, and leadership. This has always been the case in the 7 decades since the May 4th new literature movement. It is all the more so today as China implements the policy of opening up to the world. We oppose oversimplification of the ideological struggle in the area of art and literature and the solution to disputes in the ideas of art and literature in the form of a political movement. We uphold the contention of a hundred schools of thought within the boundary of the Constitution and believe that mutual contention and adequate debate is the best way to conduct ideological struggle in the area of art and literature and to raise the ideological and theoretical levels of the readers.

Comrade Liu Zaifu and his "new theory" emerged under specific historical conditions with complicated factors of the times, and his influences at home and abroad should not be underestimated. To my mind, regarding complexity and profundity in significance, none of the ideological struggles in the art and literary circles since the May 4th new literature movement could hold a candle to the current one. Under the abnormal condition unprecedented since 1949, a small number of comrades in the Marxist camp are forced to accept the challenge, but some articles in defense of Marxism are not given enough freedom for publication, while the right of freedom is held in the hands of those who are enthusiastic to spread ideological trends of Western bourgeois art and literature of every description. Though with their class nature eliminated, the slogans of "relaxation," "leniency," and "generosity," which some comrades always bear in mind even under the most complicated and ominous conditions, have precisely been made use of by some "theorists" with a strong class character. But "relaxation," "leniency," and "generosity" are inaccessible to Marxists. Regarding the communists in the intellectual circles in China, this cannot but be a severe and cold fact.

In this ideological struggle, some people take advantage of the key positions they have occupied and work in concert with people at home and abroad, thus creating a seemingly strong momentum. Please read the briefing of the HUASHENG BAO reporters:

Starting out from a quiet villa at a height, Liu Zaifu, who hailed from a village inhabited by Overseas Chinese in southern Fujian, has exerted his utmost efforts to blaze new trails in the development of China's theory on art and literature....His name has entered the "Biographical Dictionary of World Celebrities" edited by the World Biographical Center, Cambridge University, London. The Academy of Social Sciences of China made an exception to promote him as research fellow in late April this year. (Ibid., p 389)

To my knowledge, the number of contemporary Chinese celebrities listed in the "Biographical Dictionary of World Celebrities" is by no means a limited few, but they have not been so repeatedly publicized as Liu Zaifu. Regarding this issue, I think it rather simple: The literary reputation and historical place of Chinese writers in the future will be determined chiefly by the Chinese readers, never by some "Biographical Dictionary of World Celebrities" published in London.

Another article that has caught social attention was an interview carried in the Hong Kong monthly JIUSHI NIANDAI [THE NINETIES] that lauded Liu Zaifu to the sky, praising that his theory "has a system of its own" and "he is really a rare talent of the trail-blazing type in the theoretical field." (Ibid., p 409)

In all the publicity regarding Liu Zaifu, I have found some points nondescript; for example, a Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO reporter wrote:

Liu Zaifu is director of the Institute of Literature under the Academy of Social Sciences of China and a CPPCC member, and his name is listed in the "Who's Who in the World." /Both Liu and Qian Zhongshu are probable Nobel Prize candidates as Chinese theorists in the area of literature and art./ (Ibid., p 432. Underline is added by the one who quoted it in the book.)

This wish is really beautiful, to win the laureate of Nobel Prize winner in addition to the lofty honor of being proletarian Marxist theorists in the area of art and literature. Of course, a pipe dream and reality are two kettles of soup, but this also profoundly reflects the spiritual world of Comrade Liu Zaifu and some of his followers.

In passing, I would like to discuss briefly my view and attitude regarding the Nobel Prize. It is my view that the Nobel Prize for Literature is somewhat different from other Nobel Prizes for natural sciences and medicine. All Nobel Prizes for the latter do not involve political tendencies. Certainly, the members on the committee deciding the Nobel Prize for Literature have all along had their own ideological and aesthetic criteria in their appraisal and have attached great importance to the political tendencies of relevant writers and their works. Works entitled to the Nobel Prize for Literature do not necessarily have artistic vitality, while literary works that possess artistic vitality may not win the Nobel Prize. For what purpose should Chinese writers exert their efforts in their work? Should their highest target be not the Chinese people, but the Nobel Prize?

Two of my friends teaching at college told me: Since the publication of Liu Zaifu's article "On the Major Aspect of Literature," some lecturers specialized in Chinese literature have found it difficult to give their lectures in classical literature. In view of such a practical problem, I purposely made a brief analysis of Qu Yuan's "Li Sao" [On Encountering Sorrow] and Wang Wei's "Wangchuan Ji" [Collection of Poems by the Wanggu River] as an example in my previous article in discussion with Comrade Liu Zaifu. To serve readers of different tiers, I am not going to confine this thesis to the issues discussed in the article "On the Major Aspect of Literature," but to deal with



the knowledge of the 3,000-year history of Chinese literature, and the history of culture, and thinking as well. I shall do my best to make it easier for the general readers to understand; by no means shall I follow Liu Zaifu's style, which the general readers have found very difficult to grasp. Through this article, I hope to communicate with readers both at home and abroad who really care for the Chinese culture, as well as those middle-aged and young comrades engaged in the teaching of the history of Chinese literature in college departments of Chinese literature, and also to seek advice from Comrade Liu Zaifu.

## II. Why Should We Attach Importance to the Cultural History of Our Motherland?

I would like to start with Chinese cultural history in discussion with Comrade Liu Zaifu on a few important issues in the history of Chinese literature. The history of literature is an important part of the history of culture. It seems a roundabout way to deal with the history of culture before the history of literature, but this is essential if we are profoundly to understand our problems and provide them with a solution.

China is one of the very few countries with a cultural history of several thousand years. There were some ancient civilized countries in the world, but the development of their culture was interrupted either because of long-term occupation and reign by some comparatively barbarous nations, domination of the medieval Catholic Church, or for some other reasons. But the Chinese culture has had continuity and has continued to develop for about 5,000 years. How should we evaluate the long-standing and glorious Chinese cultural history? In what attitude? This is a question of concern for all Chinese, including the descendants of the Chinese nation scattered in various parts of the world. Is the cultural tradition of China with a history of several thousand years the infinite wealth belonging to our nation or the heavy burden of our nation? Is Chinese traditional culture with all its accomplishments a great contribution to mankind or of no consequence, with no contributions to mankind to speak of? To build contemporary socialist new literature of China, should we inherit and bring forward the Chinese historical tradition, including the revolutionary tradition of the history of new literature? All these are major issues now requiring correct answers.

First, I would like to deal with the relations between the Chinese traditional culture and the survival, expansion, and development of the Chinese nation, and the significance of the Chinese traditional culture in the world today. The Chinese nation is a modern name for it. It is one great family of nationalities composed of scores of minority nationalities aside from the Han. Because of the size of its population and its cultural history, the Han has a particularly important place in the great family of nationalities of the Chinese nation. The name of the Han nationality stemmed from the powerful state of the Western Han Dynasty. It was on this ground that many nationalities in the East with ties to China called the Chinese Hans. In ancient times prior to the Western Han Dynasty, the Chinese called its own nationality Zhu Xia or Hua Xia. Both were derived from the Xia Dynasty, the first dynasty in Chinese history as well as the

first state founded in the Huang He valleys. The direct inheritor of the Xia culture was the Shang Dynasty; in turn, the Zhou Dynasty inherited the Shang culture. Each dynasty not only inherited from the culture of its predecessor, but also developed its own. The culture developed by the Zhou Dynasty had the greatest effect on the history and culture of the Chinese nation in the 3,000 years thereafter.

Throughout the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties in ancient times, the Hua Xia nation was beyond doubt progressive and had the most developed culture among the forest of nations in East Asia. Regarding production tools, the Hua Xia nation was the first to pass from the use of stone to bronze. Bronzeware was already quite developed and widely used during the Shang Dynasty, and the manufacturing technique was sophisticated. It is still difficult to tell when the Chinese written language was first invented. The earliest possible recorded language yet found are inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells, but these are by no means the buds of the Han characters. There must have been a long phase of budding and development before these inscriptions came into being. In the wake of the founding of the PRC, certain scholars discovered some pictographs on pottery unearthed at Dawenkou, and believed them to be the earliest possible written language of the Han in history; these dated back to around 5,000 or 6,000 years ago. This conclusion has certain rationality, but to prove that the budding of Han characters took place around 5,000 or 6,000 years ago asks for more unearthed relics as evidence. Anyway, on the continent of East Asia around 3,600 years ago, the Hua Xia nation inhabiting the middle reach of the Huang He valley was using pictographs; at the same time, its production was somewhat developed. In the Yin Shang society, two new professions dedicated to spiritual labor rose and were greatly favorable to cultural development. They were wu [1566 witchcraft] and shi [0670 the recording of history].

The great development of the Zhou culture and its outstripping the Shang culture were possible only on the basis of the economic and cultural development of the Xia and Shang Dynasties. The primal ancestor of the Zhou tribe was Qi. Legend had it that his mother, Jiang Yuan, stepped on the huge footprint of a giant and her body was jolted. She became pregnant and bore a son. At first she dared not keep the child, so she abandoned it in small lanes, but the cows and sheep would make way for the baby and would not trample on it; Jiang Yuan then put it on frozen waterways to freeze it to death; to her surprise, the birds would warm it with feathers from their wings. So she took it back and named it "Qi" (meaning "abandoned"). Later, the Lord on High made him god of agriculture under the name of Houji [Lord of Agriculture]. Qi was an expert of agriculture in ancient times, and later generations sang in praise of his outstanding contributions to agriculture. Of course, exaggeration and romantic legends abounded in ancient history; however, the legend on Houji truly reflects that this nationality or tribe was comparatively progressive and developed in agriculture. Later, Gugong Tanfu, a descendant of Qi, led his people to Zhouyuan (the Zhou plain) at the foot of Mount Qi (now Qishan County in Shaanxi), and established the kingdom of Zhou. Through diligence and hard work of more than 10 generations beginning with Houji in the legend of ancient history, this tribe developed into an ancient nation. By the time of Ji Chang (the celebrated King Wen of the Zhou),

14 generations from Houji, the Zhou became an important political power inside the Shang Dynasty and posed a threat to the Shang capital in the so-called situation that "it had control over two-thirds of a tripartite country." Ji Fa, King Wen's son, 15 generations from Houji, succeeded as King Wu. In 1066 B.C., he thought the opportunity entirely ripe to seize the "whole world," and started the campaign against King Zhou [4765] of the Shang. Although the latter had mobilized tremendous forces (basically all slaves) in resistance at Zhaoge, the Yin-Shang Dynasty was eventually extinguished with King Zhou's suicide because of the slave insurgents on the battleground and their surrender to King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty. It was in this year that the new dynasty of Zhou began.

The period division of Chinese ancient history, namely the question of when the transition from the slave to the feudal system took place, has been an important issue of endless dispute among historians over the past 50 years and more. Two schools have been formed among Chinese historians: One upholds the view that the feudal system began with the Western Zhou Dynasty, and the other holds that it began with the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. Since my youth, I have paid attention to the discussions on this issue, but have exerted little effort in its study. Comparing the doctrines of different schools, I found it is like "the blind men and the elephant" on the part of many foreign scholars when they referred to the period division of Chinese history, while the Chinese scholars are comparatively more rational on this issue. I myself belong to the middle-of-the-road school; comparatively speaking, I am for the Western Zhou Dynasty doctrine of Fan Wenlan on the one hand; on the other, because of the vast expanse of China's territory and the imbalanced development in various parts of the nation, I believe some localities did not enter the feudal age until the late Warring States period and even well after the Qin and Han Dynasties.

Both King Wen and the Duke of Zhou were outstanding figures in history, and the latter was held in high esteem by Confucius and worshipped as a sage by orthodox Confucians of later generations. The Duke of Zhou made great contributions to initiating the feudal political system, social ethical ideas, and culture at various tiers of the upper strata; all this exerted great influence on the Chinese feudal society.

The feudal culture of the Hua Xia nation with relation to many neighboring backward nations during the Western Zhou Dynasty was beyond doubt a new-rising progressive culture with thriving vitality. The Hua Xia culture had for the first time displayed its tremendous role in consolidating and developing its own nation during the Western Zhou Dynasty, during which time the Hua Xia nation was not the largest in population and territory compared with the total of the many minor states of nationalities in existence. The distribution of nationalities at that time was largely as follows:

In the east, chiefly in the present-day Shandong Province, were many mini-states, collectively called the Dong Yi. In the Chang Jiang and Han Shui valleys in the south as well as the Yuanxiang areas, namely the present-day Hunan and Hubei, were many mini-states largely called the Nan Man. The State of Chu was also called the Jing Man. In the Huai He valley, chiefly

the present-day Anhui in the southeast, were many mini-states called collectively the Huai Yi. Among them was a major one called the State of Xu, somewhere around the present-day Sixian, Anhui, and it was called the Xu Yi. In the north, chiefly in the present-day Hebei, were many mini-states largely called the Bei Di. In the present-day Shaanxi and Gansu and some places of the present-day Henan, Shanxi, and Qinghai as well were many mini-states called the Shu. Grouped together, the Di and the Shu were called the Shu Di.

The Shu Di had grown very powerful during the late Western Zhou Dynasty; they killed King You of the Western Zhou Dynasty, thus leading to the fall of the Zhou Kingdom, while the royal house of the Zhou Dynasty was forced to move east, and founded the Eastern Zhou Dynasty in the neighborhood of Luoyang. However, the economy and culture of the Hua Xia nation continued to develop. By the end of the period of the Warring States, all ancient states of nationalities in the river valleys of the middle and lower reaches of the Huang He and the Chang Jiang were extinguished, and there emerged a unified empire of the Qin Dynasty. In succession, the Western Han Empire continued to open up this great undertaking of unification, and basically laid down the foundation for the scope of our great nation. Such a situation of unification was not entirely attributed to forces, and the more important factor was rather the highly developed Hua Xia culture in the river valley of the middle and lower reaches of the Huang He. Through reliance on the Hua Xia culture it was possible to lead the multiple ancient nationalities on the vast land of China, including various places farther from the Huang He valley such as Minyue and Baiyue in the south, including places that were called "land where people had their hair cut and skin tattooed," in making progress together at various paces along with the mainstream of the Hua Xia culture, and melting into one Hua Xia nation, which was precisely the world-famous Han since the Western Han Dynasty.

A phenomenon is not uncommon in the long river of world history, and it can be said to be a law governing the development of history: A culturally backward, but militarily strong nation may conquer with its military strength and rule high-handedly another nation with a greater population, a rather high culture, but grave political corruption and constant internal conflicts. But in the long run, the conquering nation is melted by the conquered. Such a process of melting could be very profound: First, the conquerors would change their own rather backward production mode, political and organizational forms, life habits and traditional customs, then they become so intoxicated by the culture of the upper strata of the conquered nation that some of the conquerors would vie for learning, promoting, and seeking the complicated rules of Chinese ritual and etiquette in the hope of changing the cultural backwardness of their own nation as quickly as possible. Through several generations of high-handed reign of the conquered advanced nation, the rulers of the culturally backward nation would lose all their original national characteristics, even their own oral and written language as well as their primal religion.

Not long ago, some people of the theoretical and the art and literary circles propagated subjective idealism with a clear-cut stand, while negating the scientific quality of historical materialism. However, the above-mentioned

aggregating power of the Hua Xia culture to the people of all nationalities in China from the Western Zhou Dynasty down to the Qin and Han Dynasties and the usual practice in history have precisely explained that the material, spiritual, and cultural conditions were important factors in the changes of all national relations, but in the final analysis, they were determined by the socioeconomic base.

Several major historical phenomena in Chinese history affected the historical process of the entire Chinese nation. The first took place during the Western Jin Dynasty and Eastern Jin Dynasty and the Northern and Southern Dynasties. In 311 AD, Liu Cong and his Xiongnu (Hun) army occupied Luoyang and took prisoner Emperor Huai Di of the Jin Dynasty. In 316 AD, the Xiongnu army occupied Changan and took prisoner Emperor Min Di, the successor to Emperor Huai Di, thus spelling the end of the Western Dynasty. Later, an Eastern Jin Dynasty was established in Nanjing by King Langya, Sima Rui, the great grandson of Sima Yi, a member of the Jin royal house. Antagonistic to the Eastern Jin Dynasty in the Huang He valley were at least 5 minority nationalities--the Xiongnu, the Xianbei, the Di, the Qiang, and the Jia [largely Turks, Mongolians, and Tibetans]--and 16 separatist regimes were set up successively by armed force. In the "orthodox" histories of the feudal age, this period was generally called "the 5 Barbarian Tribes and 16 Kingdoms in the North." This period continued to the year 420 AD, and entered upon the so-called Northern and Southern Dynasties. With the fall of the Eastern Jin Dynasty in the south, four dynasties rose to take its place: the Song, the Qi, the Liang, and the Chen. In the north, through a long course of war and annexation, the Tuoba tribe of Xianbei origin had grown very powerful by the late 4th century, and it founded the Northern Wei regime of Tuoba Gui. The minor nationality regimes in the north were gradually annexed by the Tuoba Wei. In 493 AD, Emperor Xiaowen Di of the Wei Dynasty moved the capital from Pingcheng to Luoyang.

Later, the Tuoba Wei was split into the Eastern Wei and the Western Wei; the power of the former state fell into the hands of Gao Yang, who named the state Bei Qi, while that of the latter fell into the hands of Yu Wenjue, who named the state Bei Zhou. In 577 AD, Bei Zhou conquered Bei Qi. In 581 AD, the Emperor Wan Di of Sui extinguished the Bei Zhou regime and founded the Sui Dynasty; this spelled the end of the history of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. The 300 years between the early 3d century and late 5th century were the period of the greatest national contradictions and chaotic wars in China as well as the mass melting of various nationalities. Although the Hans living in north China and the Huang He valley were oppressed to the full and sometimes slaughtered by minor nationalities, their comparatively developed culture made the separatist nationalities in the north and central China assimilate and merge together with the Han in the main, and later became the basic components of the great family of the Chinese nation. There is no need for me to go in full length about it here; suffice it just to cite a few interesting cases in history to illustrate the power of the Hua Xia (Han) culture in melting the other nationalities.

Liu Yuan and Liu Yao were descendants of the Xiongnu chief of the Huhaxie tribe. This tribe, mingling with the Han and taking up farming in the north

of present-day Shanxi, had long been Sinicized. This section of the Xiongnu had changed their surnames after the habit of the Han and spoke its language. Liu Yuan became a student of Cui You, a Confucianist scholar of Shangdang origin, and studied under his tutorage such classics as "Yi Jing" [The Book of Changes], "Shi Jing" [The Book of Odes], and "Shu Jing" [The Book of History]. He had a special liking of "Zuo Qiuming's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals" and was very fond of reading Sun Zi and Wu Zi on the arts of war. He read extensively the books of all great masters including "Shi Ji" [Historical Records] and "Han Shu" [History of the Han Dynasty]. His son Liu Cong had a good knowledge of the works of all major masters and scholars of a hundred schools as well as the classics and histories. He was very good at the calligraphy of the Han characters both in cursive hand and official script, and literature in particular, and had written a great many poems and descriptive prose works interspersed with verse. Liu Yuan's nephew, Yao by name, was also fond of study, arts of war in particular. Liu Yuan took advantage of the confused state of the Western Jin court, seized Taiyuan, occupied Hedong, founded the Han Kingdom, fixed his capital in Pingyang, and assumed the title of emperor. Thus began the so-called situation of the "Five Barbarous Tribes Causing Chaos in China" in Chinese history. Liu Yao succeeded Liu Cong to the throne, made his capital in Changan, and changed the name of the kingdom to Zhao, namely the Former Zhao in history.

Fu Jian of Di nationality in the west of China was a famous personality in the middle ancient times in Chinese history. The Di was a very ancient nationality, and had emerged in the political arena in the west of China since the Qin and Han Dynasties. The Di began to actively absorb the Han culture since the times of the Wei and Jin Dynasties. Fu Hong, Fu Jian's grandfather, began school at the age of 12 (studying Confucian classics), and Fu Jian himself began school at the age of 8. He later became emperor of the former Qin Dynasty and established his rule over the Huang He valley. Fu Jian exerted great efforts to promote Confucianism and Buddhism. Shi Le of the Jie nationality followed in the footsteps of the Western Han in building its political system, and absorbed the practices of the Wei and Jin Dynasties as well. A most interesting fact is that he established a college in addition to more than 10 primary schools, and public schools in various provinces were also established for the study of Confucian classics. He personally went to the college and primary schools taking charge of the examination, and various prizes were awarded to the students in the mastery of classics at different levels.

