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# JPRS Report

# China

## QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 1, 1 July 1988

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[The following is a complete translation of the inaugural issue of QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH], a semimonthly theoretical journal published by the CPC Party School in Beijing]

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## QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 1, 1 July 1988

### Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Entrusting Its Party School To Publish QIUSHI Magazine

OW0207023388 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Entrusting Its Party School to Publish "QIUSHI" Magazine

30 May 1988

1. In order to keep pace with the new situation in promoting reform and opening to the outside world, to carry out theoretical studies on the basis of Marxist theories and principles in close connection with China's specific conditions in economic and social development, and to promote new developments of Marxist theories, the CPC Central Committee has decided to entrust its party school to publish the "QIUSHI" magazine as a theoretical journal for the whole party.

2. The general guiding ideology in this connection is to regard the party's basic line for the initial stage of socialism as a guide; give widespread publicity to the central task of economic development and the two basic points, namely, adherence to the four cardinal principles and implementation of reform and the open policy; put reform at the center of all undertakings; and guard against rigidity and liberalism.

The specific requirements are:

—Unswervingly act in accordance with the fact that practice is the only criterion in verifying truth; pay attention to studying the guidelines laid down by the report to the 13th National CPC Congress and studying the experience in carrying out practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee; and closely combine the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with practice during the initial stage of socialism in China.

—Earnestly study theoretical and practical issues during the initial stage of socialism in China, particularly those actually required in carrying out reform, opening to the outside world, and promoting construction, as well as that of party building under the new situation; implement the principle of integrating theory with practice; and study laws for the development of objective reality with a specific object in view.

—Resolutely implement the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend"; vigorously carry out theoretical studies, and guard against onesidedness. Efforts must be made to strengthen unity among theoreticians on the

basis of the aforementioned two basic points. Particular attention must be paid to unifying those comrades who express different views in the course of carrying out theoretical studies and to encouraging more writers to write for the magazine.

—Improve the style of writing, and fill the magazine with vitality so that more readers enjoy reading it.

3. The magazine is intended for cadres at and above county level, as well as theoreticians and propaganda workers.

4. The magazine may assign persons to act in various provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities under the direct administration of the central government, and the PLA General Political Department as its liaison men, and, if necessary, maintain friendly ties with theoretical journals of communist and workers' parties in various foreign countries.

5. The chief editor and deputy chief editors of "QIUSHI" magazine will be appointed by the central authorities.

6. It is hoped that the whole party will give this magazine its full support. The departments concerned must provide the magazine with the necessary work conditions and run it well.

### To Our Readers

HK1607055088 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by QIUSHI Editorial Department]

[Text] Today is the party's birthday and also the day that the journal QIUSHI meets its readers for the first time.

QIUSHI is our party's theoretical journal, and it is run by the CPC Central Party School, as entrusted by the CPC Central Committee.

The CPC Central Committee's decision to stop publication of HONGQI and start publication of QIUSHI is a positive step toward the implementation of the spirit of the 13th National CPC Congress and the enhancement of Marxist theoretical studies and propaganda. This theoretical journal of the party, not directly run by the CPC Central Committee, will be able to better keep up with the new developments in the reform and opening up, do a better job in theoretical exploration and studies, and thus speed up the development of Marxist theory.

"The CPC Central Committee's Decision on Entrusting the CPC Central Party School To Run the Journal QIUSHI" has laid down a general guideline for the operation of QIUSHI: This journal is to follow the party's basic line on the initial stage of socialism, publicize in an all-round manner one center and two basic points, and make sure that reform will play a role

dominating the whole situation, guarding against any hidebound thinking and tendency of liberalization. In order to earnestly implement this guideline, we will carry forward the spirit of reform in our editorial work, further emancipate our minds, and try our best to blaze new trails.

QIUSHI will observe the party's ideological principle of seeking truth from facts, try to integrate theory with practice, and conscientiously study theoretical and practical problems relating to the initial stage of socialism in China, especially practical problems arising from reform, the opening up process, and national construction, as well as problems related to party building. In studies and discussions, the journal will hold to the principle of proceeding in everything from reality rather than principles, and it will apply, with a definite object in mind, Marxist standpoints, views, and methods to the exploration of the law governing the objective world, rather than repeat or simply elaborate any available conclusion. Experience should be summed up in theory. Survey reports should be based on facts and be presented vividly. It is necessary to bravely criticize against all kinds of negative and corrupt phenomena within the party and in the community.

We will try our best to run QIUSHI as an open-type journal facing the world. We will regularly study and review developing trends in the political, economic, and cultural fields in the world, as well as all kinds of ideological trends. We will study and introduce other socialist countries' experiences in their reform and opening up efforts. And we will study and introduce capitalist countries' experiences in national construction and management as well. In doing so, our purpose is to help the readers widen their field of vision, to make theoretical explorations, and to use the experiences of others as reference.

QIUSHI will adhere to the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," cultivate good relations with all writers, and open up a broader field of activity to young and middle-aged writers. We advocate discussions on an equal footing. Names should be mentioned in criticism and counter-criticism which can help promote the development of the sciences and arts. The ideological and theoretical circles should foster an atmosphere of unity and harmony and strive with one heart and one mind to fulfill the goal of the four modernizations and reinvigorate China. We in QIUSHI would like to make more contributions in this respect.

QIUSHI will be concerned about any developments and activities in the ideological and theoretical fields. We will provide brief and precise information on theoretical developments at home and abroad. When it concerns a controversial view, we will try our best not to be biased, but to let the readers make their own judgments. Literature of this type may assume various forms.

QIUSHI will try its best to improve the style of writing. We will get rid of all "lies, big talk, and empty talk" and avoid stereotyped writing. We will make every effort to ensure that articles in QIUSHI will be accurate, clear, vivid, and to the point. We will devote some space to essays, prose, and other works on literature and art. We will try to make the journal lively and popular.

QIUSHI's readers are supposed to be cadres at and above the county level and those who are engaged in theoretical and propaganda work. We also welcome the vast numbers of party members and cadres, as well as teachers and students of universities and colleges, to join our readership.

We are sincerely looking forward to receiving support and help from the whole party and people of all circles throughout the country.

### **Several Questions Concerning the Current Reform of the Political Structure**

*HK1907035088 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88, pp 4-9*

[Article by Bao Tong (7637 1749)—Part of a Speech Given at a Seminar in Mid-May of This Year.]

[Text]

#### **I. Assessment of the Process of the Political Structural Reform in the Past 6 Months**

According to the decision of the 13th party congress, the political structural reform has been officially included in the party's work schedule. Now, the political structural reform has started, and concrete measures have been taken in a down-to-earth manner and in an orderly way to fulfill the main tasks in the political structural reform as put forward by the 13th party congress, and only the state civil service system has not been formulated. Of course, we cannot overestimate the results. We still need to coordinate and improve the implementation of the reform measures that have been adopted, and we still have to do a great deal of complicated work to prepare further reform measures. We still have a long way to go to fulfill our important and arduous tasks. At the same time, we should not underestimate the achievements. It has been only 6 months since the conclusion of the 13th party congress. Many new things and new conceptions have appeared, and they have brought about some changes in the political structure that has existed for more than 30 years in our country. However, today's changes are still minor changes which are not obvious enough, but these changes will play a significant role and will have far-reaching influence in promoting the economic structural reform and building a new order in our socialist commodity economy.

After the 13th party congress, the party central leading body and the State Council formulated their new work regulations, which clearly define the functions of the

party and state leading organs. This thus separated the party's work from the government's functions in an orderly way. What should be discussed by the party central leading body and what should be handled by the State Council are clearly specified. With the exception of some urgent affairs, documents are normally issued in advance to the comrades who will attend a meeting, so the meeting can be held with full preparations. After the Political Bureau or the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau make some policy decisions, what should be implemented by the State Council and what should be implemented by the party Central Secretariat are also clearly specified. After the 13th party congress, provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions also formulated their own regulations in this aspect. After implementing them for a long time, the work system for our party and government will take shape.

Various localities have also made great efforts to advance the work of separating the work of party organizations in enterprises from the functions of enterprise management. The central position of factory directors in enterprise management and the guaranteeing and supervisory role of enterprise party organizations have been gradually realized. If the enterprise leadership system is not adjusted, it will be hard to invigorate enterprise operation. On this basis, it is more logical to require local party committees to adjust their relations with the administrative organs at the same level and to require government departments to adjust their relations with enterprises. In connection with this is the issue of subjecting party organizations in enterprises and institutions to the leadership of localities. This has been put into practice in some cities on a trial basis. This is not only a matter of changing the subordinate relations but is also a matter concerning the functions of party committees in enterprises. Recently, the "PRC Law on Industrial Enterprises Under Whole People Ownership" was adopted by the Seventh NPC, and the central authorities also issued a relevant circular. As the circular said, the formulation of the enterprise law indicated the termination of the vague legal position of the enterprises under whole people ownership in our country. We have to do a great deal of work to implement the enterprise law. This is a task in the economic structural reform and is also a task in the political structural reform.

Various localities have also made some useful explorations in reforming the cadre and personnel system. The leading members of rural party branches in Wuan County, Hebei Province, were elected among the party rank and file through some democratic procedures and competitions. Party branch secretaries and leading members elected in this way are not only answerable to the upper leadership but are also able to conscientiously hold themselves responsible to the masses and to the party rank and file. This is playing a positive role in invigorating the party's work and strengthening the party's combat effectiveness. In Zhejiang Province, many localities have openly advertised for local government officials. In Ningbo City, 42 department directors

and deputy directors were appointed through open examinations and selections. The Ministry of Personnel is studying the issue of establishing a state civil service system, and this will be a major project in perfecting the political system in our country. It still will take time to prepare the civil service system. Before the regulations on civil servants are officially formulated, we may first introduce competition mechanisms in the cadre appointment system, and this will undoubtedly promote the reform of the cadre and personnel system. We often talk about opinion preparations. In fact, opinion preparations include a large part of practical work steps. If no concrete work steps are taken, people will not be convinced no matter how perfect the propaganda work. If our concrete work steps achieve good results, favorable comments will spread very quickly. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has often talked about creating a favorable environment to enable outstanding talented people to show themselves and rise to leading positions. If we properly reform the personnel system, we will achieve this purpose. The more deeply the reform is carried out, the more obvious such results will become.

The democratic atmosphere in the entire social life is also being strengthened, and this is promoting social progress. This is also raising new demands on the work of leaders and leading bodies. Democracy is a very complicated matter. How should we view such a complicated thing? Comrade Chen Yun talked about this in a speech he gave on the cadre policy in 1938. He said: In 1932, when the party school in Shanghai was set up, there were only six students. In sharp contrast, today there are more than 10,000 students in Yanan. What a great difference there is between 10,000 people and 6 people! The work in Yanan now certainly is much more complicated. Comrade Chen Yun concluded: "When making revolution, if we fear complicated things, things will just become even more complicated; and if we are not afraid of complicated things, we will be able to carry out revolution successfully." Today if we are to practice socialist democratic politics, things will certainly become more complicated than if we do not do this. At least, we will have to face two issues. First, can our work be adapted to democratic politics? Second, can our ideas and conceptions be adapted to democratic politics? If our ideas are not suited to democracy, it will be hard for us to adapt our work to the democratic practice; and if our work cannot keep pace with the development of democracy, it will be hard for us to solve the problems in our minds. For example, elections with more candidates than those to be elected will place higher demands on our work, and this also will require us to change our conceptions correspondingly. Some comrades are right to say that elections may result in electing the wrong people to the leading positions. But can we say that party committees did not make mistakes when appointing people in the past? The masses may elect the wrong people, but they can draw a lesson and perfect the election system. It is not right to think that if elections with more candidates than those to be elected are carried out, the Communist Party will not need to do anything. We must

not cherish such an attitude toward our work in any field. First of all, democracy should be practiced and developed inside the party so as to achieve a consensus of opinion, then more satisfactory results will be achieved in the elections. If we carry out elections with more candidates than those to be elected, we should do our best to achieve good results in these elections. If we do a good job, we will smoothly solve many problems in the elections.