Of the people of this category during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, one who had greater and deeper effects on the historical progress in the north of China was Touba Yuanhong of the Xianbei nationality, namely Emperor Xian Wen Di of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Xian Wen Di showed great admiration for the Han culture and wanted to transform the Xianbei lifestyle and custom after the Han pattern. Despite his motivation, the determination was a great one, to put into practice the Sinicization of the Xianbei, a historical major question at that. In 493 AD, Xian Wen Di moved the capital from Pingcheng to Luoyang. Xian Wen Di then began to implement a policy of thorough Sinicization despite the opposition of the Xianbei nobles and people's obstruction stemming from conservatism. The major aspects of the

policy were: 1) An imperial edict was issued to forbid marriage between persons bearing the same family name based on the Han custom. 2) The Han language was adopted as the sole universal language; the use of the Xianbei and languages of other nationalities was forbidden. This practice was carried out in the name of "standardizing pronunciation." "Northern dialects are forbidden in court, and those who violate the stipulation will be removed from office." ("Wei Shu"--History of the Wei Dynasty, Chronicles of Gao Zhu, Chapter 7, part 2) 3) The dual-character surnames of the Xianbei were to be changed into the single-character surnames of the Han. Even Tuoba, the name of the royal house, was changed to Yuan; therefore, the Tuoba Wei was also called the Yuan Wei. There were 9 clans under the royal house, and altogether 180 tribal clans under its reign during the early Northern Wei Dynasty. Because the Xianbei words were polysyllabic, eventually their surnames were all changed into the Han characters, and even their first names. 4) It was forbidden to dress one's hair in braids and to wear the traditional gowns of barbarous tribes, which were habitually buttoned on the left-hand side. Uniforms and hats for the court and officials as well as dresses for ladies were designed based on the traditional etiquette and custom of central China since the Wei and Jin Dynasties. The custom of the Southern Dynasties was to be observed in everything, while it was forbidden to maintain the styles of the barbarous tribes. 5) The comparatively primeval religious ceremonies of offering sacrifices to heaven and the gods were abolished, with the traditional ceremonies of the Han taking their place; moreover, the ancestral temple was built based on Han rituals. 6) The systems of civil officials and military officers were transformed based on the systems of the Western and Eastern Jin Dynasties and the Southern Dynasties, with the whole range of official titles borrowed from them. 7) The more advanced Han culture was absorbed, and the laws and decrees were revised. Obviously, the "Wei Laws" were a great step forward compared with the (unwritten) laws of other nationalities, and greatly affected the "Sui Laws" and "Tang Laws" that came into being later. 8) Schools were built in a big way, as well as the urban areas of Luoyang. 9) A rather complete equal-fields system favorable to reviving production and increasing population was drawn up based on the proposals of his Han civil servants, to suit to the objective conditions of frequent wars, vast territory, and a rather small population. The greatly original equal-fields system initiated by Xiao Wen Di of the Northern Wei Dynasty was inherited by Emperor Tai Zong of the Tang Dynasty. Although the idea of the equal-fields system was not implemented later on, its ideological effects on the politicians of successive dynasties were extremely great.

Because the Han culture was comparatively developed, the various nationalities that entered the Huang He Plain and founded their regimes there could not but accept it and merge themselves into the great family of the Chinese nation. The bulk of the so-called Hu, or barbarous tribes of that time, remained in the Huang He Plain with the distinctions between them and the Han gradually lost, while only a few tribes withdrew to north of the Great Wall. The various minor nationalities that had entered south of the Great Wall and founded their regimes were still in their tribal condition, with some of them just entering into the slave society, but leaped into the feudal society with the effects of the Han culture. Some nations (such as the Northern Wei) even made great contributions to Chinese culture with the concerted

efforts of the Han. The Sui and Tang Dynasties, the latter in particular which lasted much longer, was an age in which the process of Sinicization of the fraternal nationalities continued; it was simultaneously the great age in which the cultures of the Western Regions and India were absorbed, and the highly developed Tang culture spread to China's neighboring countries. Japanese culture accomplished unprecedented development precisely because it was nourished by the Tang culture. The Tang culture also had great impact on both Korea and Vietnam. The Tang Dynasty was a nation with many nationalities melted into one. Many of the ministers and generals were of minority nationalities. Because both the Queen Dou (of Xianbei tribe) of the Emperor Gao Zhu of the Tang Dynasty and Queen Changsun (also of Xianbei tribe) of the Emperor Tai Zong had blood of minority nationality, the royal blood of the Tang Empire was mixed with that of some minority nationality. The An Lushan-Hi Siming Rebellion burst out in the late years of Tian Bao, the reign title of Emperor Xuan Zong of the Tang Dynasty. An was a mongrel of some tribes from Liucheng (in the present-day Changli, Hebei) and had mastery of six tribal languages. While Shi was also a mongrel of some tribes, aside from some Hans, their men were mostly mongrels with tribal relations with the Xi, the Khitan, and the Turk. For lack of men, the Tang court had to rely on the Ouigour and Tibetan forces to quell the rebellion. When the An-Shi Rebellion was eventually quelled, the Ouigour and Tibetans withdrew from the hinterland of the Tang territory, but the "barbarous Hu," including the Xi and the Khitan, who followed An Lushan to the hinterland, did not, but surrendered. That had a bearing on the situation of separatist rules of military governors in control of the outlying prefectures emerging later on. In the late Tang period, two major insurgences took place--the Pang Xun Uprising and the Huang Chao Uprising. Both were quelled on reliance of some minority nationality forces under the command of Sha Duo (of some Turk tribe), Tughun (descendants of the Xianbei), and the Dangxiang tribe (descendants of the Xianbei and Tuoba). Of the minority nationalities participating in quelling the insurgents, both the Shaduo and Dangxiang remained in the hinterland, changed their surnames into those of the Han, and regarded themselves as Hans. Some of them founded their regimes during the period of the 5 Dynasties, and regarded themselves as "orthodox" in the 5 Dynasties and 10 kingdoms. Others founded their own states during the period of the Northern Song Dynasty. They lasted for quite a long time in history. For example, in the former category, Li Cunxu established the Later Tang Dynasty, Shi Jingtang established the Later Jin Dynasty, and Liu Zhiyuang established the Later Han Dynasty. All three were of the Shaduo tribe. In the latter category, Li Yuanhao, an origin of Dongxiang, founded the State of Xi Xia. His ancestor was a Tuoba. One of his ancestors, Tuoba Shigong, helped the Tang court quell the Huang Chao Uprising and was conferred the surname Li and title duke of Xia. Li Yuanhao's grandfather Li Jiqian made himself king of Xia. Li Yuanhao formally established the State of Xi Xia in 1032 and assumed the title of emperor and the title Xiandao of his reign. He drew up his own official system, created the Xia language, and printed books in it. The kingdom lasted 196 years, beginning with Li Yuanhao assuming the title of emperor to its conquer by the Mongolians. After the fall of the Xi Xia, the Dongxiang merged with the Han within a few generations, its oral language was lost, and its written language is now left to the research of very few scholars.



A Khitan hero emerged in the north during the period of the Five Dynasties; his name was Yeluabaoji. Affected by the Han culture, Yeluabaoji established a state in the slave system on the basis of the alliance of the Khitan tribes in 916 AD, relying on his own wisdom and boldness after long years of preparations not without great difficulties. His son Yeludeguang changed the name of the state to the Empire of Liao. The Empire of Liao covered a vast territory and was rather powerful in its national strength, which formed a threat to the regimes of the Five Dynasties as well as the Northern Song Empire. Another 2 centuries passed, and the Empire of Liao was extinguished by the Jin [6855]. The Jin was a state established by the Wanyan tribe of the Nuzhen, which conquered the Northern Song Dynasty and crossed the Chang Jiang. The Mongolians extinguished the Xia as well as the Jin, and soon brought the end of the Southern Song Dynasty, established the Yuan Dynasty, and unified China. The reign of the Yuan Dynasty lasted 97 years, with Zhu Yuanzhang establishing the Ming Dynasty and Emperor Shun Di of the Yuan Dynasty driven north of the desert.

Chinese historians are fond of grouping the Liao, the Jin and the Yuan Dynasties in their research; this is not without grounds, because from the angle of the Han, these were all alien nationalities ruling China. The Liao and Jin Dynasties ruled China in parts, while the Yuan Dynasty took over the entity of China. All three dynasties made important contributions to the Chinese cultural history and entered into the mainstream in its development, while the Han culture manifested a great leading and melting role in its course. Brought along by the Han culture, the Khitan and the Nuzhen in the hinterland of China ended their nomadic life and developed feudal culture. After the fall of the Liao and Jin Dynasties, the Khitan and the Nuzhen remaining in the country's hinterland lost all the characteristics of their own nationalities. They found their Mongolian roots not through their oral and written languages, customs, and habits, but solely through their family trees. Thus, we can see that the Chinese culture, the Hua Xia culture chiefly, was a great force always invincible in the historical development of China.

After the fall of the Jin Dynasty, the bulk of the Nuzhen continued to live in the northeast of China along the Liao He valley down the Heilong Jiang and Yalu Jiang valleys. They led a nomadic life, fishing and hunting. Nurhachi, the primal ancestor of the Qing Dynasty, was born of the Woduoli clan of the Nuzhen in the latter half of the 16th century. Since childhood, he was affected by the Han culture; later, he was elected tribal chief. He fought against the national oppression of the Ming Dynasty on the one hand, and unified other Nuzhen groups by force on the other. He declared himself Great Khan in 1616, and established the state of "Jin," known as Later Jin to historians. Nurhachi died in 1626, and Huangtaiji succeeded him to the throne. Later Jin entered upon an age of great development in both civil administration and military affairs; it was also a time in which the court attached great importance to appointing Hans to high posts, and was bent on learning from the Han culture. To avoid hurting the feelings of the Han, Huangtaiji abolished the name of the state "Later Jin" and changed it to "Great Qing" in 1663. During the reign of Huangtaiji, the economy of the Manchu developed from one of animal husbandry, fishing, and

hunting into one of farming and agricultural production in the main, and the handicraft industry was developed as a result of the acceleration in absorbing the production mode and spiritual civilization of the Han. The organization of society changed from the clan system to the slave system, and in some places, initially to the feudal system; this made the multiple tribes in all the Manchu and many places in Mongolia unified under one government. This laid the foundation for Dorgon to march inside the Shanhaiguan pass and for the Qing court to move its capital to Beijing. Huangtaiji's successful unification of Manchu and Mongolia turned the vast land outside the Great Wall into the steady territory of great China with the population greatly increased. Although Huangtaiji was a deadly enemy of the Ming Dynasty, he was an outstanding figure who made great contributions to the Chinese nation.

The reign of the Qing Dynasty over China lasted 267 years, beginning with Dorgon escorting Emperor Shunzhi from Shenyang to the new capital Beijing in 1644. By the late Qing, both the nobles and common people of the Manchu had lost not only the original healthy and simple habits and customs of the nomadic tribes and their brave and militant spirit, but also the oral and written languages of their own nationality. This was true not only of the Manchu inside the Great Wall, but of all the Manchu in various parts of the northeast. The great changes of the Manchu after their conquest of China once again prove the great effects of Chinese culture on the development of the Chinese nation and serve as evidence of the usual practice in history as mentioned before.

Therefore, we can see that our national culture is worthy of our treasuring, inheriting, and bringing forward. The 3,000-year history of Chinese literature is an important part of the national culture of China. Despite the gap in the understanding of the history of literature between myself and Comrade Liu Zaifu, I believe that neither of us would play the part of unworthy children in Chinese history. Through discussion, namely, heart-to-heart talk as I mentioned above, we are sure to deepen our understanding and to find common ground in it!

The 3,000-year Huaxia culture has not only made China an invincible nation, but also one with great melting power. It is with such power that a great Chinese nation exists in the world. Today, the descendants of the Chinese nation are spread over the five continents, and many of them have long become the citizens of other countries. However, the traditional Chinese culture is, domestically, the fountainhead of patriotism; regarding the descendants of the Chinese nation in all parts of the world, it is a kind of indelible congealing force and a force turning to the motherland, which is called national feelings, and links the hearts of the descendants of the Chinese nation with China. If they should try to find their roots, they must come to the land of China, on which the Chinese culture arose. This is truly our infinite wealth!

As contemporary Chinese intellectuals with aspirations, we should truly understand the social conditions and history of China, and study some Marxist theory. Relying on them, we may not lose our direction in the times

of opening up to the world. We should not confuse learning from foreign countries with "blind worship of things foreign," nor should we regard "blind worship of things foreign" as having nothing to do with "fawning on foreigners." The lack of knowledge of Chinese history will first lead to "blind worship of things foreign," then to the idea of "total Westernization." To build socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should attach importance to the reality and historical conditions of China; by no means should we copy foreign experiences intact. Moreover, we should stick to the rather deep soil of the Chinese nation in cultural construction; there is no need to reason about this. The development of socialist literature and the building of the new theoretical system of socialist art and literature should naturally be planted on the national soil of China. There is no reason whatsoever to make slight of the glorious accomplishments of Chinese literature, which has a history of more than 3,000 years. We have never shown contempt for Western literature, and we have to date attached importance to referring to it; but first, our root is in China, not in the West; and second, we must refer to the fine accomplishments of Western literature, but not pay "pilgrimage" to it or pick up some rubbish from it.

Regarding the 3,000-year history of literature, Comrade Liu Zaifu and I hold basically different attitudes, have different approaches in our understanding, and our conclusions run counter to each other. The following will be devoted to questions involving the history of literature.

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HAVE OUR Foothold ON CHINA'S REALITY, TAKE OUR OWN ROAD--STUDYING THE ENLARGED EDITION OF DENG XIAOPING'S 'BUILDING SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 15-19

[Article by Pang Xianzhi [6614 0341 4249]]

[Text] The recently published enlarged edition of "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" comprises 44 important speeches made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping during the period between the 12th party congress held in 1982 and January 1987, double the number of important speeches by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the 1982 edition of "Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics." This enlarged edition can be viewed as the sequel to the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)" published in 1982.

To combine the basic tenets of Marxism with the concrete reality of our country, take our road, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics, is the basic conclusion drawn by Comrade Deng Xiaoping after summing up the long-term historical experiences of our country's socialist construction, and is the fundamental guiding ideology that runs through the whole book.

Let us look at the history. In order to explore a correct road for the Chinese revolution, the Communist Party of China experienced many years of hardships and difficulties, paid high prices, made many sacrifices, and finally found the revolutionary road in the rural areas encircling the cities and eventually seized the cities and won a nationwide victory. This road was suitable for China's situation during that particular historical period and embodied Chinese characteristics at that time, so we were able to win the victory of the new democratic revolution. Again, in order to explore a correct way for China's socialist construction, the Communist Party of China has also paid high prices and spent many years of time. Beginning in the 1950's, Comrade Mao Zedong and other veteran revolutionaries of the old generation made strenuous efforts and respective contributions in different aspects and on different questions, and put forward some ideologies which are still shining today. The veteran revolutionaries once tried to make some breakthroughs in the existing pattern of socialism, make some changes in the existing system, and hoped to open up a new road for China. However, because of the limitations of the historical conditions at that time and later, the mistakes made by our party in its guiding ideology, our party not only failed to accomplish such a task but also made serious mistakes.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party which has been represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping has profoundly and comprehensively summarized its historical experiences and lessons since the founding of the People's Republic of China, carried out practical scientific analyses, drawn inferences, and enabled the whole party, under the new historical conditions, to inherit and adhere to all the past practices that conform with Marxism, correct and discard all past practices which are erroneous and contradictory to Marxism, and restore and develop all the correct things that have been destroyed or distorted. At the same time, under the guidance of Marxism, our party has been proceeding from the changing reality, exploring new questions, creating new situations, and opening up new ways for China. On the basis of summarizing the historical experiences, and after several years of cautious exploration and practice, our party has finally found the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, thus pushing Marxism a step further according to the reality of China. Comrade Deng Xiaoping says: "The success of the Chinese revolution is the result of Comrade Mao Zedong's efforts in combining Marxism and Leninism with China's reality and is the result of China taking her own road. Today, in carrying out the construction of China, we should also combine Marxism and Leninism with China's reality and take our own road." (The enlarged edition, p 82; from now on, only the page number will be indicated) To build socialism with Chinese characteristics is the achievement made by Chinese Communists represented by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, by adhering to and developing Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "What is socialism? What is Marxism? We could not completely and clearly understand this question in the past. Marxism pays the most attention to the development of productive forces. The most fundamental task of socialism at the present stage is to develop productive forces." (pp 52-53) "After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we made efforts to explore how China should carry out socialism. In the final analysis, we have come to know that China should carry out socialism by developing productive forces and gradually developing China's economy." (p 104) Regarding the distortion of socialism by the ultra-"leftist" trend of thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly pointed out: Poverty is not socialism and socialism is aimed at eliminating poverty; failing to develop the productive forces and raise the living standard of the people cannot be said to conform with the demands of socialism. The fundamental task of the socialist period is to concentrate all efforts to develop the productive forces. This is not only the consistent thought of Comrade Deng Xiaoping but also the most important conclusion drawn by Comrade Deng Xiaoping after summarizing the historical experiences since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Marxism believes that productive forces are the decisive factors in the history of human society development. The reason that a new social system can replace and defeat an old one is, in the final analysis, because the new social system can create stronger productive forces and higher labor productivity. This is also applicable to the relationship between the socialist and capitalist systems. Moreover, socialism needs to create the material basis for communist society which abounds with material products and implements the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his

needs. Pointing out that the fundamental task of the socialist period is to develop the productive forces through concentrated efforts is, in essence, aimed at adhering to the basic viewpoint of historical materialism. Because China is carrying out socialist construction under conditions of poor productive forces and a backward economy, to stress the development of the productive forces is, therefore, of vital importance.

That the fundamental task of the socialist period has been made clear has solved the basic question of how to build socialism, which has for long been confused. After the socialist transformation was basically completed in 1956, the resolution by the eighth party congress correctly pointed out that our party's main task in the future is to develop the social productive forces. This correct policy was later negated by the "leftist" guiding ideology of "grasping class struggle as the key link," and it was not implemented for a long time. It was not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that this policy was restored and the focal point of the work of our whole party was shifted in building the four modernizations. However, how and in which way should we develop the productive forces? In the past, our party carried out explorations and practices in this respect. However, our party has had both successful and unsuccessful experiences in carrying out these practices and explorations. For example, the method of the "Great Leap Forward" and the method of "putting politics in command" are unsuccessful practices and explorations which not only violated economic development law, but were also divorced from China's reality. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has summed up its experiences, emancipated the mind, and has gradually put forward a series of general and specific policies on the reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy by proceeding from China's reality, all of which conform with China's actual situation.

In his numerous speeches and talks, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made comprehensive and profound expositions on why our party should implement the general and specific policies on reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy. Comrade Deng Xiaoping talked about this question during the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. He further talked about this question after the 12th party congress. He said: If China wants to develop, China must carry out reform and open itself up to the outside world. China should mainly rely on itself to carry out its construction because China is a big country. However, while stressing self-reliance, China should open itself up to the outside world and absorb foreign funds, technologies, and management experiences to help its own development. China's development cannot be isolated from the rest of the world. To develop China by following a closed-door policy is doomed to failure. It is impossible for any country to develop if it is isolated from the rest of the world or is closed to international intercourse. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly explained that China's policy of opening up to the outside world is correct and will not change, and China will further open itself to the outside world. Without the policies of economically opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy, it would be impossible for China to quadruple its gross national product by the end of this century. As far as the question of economic

structure reform is concerned, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward a question at the central work meeting which was held in December 1978 to prepare for the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "If we do not carry out the reform, our modernization and socialist cause will be ruined." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)," p 140) Later, Comrade Deng Xiaoping summarized the significance of economic structure reform as "the only way to develop the productive forces." When economic structure reform was carried out to a certain extent in our country, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the timely task of carrying out reform of our country's political structure in the light of the demands for the development of the objective situation in China. He said that if we do not carry out political structure reform, we will not: be able to protect the achievements of economic structure reform; be able to continue to push forward with economic structure reform; be able to fully develop socialist democracy; and will not be able to mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses of the people at the grass-roots level. On the contrary, we will hamper the development of productive forces and the realization of the "four modernizations." Moreover, our reform is a comprehensive one. Our reform will not only touch upon the economic and political fields but also upon the educational, scientific, technological, and various other fields. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that we are now firmly determined to carry out reform but, at the same time, we must also be cautious and make steady progress in carrying out reform. We must create conditions through reform, for the long-term, sustained, and steady development of China. Just as Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "The one who has laid the earliest, the most, and the most profound stress on reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy is Comrade Deng Xiaoping." ("Speech at the Spring Festival Party") To stick to the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy is a basic point of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and is also a basic point of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

However, the question of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy is not only a question of implementation but also, more importantly, a question of how to implement. Doubtlessly, the reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy must be carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and on the basis of the four cardinal principles. This is because only by carrying out the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, and on the basis of the four cardinal principles, will we be able to guarantee the socialist orientation of these policies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has already repeatedly expounded this question. When talking about the continuity of Communist Party of China policies, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said: "What on earth is the continuity of our party's policies? The continuity of our party's policies certainly includes maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, democracy and legal system, opening up to the outside world, invigorating the domestic economy and other domestic and foreign policies. We will not change these policies. The basis of all these policies is the four cardinal principles which we will not change, and on which we will not even waver." (p 126) Comrade Deng

Xiaoping particularly stressed: Reform must adhere to two principles: One is that the economy based on socialist public ownership must remain the principal body; the other is that we should achieve common prosperity and prevent polarization between the poor and the rich. Thus, making use of foreign funds in a planned way and developing some individual economies conform with the general demand of development of the socialist economy. To encourage some regions and some people to become prosperous first is also aimed at bringing prosperity to more and more people and finally achieving the goal of common prosperity. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out: The policy of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy must be implemented on the premise of adhering to the socialist principle. To carry out the policy of opening up to the outside world, learn advanced foreign technology, and make use of foreign funds are only supplements to socialist construction, and therefore should not deviate from the socialist road. In the course of carrying out the opening up to the outside world policy, once the situation of deviating from the socialist road emerges, the state organs will interfere with it and correct it as well. From these expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, we can clearly see that our reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy must be carried out on the basis of adhering to the four cardinal principles and on the premise beneficial, not detrimental, to socialism. Of course, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thought on adhering to the four cardinal principles was put forward not only as the prerequisite and basis for implementing of the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy, but more importantly, also as the political basis for: founding and running our country; uniting the whole party and the people of all nationalities in our country; and for opposing the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. This is to say that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thought on adhering to the four cardinal principles was put forward with a wider and more profound significance. Just as Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "The one who has laid the earliest, the most, and the most profound stress on adhering to the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization is also Comrade Deng Xiaoping." ("Speech at the Spring Festival Party") Adherence to the four cardinal principles is another basic point of the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and other basic point of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

To implement the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy, and to concentrate all efforts in developing the productive forces are the basic contents of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Adherence to the four cardinal principles conforms with the policies of the reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy, and these two aspects supplement each other. Therefore, to cut these two aspects apart; to set these two aspects against each other, to think that we cannot or should not carry out the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy if we really want to adhere to the four cardinal principles; or to think that we cannot or should not adhere to the four cardinal principles if we really want to carry out the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy, are all incorrect. Adherence to the four cardinal principles is the prerequisite and basis for



guaranteeing the healthy development of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy in the socialist orientation. As the necessary ways and means, reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy are aimed at promoting development of the socialist productive forces and development and expansion of the socialist economy. Without adhering to the four cardinal principles, it will be impossible for us to carry out socialism; and without implementing the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy, it will be impossible for us to build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

To build socialism with Chinese characteristics is an arduous cause. The road of exploration and practice will not be plain sailing. The cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics can only be carried on in the course of correcting various erroneous trends and eliminating various types of interference.