We have made a good start in the past six months. The new things will have a far-reaching impact on the political life in our country. Of course, we should not be complacent about the present conditions, we should be glad to see the advances. We should continue to make further efforts for a long time, and work with perseverance, and then we will be able to succeed. This is why we have confidence.

## **II. Ideological and Political Work Under the Conditions of the Party Being Separated From the Government**

Our ideological and political work is indeed too weak and cannot meet the requirements of reform, opening up, and modernization construction. Some comrades have sharply said that a "crisis" exists in our ideological and political work. I do not quite agree with describing the situation as a "crisis." However, we must admit that the ideological and political work at present is rather weak. Should we change this state of affairs? Yes, of course. But we should first discover the reasons for this state of affairs. This absolutely is not the result of the structural reforms. To advocate the separation of the party from the government, one of the purposes of our party is to strengthen the ideological and political work by freeing party committees from the burdens of routine administrative affairs and enabling them to concentrate on conducting ideological education among the party rank and file and among the masses outside the party. Thus, the separation of the party from the government is not a factor that is weakening our ideological and political work; instead, it is a way to change the weakness of our ideological and political work. Ideological and political work is important and should be strengthened. In the past when talking about strengthening ideological and political work, we used to, first, expand the political work organs; second, increase political work personnel; third, give better treatment to cadres in charge of political work; and fourth, raise the position of political work organs. These methods may not be suited to the present conditions.

Our ideological and political work is facing two tasks: First, to carry forward our fine traditions and transform our bad traditions; and second, to meet the needs of the new period. At a senior cadre meeting of the northwest regional bureau of the CPC Central Committee in 1944, when discussing the issue of the political work in the Army, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward an important

viewpoint: When discussing the traditions in our political work, some comrades used to hold the confused idea that all traditions in our political work were fine, so they lacked a critical attitude toward our previous traditional style of work. He made a profound analysis by pointing this out. There are both good and bad traditions in our political work, so we should carry forward the good traditions and change the bad conditions. What good traditions do we have? In his report on revising the party Constitution to the Eighth National CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping mentioned our party's mass work and quoted such examples as our soldiers fetching water for villagers when they were stationed in a village; squad leaders tucking in the soldiers' bedclothes at night; and the PLA troops protecting the health and self-esteem of the prisoners of war and not searching them for money and valuables. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, although these were all minor things, they were also major causes of our great victories. This was a penetrating thesis. In political work, we have the good tradition of cadres setting good examples with their own actions and behavior and becoming one with the masses, as well as the good tradition of practicing democracy. In the article "Struggles in the Jinggang Mountains," Comrade Mao Zedong said: Apart from the role played by the party, the reason the Red Army has been able to carry on in spite of such poor material conditions and such frequent engagements is its practice of democracy. Our Army has a democratic tradition. As soon as KMT soldiers defected to the Red Army, they felt mentally liberated. The very soldiers who had no courage in the KMT Army yesterday are very brave in the Red Army today. This is the effect of democracy. Perhaps when we talk about strengthening ideological and political work today, we should restore the democratic tradition. Maybe it sounds like an original idea to some comrades, but this is indeed the party's fine tradition. Why can't democracy be practiced inside the people? Our tradition is to show loving care to the people, protect the people, respect the people, stand on an equal footing with the masses rather than stand high and aloof from the masses, and exchange ideas with the masses in a harmonious manner rather than dressing down the people. Comrade Li Ruihuan recently said in Tianjin that our ideological work should be able to understand the people and show concern and respect for the people. I think that he also meant the same thing. Thus, I think we should call on the whole party to restore the really fine traditions which were lost for some years, and should make our political cadres realize that these are our traditions that we should carry forward and should be proud of. Our party has many good traditions, but they were lost for some time, and now we should restore them. At the Eighth National CPC Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that it is necessary to reaffirm that the party cannot wield power above the people and that the party has no power to bestow anything to the people, to interfere in the people's affairs, to resort to coercion and commandism toward

the people, and to lord it over the people. Party members and the party's political work cadres should identify themselves with the masses and use their exemplary role to influence the masses.

Building large-scale political work organs to form an interpersonal relationship of "I am transforming you" is not a good tradition in our party's ideological and political work. Fundamentally speaking, this goes against the purpose of the party's ideological and political work. Now we advocate that political cadres should also have another job rather than doing political work on a full-time basis. This will enable them to identify themselves with the masses. This does not mean that the state has no money to pay full-time political cadres. If they are not good workers and technical personnel themselves, how can they instruct other people to be good workers and technical personnel? In 1978, Comrade Jiang Nanxiang told me that Qinghua University required the backbone teachers to act as backbone ideological and political workers, and this was the university's successful experience. If teachers do not teach and students do not study, how could they do political work among teachers and students? We should try to reduce full-time political cadres to a minimum. This is not merely a technical issue, but a general orientation in our political work. Of course, we cannot immediately realize this in all units, but we should create conditions to realize this. This will have a major impact on the relations between the party and the masses.

Now we are conducting ideological and political work in a new period of reform and opening up under the conditions of separating the party from the government. Then, how can we work effectively in this aspect? What contents should the ideological and political work in the present stage have? What concrete forms should we adopt? We need to study many new questions and sum up a great deal of new experiences. I visited the universal coupling plant led by Comrade Lu Guanqiu in Zhejiang. In the factory, I did not find any spit on the floor, and product quality and packing measured up to the standards at a rate of 100 percent. If there was no effective ideological and political work, all this would be unimaginable. Nine-tenths of the workers in the universal coupling plant have peasant backgrounds, and many of them received little education. Now, about a third of the workers in this plant earnestly persevere in sparetime studies. Does this also demonstrate the results of ideological and political work? I think so. The plant can guide the workers to realize the importance of learning more general and technical knowledge, can take effective measures to consolidate their enthusiasm for study, and can guide their interest to study and work rather than allowing them to indulge themselves in gambling and fighting. Isn't this a result of ideological and political work? Should our ideological and political work merely imbue the people with empty theory without regard to the actual results? A major task of the ideological and political work in enterprises is to guide workers to be