First of all, we should correct "leftist" errors, eliminate the interference of "leftist" ideology, and orient the focal point of our work toward building the "four modernizations." We once met with various types of difficulties and opposition in carrying out this shift. Some people could not understand the policies we have implemented since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and could not understand the policies of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy. Some people even mistook our efforts in carrying out these policies as practicing capitalism. This "leftist" influence and interference existed in the past, exist at present, and will continue to exist in the future. However, generally speaking, this shift has been a smooth one. This is because it is easier for people to understand and be aware of "leftist" errors because people once suffered a great deal from "leftist" errors. Moreover, our party's general and specific policies implemented since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have brought vitality and vigor to our country and actual benefits to the majority of our people. However, just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We must not ignore the erroneous 'leftist' ideology because it is now deeply rooted." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)," p 334) Thus, in the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and in the process of furthering and deepening reform, it is necessary for us to continue to advocate emancipation of the mind and make continued efforts to eliminate the interference of "leftist" ideology and the influence of the force of old habits.

There has not only been the interference from "leftist" ideology, but also interference from rightist ideology. Over the past few years, we have received more rightist and "leftist" interference. In January 1987, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "To carry out reform and build the four modernizations are no simple matters. So, we have never been self-satisfied and have never thought that these two matters were plain sailing. There is bound to be interference coming from various sides, including the interference from 'leftist' and rightist ideology. If we paid too much attention to interference from 'leftist' ideology but did not pay enough attention to interference from rightist ideology in the past, then the recent student unrest has

reminded us and demanded that we pay more attention to interference from rightist ideology." (p 155) The so-called interference from rightist ideology mainly refers to bourgeois liberalization. While correcting "leftist" errors, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has never relaxed his vigilance against, nor softened his criticisms of, the rightist ideological trend, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in particular. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has explicitly pointed out that in our country, to practice bourgeois liberalization is to take the capitalist road. As far as we are concerned, this is a key question. Those people who try to practice bourgeois liberalization have ignored the actual situation in China. They do not understand China's history, nor do they understand China's reality. They oppose the leadership of the Communist Party, oppose the socialist system, advocate total Westernization, and try to mechanically transplant the Western capitalist system in China. By closely combining China's reality, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also clearly explained why China must adhere to the four cardinal principles and the socialist road, and why China cannot take the capitalist road and cannot practice bourgeois liberalization. The expositions made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping are explicit, realistic, right to the point, and convincing. At the same time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also objectively analyzed the social and historical conditions in the emergence of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, and pointed out the protracted nature of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. He said that the struggle against bourgeois liberalization will run throughout the whole process of realizing the four modernizations, and the problem of bourgeois liberalization will continue to exist for the next 50 to 70 years.

We must have a correct stand and adhere to the four cardinal principles in opposing both "leftist" and rightist ideology. If we keep to the rightist stand when opposing "leftist" ideology, we will inevitably oppose correct things as ultra-leftist things, oppose the left as the "left," and take correcting "leftist" errors as "correcting" socialism and Marxism thus providing conveniences for the spread of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and other decadent ideological trends. If we keep to the "leftist" stand when opposing bourgeois liberalization, we will certainly repeat our past mistakes, such as the enlarged antirightist struggle, and oppose some correct views and good things as those of bourgeois liberalization, thus covering up the defects and mistakes which actually exist in our work, harming the just interests of the masses, and dampening their enthusiasm. Neither of these two situations are beneficial and are even harmful to building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has taught us that during the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, we should always stick to proceeding from the actual conditions, correctly carry out the two-line struggle, and oppose both "leftist" and rightist trends. In the light of China's reality, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has taken no notice of those irresponsible public opinions which are harmful to building socialism with Chinese characteristics, dared to resist the various types of interference, and guided the Chinese people to resolutely take their own road.

Since building socialism with Chinese characteristics is an unprecedentedly great cause, it will take us a long time to understand it. Here, it will be of great significance for us to review the relevant expositions made by Comrade Mao Zedong. When summarizing the experiences of the Chinese revolution and Chinese construction 25 years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "People's understanding of the objective world, which means the leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, must involve a process." After recalling the Communist Party of China's process of understanding the law of the democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The purpose of my talking about the history of our Chinese Communists' making painstaking efforts and finally successfully understanding the law of the Chinese revolution during the period of the democratic revolution is to guide our comrades to understand the following fact: There must be a process before we can understand the law of building socialism. It is necessary to proceed from practice, gain and accumulate experiences so as to leap from the building of socialism in the realm of necessity, which has not yet been understood, to the realm of freedom by gradually overcoming our blindness, understanding the objective law, and finally acquiring freedom." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, pp 824, 826) Our understanding of the law of building socialism with Chinese characteristics will also need a process. Up to now, we still cannot say that we have already accomplished, or almost accomplished, this process because we still need to make a lot of painstaking efforts to continue our exploration and understanding on the basis of practice. Nevertheless, we have, after all, found the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, which is of great significance. It has taken us more than 30 years to find this road.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "China has taken a tortuous road in her efforts to build socialism. The historical lessons over the past 20 years teach us an important principle: In building socialism, we must follow the Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This also means that we must follow the principle of seeking truth from facts and doing everything in the light of the actual conditions, which was put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong." (p 107) All the major policies put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have followed this basic principle. In a word, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's political and theoretical courage, resolute spirit, firmness, and self-confidence in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, have all come from this basic ideological principle. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has been raising and solving questions by proceeding from China's reality, history, and current situation, and not from concepts, books, or models from foreign countries. Just as after studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)," after studying the enlarged edition of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" people are attracted and touched by the theoretical and logical force, forthright mind, and unique language style of the works of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's works are energetic and encouraging. It will be very appropriate to take these two books by Comrade Deng Xiaoping as the guidance for building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Finally, let us use a sentence from Comrade Deng Xiaoping's article entitled "Adopting a Clear-Cut Stand in Opposing Bourgeois Liberalization" to end this article: "Only by taking its own road and by building socialism with Chinese characteristics will China be full of hope."

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## A MAJOR REFORM IN THE ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 20-22

[Article by Li Lian [2621 0500 1344]]

[Text] The official promulgation in 1986 by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council of the three sets of regulations for state-owned industrial enterprises is a major reform of the leadership system of state-owned industrial enterprises. This has decisive significance in strengthening the production operations management system of enterprises; in realizing a situation where guidance is flexible and decisionmaking swift; in improving work efficiency; in changing the situation where enterprise, party, and government work is not separate and responsibilities are unclear; and in truly guaranteeing implementation of the factory director responsibility system. Chapter 5, Article 27 of the factory director work regulations clearly stipulates: "The factory director will be responsible for putting forward personnel selection proposals for the deputy factory director and factory level economic and technical responsible persons, and shall solicit ideas on the proposals from the enterprise's party committee. The appointment and dismissal of middle-level administrative cadres shall be decided by the factory director. Factory level administrative deputy appointments shall, in accordance with cadre management jurisdiction, be reported upwards for examination and approval." Concerning this matter, I have the following comments:

1. If we are to implement the factory director responsibility system, we must hand over power in deciding personnel matters to the factory director. This power in deciding personnel matters mainly refers to proposing names for enterprises...same-level deputy appointments, and appointing and dismissing middle-level administrative cadres. This is because the factory is a representative of the interests of the state, the enterprise and the workers, and the factory director must exercise unified leadership and take overall responsibility for the work of production guidance and operations management. If the factory director is to take on this responsibility, it is necessary to strengthen the production operations management organs and establish an organizational management system which accords with this. Therefore the factory director should have the power to employ middle-level administrative cadres who have both ability and integrity, understand operational management, are truly competent for the work, and who will be responsible to him.

He should also have the power to propose the names for appointment as same-level deputies of those people who can coordinate closely with him and thereby truly change the irrational phenomena of the past. These phenomena include: management and employment of people being separated; those who made major production operations decisions not shouldering economic responsibility and those who shouldered economic responsibility not having decisionmaking power; and the party committees in theory having collective responsibility, while in fact, when problems arose, no one took responsibility and no one was able to assume responsibility; and so on.

Some comrades have asked how, if personnel decisionmaking power is given to the factory director, we are going to give expression to the principle of the party managing the cadres. Some other cadres are worried that if the power to appoint and dismiss middle-level cadres is given to factory directors, the factory directors may misuse their powers of office to appoint people by favoritism and forge cliques. I believe that this problem should be understood from various sides. First, we must clearly understand that as long as cadres are selected and employed in accordance with the party's cadre line, cadre policies, and cadre standards, then it does not matter whether it is the party or the factory director which appoints them. In either case, the principle of the party's management of cadres will be given expression and the aim of party management of cadres will be realized. Second, giving factory directors the power to propose names for appointments as same-level deputies and to appoint and dismiss middle-level cadres does not mean that the factory director can use his power arbitrarily or as he likes. On the one hand, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have issued the three sets of regulations, and these set down clear regulations on the methods and procedures for appointing and dismissing cadres and on the question of the exercising of supervision by the party committees and the staff and workers congresses. Names proposed by the factory director for appointment to same-level administrative deputy positions must be examined and approved by upper-level responsible departments. When the factory director appoints or dismisses middle-level administrative cadres, he must also follow the mass line, must seek the opinion of same-level party committees, and the decision must be examined by the personnel cadre departments. The aim of this is to both guarantee that the factory director correctly employs cadres in accordance with the party's standards for cadres and also to avoid and overcome those shortcomings and errors which may occur in the exercising of the power to appoint and dismiss cadres. In another respect, with the implementation of the factory director responsibility system the factory director must assume overall responsibility for the survival and development of the entire enterprise. The tasks and the situation require that he must employ administrative cadres who are both able and have integrity, and who are competent in a speciality. If not, then the factory director will not be able to fulfill the goals of his period of tenure.

2. The factory director must exercise well the personnel decisionmaking power. Handing over decisionmaking power in personnel matters to the factory director is a beneficial condition if the factory director is to exercise overall good management of the enterprise. However, this is not

to say that just because he has decisionmaking power in personnel matters that he will certainly select cadres well, employ cadres well, and manage cadres well. Managing cadres, like managing the production operations of an enterprise, is a science. As it is a science, it has some fixed objective laws, and only by mastering these laws and doing things in accordance with these laws will it be possible to do well in cadre management work. In order to accord with the demands of modernization and in order to establish in an enterprise a unified, strong, and highly efficient production guidance and operations management system, the factory director not only needs to understand specialities, be good at operations management, and have a commodity economy concept and a consciousness of competition. He must also master the science of selecting, employing, and managing cadres. Only by knowing his subordinates well and assigning them jobs commensurate with their abilities, only by selecting cadres who truly accord with the needs of modern production, and only by fully motivating the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of staff and workers of the enterprise will the factory director be able to successfully complete the goals of his tenure. That is to say, cadre management work is also a question of being expert or inexpert. As far as a factory director is concerned, he should be an "expert" in terms of guiding production and managing enterprises and an "expert" in cadre management. However, at present some of our factory directors are not necessarily capable in both areas. This is a problem of turning "non-experts" into "experts."

How then can factory directors become "experts" in managing cadres? I believe that first the factory director must have the right ideology in running the enterprise. Every factory director must clearly understand that our enterprises are socialist enterprises, that a factory director's powers are given him by the party and people, and that the party and people require that the factory director take responsibility for the interests of the state, the enterprise, the collective, and the workers. When the factory director considers a problem, or adopts a measure in managing the enterprises, in no case can it depart from this basic stand. That is to say, not only is the factory director responsible for building production of the enterprise within the limits of the goals of his period of tenure, but he is also responsible for the long-term survival and development of the enterprise. Not only must he think about the economic interests of the enterprise, but must also consider the social benefits of the enterprise. Only under this ideological guidance will it be possible to do well in the selection, employment, and management of cadres. Second, in cadre management work, the factory director must seriously implement the party's cadre policies and employment standards. In a long period of work practice, our party has accumulated rich experience in managing cadres, both positive and negative, and has outstanding traditions. In order to accord with the needs of modernization, in the last few years the party has also formulated a set of policies on selection and employment of cadres in the new historical period. The factory directors must seriously study and acquaint themselves with these. When selecting and employing cadres, they must adhere to the cadre policies and the standards for employing people, proceed from the reality of the enterprise and select those capable persons who have both ability and integrity and have realized achievements. When implementing the "four changes" for cadres,

it is both important to stress cadres' studies and their knowledge, as well as look at their actual work capabilities and actual work experience. It is important to consider their educational level, but things should not be decided purely on the basis of certificates. It is important to stress the professional and technical quality of cadres, as well as pay attention to their political and ideological qualities. In terms of age, it is not necessary for there to be a progressive decrease in age through the grades, and we should not "cut with one knife." Third, the factory director must properly use the power to manage cadres, must pay attention to strengthening the self-cultivation of his own party spirit, and must firmly establish the idea of serving the people with all his heart. Once there is a good system, it is still necessary to have a firm party spirit as a guarantee. Only thus will it be possible to have no problems or few problems occurring. As a factory director, he must always think about the importance of the responsibility he bears, and in employing cadres, he must certainly be careful. He must think about the economic responsibility he bears as well as his political responsibility. He certainly cannot just strive for immediate interests and not consider the development orientation of the enterprise. He cannot use his powers to seek private benefits, be swayed by his emotions, or appoint people by favoritism. It is necessary to listen to the opinions on all sides and voluntarily accept the supervision of the enterprise's party committee and the staff and workers congress. At present, because party style and social style have not yet taken a basic turn for the better, after the factory director takes on the power to decide personnel matters, the pressure from the relationship network, from above and below, from left and right, will come to center on the factory director. Whether or not the factory director can withstand these evil trends will be a rigorous test of his party spirit consciousness. For the sake of the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the staff and workers, and for the vigorous development of the enterprise, the factory director must, in employing people, adhere to the principles of party spirit, use people in the best way possible, and be fair and just in handling matters. Only in this way will the factory director be able to obtain the trust of the party organization, the upper level and the vast masses of staff and workers, and exercise well his various powers.

3. As for the factory director employing people, the enterprise party committee has the responsibility to guarantee and supervise. After the factory director responsibility system is implemented, the factory party committee must fully bring into play its guaranteeing and supervisory roles. That is, the committee must guarantee that the factory director has exercised his power in accordance with the regulations and supervise the factory director to ensure that in employing people he abides by the policy of the "four changes" in the cadre ranks and by the standards of employing people who have both ability and integrity and appointing people on their merits. The committee will thereby guarantee the concrete implementation in the enterprise of the party's cadre line and cadre policy.

The change from the situation where the party committee directly managed production operations and decided on appointments and dismissals of administrative cadres to where it exercises a guaranteeing and supervisory role is



not only a system reform, but also a change in concept. This requires that there be a clear change in all aspects of the enterprise's party committee, from ideological understanding to work methods and work style. This is necessary to accord with the reform situation. In the past, some comrades saw party leadership as all things being absolutely decided by the party committee. This was especially so of cadres' appointments and dismissals. These had to be discussed by the party committee and the secretary would make the final decision. Only thus was it considered that the principle of party management of cadres was being manifested. These habitual concepts and practice must now be changed. We certainly cannot believe that if the party committee does not concretely manage the work of appointing and dismissing cadres then the principle of party management of cadres is not being followed. Likewise, we cannot accept that the exercising of guaranteeing and supervisory roles by the party committee means that the party committee has no power. This is a simplistic and narrow understanding of the party's leadership of enterprises. We should understand that in an enterprise, the party's leadership is manifested in various respects. The exercise of guaranteeing and supervisory functions by the enterprise party committee over the production and administrative work of the factory director is a major power and responsibility, and is a major manifestation of the party's leadership. After personnel decisionmaking power is handed over to the factory director, it does not mean that the factory committee can completely forget about cadre work in the enterprise. Rather, the work of appointing and dismissing administrative economic and technical cadres will be made the responsibility of the factory director, while the party committee will, from a higher level, study how to implement the party's cadre policies in the enterprise. The enterprise party committee must liberate its thoughts, respect knowledge, and respect abilities. It must be good at discovering, fostering, and selecting outstanding cadres and improving cadres' political quality; and it must help the factory director promote the reform of the cadre system within the enterprise. In this sense, the responsibilities of the party committee and the party committee secretary have not become lighter, but heavier, and the demands made on the party committee and the party committee secretary will be higher.

How then in actual work will the enterprise's party committee discharge its responsibility of guaranteeing and supervising? I believe: 1) Enterprise party committee cadres must understand the business and be well acquainted with the cadres. After the factory director responsibility system is implemented, the enterprise party committee must carry out education, training, examination, and supervision of cadres at all grades in the enterprise in accordance with the party's cadre line and cadre policies. They must actively put forward ideas and suggestions on proposals by the factory director for selection of the deputy factory director, economic and technical responsible persons, and middle-level administrative cadres. It will not be possible to do this if they do not understand the business and do not understand the cadres. 2) They must positively and actively assist the factory director in examining and selecting cadres. Although the party committee will no longer concretely appoint or dismiss cadres, we cannot mistakenly understand the exercising of the guaranteeing and supervisory roles as meaning the party committee can stand by as a spectator, make frivolous

comments about the cadres selected by the factory director, or even find fault or insult them. Rather they must, in a dedicated and enthusiastic way, help the factory director select capable people. They must positively and actively recommend to the factory director outstanding cadres who have both ability and integrity and who are equal to the positions. 3) They must respect the factory director's authority. They should not endlessly quibble about side issues and must adhere to principle. In the question of employing cadres, especially when it involves concrete selection, it is quite easy for opinions to be different, because people consider questions from different angles and people have different degrees of understanding in cadre examination. Every cadre has his strong points and weak points. There will never be a perfect cadre. No matter how good a cadre selected by the factory director is, the masses will always have something to chatter about. In such a situation, the enterprise party committee must support the factory director in his exercising of the right to appoint and dismiss cadres, and help him do well in ideological work for the cadre masses. If there is this or that shortcoming in the work, these simply need to be corrected. It is not necessary to make too much of a fuss about them. The party committee and especially the party committee secretary must closely coordinate with the factory director, strongly assist the factory director in his work, and support the factory director. Of course, if the factory director appoints cadres purely on the basis of relationships, and the selected cadres do not accord with the conditions, the party committee secretary must take an attitude of responsibility to the party's cause and actively put his own ideas to the factory director. If after patient work (discussion, or even argument), the factory director still does not agree, then the party committee can as necessary report this to the upper-level responsible department, and the upper-level responsible department can in turn intervene as appropriate.

4. A proposal: Reforming the leadership system of enterprises and implementing the factory director responsibility system is an important component part of the urban economic structural reforms. In the reforms, it is inevitable that many new problems will emerge. Both factory directors and party secretaries will all have the problem of how to deal with the new situation. They will all meet new things with which they are not familiar, and they all thus have the task of study. Therefore it is proposed that relevant departments increasingly grasp well the work of training enterprise leadership cadres--especially factory directors, party committee secretaries, and the workers congress chairmen. Also, the cadre policies and cadre standards and how to properly select cadres, properly employ cadres, and properly manage cadres should be important components in the training of factory directors and in the assessment of their achievements. Enterprise operational management and various economic policies should be included in the training and examination of party committee secretaries and workers congress chairmen. Only in this way will it be possible to ensure that they have an overall understanding, have common goals and a common language, and can coordinate with each other, and that cadres can be managed well and enterprises run properly.