good workers, to improve themselves in general education and technical know-how, to acquire a stronger sense of labor discipline, and to achieve better economic results. In order to run enterprises successfully, we should start from doing many minor things and should make ideological and political work penetrate into work in all fields. If ideological and political work is divorced from the needs of reform and opening up or divorced from economic construction and professional work, it will not play any significant role. It is also impossible to absolutely separate ideological and political work from the people's material interests and material incentives; instead, the two things must be linked to each other. At any time only when ideological and political work is linked with the party's central task can it play a significant role and have vitality. If the ideological and political work in the Army is not combined with military combat and military training, what a role can it play? If the troops are continuously defeated in battle, can you say that ideological and political work is perfect? Similarly, if an enterprise is lax in labor discipline, workers there work in a slovenly manner, the productivity and economic results are poor, the enterprise is running in the red with mountains of debts in default, or the enterprise is going bankrupt, needs endless state subsidies, sees high product costs, has poor product quality, and has a serious product stockpile, then can you say that the ideological and political work there is successful? If the study of new forms for ideological and political work is linked with further reform and opening up and with the separation of the party from the government, a new situation will be created and more realistic conclusions will be reached.

It seems to some people that only party members in a responsible position inside the party should perform the duty of doing ideological and political work. This opinion is not correct and is not in line with the spirit of the central circular on implementing the enterprise law. The circular pointed out that ideological and political work should take new forms; that is, administrative cadres, party cadres, mass organization cadres, and all party members should do ideological and political work. Ideological and political work should not just be the duty of a small number of people. In order to successfully conduct ideological and political work, we should require and mobilize all people to participate in this work.

There are also differences between the old and the new contents of ideological and political work. The old things seemed to put forward high requirements, but in fact they were merely abstract and empty things that were impracticable. The new things are realistic and are not unattainable.

Now we do need a spiritual pillar that can unite the whole nation. We are situated in the initial stage of socialism, and it will take half a century for us to catch up with the developed countries. Various social groups may have different requirements, but all people agree on

one point; that is, our country must be modernized and invigorated. Thus we have a common ideal and objective that we will strive for, and we will form a rallying force around this. Democracy, freedom, and other issues should be approached and handled under the general premise of invigorating our nation and realizing modernization. The most important criterion to judge right and wrong is whether a something is favorable to rallying the force of the whole nation to realize these great objectives. Of course, we also need a set of moral standards corresponding to this. Moral standards are not bad things. For example, being refined, gentle, temperate, kind, courteous, restrained, and magnanimous are types of moral standards. Are these bad things? During the revolutionary period, if we behaved so, we might have given up the revolutionary struggle, and this was unfavorable to the revolution. Now, in the period of construction, we need to maintain stability and unity. If we continue to advocate the "philosophy of struggle" and let people struggle against each other, we certainly will be unable to create a stable, harmonious, and amicable situation. I deeply feel that we should advocate amicability in our country. If people in socialist society do not love each other but just hate each other, would there be stability and unity? To maintain stability and unity, we should advocate friendship and love and guide the people to love our society, to love their neighbors, to love people who need their help, and to love their friends. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: If a person is not a good husband or a good wife, or if he is not a good father or a good son, or if he is not a good teacher or a good student, then it is impossible for him to be a good person. We should have a new understanding of interpersonal ethics. Starting from primary school, we should inculcate such an idea in people's minds: We must maintain a certain vigilance against the enemy, but must be friendly to the people and be ready to help each other. There must be a certain relationship between people, and our basic principle for handling contradictions is to prompt people to care for each other and to love and respect each other.

In short, ideological and political work is a major issue. I mention this issue because under the condition of the party being separated from the government, we should point out the new tasks, new forms, and new contents of the ideological and political work for cadres in charge of this work so that they will have confidence and interest in their work and will make further efforts. We firmly believe that in the process of reform and opening up, real reformers will certainly emerge, and ideological and political workers who can meet the needs of reform and opening up will also certainly emerge. People will certainly suffer if they have nothing to do. Now, some comrades have a "feeling of loss," and we should not blame them. Our party cadres and political workers are not to blame for the defects of the old systems, and their work enthusiasm should be protected. If we really protect and care for them, we should put forward the new

tasks and new requirements to them and encourage them to make greater efforts so that they can have a feeling of satisfaction and prove the value of their work in the party's cause.

### III. Maintaining Incorrupt Government

At the 2d Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Zhao Ziyang said that maintaining an incorrupt government is a major part of the political structural reform.

Now, there are many comments on party style, but some criticisms are not accurate. The party style has its specific definition. Comrade Mao Zedong, speaking at the seventh party congress, pointed out the three major characteristics of our party's work style, which distinguished our party from other political parties, namely, the combination of theory with practice, the close ties with the masses, and criticism and self-criticism. So we should not regard problems in the personal conduct of the 47 million party members as problems in our party style. This viewpoint is too general and cannot help pertinently solve these problems. Communist Party members are also citizens, and they may also break the laws, violate discipline, or commit mistakes. Now many problems being mentioned by the people in fact concern the issue of being incorrupt. Officials must be incorruptible, or at least must not use their power to take graft and blackmail people. We should have a realistic viewpoint on this issue. I do not think that it is realistic to say that our party and our government have become completely corrupt, but we must also admit that the problem of corruption and blackmail exists rather widely and seriously. The seriousness must not be underestimated, and it is also unrealistic to underestimate the seriousness of the problem. If we underestimate the seriousness of the problem, we may be divorced from the masses. The masses abhor such evil things, so we must seriously and effectively solve these problems. Comrade Zhao Ziyang has pointed out that we cannot use the old methods to deal with these problems; instead, we should rely on building the legal system, establishing a system for the people to inform on corrupt officials, and perfecting our administrative laws and regulations.