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## SEVERAL QUESTIONS ON THE BUILDING OF URBAN CIVILIZATION

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[Article by Xu Leyi [1776 2897 5030], deputy secretary of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] In the last few years, our Anhui Province has been carrying out activities of building civilized cities. All party, government, and armed forces departments, relying on the people, have readjusted order in the cities, strengthened urban management, improved various types of service work, perfecting urban environmental facilities, living facilities, and cultural facilities and thereby brought pleasing changes to the appearance of the cities. These changes have created a quite good social environment for the reform and development of cities and thereby played a great promotional role in deepening rural reform and developing the commodity economy. This has promoted the building of the two civilizations in urban areas. Facts have shown that the building of urban civilization has extremely great significance in socialist modernization.

### 1. Strengthening the Building of Civilization and Developing the Leading Role of Cities in Socialist Construction

As early as 1949, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the historical task of managing and building cities. He pointed out: After victory in the revolution, the stress of party work should switch from villages to cities, and we should study hard how to manage and build cities.

The transformation, construction, and development of cities must be subject to the constraints of historical conditions. Anhui is an agricultural province which is fairly backward economically, culturally, and in the communications sphere. After liberation, confronted with poor villages which had been greatly affected by the turmoil of war and the bitterness of natural disasters, for a long period the problem of food and clothing for the millions of peasants was the problem the party and the government had to solve first. It was difficult to put urban work in an important position. Also, we lacked experience and personnel, there were mistakes in work, and we had not done deep study into the position and role, and ways of development, of cities. Thus, it was inevitable that in urban construction, both in guiding ideology and in work, some errors would occur.

Because of our lack of understanding of the complexity of our cities' economic life, and of the difficulty of organizing well the consumption and cultural lives of urban residents, when we put our efforts into developing urban industry and commerce, we did not give due consideration to building up municipal administration, communications, retail trade, services for daily life, and educational, scientific, and cultural facilities. This led to an uncoordinated development of the various industries in the cities and the various types of facilities were not in accord. This contradiction became daily more prominent following the expansion of the scale of the economy and the growth of urban population. Various problems such as difficulties in housing and transport, in purchasing goods, in entering schools and kindergartens, in finding hotel accommodation, and in finding restaurants appeared one after another. This affected urban order and people's lives.

Because of our insufficient understanding of developing a commodity economy in the socialist period, we often only stressed the development of industrial production, and the rural areas were only seen as supply bases for raw materials. This prevented the establishment of a correct urban-rural relationship concept and a correct concept of overall coordinated development of the national economy. We often only looked at things from the political angle and proposed that the cities support the rural areas and the rural areas support the cities. However, we did not stress the historical process of mutual reliance and mutual relationships in terms of providing each other with markets and information, between the urban areas and the rural areas, in the development of the socialist commodity economy. Thus we could not basically organize well the economic and cultural interflow between the urban and rural areas, or make the urban-rural relationship tighter. Guided by the erroneous ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link," we even implemented some "leftist" policies, thereby restricting the development of the urban-rural commodity economy.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee broke through the "leftist" ideological confines and shifted the focus of party work. Through reform, opening up, and enlivening the economy, our province's successes in rural reform have effectively resolved the peasants' problems in terms of food and clothing. The development of the rural economy and the improvement of the peasants' lives have also promoted urban reform and economic development. In this situation, the problem of how to build socialist cities with Chinese characteristics has more pressingly been placed before us. On the basis of summing up historical experience and lessons and understanding the characteristics of the new period, our ideas and work methods have seen new changes.

(1) We must clearly define the central position and leading role of cities in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee clearly pointed out that our nation's economy is a planned commodity economy. The basis for urban development is the development of the commodity economy. The development of a socialist commodity economy both creates an extremely good environment and conditions for developing cities, and places new demands on cities. Our commodity

economy not only requires that cities become the centers of commodity production and commodity exchange, but also that they play a leading role in guiding the planned development of the commodity economy. This requires that cities become planning and information centers and financial and trade centers so that they can control the lifeline and direction of the overall national economy. Cities are where the state organs are located, and also where cultural, educational, and scientific and technical institutions are centered. Thus, the building of urban civilization will inevitably be a major part of the building of socialist civilization. Therefore, the "CPC Central Committee Decision on Reform of the Economic Structure" stresses the leading role of cities in socialist modernization. Only if we proceed from this in our urban work and firmly grasp the building of the two socialist civilizations in cities, will it be possible to manifest and bring into play the leading role of cities.

(2) We must carry out the building of the two civilizations in accordance with the overall arrangements for socialist modernization. The resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee explained, in terms of the overall arrangements, the relationship of mutual coordination and mutual promotion between economic construction, reform, opening up, and the building of spiritual civilization. It resolved the major theoretical and practical problems which for a long time, both in terms of guiding ideology and practical work, we had been unable to master well, including questions relating to the spiritual and the material, the political and the professional, adherence to the four cardinal principles, and reform and opening up. Cities are in a leading position in terms of economic construction and overall reform. They are also in a forward position in opening up and drawing in, and in enlivening the economy, and are related in an overall way to the question of how we are to correctly implement the party's line, principles, and policies. Economic construction is the center of our work. Unless there is economic development, there will be no base or conditions for urban construction. Unless we carry out overall reform and open up to the outside world, it will not be possible to fully bring the various positive factors within cities into play. Also, unless we build socialist spiritual civilization, and adhere to the four cardinal principles, we will lose our bearings and there will be no modernization. Therefore, in our urban work we must meet the requirements of the overall arrangements. In reform and opening up, we must particularly stress resisting the influence of decadent bourgeois ideas, strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and guarantee that our cities advance in the correct direction. This is the basic guarantee for bringing into play the superiority of the socialist system, and is a characteristic of socialist urban construction.

(3) We must build cities which have their own characteristics, in which the two civilizations advance together, and in which there is overall coordinated development. Every city has its own historical characteristics and own historical, resource, and communications conditions. Each also has its own characteristics and restrictions. It is incorrect to not proceed from reality, to require all cities to become industrial cities, or to require them to be "small but complete" or "large and complete." For example, of the eight cities directly administered by Anhui Province, Huainan, Huaibei,

Maanshan, and Tongling are mainly based on heavy industry, while Wuhu, Bengbu, Anqing, and the provincial capital Hefei are mainly based on light industry and commerce. Each city should formulate urban development plans based on its own characteristics. However, as cities are economic, political, and cultural centers, in order to promote the development of surrounding towns and villages and play their own role in the national economy, each city should have a certain economic power and have appropriate cultural, educational, and scientific and technical institutions. Also, the building of municipal, communications, service and living facilities within cities must be coordinated, so as to promote a good environment and better services in economic construction and in people's lives. The development of the various aspects of cities and their internal and external relationships should be coordinated. Only in this way will it be possible to fully bring into play the diverse functions of cities, and will they be able to play a leading role in socialist modernization.

## 2. Improving the Quality of Urban Residents Is the Basis for Building Urban Civilization

Urban residents are the masters of cities. The management and construction of socialist cities must rely on the efforts of all citizens, and the primary aim of urban construction must be serving the urban residents. "The people build the people's cities and the people manage the people's cities." This is the principle by which we carry out the building of urban civilization. The degree of civility of a city is determined by its economic and cultural development, its level of urban construction, its social order, and its social practices. Furthermore, these aspects are, in the end, the crystallized manifestation of the wisdom, intelligence, and labor of the urban residents, and reflect the ideological and moral qualities of their cultural upbringing. Thus, the central link in building civilized cities should be the improvement of the quality of urban residents, so that urban residents are trained into socialist citizens who have ideals, morals, culture, and discipline. In building civilized cities, we must all along stress "administering the cities and educating the people." If we are to "administer the cities" we must "educate the people." "Administering the cities" in order to "educate the people"--this is our guiding ideology.

(1) We must ensure that education in ideals and morals runs through the whole process of building civilized cities. Our common ideal is to build a modern socialist state which has a high degree of democracy and a high degree of civilization. In the process of building civilized cities, in order to stimulate the enthusiasm of the people to make contributions to the realization of the common ideal, we have persistently given priority to ideological education, have adopted various forms, including part-time political schools for staff and workers, have developed reading activities and had people listen to lectures by advanced persons. We have also carried out widespread education in long-range ideals and socialist morals. Practice has shown that having heroes and model advanced persons talk about ideals and morals can in the most real and most influential way, stimulate the people's enthusiasm in loving the motherland and loving socialism, and can encourage people at their respective posts to make efforts to contribute more to the realization of the four modernizations. In 1986, we successively organized heroes from the "two

mountains" to give lectures, and arranged for 10 advanced persons of our province to give lectures. The various cities also arranged for advanced persons from all fronts in their city to give lectures. This had a great influence on the vast numbers of urban residents, aroused great empathy, and spurred more people to make contributions to the motherland, to do good things for the people, to develop a good style, and to inhibit evil tendencies.

Establishing civilized cities is a systematic project, and it is necessary to implement specific goals in each industry and trade and at the grass-roots level. Then, with civilized units as the cells, we can form an overall entity of a civilized city. It is necessary to improve the environment and public order and maintain fine customs in cities, and to change the appearance of the cities. That is, it is necessary to link together the goals in terms of common ideals and the building of urban civilization with the development targets and construction tasks of the various industries and various collectives, as well as with the personal responsibilities and goals of individuals. This will make the process of building civilized cities one which provides the people of the whole city with ideological inspiration and ideological education. Also victorious results in the building of urban civilization and changes in the social environment and social atmosphere will enable people to understand the superiority of socialism and thereby further raise the spiritual level of the people. In our province, the cities of Bengbu and Maanshan have seriously gone about putting in order and beautifying the environment; Hefei city has built a garden around the city and done well in making the city green. Not only have they received acclaim from all quarters, but the people of these cities are also proud of this, and this has effectively strengthened their sense of responsibility as masters.

(2) We must transform the environment, improve service and, at the same time, change people's backward customs and habits. Because of the backlog in urban construction, urban management work was weak; in addition, there was the influence of old customs. At one stage, in some cities, the problems of "dirt, disorder, and low standards" were intense problems for the people. Following the improvement of people's lives and the tidying up and improvement of the working and living environment, fine service has become the strong demand of urban residents. In building civilized cities, the various cities of our province have taken the handling of the problem of "dirt, disorder, and low standards" as breakthrough points and have grasped these as important matters in serving the people. Leading party and government cadres have achieved obvious results in personally motivating, organizing, inspecting and supervising, in working in a down-to-earth way, and in earnestly practicing what they advocate. On the Tianjin-Pukou railway line, the area around Bengbu city was in the past called "the rubbish bin on the north-south line." After a year of cleaning up, the dirty and disorderly situation underwent a change, and this has been praised by travelers going back and forth. In the process of cleaning up, apart from strengthening management and using administrative measures as a guarantee, the main avenues used have been widespread propaganda to motivate people, and the carrying out of education in social morals. This caused people to voluntarily participate in the

various cleaning-up activities and, at the same time, a new social style of civility was established. In this way, both the environment and people's minds were changed, and thereby the bringing of order to the city and the changing of prevailing social attitudes were closely linked up.

(3) We must pay attention to cultural education and stress the improvement of the people's scientific and cultural qualities. Following the development of the economy and the improvement of the lives of urban people, the study of technology and the improvement of educational levels have become both the demand of social development and the pressing demand of the people, especially young people. Thus, in building civilized cities, all areas have actively developed culture and education, and in accordance with their material and financial capabilities, built educational, scientific, cultural, and sports facilities. At the same time, they have actively developed mass cultural, entertainment, and sports activities, enriching the spiritual lives of the people. They have actively done well in organizing middle schools, primary schools, and kindergartens, and developed various types of professional training and part-time education, providing people of different ages and different cultural levels with the opportunity to receive education and engage in cultural activities. Through various forms and different avenues they have enabled the people to establish civilized and healthy social modes and allowed them to continually improve their own scientific and cultural qualities.

(4) We must strengthen law and discipline, safeguard order, and cultivate law-abiding and discipline-respecting citizens. Because of the influence of anarchism and extreme individualism, some people, particularly some young people, have a weak understanding of law and discipline and a very small number of them act wildly in defiance of law and disturb public order, or even take the path of crime. In some areas of some cities, social stability is affected as public order is not well maintained. In building civilized cities, all areas must, in accordance with the demands of the vast masses, seriously readjust social order and safeguard social order. Apart from severely striking at criminal offenses, they must seriously strengthen education in the legal system and in law and discipline, and train people in the habit of respecting law and discipline. At the same time, factories, shops, and schools must set down regulations and neighborhoods must set down guidelines for the people in order to provide standards for people's activities. In this way, social order and public order will be established on the basis of people's voluntary adherence to law and order. The party and government organs in Anqing city have consistently paid attention to comprehensive arrangements of social order. Leading cadres have taken the lead in studying law, seriously grasped education in the legal system, and widely spread general legal knowledge among the urban population. Also, on the basis of generally strengthening people's concept of the law, they have strengthened grass-roots level public order work and their management of public places. By doing so they have turned this city into an advanced area where social peace and social order are good.



### 3. In Practice, Continually Exploring Avenues for Building Cities

In practical work, we feel that if to build civilized cities is to see healthy, sustained, and deepgoing development, then it is necessary, in accordance with the development of the situation, to continually put forward new demands and improve work methods. In the last few years, in order to accord with the new situation, we have carried out the following explorations and experiments:

(1) We have changed the "civility and courtesy month" activities into regular work covering the four quarters of the year. Carrying out the "civility and courtesy month" activities did play a certain role in attacking and handling the "dirt, disorder, and low standards." Since 1984, the various cities in our province further researched the question of building civilized cities and actively studied the experience of other provinces in building civilized cities. In general, annual plans for building civilized cities were set down, as were various measures for guaranteeing the realization of the planned goals. By implementing the annual goals we will be able to regularize the building of urban civilization in our province.

(2) We have expanded the civilized units' competition activities carried out in an overall competition among the eight cities directly administered by the province. When the civilized unit competition was only a competition between departments, industries, and units, practice showed that the overall arrangement, overall construction, and integral urban functions of cities could not be brought into full play. In order to promote the overall coordinated development of cities and coordinate strengths on all sides and at all levels, in the beginning of 1985 our province organized overall competitive activities among the eight cities directly administered by the province, and after discussions with the mayors of the eight cities, a competition agreement was officially signed. There was to be an overall competition in terms of ideological, cultural, legal, and environmental work with an appraisal being conducted once a year. This would subsequently promote competition among counties and small towns. The result of this competition was that the city party committee and city government grasped the building of the two civilizations together and did well in city planning, construction, and management work. This helped the resolution, within a short period, of some long-standing and difficult problems, and was beneficial in strengthening mutual understanding, mutual correctness, and mutual study among the various cities. It also helped in having each city seriously formulate and firmly implement its own plans. The competition also created external pressure, which subsequently translated into internal vigor within the cities and formed an atmosphere which encouraged people to exert themselves.

(3) The party and government cooperate and struggle shoulder-to-shoulder forming a strong, powerful guiding system. At present, there are often disputes over trifles, and it is not easy to get things done. If we are to resolve this problem, we cannot do it simply by relying on one or two departments or administrative organs. There must be coordination between party and government leadership, overall planning and arrangements, and systematic handling of matters. In this, the government shall play a direct

organizational management role and guiding role in the various types of work sequences in readjustment and construction in cities, and in building roads, bridges, markets, and communications and public facilities. The activities carried out by the cities of Bengbu and Wuhu in our province have been fairly effective, and in all cases party and government responsible persons have grasped matters together and with strong administrative organs have been able to fuse together a large amount of ideological and political work, organizational and management work, and construction work coordinate the strengths of all sides, and centralize them in order to resolve difficult problems which involve wide areas.

(4) In changing prevailing customs and transforming society, we must first of all attach importance to party building. If we are to create good social order and good social customs, we must first grasp the party style of the party in power. In recent years, many cities in our province have clearly shown a very correct party style and they have closely combined the consolidation of the results of party rectification with the activities of building civilized cities. They then established a party style responsibility system and regarded party style work as a target to be accomplished. They have carried out serious criticism and education in respect of those groups which have an incorrect party style or have not made efforts in the building of civilized cities. Some have even been readjusted. They have stressed that in every system and in every unit, in building civilized cities and towns, it is necessary to bring into play the model role of party organizations and party members, and by doing so, spur on changes in the social atmosphere. A large number of vivid examples which have appeared in building civilized cities in these eight cities show that the party organizations must become the backbone force in the activities of building civilized cities, and that only when changing the party style is grasped as the key link in changing the social atmosphere will it be possible to basically resolve the problem of achieving a change for the better in the overall social atmosphere.

(5) We have taken the establishment of a fine social order and social service as a task of top priority in strengthening urban management. In the past, we stressed construction and looked lightly on management, stressed production and looked lightly on livelihood. Added to this was the influence of the 10 years of internal turmoil. This damaged the normal relationship among people and threw urban management into disorder. Also, in urban life there now remain some wounds which have not yet been repaired--the environment is dirty, things are in disorder, and service is poor. These problems affect production and life and they bring feelings of discontent. Thus through the activities of building civilized cities and carrying out tidying up in various areas, we must gradually resolve the outstanding problems in social life. For example, urban transport facilities must be improved, social order must be readjusted, commercial service must be well provided, cultural facilities must be increased, people's cultural lives must be enlivened, and so on. These have all become pressing tasks. Practice has shown that whenever this work is seriously grasped and real results are achieved, support is received from society, the people praise it, and construction and development of the city are promoted.

In developing competition in building civilized cities, it is necessary to pay attention to preventing formalism and posturing. In order to prevent these phenomena from appearing, we have paid close attention to organizing different levels of competition based on the conditions and characteristics of the different subjects. In order to ensure that work is done in a down-to-earth way, we have advocated proceeding from reality, choosing a time or a stage as a breakthrough point, and at the time, starting tackling matters according to areas.

In accordance with the demands of readjustment, transformation, control, and construction, we will clearly, through great efforts, be able to achieve the goals of struggle. As far as resolving the present problem is concerned we must stress the fact of whether or not a measure brings real benefit to the people as an important basis for assessing the results of our work. It is also necessary to seek truth from facts, suit measures to local conditions, act according to one's capabilities, and not blindly stress high targets. We should advocate carrying out as much as possible those measures that require little expenditure, or no expenditure at all, and that bring benefits to the people. In order to create a situation where the various cities and various urban residents compete against each other and engage in friendly efforts to overtake each other, we have regularly organized exchanges and inspection tours among cities, so as to bring into play the roles of the organs and departments directly administered by the province and the role of the masses in inspection and supervision. We have also done well in appraisal work, and in a timely way issued rewards and commendations to the advanced. Practice has shown that only by being serious and careful in grasping matters will we be able to effectively prevent and overcome formalism and fully bring into play the motivation generated by competition.

Building civilized cities is new work and only through exploration and practice will it progress. Our work has only just begun; we have achieved some results and are facing a series of new problems. We must, in accordance with the spirit of the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles in Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization," seriously examine and sum up the previous work, revise competitive targets, set down subsequent measures, and strive to find a new road for building civilized cities which accords with Anhui's situation and which is feasible and realistic.

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THE THEORY OF 'TOTAL WESTERNIZATION,' PAST AND PRESENT

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[Article by Zhou Longbin [0719 7127 6333]]

[Text] The theory of "total Westernization" is now only presented by certain individuals. But it represents a social idea and concerns matters of importance. It calls for negating the socialist system and practicing the capitalist system. There is, therefore, the need to make a penetrating study of the theory of "total Westernization" in its previous and present versions.