The grass-roots administrative and judicial organs and the public utilities institutions all shoulder important tasks, and most comrades there work hard and make great achievements. However, a small number of people abuse their powers to blackmail the people. People have to give certain benefits to these people if they want to get their official approvals or necessary conveniences. Although the number of such corrupt people is small, they have caused extremely bad influences among the masses and have damaged the image of the government. If the upper leading organs fail to check such evil practices, people will certainly doubt their righteousness. In the past, we used to call the corrupt practice unhealthy tendencies in a trade. This was inaccurate. First, this is a problem of the government rather than a



trade. Second, corrupt practices break the law and abuse power, and this is a violation of discipline. So this is not a moral problem or a problem in public conduct. This issue should be considered from the angle of building grass-roots state power organs. In the past, power organ construction mainly referred to the establishment of organs and the appointment of personnel. Now, grass-roots power construction should extend to the field of legal system construction. If leading organs do not check the law-breaking activities of grass-roots officials, and lack effective measures for preventing them from conducting corrupt practices, then they may be regarded as abandoning leadership. In power organs at all levels, people who exercise administrative powers and manage social affairs on behalf of the state must be completely incorrupt. So it is necessary to adopt measures to prevent law-breaking activities. If such things are discovered, they must be handled without delay.

At present, a measure we can adopt is to increase openness: First, rules for handling affairs should be made public; and second, the results of affair handling should also be made public. The agricultural banks at various levels in Heilongjiang Province made public the figures of the agricultural loans. This experience is notable. Zhaodong City made a total of 28 million yuan in agricultural loans last year, and each loan was made public when it was contracted. So far, the public has not yet opposed any of these loans. When things are handled openly, people know whether they are handled fairly; but if such things are kept secret, people will always doubt the fairness, no matter how well they are handled. If the rules for handling affairs and the results of affair handling are made public, what will this indicate? This will indicate that government officials are subject to public supervision and will have to act according to the law. The masses will be able to inform against any law-breaking activities, and the supervisory organs will have explicit criteria to handle specific cases. I think this method is in line with the orientation of the political structural reform. This will not only ensure the government's incorruptibility but also improve work efficiency. Openness can increase the masses' trust, and also prompt government officials to act honestly according to the laws. Openness enables all people to see clearly the work of the government institutions. This also gives concrete standards for training and assessing public servants. This is a major task in our grass-roots democratic construction. We need to gain more experience in this aspect through some pilot schemes.

To deal with corruption, we cannot stage any mass movements and cannot lay down uniform stipulations for the whole country. Localities should find out and deal with the most urgent problems in light of the general requirement of "maintaining an incorrupt government." They should not only adopt expedient measures but should also work out long-term measures and improve various systems. We should maintain an incorrupt government mainly through improving the systems and regulations, and make them applicable and verifiable.

#### IV. Studying the New Order of the Socialist Commodity Economy

The new order of the socialist commodity economy is a new concept that Comrade Zhao Ziyang recently called on us to study. In the past, we established an order of the product economy; now, we are to develop the commodity economy and need to establish an economic order corresponding to the commodity economy. The superstructure must serve the economic base. All of our laws, regulations, systems, norms for social conduct, ideas, and conceptions should be in keeping with the requirements of the commodity economy. If the former is suited to the latter, the productive forces will develop; otherwise, there will be various loopholes and negative phenomena of confusion, dissociation, and imbalance, and this will adversely affect social stability and the development of productive forces. At present, we are experiencing economic prosperity, but at the same time, we are also facing many problems in our economic and social lives. Why did such contradictions appear? This is because we did not completely set up a new order in the socialist commodity economy while we were going all out to develop this economy. Of course, we cannot accomplish everything overnight. However, we should step up the study of this issue in a systematic way so as to prevent us from traversing many detours. Both the political and economic structural reforms serve the same purpose; that is, to develop the social productive forces and to build up the new order in the socialist commodity economy by paying the lowest possible costs. Building the new order of the socialist commodity economy is a new task that we meet in our practice. It is hoped that more comrades engaged in planning the economic and political structural reforms and in theoretical studies will pay attention to the study of this major issue.

#### Accelerate and Deepen the Structural Reform of the Performing Arts Organizations *HK1707040288 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 pp 10-16*

[Article by Wang Meng (3769 5536)]

[Text]

#### I

There was a historical process leading to the existing system whereby our performing arts troupes are exclusively run by the state. Performing art troupes, which were established during the period of the revolutionary war, bid farewell to the battlefield after the war, and struck roots in various cities and towns throughout the country. During the early post-liberation period, some old opera troupes were turned into state-opera troupes through the socialist industrial and commercial transformation in cities and towns. Due to the influence of the "Soviet pattern," after the liberation a large number of new and large performing arts troupes, which were

exclusively run by the state, were established. The incessant political campaigns considerably enhanced the level of being "exclusively run" by the state. Some performing arts troupes, which were formerly run by the collectives, were turned into ones exclusively under the ownership of the whole people. Actually, as early as in the 1950's, Premier Zhou Enlai maintained that the majority of the performing art troupes should be run by the collectives, and that only a minority of them should be run by the state. However, due to the influence of some increasingly "leftist" concept and actions, Premier Zhou's correct idea was not put into effect.

In the initial period, the structure played an active role. We should regard the existing structure as completely worthless because of the present-day reform. It is not proper for us to do so. Nor will it be convincing. The structure once played a positive role in strengthening the government's management of cultural work, and in persisting in the socialist orientation of socialist literature and art. The structure played a positive role in enhancing the social and political status of those who were engaged in art and literature. The so-called "actors," who had been looked down upon, bullied, or even persecuted and dallied with in the old society, became people's artists and members of the revolutionary contingent in the new society. At that time, this was an amazing thing. In the meantime, the structure enabled the broad masses of literature and art workers to free themselves from the situation of being busy with eking out their livelihood. There was a certain social guarantee for their food, clothing, shelter and transportation, as well as their childbirth, old age, illness and burial arrangement. In such a way, their could concentrate their efforts on their artistic undertaking, and on the enhancement of their artistic level to make active contribution to the prosperity and development of the socialist literature and art undertaking.

However, with the changes and development in the situation in China, and the continuous acceleration and deepening of the socialist reform and construction, the defects of the structure have been increasingly exposed. They are mainly reflected in the following.

1. The administration of the performing arts troupes was wholly concentrated in the hands of the state. The form of ownership and management was unitary. In their performing activities and management, the performing arts troupes lacked necessary decisionmaking power. This hampered the development of the artistic undertaking.

2. A severe equalitarianism existed with regard to distribution relationship. The practice of "eating out of the the same big pot" and "iron rice bowl" severely hampered the competition among performing arts troupes and art workers characterized by promoting the best and eliminating the worst. This dampened their creativity and enthusiasm.

3. As far as personnel management system was concerned, a circulating and eliminating system was not established. The channel for the circulation of personnel was obstructed. Basically, there was only an inflow of personnel, without outflow. Since more and more persons were employed, the burdens of the performing arts troupes became increasingly heavy. Due to the fact that the state only allotted limited funds to those performing arts troupes, the money could only be used to feed people. It was impossible for the performing arts troupes to spend more money on the development of artistic undertaking. They found that it was difficult to keep on running their organizations. In the meantime, because those performing arts troupes lacked operational funds, had more hands than needed, and were restricted by a rigid system, many artists were set aside. This was a great waste of artistic personnel. When those performing arts troupes tried to explore new channels for art performances, they were severely criticized by various circles in the society because of many problems which had occurred due to various reasons.

4. The distribution of performing arts troupes was irrational. In some large and medium cities, there were too many performing arts troupes. Due to the fact that these organizations were "exclusively" run by the state, it was difficult to readjust those performing arts troupes which were duplicated, artistically weak, and gradually unwellcomed.

5. The responsible government cultural institutions were always busy with the specific affairs of the performing arts troupes, and unable to carry out their government duties in a better way. It is impossible for them to macroscopically guide their performances, help them do well in planning, coordinating, and servicing work, and exercise supervision over them.

Actually, the defects of the existing structure were not limited to the five points mentioned above. Acute problems have existed with regard to the services, wage system, social insurance, and so on in our performing arts troupes. This severely hampered the development of our artistic undertakings. Without reform, it would have been impossible for us to emancipate the artistic productive forces, or arouse the enthusiasm of various quarters in the society to run cultural undertaking well. Without reform, it would have been impossible to arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses of literature and art workers in performances, administration and operations.

On the other hand, we should also realize that our country has entered a new historical period. During this historical period, our country is characterized by political stability and unity. Our social productive forces have achieved an overall development, the living standard of our people has been enhanced constantly, and the thinking of the masses is unprecedentedly vivid. In the meantime, various mass media, including the media of artistic

products, have considerably developed. With this development, people's demands of the production setup of art, the level of artistic performances, and their way of servicing have become completely different. In accordance with the demand of the broad masses of people, we should further reform the existing structure to make our artistic performances more flexible and varied. This will enable our artistic performances to conform in a better way with the demand of the people, and to serve the people and socialism in an even better way.

The achievements made since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in the emancipation of the minds have laid an ideological and theoretical foundation for our literature and art structural reform. Economic structural reform has been carried out for nearly 10 years in our country. We have accumulated a wealth of experience, and initially created many new possibilities and patterns. This has strongly influenced our performing arts troupes, and provided them with great enlightenment. Political structural reform in our country has started with regard to carrying forward socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system. This has arrested the attention of various quarters. Reforms in science and technology, education, public health, and so on have also started, and certain achievements have been made. All this has created very good conditions for the reform of our literature and art structure, especially the reform in our performing arts troupes. In such an excellent climate, people have demanded reform. There are also some practices for the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes. The reform started a long time ago. In recent years, strongly promoted by the economic structural reform, experiments have been carried out with regard to the reform of performing arts troupes based on a responsibility contract system. These experiments have pounded at the system of exclusively running performing arts troupes by the state, and achieved experiences in creating and developing a new system which is full of vigor. Through the experiments in reform carried out in recent years, decisionmaking power of our performing arts troupes has been generally strengthened. An open policy has been implemented for their performances. Performing arts troupes with different forms of ownership and operations have also constantly come to the fore, with each having its own creativeness. Through these reforms, we have made great achievements in streamlining our troupes, making job arrangements for our redundant personnel, and in tapping the potentials of our manpower, material resources, and facilities, and so on. All these have shown that the time and conditions for further accelerating and deepening the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes have become ripe.

## II

It is an important historical task of cultural and art departments to comprehensively implement the spirit of the 13th CPC National Congress, and to accelerate and

deepen the reform of the structure of the performing arts troupes, so that it will be in line with our economic, political and cultural structures. Our purpose in accelerating the deepening of the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes is to establish and develop a structure which is full of vigor, to invigorate our performing arts troupes, to arouse the enthusiasm of our actors and actresses, to provide wider space of activities, more opportunities and more channels of services for our artists, to provide the masses in our country with varied and colorful cultural life and artistic service, and to serve the building of socialist spiritual civilization in a better way. In accordance with the purpose mentioned above, we should be clear about the following issues in the course of reforming the structure of our performing arts troupes.

We should persist in regarding social effects and benefits as the highest standard for the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes, handle the relations between social effects and benefits and economic interests well, and do our best to integrate them well. We should make efforts to increase the quantity and quality of our creative work and artistic performances. We should continuously enrich and increase the quality of the cultural life of the broad masses of people, and make contributions to strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

We should define the status of our performing arts troupes as independent units engaged in socialist artistic management and operation, develop various kinds of ownership and operational methods for them so that they can independently carry out their performing arts activities and operations in accordance with law, consciously perfect their inner mechanism for operations and competition, and strengthen their capability in self-renewal and self-development.

The position of our artistic performers as professionals engaged in socialist art should be defined. They mainly live on incomes from artistic performances, and their freedom of movement should be permitted. We should establish and improve a labor personnel system and labor remuneration system which reflects the special law governing artistic labor to fully give play to and arouse the enthusiasm of our artistic performers in artistic creation, and their desire for competition.

Efforts must be made to define the functions and powers of the government departments in charge of cultural affairs for their indirect administration of our performing arts troupes. Performance affairs, personnel arrangements and financial administration should be delegated to the performing arts troupes as much as possible, and restrictions should be relaxed so that our performing arts troupes will have more decisionmaking power for their performing arts and operational activities.

With regard to the forms of ownership of our performing arts troupes, we should develop a pattern that our performing arts troupes are mainly run by the cultural departments of the government, or by the society in accordance with the development and needs of different artistic forms.