In our country's contemporary history the idea of total Westernization has long existed. In the 1930's it appeared in a perfect form. Early in 1935, 10 professors jointly signed "a manifesto on China's own cultural construction." On this matter, cultural circles in Shanghai, Nanjing, Beijing, Jinan, and other areas unfolded successively discussions. In the discussions at that time, the advocates of total Westernization represented by Hu Shi and Chen Xujing (professor of sociology) put their viewpoints more clearly. What is called total Westernization? Chen Xujing explained things this way: "I sympathize with what Mr Hu (Hu Shi) said: 'Strictly speaking, totality means 100 percent. Given 99 percent, it cannot be considered total.' ...Personally, I believe that 100 percent or total Westernization is possible and is also a relatively perfect and relatively unriskey cultural practice as a way out." (Footnote 1) (Chen Xujing: "In Defense of Total Westernization" carried in DULI PINGLUN [INDEPENDENT COMMENT], No 160, 1935) In Chen Xujing's view, total Westernization meant borrowing Western culture in its entirety. He gave two reasons. One is: "We cannot help admitting that China's culture is inferior to Western culture in any given respect. Therefore, it can be understood that the theory of total Westernization is not something created from the imagination." Another is: "Culture itself is inseparable." "We cannot freely draw on the good points to make up for our own weaknesses." "Therefore, we must direct extra efforts toward accepting Western culture and wholeheartedly accept it in its entirety." (Footnote 2) (Chen Xujing: "Answer to Mr Wu Jingchao Regarding Total Westernization" carried in DULI PINGLUN, No 142, 1935; Chen Xujing: "Outlook on Oriental and Western Cultures" carried in SHEHUIXUE KAN [SOCIOLOGY JOURNAL], No 3, Vol 2, 1935)

In his article "The Cultural Impact on China Today" as early as in 1929, Hu Shi opposed a "selective and compromise" approach toward Western culture, advocating "total Westernization." (Footnote 3) (Hu Shi: "The Cultural Impact on China Today" reprinted in ZHONGGUO JIDUJIAO NIANJIAN [CHINA CHRISTIAN YEARBOOK] from ZHONGGUO XIANDAI SIXIANG SHI ZILIAO JIANBIAN [A CONCISE EDITION ON DATA ABOUT THE HISTORY OF CHINA'S CONTEMPORARY THINKING], Vol 3, pp 198-199) In DULI PINGLUN in 1935, he again said: "People now talk about 'a compromise approach' and about 'China being only what it is' and this is empty talk. At this time there is no other way out. All we can do is to strive to accept the new civilization of this new world totally.... I take this opportunity to say that I am all for Mr Chen Xujing's theory of total Westernization." (Footnote 4) (See the editor's postscript in DULI PINGLUN, No 142) Hu Shi felt that the use of the term total Westernization was "too inflexible," and that it would give people an excuse to blame him. He therefore favored using "full Westernization," or "full globalization" instead. (Footnote 5) (Hu Shi: "Answer to Mr Chen Xijing" carried in DULI PINGLUN, No 160, 1935) But his viewpoint was basically still the same as Chen Xujing's. He clearly said: Total Westernization "is closest to my idea of full globalization in the past 10 years or so." He also favored the idea of "basic Westernization." (Footnote 6) (Hu Shi: "Full Globalization and Total Westernization" carried in "Recent Works on Hu Shi's Theory," a 1935 edition by the Shanghai Commercial Press) The main argument to support Hu Shi's favoring of total Westernization is: "There is no completely reliable standard as a guide to aspects of all culture in selecting them... There is no 'scientific means' as a standard for the elimination of culture through selection." (Footnote 7) (Hu Shi: "Tentative Assessment of What Is Called 'China's Own Cultural Construction'" carried in DULI PINGLUN, No 145, 1935)

The viewpoints of Hu, Chen and others were refuted by many people. These people pointed out: Total Westernization means accepting Western culture in its entirety. Is this not absorbing also dross, defects and everything else found in other people? It was also pointed out: If China is described as inferior to the West in every respect, then "this is the biased view of those partial toward Western imperialist culture." Some people also refuted Hu Shi's view about no scientific standard for the elimination of culture through selection as being too "subjective," asking him: "Is the substitution of the clock for the brass kettle that drips and of the gun for the bow and arrow based on scientific justification?" Some articles also pointed out that total Westernization means giving up "national independence."

At the time when the idea of "total Westernization," represented by Hu Shi and Chen Xujing, was the rage, the Chinese communists were busy with their 25,000-li expedition. After the Red Army's arrival at northern Shaanxi, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in his work "On New Democracy" in 1940: "The idea of so-called 'total Westernization' is a wrong viewpoint." To "everything foreign" we should adopt an attitude of "rejecting the dross and assimilating the essence." In no way can we "swallow everything uncritically." (Footnote 8) ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 667)

A review of the idea of "total Westernization" in the 1930's in the following respects is greatly important in criticizing today's idea of "total Westernization." First, the meaning of total Westernization traditionally called for borrowing Western culture in its entirety. Second, total Westernization essentially meant following the capitalist road. There were many arguments for this. But most important of all was the argument that China was inferior to Western capitalist countries in every respect. Third, in modern China the representative of the idea of "total Westernization" was Hu Shi, who all along had opposed Marxism. The claim about "Lu Xun favoring total Westernization" was entirely a distortion of facts. (Footnote 9) (In the article "The Idea of Taking Things Over," Lu Xun pointed out: The idea of taking things over means "possession and selection," "or use, or safe-keeping, or destruction." (Footnote 10) ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," Vol 6, pp 32, 33) Can anything be found here to support total Westernization?) Fourth, the idea of "total Westernization" was supported by Chiang Kai-shek's regime in the 1930's. But China did not become an independent capitalist state. On the contrary, it went further and further along the semicolonial and semifeudalist road. The economy of the Chiang government, backed by U.S. imperialism, was a shambles, with the people left in an abyss of misery. This remains fresh in many people's memory. History has declared the bankruptcy of the idea of "total Westernization."

The wheels of history have advanced for more than 50 years. In socialist China the idea of "total Westernization" has again staged a comeback. No matter what modern knowledge they have acquired in natural sciences, the contemporary advocates of total Westernization, claiming to be in the forefront of advanced sciences, have harped on this tune for more than 50 years, as far as this problem is concerned. In the 1980's, the idea of "total Westernization" is quite similar to that in the 1930's in essence, in relevant arguments and in the means of providing proof. As far as the contemporary idea of "total Westernization" is concerned, people cannot help arriving at the following several viewpoints after studying it:

1. Total Westernization is an unscientific slogan.

The contemporary idea of "total Westernization" puts the meaning of total Westernization this way: "Total Westernization or partial Westernization calls for upholding certain things which cannot be changed, or thoroughly changing things in various respects with a feeling of thoroughness. I appreciate the viewpoint of 'total Westernization.'" It is quite clear that the meaning of total Westernization here calls for borrowing Western capitalist countries' things in their entirety. This is of course harping on the tune of 50 years ago. But first of all, a developed capitalist state also witnesses the coexistence of the advanced and the backward, and what is civilized or savage. It has advanced science and technology and also backward religions and superstitions. It has towering magnificent buildings and also slums and an open and legitimate prostitution system. Does the thorough introduction of total Westernization not lead to borrowing all these things in their entirety? Even what is good and advanced must also be correctly approached. Western classical music is the cream of Western culture. Our stage undoubtedly needs this fragrant flower. But the national

music and dramas that the Chinese people take to cannot all be dropped in seeking total Westernization. Second, a nation's culture can only be rooted in its own soil. Different nations have different cultural traditions. No important nation that has developed by relying on borrowing foreigners' culture in its entirety can be found in history. Moreover, China is a big socialist country with a long history behind it. Various nations have their own customs and habits. Some of these customs and habits, advanced or backward, do not matter. For example, Westerners use knives and forks, while the Chinese use chopsticks. Should the Chinese be compelled to give up this habit? Furthermore, Western capitalist countries contain diametrically opposed parts. There is the fascist despotic system of the past and also the bourgeois democratic system. There is Feuerbach's materialism and also Hegel's idealist system. There is the call for Keynesianism that favors the policy of deficit spending in disregard of inflation, and also opposition to Keynesian monetarism. Of these mutually conflicting things, if we accept just one side, is this not acting contrary to the purpose of total Westernization? If everything is borrowed in its entirety regardless of those advocates' original intentions, we would inevitably be put in a plight. This is to say that we must also believe in idealism and practice the fascist system and the policy of deficit spending and inflation. It can be seen that total Westernization is an unscientific and absurd slogan. How can people freely recommend it to our country's young people as "a good policy" to rule the country?

2. Total Westernization essentially calls for our country's evolution from a country with a socialist system into one with a capitalist system.

This is indicated by a lot of words from the advocates of total Westernization. Here, only two points are taken up. 1) Take a look at the contents of total Westernization. The original meaning of total Westernization calls for borrowing, in its entirety without distinction, the fundamental system of capitalist states and their advanced science and technology, management experiences, and so forth. More importantly, the advocates of total Westernization interpret total Westernization as exactly what the fundamental capitalist system includes. These advocates say: "Total Westernization involves learning everything from the West, such things as science, technology, culture, politics, economics, ideology and moral principles... including their political system and system of ownership." We know that Western capitalist countries' economy and system of ownership, first of all, mean the capitalist system of private ownership and the capitalist system of exploitation. The core of Western capitalist countries' politics is the political system of bourgeois dictatorship. Their ideology first means bourgeois idealism, individualism, and political ideals common in the capitalist system. Obviously, if these things are really all incorporated and used to take the place of the socialist system of public ownership, the people's democratic dictatorship, Marxism, collectivism and communist ideals, then it would be strange if the color of China did not change. 2) As far as the relationship between the idea of "total Westernization" and the four cardinal principles is concerned, the advocates of total Westernization say: "Should we, after all, call for total Westernization, or partial Westernization? Should we uphold learning Chinese things as something solid and

learning things of the West as something useful? Or should we uphold some other things? Before we open up to the outside world, we should not say that these are areas where things should be upheld and those are areas that had better be avoided where things cannot be changed." Obviously, those advocates presented the idea of total Westernization by setting it in opposition to the "four upholds." In their opinion, to realize total Westernization we must give up upholding the four cardinal principles. This has clearly indicated the essence of the idea of "total Westernization." But open opposition to the "four upholds" has been too obvious. Those advocates of total Westernization also put things in another way: "It should be an omnidirectional opening up, or total Westernization... Our concept of all directions calls for letting advanced culture produce an overall impact on China. It does not mean that from any angle no impact should be produced... But you must not first say which things are definitely good. You must not first say that we should uphold the four principles, or uphold this or that. This is unnecessary in our opinion. If things are good you should naturally uphold them since they cannot be overthrown." On the surface no negation of "upholding the four principles" is involved here. Instead, you are being "advised" to let capitalist culture produce an impact on the four cardinal principles. What is strange is that no matter what the impact of capitalist culture you cannot mention it. Anyone knows that in any struggle the person under attack who puts up no resistance and resigns himself to pounding, will be toppled sooner or later. If we let bourgeois ideology lash out at Marxism and if we do "not first uphold the four principles," or put up no struggle, allowing idealism, individualism, money worship, sex liberalization, and pornographic videotapes to spread unchecked, increasingly weakening the influence of Marxism, what will be the outcome? If people freely preach the theme that "the capitalist mode of production" is China's "urgent need" and that "the socialist system is a failure," and if we do "not first uphold the four principles," or make no retort and put up no struggle, what will people, especially youths, think? Obviously, we will end up deviating from the socialist direction and getting detached from the party's leadership. The peaceful evolution of capitalism will also become a risk in real life. Undoubtedly, as long as we do not uphold the four cardinal principles, the idea of "total Westernization" can entirely assert itself as the substitute in a given period of time and rule China. The Chinese people of course cannot accept view that actually means giving away China's future and destiny. It can be seen that the idea of "total Westernization" in essence calls for the introduction of the capitalist system.

### 3. Arguments that support total Westernization cannot hold water.

Those advocates of total Westernization say: "We people involved in the scientific field should admit to this fact scientifically... We feel that the things that we have done in these 30 years are failures, as far as the socialist system is concerned... It is a failure from orthodox socialism--from Marx and Lenin to Stalin and Mao Zedong--to the results we now see." Socialism has been a failure from Marx until now. This is one aspect of the argument for total Westernization. This conclusion does not fit in with the facts, nor is it compatible with a science such as the history of the



development of Marxism. When Marx and Engels authored the theory of scientific socialism in the 1840's, it represented only one of many socialist factions. But it successively triumphed over various false versions of socialism and rose above the siege laid by bourgeois scholars. Just as Lenin said, in summarizing this chapter in history: "The Marxist doctrine won a complete victory and became widely known." (Footnote 11) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 18, pp 582-583) From the October Revolution and the birth of socialist countries to socialist construction guided by Stalin and the victory of the antifascist war, to the appearance of a series of socialist countries, including China--is this not a continuous victory of the socialist system over the old system and not the victory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, including their socialist doctrines? Our party made a fundamental assessment, first affirming 10 major achievements of China's socialist cause during more than 30 years in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." (Footnote 12) (See the second volume of "A Collection of Selected Important Literary Works Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," People's Publishing House, 1982 edition, pp 794-797) Meanwhile, it was also pointed out that we had made serious mistakes by enlarging class struggle, pressing ahead recklessly and getting involved with the "Great Cultural Revolution." This chapter of history is, after all, history marked with tremendous achievements but with serious mistakes involved. Or should it be summarized as one of history's failures? Obviously, the former is a scientific assessment. The latter is random talk without the least scientific foundation.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee the focus of party and state work has shifted to economic construction. Meanwhile, economic reforms have gradually been carried out. The achievements in this chapter of history are universally recognized. Westerners have come out with lots of words in praise of the great achievements in our reforms, especially in the rural reform. Why should the advocates of total Westernization not borrow everything in its entirety in this respect? Are they not negating total Westernization? The "Great Cultural Revolution" made the socialist cause suffer serious setbacks. But since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee the socialist cause has been brought back to life. Though we still have lots of difficulties and make mistakes, just as the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" said, "The course for a triumphant advance has been opened up." (Footnote 13) ("A Collection of Selected Important Literary Works Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," People's Publishing House, 1982 edition, Vol 2, p 825) How can we include history since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the new situation brought by the reforms in the concept of "socialism as having been a failure"? The social reform and the new technical revolution are two main trends in the contemporary world. We deeply believe that with reforms promoted in socialist countries people will clearly see that social reforms will enable the international socialist movement to start a new period of historical development.

The advocates of total Westernization also say: "Anyone who has been abroad who speaks the truth cannot help saying that China is behind the times in discipline, maintenance of order, morality and civilization." "China is now behind in every given respect." Foreign countries excel more in everything and are more advanced than China. This is another aspect of the argument for total Westernization. This is sheer talk of 50 years ago. For various reasons, our country at present is really behind developed countries in many areas. But we can in no way undervalue ourselves spreading a sentiment of pessimism. As far as the economic system is concerned, our country is mainly based on the socialist system of public ownership, with exploitation basically eliminated. Western capitalist countries follow the capitalist system of private ownership and maintain a perfect system of exploitation. Is the former, on the contrary, behind the latter? Since the 1970's the capitalist economy has been plunged into a state of "stagflation." In December 1986 the ASSOCIATED PRESS reported that the U.S. Administration's annual budget deficit was as high as \$220 billion. Its foreign debts would reach \$250 billion, making the United States the most heavily indebted country in the world. The unemployment rate in the European Community reached 11.9 percent. The ASSOCIATED PRESS called the huge U.S. budget deficit a "dark cloud" hanging over the U.S. economy. If foreign countries are more advanced than China in every respect, then how can these facts be explained? In the ideological area, if the above arguments can hold water, would this not lead to Marxist materialism being behind capitalist idealism and socialist collectivism being behind bourgeois individualism? In Western developed capitalist countries there is at present a social crisis caused by the "five big threats to society"--a rampage of crime, drug abuse being the rage, the disintegration of families, drunkards gathering in droves, and the prevalence of suicide. Of course social life is complicated. If a country has some of the above problems with some of them beyond control, it is nothing strange. But in these countries, these problems have developed into universal phenomena seen on a large scale, and have become ideological and moral crises that are hard to cope with. According to a report by the U.S. Department of Justice, in 1982 the United States had nearly 25 million households (accounting for 29 percent of the country's total) attacked by acts of violence and burglars. According to a U.S. report on the study of the problem of drug abuse, one-third of U.S. youths between 18 and 25 were on drugs. Advocates of total Westernization that claim to be well-acquainted with conditions in foreign countries downplay it saying: "There is of course a case available if we want to cite it." But the above social problems are not individual cases. They are the natural products of the capitalist system. Moreover, with the advocates of total Westernization comparing things with foreign countries, who is better acquainted with foreign countries? Can China also be behind them where these problems are concerned?

The advocates of "total Westernization" specially stress that our country's level of productivity is unacceptable and our living standard is low in an attempt to show the backwardness of the socialist system and the progressiveness of the modern capitalist system. This involves the fundamental standard or the highest standard for the evaluation of the socioeconomic system. In the history of mankind five socioeconomic systems (relations of production) have appeared. Each, in its initial stage, was suitable in promoting the

rapid development of productivity. These relations of production were new and advanced. But when the development of productivity had reached a certain stage, it would gradually become unsuitable, hampering the development of productivity. These production relations became outdated and backward and were finally replaced by more advanced production relations. Based exactly on this objective process of development, Marxism held that the fundamental standard or the highest standard for evaluating the socioeconomic system and thus judging the superiority and progressiveness of the social system, in the final analysis, lies in whether it is capable of promoting the still quicker development of productivity. On this point, the revolutionary teacher made a clear-cut statement. In an analysis of the two types of evolution of bourgeois agriculture (the Prussian road and the U.S. road), Lenin said: "The former type of evolution...brings the pace of the development of productivity to the lowest level." "The latter type of evolution makes for the quickest possible development of productivity." He also said: "We make it our aim to develop productivity (this is the highest standard for social progress). We should not support the former and should instead support the latter." (Footnote 14) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 13, p 223) Here an important principle is put forth: The supreme standard for determining social progress lies in whether it can stimulate the rapid development of productivity. Stalin also said: "The unprecedented pace of development of our socialist industry has directly and undoubtedly proved that the Soviet production system is superior to its capitalist counterpart." (Footnote 15) ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 10, p 259) Comrade Deng Xiaoping's viewpoint is compatible with theirs. He pointed out: "The socialist system is superior to the capitalist system. This must be expressed in many respects but, first of all, in the pace of economic development and relevant results. In the absence of this, further indulgence in bragging will not help." (Footnote 16) ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 215) Below we make some comparisons and analyses in light of the viewpoint of historical materialism.

Since the founding of the PRC our economic construction has undergone three ups and downs. The first "up" took place from 1950 to 1957. The average annual growth in total industrial output value was 34.8 percent in the recovery period, and 18 percent during the First 5-Year Plan. (Footnote 17) ("The Superiority of the Socialist Economic System and Our Country's Practice," HONGQI Publishing House, 1981 edition, pp 1, 50-51) The second "up" took place from 1963 to 1965. The annual rate of industrial growth was 17.9 percent. (Footnote 18) (Jiang Xuemo: "Talk on the History of the Development of Human Society," Zhongguo Qingnian Publishing House, 1981 edition, p 135) These two "ups" took place when the socialist system was in its normal stage. By comparing it with the "golden age" of postwar developed capitalist countries we can see that the latter achieved levels lower than our country's. From 1951-1960 and 1961-1970 the average annual industrial growth rate was 4 percent and 5 percent respectively for the United States, 2.9 percent and 2.8 percent for the United Kingdom, 16.2 percent and 13.7 percent for Japan, 9.8 percent and 5.2 percent for the Federal Republic of Germany, and 6.4 percent and 4.9 percent for France. (Footnote 19) ("World Economics," People's Publishing House, 1982 edition, Vol 2, p 343) If an overall comparison is made between them and China in its history since the founding of the PRC, then from 1950-1979 the average annual industrial growth rate was

13.4 percent for China, 4.5 percent for the United States, 11.9 percent for Japan, 6.7 percent for the Federal Republic of Germany, 2.5 percent for the United Kingdom, and 5.1 percent for France. From 1951-1979 the average annual agricultural growth rate was 4 percent for China, 1.9 percent for the United States, 2.1 percent for Japan, 2 percent for the Federal Republic of Germany, 2.2 percent for the United Kingdom, and 2.4 percent for France. (Footnote 20) ("The Superiority of the Socialist Economic System and Our Country's Practice," HONGQI Publishing House, 1981 edition, p 148) As to 1979-1982, the average annual rate of industrial growth was 7.2 percent for China, 1.2 percent for the United States, 3.1 percent for Japan, 0.2 percent for the Federal Republic of Germany, 1.2 percent for the United Kingdom, and zero for France. (Footnote 21) ("China's 1984 Statistics Yearbook" edited by the State Statistical Bureau, China Statistical Publishing House, 1984 edition, p 543) Our country is superior to all developed capitalist countries. The above facts show that the socialist production relations can better promote the rapid development of productivity. This has proved that the socialist system is superior to and more advanced than the modern capitalist system. Experiences of other socialist countries have also proved this.

Productivity, generally speaking, develops more quickly under the socialist system than under the modern capitalist system. There are profound reasons behind this. An overall analysis is not made here. It needs only to be pointed out that it is precisely the capitalist system of private ownership which has brought cyclical production surplus economic crises. Every serious economic crisis makes production regress a few years every several decades. The 1929 economic crisis caused a drop of more than 40 percent in the capitalist world's industrial production. The 1973-1975 economic crisis caused a 13.8 percent decline in industrial production in the United States and 20.8 percent decline in Japan. (Footnote 22) ("World Economics," People's Publishing House, 1983 edition, Vol 3, p 244) Just as Lenin said, capitalist production is "two steps forward and one step backward, and sometimes even two steps backward." (Footnote 23) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 5, p 72) This alone has served to show that the socialist system is more capable of promoting the rapid development of productivity than the modern capitalist system. This is decided by the nature of two different socioeconomic systems.

Of course, the productivity level of a mature socialist society should be higher than that of a developed capitalist country. This is how a socialist society is converted from a developed capitalist one as Marx projected. But in a socialist society transformed from an economically backward country, the level of development of productivity is naturally lower than that of developed capitalist countries in a given period of time. This is because the productivity level and the scientific and technological level are a result of long accumulation. The capitalist system in European and American countries has a history of 200-300 years. Japan's also has a history of more than 100 years. Our country's socialist system has only a history of 30-odd years. No able fast runner can catch up in an extremely short period of time with the one that has started out much earlier. How can we, on the basis of our productivity level formed in 30-odd years be

compared with that of others formed 100-300 years ago, and draw the conclusion that the socialist system is inferior and backward?