The point of departure of our reform is to emancipate our artistic labor forces, to fully arouse the enthusiasm of various quarters in the society in running cultural and artistic undertakings, and to give play to the enthusiasm and initiative of our artistic professionals in creative work, rehearsal, and performances. The point of departure of our reform is also to tap to the greatest extent the potentials of our cultural and art facilities, the facilities of our theaters and cinemas in particular, so that we will be able to fully make use of our manpower, financial capacity, and material resources. This will ensure the further prosperity of our country and our social artistic undertaking, enrich people's spiritual activities, and enhance their cultural quality, so that our society will become more stable, united, democratic and harmonious.

The idea on our cultural and art reform is in line with the idea on the overall economic and political reform of our country. Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang have repeatedly pointed out that the purpose of reform is to arouse enthusiasm and emancipate productive forces. Therefore, we should gradually change the practice of "eating out of the same big pot," and "iron rice bowl." We should change the situation of "equally sharing" operating expenses for cultural services. We should also change the situation that the masses need a rich and colorful cultural life, but many of our actors and actresses lie idle in their posts.

While carrying out our reform, we should develop a mechanism of competition to kindle the enthusiasm of the workers and actors in our performing arts troupes. We should also create conditions so that our artistic professionals, including organizers of our artistic production and artistic performances, can give the fullest play to their enthusiasm and initiative. "Like the eight immortals soaring over the ocean, each of them show their true worth." We should encourage our artistic professionals to study diligently and train hard, and to scale new heights so that they can make their artistic achievements. A few years ago, people in the society asked: Why could greater achievements be made in the development of our sports? This has something to do with many measures taken by the state. For example, many sport institutions have been established. Training has started with children. Many comrades also believe that the competitive mechanism of sports is comparatively perfect. It is an undeniable fact that there is keen competition in sports. Nie Weiping, our king of chess, is an example. Furthermore, our sports activities are characterized by the renewal of our sports teams. We should not cast doubt upon, or hesitate at the work of renewing our teams. Our sports teams are constantly, or even

"mercilessly" renewed. Of course, art is different from sports. For example, there is no generally recognized standard for art. However, our art field should also be full of competitions, opportunities, and risks. In our art field, the spirit of hard struggle, and of studying diligently and training hard is also needed. Our artists should always be in their best state of mind. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to develop a mechanism of competition in our performing arts troupes. Of course, competition is a problem which involves social effects and benefits. Actually, in spiritual production and material production and its circulation, we should not merely seek profits. Unscrupulous acts of producing fake medicines, fake farm chemicals and other fake famous-brand products for the sake of profits can never be allowed. In particular, we should not regard competition as a mere competition for profits. The competition should, first of all, be a competition in the achievements of art at different levels.

Another aim of our reform is to strengthen and improve the party leadership, and to strengthen and improve the administration and support of the government for our cultural undertaking. Now the following view is prevailing in the society. Some people believe that in the future if our performing arts troupes are run by the society, the party and government will no longer care about these organizations. The situation of dramatic troupes "roaming about from place to place," which happened in the old society, will occur again. There is a sense of "uncertainty" and "panic" among some comrades. They have even felt disgusted with the reform. Actually, this is a misunderstanding. This is because of the insufficiency of our explanation and propaganda work. We are building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Our work in various aspects, including our literature and art work, is led by the party. Cultural departments and other relevant departments of our government should administer and support our cultural and art undertakings in accordance with law. There is no doubt about all this. The problem is the way to administer them. Should we directly organize the troupes, and directly handle all the matters, including the wages of actors, the parts played by actors, what plays to be staged, and so on? Should we monopolize all this, or should we administer and support them in a better way? We should learn well the way of turning the practice of monopolizing everything into a macroscopic and indirect guidance. With regard to the orientation and quality of our artistic activities, we will never turn a blind eye to them. We will never obey market mechanisms in an oversimplified way. We should macroscopically regulate our artistic undertakings through financial means. We will subsidize those good national artistic traditions which are beneficial to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, or artistic activities which introduce excellent foreign arts. With regard to those artistic items which are comparatively poor, or unsatisfactory, but do not violate the law, we must not subsidize them. On the contrary, we should study the policy of levying tax on them, and the possibility of imposing limitations on those performing arts troupes which try to make huge

profits through those performances which are not healthy enough. Necessary regulation must be carried out through the means of public opinions. We should have our own attitude toward those good, or bad, or mediocre artistic performances, and performances which should be resolutely opposed. We should be able to exert our influence over the activities of our performing arts troupes. In the meantime, by presenting awards and carrying out grand artistic activities such as "China's Art Festival" and promoting cultural exchanges with foreign countries, and so on, we will encourage and support the best artistic items. Exploration and discussion are allowed. Bad items must be criticized, prohibited, or banned. When necessary, administrative and legal means can also be adopted. We need not only the mechanisms of competition and stimulation, but also the mechanisms of limitation and constraint. Only thus can we ensure a healthy direction of our artistic production.

The basic idea on the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes is to implement the "double track system." The basic content of the system is that a small number of performing arts troupes implement ownership by the whole people and be run by the government's cultural departments. These organizations include: a small number of performing arts troupes which represent the highest artistic level of our country and nation; performing arts troupes which play an experimental and demonstration role; performing arts troupes which should be retained and supported by the state in the interest of preserving our historical heritage, and a small number of performing arts troupes in areas inhabited by minority nationalities, which need the support of the state. The majority of our performing arts troupes will be run by the society based on various forms of ownership (including performing arts troupes based on ownership by the whole people, which are run by non-governmental cultural units).

Actually, the "double track system" has already existed. It is not a product on the mind of a certain leader. In the society, there are more and more provisional and long-term performing arts troupes run by individuals or the collectives. Actually, the "double track activities" have been carried out by our artistic workers. Some artistic workers take part in a rehearsal once every 2 or 3 years, and work in recording studio at night. Sometimes, they take part in performance as "guest performers." or in the "benefit performance." At night, some of our actors and actresses sing in restaurants or hotels....The "double track system" was implemented a long time ago. It is not inappropriate for us to say so. But, this "double track system" is vague, unsystematic, irregular, and unmanageable. During the reform, we should put it on the table to study it again. This chaotic and irregular "double track system," which is not governed by rules and regulations, and policies, should be turned into a "double track system" which is legitimate, reasonable, and governed by certain rules and regulations, and certain criterion. The implementation of the "double

track system" reflects that there is more vigor in our social life, and that we have further understood the necessity of relying on the masses to run our cultural undertaking. This has also marked the end of the guidance thinking of "taking class struggle as the key link." After the completion of shifting our work focus, we have adopted a more open, stable and pragmatic guiding principle and policy for our literature and art undertaking.