Some people say that with regard to the productivity level we cannot compare China to the United States. But we can compare it to Japan. Postwar Japan was in ruins. Its economic level was "similar to" that of China at that time. Now we are not doing as well as Japan. From this it can be seen that the modern capitalist system is superior to the socialist system. True, Japan's economy suffered from disruption during the war. But the capitalist economy established since the Meiji reform was not all ruined. It lost about 45 percent of its national wealth. Only around half of the industrial equipment in Tokyo, Yokohama, and other economic centers was destroyed. (Footnote 24) ("World Economics," People's Publishing House, 1983 edition, Vol 1, p 84) Besides, while tangible factory premises and equipment were seriously damaged, scientific and technological forces, organizational and management forces, and skilled workers were basically preserved. Meanwhile, in 1950, with the start of economic recovery in our country, Japan had just gone through 4 years of postwar development. Its steel output in 1950 had reached 4.84 million tons. Its generated energy stood at 44.9 billion kilowatt-hours and coal output at 38.46 million tons. (Footnote 25) ("World Economics," People's Publishing House, 1982 edition, Vol 2, p 356) When new China started its construction effort, its steel output stood at 158,000 tons, it generated energy at 4.3 billion kilowatt-hours, and coal at 32 million tons. (Footnote 26) ("The Superiority of the Socialist Economic System and Our Country's Practice," HONGQI Publishing House, 1981 edition, p 141) Moreover, our population at that time was several times that of Japan's. Therefore, how can it be said that the "starting point" for the economic level (the level of productivity) of postwar socialist China and that of Japan was the same? Based on the existing level of productivity in our country which is below that of Japan, how can we reach the conclusion that the socialist system is not as good as the capitalist system?

We should also note the effect that the pace of development of productivity has on the level of development of productivity. The rapid development of productivity does not mean a high level of productivity. But the former will inevitably cause the transformation of the level of productivity from a low to a high level. Given its production relations which are capable of stimulating the rapid development of productivity, a socialist country, after a relatively long period of time, can catch up with and overtake developed capitalist countries in its level of productivity. This is a natural trend. From 1949 to 1982 the gap between our country and these countries in the productivity level narrowed considerably. Moreover, it successively surpassed quite a number of developed countries in the output of certain important industrial products. Its raw coal output rose from ninth to third place in the world, surpassing that of developed countries other than the United States. Its crude oil output rose from 27th to 5th place, surpassing that of the United Kingdom, Japan, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries. Its steel output went from 26th to 4th place, surpassing that of France, the United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany. (Footnote 27) ("China's 1984 Statistics Yearbook," edited by the State Statistical Bureau, China Statistical Publishing House, 1984 edition,

pp 543-544) We believe that on the strength of the superiority of the socialist system, the socialist motherland can surely first surpass developed capitalist countries in total output and then, after a long period of efforts, approach and surpass them in per capita output, and in the productivity level.

How should we treat living standards? Generally speaking, people's living standards in a country must be decided by their productivity level. It is based on the productivity level. To have more refrigerators, color television sets, air conditioners and other modern daily necessities, people must have the capacity to produce them. Of course, in capitalist countries people's living standard is related to the policy of the ruling class. But the ruling classes' policy is also influenced by the level of development of productivity. After World War II, it was precisely an improvement in the scientific and technological level and the productivity level that enabled monopoly capitalists to change policy, or switch over from a mere extension of working hours, and other measures to a matter of mainly letting the workers improve their living standard and, at the same time, causing the increase in labor productivity to exceed the increase in the workers' actual wages, thus strengthening exploitation. Since the living standard of common people in a country is based on the level of development of production, how can we negate the superiority and progressiveness of the socialist system on the basis of a living standard brought about by our country's 30-odd years of development of production which has not been as good as that of developed capitalist countries which are the result of 100-300 years or so of development of production. In brief, no scientific answer can be found to problems of this kind in a departing from the historical-materialist fundamental standard for assessing a social system.

The struggle between the four cardinal principles and the idea of "total Westernization" is protracted. It concerns the destiny of the motherland. We cannot and should not eschew it. But opposition to total Westernization in no way means not learning the advanced science and technology, management experiences and healthy culture of capitalist countries. Lenin ridiculed the attitude of refusing to learn the strong points of the Western bourgeoisie. He drew an important inference: "How socialism is realized depends on the way our Soviet Government and Soviet management organs work in line with the latest progressive developments of capitalism." (Footnote 28) ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 27, p 237) This conclusion is still of important guiding significance today. As long as we are good at properly combining and upholding the four cardinal principles with learning capitalist countries' latest progressive things, we can surely usher in the spring of a modern and powerful socialist country more quickly!

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## WHAT IS THE ACTUAL POTENTIAL OF THE ENTERPRISES?

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 35-36, 41

[Article by Zhou Guanwu [0719 0385 0063]]

[Text] Currently, an increasing number of people have come to realize that our national economic development should mainly depend on developing the existing enterprises' role. This brings the problem of understanding and appraising the potential of existing enterprises to the fore. In 1983 some leading comrades of the State Council asked me: "What is the actual potential of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company?" I answered: "I have not yet been able to appraise it fully." Actually since reform at Shoudu began 8 years ago, profits have continually increased at an average annual rate of 20 percent, even though the main body of equipment basically has not increased, and this is something I did not expect. Moreover, even now one cannot say that its potential has been fully tapped. Practice has changed my understanding of the potential for enterprises. I think that if tapping potential is interpreted as opposing waste and eliminating excessive cash balances, potential will be quite limited; but if it is linked to continual development of the enterprises' latent productive capacity by the use of new technology, then their potential is unlimited.

The productive forces are most active. The potential for enterprises lies hidden in various elements of the productive forces and their rational combination. Changes in production relations can promote the development of the productive forces, and this development is governed by its own laws of movement. In a modern enterprise, the combination of various elements of the productive forces is reflected in production at posts, and in various production processes and technological processes. Every item of equipment or technology embodies the comprehensive use of many branches of science and technology. Because people attain different levels in mastering and applying objective laws, imbalances between various links of production always occur. Backwardness in certain links will affect the development of the entire enterprise's comprehensive productive capability, while new breakthroughs in some links will bring about imbalances in other links. Contradictions continue to arise and be resolved, and production will thus continually develop. This is both a general law of development of the productive forces and a major source of the enterprises' potential capability. The Shoudu Iron and Steel Company's designed annual capacity was 600,000 tons of steel, but in 1983 the

output of steel reached 1,480,000 tons, or nearly two and a half times the designed capacity, and many people thought that further tapping of potential was impossible. However, the staff of the steel mill turned their attention to increasing the converters' volume so that each could handle a larger quantity of input. Thus, they used converters with thinner walls, and later enlarged the converter casings so that the output of each heat of steel increased more than 6 tons. In view of the increase in the loss of molten steel sprayed out during blowing, due to the increase in input for each converter, they used a new technique of compound blowing that both lowers the consumption of molten iron and improves the quality of steel. The increase in each converter's output caused imbalances in various forward, backward, and related subprocesses. They solved the problem by adopting various measures. Because the hoisting capacity was inadequate, they replaced existing overhead traveling cranes with larger ones; because the volume of vacuum refiners was too small, they replaced them with larger ones whose linings are formed by integral casting; and so on. They also reinforced the entire plant building so that it could withstand greater pressure. All these transformation projects were carried out without disrupting production. Moreover, by improving the organization of production, they quickened the inspection and repair of converters and thus reduced their downtime, and reduced the time spent on auxiliary work in steelmaking. In 1986, the number of heats of steel produced was nearly 8,000 more than in 1983, and the output of steel reached 2,100,000 tons, exceeding the designed capacity by 250 percent. Thus, the steel mill's investment of 5,620,000 yuan spread over 3 years resulted in a 1,257,000-ton cumulative increase in the output of steel and also profits exceeding 300 million yuan earned by rolling the steel into marketable products which then sold. At the breaking-down plant, the cast steel ingots from the smelting plant must be rolled into steel billets by both of two sets of rolling mills called the 850 mill and the 650 mill. In the beginning, the 650 mill had a lower capacity than the 850 mill, so the output of steel billets could not increase. Because of this they added two components to the 650 mill. Later, the smelting plant's output greatly increased and the capacity of the 850 mill became inadequate, so they replaced the electrical driving component of this mill with a more powerful one. With this increase in the 850 mill's capacity, the 650 mill again became incompatible; so they converted the two jointly driven mills into independently driven ones and thus boosted the rolling capacity. Thus, in 1986, 1,937,000 tons of steel underwent blooming at this breaking-down plant with a designed annual blooming capacity of 620,000 tons, surpassing the designed capacity by over 200 percent. The staff calls this method of continual potential-tapping "increasing surface area when water increases and adding water when the surface area increases" [here surface area stands for equipment and water stands for input].

Science and technology are an enormous motive force behind development of the productive forces. Productive forces develop under the contradiction between balance and imbalance. The general law of movement is that the use of advanced technology in certain links of production upsets the original balance and hence brings along advances in other links of production, so that production attains a higher level. If an enterprise wants to keep on advancing, it must continually adopt new technology and production techniques, break the old



balance, and bring about a new balance. There is potential for enterprises to tap precisely because science and technology keep on developing. The light steel rolling plant of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company with a designed annual steel-product producing capacity of 300,000 tons was completed and began production in 1959. After 1978, when its output reached its designed capacity, its output did not significantly increase. When it adopted the newest technique of cutting and rolling in 1983, however, the output of small steel products immediately doubled. In 1986, the output of steel products reached 708,000 tons, 136 percent above the designed capacity. If the new technique of continuous rolling is applied, output can further increase. Among the metallurgical mines in China producing ferrous metals, the Qianan mine belonging to the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company can produce highest grade one concentrates at the lowest cost and with the best economic results precisely because it keeps on adopting new technology. By adopting the new technique of automatic continuous cycles of fine screening following by grinding, it raised the grade one concentrates from 64 percent to over 68.5 percent. When the improvement in grade affected output growth, it adopted the new magnetic pulley technique whereby useless pieces of rock in the ores are removed before the ores are fed into globular grinders, thus raising grinding efficiency 8 percent. The increased grinding capacity renders the dressing capacity inadequate, and so it adopted the new technology of magnetic gathering and redressing, and consequently the output of powdered ore concentrates rose 18 percent. Thus, while the main body of equipment did not increase, a mere investment of 10 million yuan or more raised the annual output of powdered ore concentrates by over 1 million tons. In comparison, building a new dressing plant of comparable scale entails an investment of 100 million yuan and a building time of at least 3 years. If a number of new techniques are used to raise efficiency in grinding and dressing and complementary transformation measures are adopted, the output of powdered ore concentrates can further be greatly increased. It was invariably believed in the past that there is a limit to the potential of old enterprises. Now it appears that if an enterprise keeps on adopting new technology and renewing and transforming existing equipment, its economic results will continually improve, its funds will snowball, and it will be able to expand its factories according to necessity and undertake expanded reproduction by extending its scale. Therefore, there are many opportunities for tapping the potential of old enterprises.

If an old enterprise like Shoudu wants to opportunely convert advanced science and technology into productive forces, it should possess a contingent of scientific research, designing, manufacturing, and work implementation personnel who are competent in technological transformation duties. Merely having personnel for the routine maintenance, inspection, and repair of equipment is inadequate. A major aspect of transforming old enterprises is that production and transformation proceed concurrently, and other construction units are generally unwilling to undertake such transformation work because the conditions for work implementation are poor, the time allowed for completion of work is short, and the required technological standard is high. The rapid progress and good results of technological transformation at Shoudu over the past several years would have been impossible without its own technological transformation personnel. A contingent of such personnel can

ensure the continuous development of an enterprise's internal productive forces and is an organizational component indispensable to the enterprise's self-accumulation, self-transformation, and self-development. When the focus of economic development is genuinely shifted to the transformation and expansion of existing enterprises, the amount of construction work at the enterprises is tremendous and the existing contingents of capital construction personnel cannot cope with this work. What, then, is the appropriate size of an enterprise's comprehensive technological transformation staff? Assume the annual labor productivity of a construction and installation workers is 10,000 yuan. If an enterprise's annual investment is 10 million yuan, and if half of this sum is spent on equipment, 500 workers will be adequate. Moreover, it is not always necessary to expand the enterprise's establishment, because with the progress of technological transformation, an increasing number of personnel at routine production workposts will be made redundant, and these personnel can be reassigned duties in transformation after some short-term training. If an enterprise possesses a team of workers who can undertake anything from minor transformation and innovation to major repairs and building of new plants, it will be able to reduce input, produce more, and achieve good results. This front is completely different from the capital construction departments' undertakings in building key construction projects and public facility projects for the state, and from some enterprises' undertakings in making themselves "big and complete" or "small and complete." Enterprises in Western countries assign technological transformation projects to other firms for the sake of specialization, with the result being that the time taken for work completion is generally relatively long; and for this reason they are not successful.

Human beings are the most active factor among the productive forces. Developing and tapping the potential of enterprises depends most basically on using the workers' enthusiasm and spirit of being masters. We must first of all develop people's enthusiasm before we can stress using advanced science and technology to promote the development of production. The use of any fruits of science and technology must depend on the collective wisdom and creativity of the broad masses of workers, including technological personnel. The 308 items of new technology and techniques adopted in production or transformation over the past 8 years since reform started at Shoudu have all been the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the broad masses of workers. More importantly, the actual development of the usefulness of these new techniques in routine production work depends on the careful, conscientious, rigorous, flawless, and meticulous work of workers at various posts. The funds needed by the enterprise for tapping potential and transformation must also be made available by developing the enthusiasm of the masses of workers and improving economic results, and it is impossible to depend solely on state investment. Under the existing system, enterprises are still under very rigid control and lack the necessary vitality and thus development of the enterprises' potential is seriously affected. Therefore, in tapping potential for existing enterprises' potential for existing enterprises, problems cannot be solved by merely emphasizing strengthening of the enterprises' internal management. It is of crucial importance that the enterprise reform must be deepened and various forms of economic

responsibility systems practiced so the enterprises' responsibility, power and interests can be genuinely integrated; so the interests of the state, the enterprise, and the individual can be harmonized; and so the enterprises can accumulate funds by creating and retaining larger profits and can transform and develop themselves. Over the past 8 years since reform started at Shoudu, the enterprise has been able to continually realize its potential basically because by practicing the contractual system, the enthusiasm of the workers as masters has been fully developed so that the superiority of socialist public ownership has further materialized. An enterprise's potential lies in its vigor. If it is genuinely vigorated, its potential will be unlimited.

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## REFORM AND PERFECT THE SOCIAL INSURANCE SYSTEM

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 37-41

[Article by Chen Xiaomei [7115 2556 2734]]

[Text] Necessary Nature of Reforming and Perfecting the Social Insurance System

Social insurance refers to a kind of social protection system established on the basis of the state's statutes and regulations. It provides protection to workers who, because of temporarily or permanently losing his capacity to work and other causes, has interrupted his work and is devoid of an income enabling him to enjoy insurance benefits, that is, to obtain the necessary aid from society to ensure his own and his family's basic livelihood. Generally speaking, a social insurance system embodies the following three features: First, the character of compulsion. A social insurance system is openly stipulated by the state, through legislation or other relevant regulations. It is insured by law, and must be observed by the relevant departments, units, and individuals. People enjoying the benefits of social insurance have, on the one hand, an inalienable right and must, on the other hand, carry out their obligations, that is, participating in the raising and accumulation of insurance funds. Second, its social character. Social insurance funds can be raised in a unified manner, and mutually adjusted in a specified region or even throughout the country. To what extent it is socialized, and the scope of its application, are mainly determined by the country's economic development and other relevant conditions. Third, its welfare character. It is different from insurances of a financial or commercial nature. It does not have profit-making as its objective, but the social insurance funds are specially used and managed in accordance with the relevant principles and demands determined by the state. In monetary terms, the state frequently grants financial assistance, and hence social insurance also takes on the nature of a welfare program.

Establishment of a social insurance system manifests the demands of a social, large-scale production, and possesses an objective inevitability. In a society comprising mainly individual handicraft labor, the family is a production, as well as a consumption, unit. It is self-sufficient, and basically must solve its constituent members' living, old-age needs, sickness and funeral expenses itself, lacking the necessary conditions to enforce a social

insurance system. But, following the growth and development of mechanized, large-scale production, and the expansion of the production scale, division of work in society has increasingly intensified, reciprocal liaison and relations have become more frequent and closer, and the industrial structure has undergone rapid changes. In turn, manpower movements have become more frequent, individual incomes have become unstable, while industrial accidents, illness, and unemployment have become frequent occurrences. Many of the occurrences are beyond the control, or the capacity to bear, of the individual workers, and even of the enterprise units, and sorely need society to lend a helping hand to a certain extent. The social insurance system is generated to precisely suit such demands.

The social insurance system had a world history of over 100 years. Currently, roughly 130 countries have set up social insurance schemes in varying degrees and in different forms. In capitalist countries, it is, first, the result of long-term struggles of the working class. At the same time, capitalist governments have also used it as a "safety net" to maintain and protect the capitalist system, and as a "shock-absorber" to ease class conflicts. Social insurance under the socialist system is an important measure in achieving the objective of socialist production, while the nature of socialist political power itself also determines that the state must make the utmost effort to solve the problem of protecting the people's living, thus manifesting the workers' basic rights and power as masters of the house.

In our country, social insurance is also called "labor insurance." From the February 1951 formal promulgation and enforcement of the "PRC's Regulations on Labor Insurance," the social insurance system has been in force in our country for over 30 years. In such aspects as ensuring the personal health of the staff members and workers themselves, and lightening life's difficulties, protecting the basic livelihood of those staff members and their families who have lost their ability to work, removing future worries of the extensive masses of workers, and promoting production development and social stability, it has played an important role. However, due to the many years' suffering from the influences of "leftist" ideologies, particularly the interference and wrecking during the 10 years' disturbances, in addition to insufficient experience, many problems still exist in the current social insurance system, in relevant management work, and in ideas and understanding, and have made it difficult to meet the developmental needs of the new situation. This is principally illustrated in the following: 1) The enforcement scale of social insurance is not wide enough. Currently, the scope of social insurance operations in our country is mainly confined to publicly owned enterprises and above district or county level collective units, state organs, and enterprise units, while the great majority of township and town collective units below district or county level, and individual workers basically have not been incorporated in the scope of social insurance. The insurance of staff members and workers of foreign capital enterprises and joint ventures, and the vast masses of the rural areas, still awaits study and solution. 2) The existing method of payment for social insurance funds does not conform with the fixed procedures of unified raising and mutual adjustment of the social insurance system. For example, the various enterprises pay out retirement funds themselves, bringing about an inequality in

the burden among enterprises. Seen from this aspect, social insurance has become "enterprise insurance." 3) The management structure is irrational. It lacks unified planning, coordination and scientific management. With many political departments acting as bosses, disputes are frequent, and some problems cannot be speedily solved.

The intensified progress of reform of our country's economic structure, and the development of socialist commodity economy, both urgently demand the reform and perfection of the existing social insurance system. Under the conditions of a commodity economy, competition between enterprises is extremely fierce. Since the fittest survive, regarding staff members and workers of the defeated and bankrupt enterprises, there is a sore need for the establishment of an unemployment insurance system. At the same time, adoption of the measures of society's unified raising, assembling, and sharing the insurance funds on an equal basis can solve the problem of an uneven burden among the enterprises in the payment of retirement funds, growing out of the differences in the age structures of the staff members and workers, and is beneficial to the enterprises competing with each other. In 1985, in our country's cities and towns, the ratio between staff members and workers under employment and retired staff members and workers was 7.5:1. The distribution of the retired workers in point of location and enterprise was rather uneven. For example, in 1984, the number of people in retirement was 26 percent of the whole number of staff members and workers in employment, and in certain industries and trades the proportion was as high as 70 percent. In many regions in the country, there are certain old enterprises shouldering a heavy burden, having a large number of retired staff members and workers who, in some cases, exceed the number of staff members and workers currently in employment. In many cases, enterprises are unable to pay out retirement funds. Hence, enforcement of the social insurance system, which distributes the risks, can not only ensure the "workers' living in their old age," but also serves as a necessary condition for the enterprise's survival and development. Currently, some enterprises in our country, because of having been in operation only a short time, and having many young workers on their payrolls, are unwilling to take part in the social retirement funds. They look at the scheme as "egalitarianism and the indiscriminate transfer of resources," and as the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot." This really is a misconception. This kind of erroneous thinking illustrates that certain of our cadres sadly lack farsightedness on enterprises' development, and are devoid of a long-term, social viewpoint. Clearly, they do not understand the necessary nature of social insurance and a misconception of this kind must be quickly rectified.

Although our country is developing, because of the implementation of a correct population policy, the birth rate has rapidly declined. Moreover, because of improvement in the standard of living and in medical and public health conditions, life expectancy has increased from 25 years before liberation to 69 years now. According to an initial estimate, by the year 2000, the population of our country will be transformed from a "prime-of-life type" to "an elderly type." This will be shown in the ratios of people over 70 and 65 years old surpassing the world-recognized aged-population limits of, respectively, 10 percent and 7 percent. By that time, the ratio between

the working-age and old-age populations will correspondingly decline, and in the cities and towns the ratio between staff members and workers in employment and retired staff members and workers will drop even faster. If we do not begin now to take steps in social unified planning and accumulation of retirement funds, in a score of years, the development of finance and of the whole national economy will meet with new problems.

#### Probing for a Social Insurance System Suited to Our Country's Conditions

In reforming and perfecting the social insurance system, we should start from the actual conditions in our country, and note and copy from foreign experiences, striving hard to find a new road suited to our country's conditions.

First, we should, on the one hand, clearly take as the ultimate objective of our efforts the realization of a "whole people's insurance," covering all workers in the cities and towns and, on the other hand, start from such complex conditions as our country's enormous population, weak and poor foundation, uneven economic development and the joint development of diversified forms of the ownership system. We should formulate a many-layered social insurance program and principles offering different insurance forms, diversified insurance projects, providing different standards. We should, in a planned manner, expand the scope of social insurance, and gradually realize a social insurance system which is generally unified in various aspects.

Enterprises and units under the system of ownership by the whole people have, for many years, enforced a social insurance system, and the problem before us is how to reform and perfect it on the existing basis. The urgent task is to change the current situation of enterprises separately paying out insurance funds, particularly retirement funds, and reinstate the social system of unified planning in force in the 1950's. Currently, roughly 600 cities and counties are experimenting with the system of unified assembling and collecting, and unified payment of retirement funds for staff members and workers, and the relevant departments of the state are also studying the formulation of a corresponding policy. In this connection, if we can pay close attention to the matter at all levels, step up and tightly grasp the work, particularly regarding reform and coordination of our country's finances, taxation and price system, speedily take the provinces, cities, and counties as separate units for unified planning for, and raising of, retirement funds for staff members and workers, and proceed to implement a unified measure on a nationwide basis, then it is entirely possible to thoroughly transform the situation of the enterprises carrying their own insurance.

Basically speaking, all collective enterprises, which up to now have not yet taken part in social insurance, should participate in the unified social insurance system. However, conditions at collective enterprises in the townships and towns differ greatly. So-called "large collective" enterprises, which have a fairly long history and have a relatively good material background generally, are capable of following the insurance regulations for the staff members and workers of enterprises under the system of public ownership, but this is not so with many of those enterprises having poor competitive

power, or newly organized, small collective enterprises. Taking into consideration the concrete conditions of these collective enterprises, currently it is necessary to probe for an insurance program providing the lowest standard protection and in the projects. The urgent task is to start from having society make a unified plan for the retirement funds of the staff members and workers. In the beginning, if the standard is set slightly lower and fewer benefits are scheduled, then it would be possible to incorporate at an early date, the inclusion of the township and town economy into the social insurance system, and we can thus take firmer steps toward transition to the unified objective.

In the long run, in order to further arouse enthusiasm for production on the part of staff members and workers in the enterprises, we should encourage those enterprises with better economic results to set the insurance level for their staff members and workers a little higher. Hence, in social unified planning, we may take "basic insurance" as the principal part and "insurance by the enterprise" as the supplementary part; that is, society, in collecting the premiums and paying out the insurance funds, sets the maintenance of basic livelihood as the standard and, at the same time, permits the enterprise to supplement the scheme with self-insurance in accordance with its own economic conditions. As for those enterprises not having the necessary conditions, they may first take part in the "basic insurance," to be followed, when, and as, their economy further develops, by a gradual transition to the stage of basic insurance, plus the enterprise's supplementary insurance (also known as "double insurance").

Comparatively speaking, the level of development of our rural economy is rather low, and therefore the promotion of social insurance in the rural areas needs all the more to start from reality, and also to take due note of the available strength. We must be, on the one hand, opposed to any demands that surpass the current conditions and realities and must, on the other hand, encourage, promote and guide the rural villages already possessing definite economic strength to undertake social insurance in varying scopes and to a different extent. According to the statistics in 1984, in the country's 23 provinces, autonomous regions, and directly subordinate municipalities there were 663,600 people in 1,338 towns and 9,418 townships being covered by an old-age insurance system of varying standards. Following the development of the rural commodity economy, the scope of the enforcement of social insurance will be daily enlarged.

Second, clearly fixing the forms and objects in the collecting and assembling of social insurance funds consistent with our country's national conditions is the key to reforming and perfecting the social insurance system. Currently, we should first urgently solve the problem of society's unified raising of the retirement and pension funds for township and town enterprises. Seen from conditions in foreign countries, in general, there are three available forms: 1) The cash-receipt and cash-payment form; that is, without previously collecting any reserve funds, entirely using current receipts to meet current outlay; the special feature is that the insurance premium rate follows the expansion of the outlay demand and is greatly increased; 2) the form of accumulating the total amount of insurance funds,



that is, determining the current insurance premium rate on the basis of the future scale of outlay, the special features being that the insurance premium rate remains stable for a prolonged period, the premium rate is generally high, and hence poses a heavy burden on the enterprises; and 3) the form of accumulating part of the insurance fund; that is, on the precondition of meeting the outlay requirement for a definite stage, keeping a definite amount of reserves and, at the same time, readjusting the premium rate at different stages. Starting from reality in our country, it seems that the third form is more applicable here. This is because the cash receipt and cash payment form calls for no accumulations, may lead to a heavy financial burden in the future, and is not suited to the state of our country's rapidly aging population. The full fund accumulation form requires the enterprise and the individuals to pay a rather high premium and may exceed the current economy's ability to bear. The partial fund accumulation form is flexible in character and makes it easier to adjust and control, in a planned manner, the gross amount of the funds. At the same time, it does not affect current economic development. Currently, many regions, in trying out the unified planning and raising of the retirement and pension funds, have adopted the principle of "fixing receipts according to outlay, leaving a balance for accumulation." This is a specimen of the "partial fund accumulation form," and should be continued from now on.

Regarding those matters concerned in the planning and raising of the social insurance funds and the sources of the funds, the majority of the countries in the world have adopted the measure of having the three parties, namely, the state, the enterprise, and the individual, rationally take up the burden. In our country, enterprises principally pay out social insurance funds but, since the state has agreed that payment of the insurance funds be made before payment of taxes to the state, in reality, this amounts to a concession in the form of financial aid from the state. After reform of the labor system, the measure of the individual paying a small insurance premium has been enforced among workers under the contractual system. Seen in the long run, following the gradual rise in the wage level of staff members and workers, it is appropriate for enterprise staff members and workers to pay a small insurance premium. By means of the individuals paying such a sum the channels for raising funds can be increased, and the staff members and workers themselves can become more intimately concerned with the development of the social insurance enterprise, and to supervise the correct implementation of the social insurance system.

Since the social insurance enterprise has a strong policy nature, touches on an extensive field, and involves a large amount of work, it is essential that leadership over it be strengthened, and its management unified. At the present moment, the relevant structures and management organs in our country are totally unsuited to the demands of this type of work. The formation of a prestigious social protection organ is absolutely necessary and urgent in order to formulate, in a unified manner, guidelines and policies in harmony with national conditions, to guide and coordinate the actual work of the various relevant departments, to make use of the various quarters, to effect a rational division of work, to achieve reciprocal coordination, and to be of

one heart and soul in performing the job of reforming and perfecting the social insurance system of our country.

#### Correctly Handling the Relationship Between Social Insurance and Economic Development

In reforming and perfecting the social insurance system, it is necessary to start from, and take stock of, our country's actual conditions, and make sure that the rapid development of the entire national economy is promoted. This is the guiding idea which we must adhere to from beginning to end.

The scope, the projects, and the standard of insurance adopted in enforcing the social insurance system are ultimately determined by the state's economic strength and material conditions. Departing from reality not only makes realization difficult but also imposes a heavy burden on the nation and impedes economic development. Our country is a developing one. We have a huge population, but a very weak foundation. We are still in the initial stage of socialism. Our current economic conditions determine that, in whatever work we do, we must take stock of these most important national conditions, insist on the principle of acting within our own capability, and progressing according to order. We should never seek to be large in number, huge in size, and comprehensive in scope. As far as social insurance is concerned, we must endeavor to gradually enlarge the scope, gradually increase the number of projects, and gradually raise the standard of protection. We must not seek quick results. In the scope of enforcement, we should follow the development of the productive forces, and effect a gradual transition from "selective insurance" to "comprehensive national insurance." This is the trodden path of many countries. Quite obviously, our country's current economic strength does not yet possess conditions for implementing "comprehensive national insurance." We can only undertake selective insurance, that is, take the wage-earning workers as the objects of insurance, and establish the principle of the burden of the insurance funds being borne by the three parties, namely the enterprise, staff members and workers, and the state. At the same time, on the basis of the very different conditions in the enterprises, the state can formulate a multi-layered transition program in social insurance, so that workers in enterprises and units under different ownership systems, including urban and rural individual and specialized households, can, on the basis of their own conditions, take part in social insurance in varying degrees. The insurance program may generally start with old-age insurance, and be gradually extended to medical and accident insurance. Determination of the insurance benefits must also start from reality and begin from a fairly low level. In improving insurance benefits to the staff members and workers of publicly owned units, especially raising the standard of the payment of retirement and pension funds, we must take due note of the current and future ability to bear the burden on the part of the enterprise and the state.

Since the social insurance system possesses the social and welfare natures of unified planning and mutual adjustment, it may be treated as a way or form for the redistribution of the national income, manifesting, to a definite extent, the principle of showing consideration for all. Naturally, this

principle must be grasped appropriately, otherwise the raising of production efficiency will be affected and even impeded. Quite clearly, under the total national income, if the outlay for social insurance is too large, the accumulation funds for use on expanded reproduction will be correspondingly reduced. In the case of an individual enterprise, a large outlay due to participation in the united raising and assembling of insurance funds, other conditions remaining unchanged, will bring about an increase in the cost of production of the products, a fall in the profit level, and ill effects on the enterprises' competitive power. Moreover, over a stated period, in the distribution of a definite amount of the individual consumption fund, if the individual's and enterprise's outlay of insurance funds is too large, the amount of funds available for distribution as salaries and wages will be correspondingly reduced, and the individual's actual income will also be reduced. In addition, in the event of a rapid increase in the aging population, and a shortage in sufficient reserve insurance funds, the living of staff members and workers in employment will be jeopardized. Lessons from experience, both inside the country and abroad, have abundantly attested that, if the social insurance benefits are set too high, it may lead to the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot," and to the breeding of the lazy popular sentiment of not devoting sufficient effort to work. In short, the undertaking of social insurance is related to whether enterprises have the vitality, whether staff members and workers are enthusiastic, whether the national economy can develop rapidly, and even whether the state has the necessary competitive power abroad. High regard must be paid to all these factors. In the course of searching for a social insurance system with Chinese characteristics, we must insist on giving priority to efficiency, with due consideration to fairness on all sides, benefits to production and protection of livelihood. That is to say, it is necessary to build our country's social insurance system on the basis of benefiting the rapid growth of the national economy. This also provides the material foundation for the perfection and development of the social insurance system itself.

Between social insurance and distribution according to work, a definite, innate relationship exists. The former is principally for the purpose of protecting living standards, whereas the latter not only protects those standards, but also plays an important role in arousing the workers' enthusiasm for production. Some comrades have contended that, since social insurance is available to everybody, it is like the practice of "everybody eating from the same big pot," and therefore should be cut in scale to provide more funds for distribution according to work. This is a one-sided view. As mentioned above, social insurance is a necessity. If the staff members and workers cannot find a living when they grow old, or have no medical facilities in the event of illness, this will generate worries about the future. Will this not affect their enthusiasm for work and production? The problem lies in our ability to weigh the advantages and disadvantages and to grasp the issues appropriately. Under definite conditions, insurance circumstances are related to workers' past performances. For example, in our country the payment of retirement funds bears a definite and quantitative

proportion to the volume of past earnings, the length of service and the nature of work. From now on, they will also be conditional on the worker's acceptance of the responsibility to pay the insurance premiums, and the duration of such payments. To a definite extent, all this reflects the principle of distribution according to work.

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

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 pp 42-46

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

[Text] 4. **Correctly Carry Out Ideological Struggle Between the Two Lines**

Promptly and correctly carrying out the ideological struggle between the two lines and maintaining a high degree of political and ideological consistency within the party is a basic condition for safeguarding the unity and centralization of the party and striving for the victories of the revolution and construction as well as an important guarantee for upholding the four cardinal principles and resolutely, healthily and sustainedly carrying on the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. Studying this special topic, we might concentrate on mastering the following three essential points:

First, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has always upheld the ideological struggle between the two lines;

Second, to carry on the ideological struggle between the two lines, we must persist in the practice of seeking truth from facts and adopt the correct policies and methods;

Third, studying the fundamental theories of Marxism and comprehensively understanding the lines, principles, and policies of the party is of important significance to preventing and rectifying the "leftist" and rightist deviations.

WHILE STUDYING THE FIRST ESSENTIAL POINT, WE SHOULD MAINLY UNDERSTAND: FIRST, SINCE THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IN CONCENTRATING ON RECTIFYING THE GUIDING IDEOLOGY OF "LEFTISM," OUR PARTY HAS ALSO PAID ATTENTION TO OPPOSING THE RIGHTIST DEVIATION; AND SECOND, THE BASIC PRINCIPLE FOR CARRYING OUT THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES IS TO PROCEED FROM THE ACTUAL CONDITIONS AND OPPOSE BOTH "LEFTISM" AND "RIGHTISM."

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has summed up profound experiences and lessons in the aspect of carrying on struggles against the erroneous deviations in the party history and also attached great importance to opposing the rightist deviation. In March 1979, at a theoretical work meeting Comrade Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out that it was still necessary to continue to criticize the wrong statements and deeds opposing from the "left" the four cardinal principles and the principles and policies of the central authorities implemented since the downfall of the "gang of four," in particular the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and running counter to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Meanwhile, it was necessary to make great efforts to wage resolute struggles against the erroneous ideological trends doubting and opposing the four cardinal principles from the right. In the speech, he also emphatically criticized these rightist mistakes. In a speech greeting the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists called in October of the same year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also pointed out that "people should remain clear-headed when confronted by proponents of erroneous tendencies, whether from the 'left' or from the right, who are always attempting in one way or another to create disturbances and sabotage stability and unity, against the interests and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people," and that "it is necessary to understand the harmfulness of these erroneous tendencies and unite to boycott, condemn, and oppose them." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 183) "Some Guidelines Governing the Political Life Within the Party" adopted in February 1980 by the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee clearly stipulates that efforts should be made to oppose both the ossified way of thinking and the erroneous tendency of doing everything according to books and the erroneous ideological trends of negating and opposing the four cardinal principles. In December of the same year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again explicitly proposed at a work conference of the central authorities to criticize and oppose the tendency of worshipping capitalism and favoring bourgeois liberalization. In March 1981, regarding the wrong ideas of some comrades within the party who were not yet fully aware of the harmfulness of the rightist deviation, Comrade Deng Xiaoping delivered an important speech entitled "On Opposing Wrong Ideological Tendencies." He pointed out: "Emancipation of the mind, too, means opposing both 'left' and right ideologies. The call by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee for emancipating our minds was directed at the 'two whatevers,' and the emphasis was on correcting the 'left' errors. Later a right deviation emerged that must, of course, also be corrected." He also proposed: "We should intensify the propaganda and education concerning adherence to the four cardinal principles, and write more articles on the subject." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 334) The decision regarding the party rectification adopted by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee analyzed the two wrong tendencies within the party in a deepgoing way and made further realizing a high degree of political and ideological consistency in the whole party and correcting all the wrong "leftist" and rightist deviations violating the four cardinal principles and the line of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee one of the important tasks of the party rectification. In the light of the situation of spiritual pollution on the ideological front, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also explicitly pointed out at the conference: "It is

still necessary to continue to criticize and correct the wrong 'leftist' viewpoints concerning ideological theories. However, it should be clearly pointed out that at present the most important issue to be resolved on the ideological front is to rectify the rightist tendency of being weak and slack." ("Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" by Deng Xiaoping, revised edition, p 36) Thereafter, in many important speeches as well as many important documents of the party and state, Comrade Deng Xiaoping repeatedly reemphasized these explicit guiding thoughts.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, on the issue of carrying on the ideological struggle between the two lines, the party Central Committee has always upheld the practice of proceeding from the actual conditions to make concrete analyses and oppose both "leftism" and rightism. It is proved that the time for the whole party to concentrate on opposing "leftism" or rightism should be collectively decided by the central authorities through discussions in the light of the actual conditions of that time. No departments and organizations at any level should change the collective decision of the central authorities without the approval of the central authority. The specific issues of specific regions on specific aspects should be specifically analyzed. People should uphold opposing any wrong tendencies, regardless of the degree of seriousness and the place. Meanwhile, it is imperative to avoid overlooking one wrong tendency while correcting another wrong tendency. People should pay special attention to using one wrong thinking to rectify another and using one extreme to oppose another. On these issues, we have acquired many experiences and lessons following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. For example, after the plenary session, due to one-sidedly summing up the historical lessons, some comrades only paid attention to the need to eliminate deep-rooted "leftist" thinking but overlooked the interference of rightism. Under the slogan of emancipation of minds, an extremely small number of comrades of the theoretical circles deviated from the fundamental theories of Marxism, departed from the successful revolutionary practice of the party and people over the last few decades and the fundamental principles of the party, and violated the disciplines of the party and even the basic principles of the state Constitution to wantonly propagate their own wrong viewpoints on some important political and theoretical issues. After Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the party Central Committee proposed on many occasions that it was imperative to persist in carrying out struggles against the wrong ideological trends of doubting and opposing the four cardinal principles as well as the lines, principles, and policies of the party from both the "left" and the right, a small number of comrades still opposed "leftism" but not rightism or only opposed rightism in word but not in deed. Sometimes, they even opposed some correct things as the "leftist" things. Some leading comrades also adopted a policy of connivance and protection toward those people opposing the four cardinal principles and engaging in bourgeois liberalization but a policy of harsh suppression or even rejection toward those comrades upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. They even presumptuously declared that the struggles against the spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization would not be mentioned in the future. As a result, the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization continued to develop and spread unchecked, rather

than being effectively stopped and criticized. Following the 3d Plenary Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, being unsatisfied with the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, some comrades who did not seriously study the new situation nor have new methods for resolving the new issues unconsciously followed some of the previous oversimplified practices, resulting in some things going awry. This is also a lesson to be earnestly remembered. Historical experiences have repeatedly proved that "leftism" and rightism are related and the struggles against the two erroneous deviations of "leftism" and rightism supplement each other. Special attention should be paid to correcting the mistakes of "leftism." If we do not correct the mistakes of "leftism," we will make an excuse for the people engaging in the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. Meanwhile, it is necessary to resolutely oppose the erroneous deviation of rightism. If we do not oppose bourgeois liberalization, it is equivalent to providing ammunition to those people stubbornly persisting in the guiding ideology of "leftism" to hamper the implementation of the policy of reform, opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. Only by persisting in opposing both "leftism" and rightism and paying special attention to preventing the rightist deviation while opposing "leftism," and the "leftist" mistakes while opposing rightism, can we ensure the correctness of the political lines and the consolidation of the organizations of the party. Therefore, the correct lines of the party can be comprehensively and correctly implemented and the revolution and construction smoothly develop.

WHILE STUDYING THE SECOND ESSENTIAL POINT, WE SHOULD MAINLY UNDERSTAND: WE MUST, FIRST, CORRECTLY SUM UP THE HISTORICAL EXPERIENCES AND PERSIST IN NOT STARTING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, AND SECOND, ADOPT CORRECT POLICIES AND METHODS IN OPPOSING THE ERRONEOUS DEVIATIONS.

In the struggle against the erroneous deviations, we should remember the previous lessons and not start political campaigns. As the current struggle against bourgeois liberalization is mainly directed at the deviation of rightism, attention should be paid to not using "leftism" to oppose rightism. Historical experiences have already proved that the previous erroneous "leftist" practices for starting political campaigns, such as people at every level making self-criticisms, everyone being examined, asking people to report offenses to the authorities, looking for representative figures at every level, treating people according to lines and factions, and linking things to a higher plane of principle and two-line struggle, rather than making concrete analysis of concrete conditions and using the methods of thorough convincing and gentle discussion to resolve the issues of ideological education of the people, have always been unsuccessful. The criticisms and struggles against erroneous deviations should be carried on with strong leadership, under good arrangements, and in a step-by-step way. Regarding the major ideological tendencies and social ideological trends in a certain period, through making in-depth investigations and studies we should soberly and meticulously discover and analyze the causes and effects and make realistic judgments. After we have determined the scope and field of the issue, we should resolve the issue within this scope and field, rather than wantonly expanding it or "seeking uniformity." As for those issues which we cannot identify at the moment, we should be more careful and considerate,



rather than rushing headlong into mass and hasty actions. Only this way of doing things is conducive to correctly differentiating and handling the contradictions of the two different natures and uniting the majority to build socialism with Chinese characteristics hand in hand. Meanwhile, as the realization of the socialist modernization is an extensive and deep-going revolution, we must change in many ways the previous production relations and superstructures which do not suit the needs of the development of productive forces and all the inappropriate managements, activities, and ideology patterns. During the process of the reform, there must often be some new situations and problems unfamiliar and unexpected to us as well as some changes of interests. In such a period of historical changes, due to the fact that people lack experience in handling the new things as well as the impact of the various old ideas and habits and the role of the other social and political factors at home and abroad, it is very easy for people to think lopsidedly. Therefore, persisting in carrying out the ideological struggle between the two lines, continuing to eliminate the influences of the "leftist" thinking, and opposing bourgeois liberalization and spiritual pollution is inevitably a long-term task for us. Since it is a long-term task, we just cannot accomplish it by starting campaigns. We can only rely on conducting persuasion and education on a regular basis and adopting the administrative and legal means when necessary. Of course, not starting campaigns does not mean that political work will lack orientation nor should we fail to correct the erroneous deviations. Recently, Comrade Zhao Ziyang also explicitly pointed out that it is necessary to fully understand the protracted, arduous, and complex nature of the struggle against bourgeois liberalization and that people should not treat it lightly and arrive at inadequate estimates. It is imperative to be determined to unflinchingly carry on this struggle for several decades and not to give it up halfway. Meanwhile, people should not employ impetuous and oversimplified methods, in an attempt to resolve problems by starting a couple of campaigns or calling several meetings. We should primarily rely on doing protracted, meticulous, and deepgoing educational work to score substantial results. Judged by the principles, policies, and specific arrangements of the central authorities concerning this struggle, we can clearly see that since the "Cultural Revolution" our party has become more mature. This struggle is not and will not become a political campaign.

In criticizing the erroneous deviations, we should take a clear-cut stand and resolute attitude as well as employ the correct policies and methods to always convince people by reasoning. Efforts should be made to integrate the seriousness and incisiveness of criticism and self-criticism with its scientific nature. As the "leftist" or rightist errors committed by most comrades are in the nature of ideological understanding, we should help them correct and enhance their understanding through organizing studies, summing up historical experiences, and patiently conducting criticism and education. We should also discuss and criticize the erroneous works and remarks. The weapon of criticism should never be discarded. Regarding some of the wrong viewpoints with tremendous impacts, except for the persons whom the central authorities decide to criticize by name, we should make principled criticism in the newspapers and journals without directly mentioning the names of the persons concerned to clarify the facts. People should not interpret these

discussions and criticisms of erroneous viewpoints as bludgeoning. Nevertheless, this kind of discussion and criticism should be clearly defined, rational, peaceful, appropriate, convincing, and realistic. It is not allowed to publish any articles or cartoons attacking and humiliating any individual. People should avoid by all means using those improper phrases used in the "Cultural Revolution" and the previous movements. We should neither mistake the wood for the forest and every bush and tree for an enemy soldier nor overawe others by force and use arguments and perverted logic to repeat the previous mistakes of making subjective and arbitrary decisions, being rude, and going to extremes. Strictly abiding by the principle of "learning from the past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" always stressed by the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, we should properly judge, understand, and handle the mistakes of the comrades who have erred to prevent exaggerating their mistakes to the utmost. Special attention should be paid to preventing wantonly interpreting things as the mistakes of lines and the reflections of class struggles within the party. We should give those comrades who make mistakes time to make serious considerations, let them rationally clarify their viewpoints and make factual replies, and welcome them to make sincere self-criticism. Once they have made self-criticism, people should not still seize upon their shortcomings. As for a small number of people who adhere to their wrong political stands and refuse to change, we should not only carry on serious criticism and ideological struggle against them but also give the necessary disciplinary punishment. Nevertheless, we should still take note of displaying their strong points and respecting their civil rights. We should strictly confine the current struggle of upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization within the Communist Party according to principles and policies stipulated by the central authorities and mainly in the political and ideological field. We should strictly distinguish between some individuals who stubbornly persist in bourgeois liberalization and always oppose the four cardinal principles and the people who have some liberal viewpoints but do not cling to their opinions and violate discipline. We should strictly differentiate the works of non-Marxist academic viewpoints, common mistakes, and the errors made in exploration from those of bourgeois liberalization. Regarding the different opinions on academic theories and literature and art, on the principle of abiding by the Constitution and regulations, we should continue to resolve the issues with the methods of free discussion, criticism, and counter-criticism. We should be very prudent in handling people. As long as we unswervingly enforce and implement these correct principles and policies, we can surely ensure that this struggle will be continued in a healthy and sustained way.

WHILE STUDYING THE THIRD ESSENTIAL POINT, WE SHOULD MAINLY UNDERSTAND: WE MUST, FIRST, ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO THE STUDY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL THEORIES OF MARXISM, AND SECOND, COMPREHENSIVELY UNDERSTAND AND ACCURATELY MASTER THE LINES, PRINCIPLES, AND POLICIES OF THE PARTY.

To promptly and correctly carry on the ideological struggle between the two lines and fundamentally prevent the deviations of "leftism" and rightism, comrades of the whole party, in particular the leading cadres at all levels, must lay a good foundation of Marxism. In a speech made in March 1981,

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Today, we have some people who express an opinion on a question after only a cursory examination. The reason for this is that they are not well grounded in either theory or practice. Only when we have become well grounded in both will we really be able to correct our mistakes, both 'left' and right." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 337) Exactly because of these, after the downfall of the "gang of four" and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has on many occasions proposed that the whole party must attach importance to the study of the basic theories of Marxism. At the National Conference of Party Delegates called in September of 1985, on behalf of the collective of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again proposed that all the cadres of the whole party should "strive to master the basic theories of Marxism in the light of the new actual conditions. This is because only by so doing can we improve our basic methods and principles of applying the theories and actively explore the ability to resolve the new basic issues of politics, economy, society, and culture, so as to both push forward our cause and the Marxist theories and prevent some comrades, in particular some newly promoted middle-aged and young comrades, from losing their bearings in the increasingly complex struggles." ("Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics" by Deng Xiaoping, revised edition, p 127) The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee Regarding the Guiding Principles of the Building of the Socialist Spiritual Civilization" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee also prominently stresses that "it is impossible to uphold and develop Marxism if we do not study it seriously." We should seriously study the important significance of these expositions and adopt effective measures to organize well the study of the basic theories of Marxism. The leading cadres of the party at all levels should set a better example in studying Marxism.

To promptly and correctly carry on the ideological struggle between the two lines and effectively prevent the deviations of "leftism" and rightism, we must also comprehensively and accurately master the lines, principles and basic policies of the party. It is proved that the lines and a series of principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are the products of correcting the "leftist" mistakes, opposing the rightist mistakes, meeting the demands of the socialist modernization construction and integrating the four cardinal principles with the concrete practice under the present historical conditions. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, notwithstanding the central authorities repeatedly stressed the necessity to carry on the ideological struggle between the two lines, the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization still spread unchecked on several occasions. This was related to some people favoring bourgeois liberalization who distorted the party's principle of the emancipation of minds and the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world, propagated a series of wrong viewpoints, and confused the people. On the other hand, although some of our comrades could keenly feel the harmfulness of the thinking of "leftism" over a long period of time and ardently hoped for the success of the reform and the vitalization of the country, they did not properly study and deeply understand the admonitions of the party Central Committee concerning the necessity

to uphold the four cardinal principles. Therefore, they did not have a clear understanding of the issues like the relationship between upholding the policy of reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy and upholding the four cardinal principles, the relationship between the implementation of the "double hundred" principle and the carrying out of normal criticisms on the erroneous deviations, and the relationship between the promotion of social democracy and the strengthening of the socialist legal system. Exactly because of these, they responded to the "leftist" things obstructing and interfering with the reform but lacked the necessary vigilance over the attack of the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization and did not use the four cardinal principles to distinguish between right and wrong. They even accepted and propagated some wrong things as the new concepts. This lesson has once again reminded us that only by comprehensively and accurately understanding and implementing the lines, principles, and basic policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee can we exclude the interference of "leftism" and rightism and ensure the smooth development of the undertakings of the socialist modernization construction. In an important speech made in a Spring Festival gathering this year, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that it was Comrade Deng Xiaoping who was the first to profoundly talk most about the reform, opening up to the outside world, and invigorating the domestic economy as well as upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. And that "we should all study well the expositions of Comrade Deng Xiaoping on these two aspects. This is the true essence of the socialism with Chinese characteristics as well as the basic content of the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee." The comrades of the whole party, in particular the leading cadres at all levels, must further seriously study the important speeches made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the relevant important documents of the party and state in the light of their actual conditions and comprehensively and correctly understand and implement the lines, principles, and basic policies of the party. This is an important condition for avoiding and reducing errors in work and constantly marching forward along the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

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## A TENTATIVE PROBE INTO THE SOURCE OF 'HEAT'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 p 47

[Article by Yu Ting [0060 1694]]

[Text] If one's mind is overcome by a craze, one is liable to commit mistakes in cognition and action, or even to go to extremes. This phenomenon frequently occurs in real life, and its consequences are harmful.

For example, opening China to the outside world is essential to building China into a strong socialist country. However, some people have developed this into a "craze for Western things," where the popularity of something can be boosted a hundredfold by association, even in the slightest degree, with foreign things. It goes so far that people not only want to "rehabilitate" capitalism, but even condemn the Chinese as an inferior race.

Another example is that our reform calls for replacing outdated ideas, customs, methods, and systems with new things that are compatible with development of the productive forces; but some people have stirred up a "craze for new things" and go after nothing but "newness," creating confusion and blurring the distinction between good and bad.

A third example is that whereas the ultimate goal of socialist construction is to continuously satisfy the people's material and cultural needs, some comrades are overexcited: They give way to "consumption fever," vigorously promote an atmosphere of high consumption, and greatly boost people's appetite for consumption.

A fourth example is that a minority of people have contracted a "verdict reversal fever." They want to scrutinize everyone and everything from the reverse side and purposefully draw startling conclusions. A recent example is that some people complain of alleged injustice done to Zhou Zuoren and assert that he did not attach himself to renegades. This is done on purpose.

The various "crazes" mentioned above differ in circumstances and nature, but the one thing they have in common is that they go against the principle of realism. We need to specifically study why some people so easily and inextricably get involved in various "crazes."

One reason is that some people hastily draw conclusions from scanty knowledge without studying the reality of things in depth. People who extol the West have little genuine knowledge about Western society. Very often, undeserved praise is uttered most frequently by those who have merely spent several days as visitors in the West. The capitalist world will ultimately decline, while socialism and communism will have an infinitely bright future. This will be a necessary development of history. If one deviates from this primary premise, a scientific examination and knowledge of Western society is impossible. We must not turn a deaf ear to the incisive analysis of Western society by some upright Westerners who have spent their entire lives working there. What is good should be imported from the West and assimilated by us, and blindly rejecting foreign things is a "leftist" infantile disorder. However, the capitalist system of exploitation, the interpersonal relations developed under the constraints of that system, and the decadent ideologies and cultures peculiar to that system are totally inappropriate for us and must never be "imported." If we develop a zeal for these things and mechanically copy them, do we not, in fashionable language, lose our own identity? We think and act on Chinese soil and must never divorce ourselves from China's reality. Only if we understand this can we correctly assimilate or reject various things on the basis of propriety. Only thus can we draw relatively subjective conclusions without yielding to impulse and succumbing to various "crazes."

The general tendency to adhere to fashion also easily draws some people into certain crazes. If one goes along with fashion in dealing with social problems of a serious nature, like political, economic, and cultural problems, one will almost surely join others muddleheadedly in raising disturbing clamors. Some people have never studied certain subjects, but simply because these subjects have become popular topics for discussion and a few famous figures and "authoritative persons" have vehemently enunciated high-sounding views on them, they promptly join in the discussion, echo others' views, pick up and propagate ready-made ideas, and help promote the craze. In real life there are many different trends and it is very important to have good discriminating power and take a firm stand. Even though some trends which conflict with the spirit of the times may be wildly popular for a time, one must never blindly subscribe to them and promote their development. Not all that famous figures say is correct, and one must think and not just hear. If people stick to correct concepts about what is right or wrong, and if fewer people have the habit of echoing others' views, then "crazes" of various kinds will be insignificant.

The mentality of keeping up with the Joneses also helps create various "crazes." Within certain limits it is correct to promote competition and encourage people to stand out. However, some people are eager to catch up with others in creating crazes, and some individuals ever persistently want to excel in developing unconventional things. One says that actually nobody in the world is selfless, and another says that advocating "being utterly devoted to others without any thought of self" is erroneous. One says that it is important to be good at both earning and spending money, and another says people should desperately work and seek pleasure. One reverses the verdict on Chen Duxiu, while another says that Lu Xun wrote purely for

earning a living, and so on. Thus, the crazes continue to escalate. Some crazes are as transient as mere spindrift if viewed against the entire social setting, but in the short term the scramble and clamor of those who ride on the waves may create a deceptively bustling scene. This attitude is quite undesirable.

Seriously analyzing the sources of "crazes" can perhaps help prevent one's mind from being overcome by them.

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GOOD TEACHING MATERIAL FOR CONDUCTING EDUCATION ON THE LEGAL SYSTEM--ON THE FILM 'T PROVINCE IN 1984 AND 1985'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 p 48

[Article by Hu Jing [5170 7231]]

[Text] The plot of this film is not complex, but it has strong practical significance. It points out the acute problem of the relationship between the party and the law, and thus can act as good teaching material in carrying out education on the masses' legal system.

An ordinary party cadre Cheng Ge of the No 1 branch factory of T Province's general machinery factory signs an undertaking contract for the No 1 factory, which for a long period has been incurring annual losses of 400,000 yuan. In order to turn the losses into profits, Cheng Ge bravely explores and implements "floating wages" and "above-quota bonuses." He removes five regular workers who have refused to accept their allocation and who have violated law and discipline, and also takes on 15 young unemployed people, who had completed education through labor, as contract workers.... Five months later, the No 1 branch factory has made 2 million yuan in profits for the state. However, at this time, the party committee of the general factors holds that Cheng Ge's methods were capitalist, decides to suspend him from his duties, and unilaterally terminates the contract. Thus, Cheng Ge, in accordance with the economic contract law, takes the case to court.

This is a lawsuit involving an individual against a unit. Also, because the unit is under the leadership of the local division-level general factory party committee (and the decision to terminate the contract was taken by the party committee), some people say this is a lawsuit between an ordinary party member and a party committee. (Naturally, this is not so in the strictly legal sense.) This results in the case drawing people's attention, and the influence of the case on society greatly surpasses the importance of the case itself. Added to this is direct and indirect intervention by various upper-level party leaders, which makes the work of trying the case even more difficult. Through a series of legal procedures, the judicial administration eliminates the various types of disturbances and determines, according to law, that Cheng Ge has won the lawsuit.



The film gives us a very satisfying ending. In the end, the law, because of its independent strength, overcomes illegal pressure and maintains its gravity and fairness. The price of the victory is not small; during the period Cheng Ge loses his post, and the No 1 branch factory suffers a loss of 570,000 yuan. Also, after the victory some unpleasant incidents still occur: The presiding judge in this case, who has already been selected to take up the post of judge in a middle-level people's court, is transferred to a suburban district court to "practice." In various of our departments and localities, there are innumerable legitimate ways to make things difficult for people.

Perhaps we should return from the film to current reality. Some of our practices cannot help but give people doubts: Why is it that when there are cases involving some local leading persons or their sons, daughters, or friends, the public security, procuratorial and legal organs cannot handle them with full powers and have to discuss the decision with upper-level party committees? It is said that only thus can the party's leadership be manifested, but are not the public security, procuratorial, and legal organs the manifesters and safeguarders of the party's interests and the people's interests? Perhaps today there are some situations which must be handled thus, but it should not be an extremely common practice, and certainly cannot be considered a Chinese national condition that we must support and emphasize. While we are resolving the problem that has existed for many years whereby the party has replaced the government, will we be able to resolve the problem which exists to varying degrees in some areas whereby the party replaces the law?

This problem certainly is not a new one. I remember several years ago when a country leader asked: "Which is superior--the Constitution or the county committee?" The implication of his words was that the county committee was superior. Actually, on the theoretical level, this problem should have been cleared up long ago. The party Constitution in its general principles clearly stipulates: "The party must operate within the limits of the Constitution and the law." However, in social life, this problem has not been thoroughly resolved, and there are occurrences of party organizations and individuals overriding the law. Some public security, procuratorial, and legal organs still cannot carry out their work completely independently (we still lack a complete mechanism) and some party members still do not have strict concept of the law. Thus, in the relationship between the party and the law, it is necessary for every party member and party organization to engage in serious thought and provide some answers. I often feel that the work of popularizing the legal system in an overall way cannot be done in a formalistic way, or by issuing up-to-standard certificates to those who get 100 percent on exams.

In recent years, among at least some workers there has been a tendency for them in their works to try to avoid practical, political problems, feeling that such topics lack "aesthetic value." Also, it is easy to get into trouble. Thus they are enthusiastic about writing obscure and misty things or even things which people cannot make heads nor tails of. I am not negating the value of exploration in aesthetics or artistic styles, and I

also accept that our literature and art works clearly need to be artistically improved in an overall way. However, I also believe that apart from literature and art's aesthetic function, it has a function in terms of encouraging understanding. As far as a writer or artist who has a rich sense of social responsibility is concerned, being concerned about, thinking about, and using appealing artistic works to reflect actual problems in society in order to stimulate thought or enlighten people is his duty-bound responsibility. In this sense, the film "T Province in 1984 and 1985" has a special value in terms of encouraging understanding and should be affirmed. The problems it brings to light are worthy of deep thought.

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REVIEWING 'A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MARX AND ENGELS' ECONOMICS'

Beijing HONGQI [RED FLAG] in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 87 inside back cover

["Book review" by Zhang Zhongpu [1728 6988 2613]]

[Text] In the last few years, our nation's academic circles have written and translated many works about the history of Marx and Engels' economic thought, and the history of the writing of "Das Kapital." This has allowed deeper research in our nation on this topic. Of many similar works, "A Brief Account of the Establishment of Marx and Engels' Economics"--which has Li Shanming [2621 0810 2494] as chief editor and Zhou Chengqi [0719 2052 0796], Yang Guochang [2876 0948 2490], and Wang Fumin [3769 4395 3046] as editors, and which was published by Hebei People's Publishing House in 1984--has special characteristics.

1. "Brief Account" is written in an annalistic style, and its arrangement is clear, which makes it easy to consult. But, it is different from the usual chronological tables of the overall lifetime activities of Marx and Engels in that it only records the two teachers' activities in respect of the establishment of proletarian political economics. It describes in a quite detailed way the course of these activities and their significance. It also provides a theoretical exposition on the contents and characteristics of the major economic works and manuscripts of the two teachers, as well as the position and significance of these works in the history of proletarian political economics. This makes "Brief Account" an annalistic, academic work.

2. When something is written in an annalistic style and the narration is vertical, sometimes it is difficult for people to gain an overall understanding. In order to prevent such a situation from occurring, the authors have divided the whole course of Marx and Engels' economics into three periods: The 1840's were the period of the formation, establishment, and emergence of Marxist political economics; the 1850's and 1860's were the period of the establishment and completion of the narrow-sense Marxist political economics; the 1870's to 1890's were the period of the establishment of political economics in the wide sense. At the beginning of each period, a comprehensive summary has been written, and this provides an overall summing-up of the achievements and activities during this period, which allows the readers to have from the beginning an overall concept and understanding of that period. At the beginning of each year, they also wrote a short "precis" clearly

telling the readers of the major activities and achievements during that year. This allows people to gain a correct understanding of the events in each year. These aspects make up for the restrictions of the work in terms of being a vertical narration.

3. The materials contained in "Brief Account" are rich. The over 700 pages and over 500,000 characters contain virtually all the materials known until now. This makes "Brief Account" a major source of materials on the history of Marxist political economics. "Brief Account" has paid special attention to utilizing the newest materials and the newest results both domestically and internationally. For example, the publication of the new international edition of the "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" has uncovered many new things people did not know before. Also, some previously universally accepted facts were not correct and in recent years they have been corrected through scientific research. This has all been reflected in "Brief Account." If we take a specific example, when Marx was studying economics from the end of 1843 to the beginning of 1845, he wrote the "Paris Notes." This was an important milestone in the history of Marxist economic thought. The "Brief Account" provides an overall introduction to them in accordance with the newest research results from abroad. In the past, people always maintained that the "Paris Notes" consisted of nine volumes. However, the editors of the new international edition, having researched this, believe that two of these volumes belong to the "Brussels Notes" and therefore the "Paris Notes" should only be seven volumes. "Brief Account" explains this clearly.

To sum up, the annalistic vertical narration of "Brief Account" and the new scientific materials it contains make it a...reference book convenient for consulting. Further, the summary of each stage and the theoretical elaboration on major works also make it an academic work. Appended to "Brief Account" are a "Listing of Major Literature" and an "Index of Major Names" which reflect the new results in our nation's research.

Of course, that is not to say that there is no room for improvement in "Brief Account." Of the important matters included in the book, some have the source and basis indicated, while others do not, and they are just entered in the list of major reference literature in the appendix. If the basis of every major item of reference material had been noted, this "Brief Account" would have been more scientific.

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