The problem of agents for performances has actually occurred. Those agents have done a lot of work, and earned a lot of money. They are very active, and have many "devices." Instead of losing money, the performances organized by them have made profits. We cannot say that all performances organized by them are bad. Some are bad, some are good, and some are deceitful. The performances organized by them have played a good role in enriching people's life and in providing our literary and art workers with more chances for performances. Of course, some chaos has occurred. Some problems of deceiving the audience and actors have been discovered. Only by establishing and improving a good system governing agents for performances, can we ensure open and well-managed artistic performances.

We say that a process is needed for the implementation of the pattern of "two track system." The work cannot be done at one gulp. In particular, at the beginning, we should not hurriedly call some performing arts troupes the best troupes with the "highest artistic level," or set up several national theaters, and dismiss the existing theaters. A practice and a process is needed in order to determine whether certain troupes have the highest artistic level in our country. All performing arts organizations run by governmental cultural departments, society, or individuals, including enterprises, restaurants, tea houses, and so on should be reformed. They should develop their mechanisms for competition, and follow the principle of selecting the best and eliminating the worst. It is wrong to say that troupes run by the state are exempted from competition and effective operation, and that they can continue to follow the practice of "eating out of the same big pot." Performing arts troupes under ownership by the whole people must also implement a "recruitment" system, and contract responsibility system. They should also adopt the method of inviting tenders, or entering a bid to arouse the enthusiasm of art workers, to improve management and operations, and to develop artistic production. In the meantime, they should accept the supervision of the society, and the administration of the government. They should accept the political and ideological leadership of the party. This is also the case with performing arts troupes run by the society. Artistic products are the criterion for finally testing their achievements. To the audience, the ownership of a troupe is not important. What the audience wants is its artistic production. What they want to assess is the level of its artistic products. In this sense, the troupes run by the state and the society are equal. They

are also equal in their artistic labor. The fact that artistic products of different levels are produced by different performing arts troupe has objectively existed. This is another problem.

### III

Reform is a matter of primary importance. There are about 3,000 performing arts troupes in our country employing over 100,000 people. Although their proportion is not big in comparison with the population of the whole country, they involve many departments. The literature and art department is a department which arrests the attention of various quarters in the society. Due to various historical reasons, the literature and art department is very sensitive. Those artistic professionals are also comparatively sensitive. Therefore, our reform has arrested the attention of various quarters. Leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the State Council, and other relevant departments have issued good instructions, and put forward good opinions and proposals. All this will promote the healthy progress of our reform. In the meantime, reform is an arduous and long-term task. First of all, it is not easy to smash to practice of "eating out of the same big pot," which is full of a sense of security. The situation of reform in various places has shown that all people favor reform. However, when reform touches upon their personal interests, it is not easy for them to accept it. Besides, many policies, regulations, law and organizational forms have not yet been systematically worked out. For example, after getting rid of the practice of "eating out of the same big pot," some troupes were established by local people. But they encounter many difficulties, such as medical service, capital construction, dwellings, and so on. How should these problems involving insurance and security be solved? They involve the work of various quarters. At present, the policies for dealing with these problems have not yet been systematically formulated. Furthermore, we still lack a sufficient understanding, and ripe experiences for the "double track system," and its varied forms of ownership, organizations and operations. Due to the fact that our reform is very important and difficult, we should adopt a firm and meticulous policy. We should attach importance to the art of leadership for reform. We are not allowed to adopt a simple method of issuing administrative orders, or follow the practice of using high-flown words, or launching political campaigns. We should avoid the practice of rushing headlong into mass action while carrying out reform. We should consider the capability of various quarters of the society in accepting the reform. We should rely on the consciousness and voluntariness of the broad masses of literature and art workers. The basic methods we have adopted are: emancipating the minds, supporting the work of exploration, planning an outline, making policy decision in a decentralized way, popularizing experiments, summing up experiences, organizing discussions, gradually changing the track, making readjustments at all times, striving for a healthy progress, and avoiding mistakes.

At present, people have shown great concern for the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes. There is a prominent problem. Many artists and people from various quarters of the society are worried about the possibility that reform will commercialize our literature and art, and that money, profits and economic results will become the main stimulus for art, so that our literature and art will deviate from the socialist orientation, or even turn to the unhealthy forked road. This is a problem which people generally show concern for. With regard to this problem, my view is: Market mechanisms have both positive and negative effects over art. The positive effect is that through competition, the enthusiasm of performing arts troupes in artistic production and operation will be aroused. The negative effect is that in over time some low-quality artistic products produced in a rough and slipshod way will occur. However, in the long run, under most circumstances, artistic products which are low in quality, and produced in a rough and slipshod way will never produce good social effect and results. On the contrary, they will be discarded by the audience. Nor will they produce any good economic results. Market mechanisms, material interests, and economic incomes do play a role in our performing arts troupes. This is a fact. But this is a fact which occurs not merely because of the reform. At present, economic results and profits play their role in all trades and services. Of course, they play their role in commercial departments, and in industrial departments as well. They also play their role in culture. Even if you criticize them, they will continue to play their role. The problem does not lie in whether we should recognize it or not. The problem lies in the way to give play to its positive role, and to avoid or restrict its negative role. Therefore, while carrying out reform, we should keep a sober head. Leading comrades in the cultural departments should pay particular attention to this problem. They should never forget to assign the most important position to the social effects and benefits when assessing our literature and art work. We should not forget our responsibility for building socialist spiritual civilization. In the meantime, we should recognize the role of the market, because the market reflects the demands of the masses at different levels. You say that your performances are good, but they do not attract an audience. Only a few people view, or write articles to recommend it. Where do your social effects and benefits lie? We will not be able to produce any social effects and benefits if we sleep all day, without doing any work. In our conversation, do we not often use the expression "no market for it" to describe those unwelcome things? Of course, we hope that our good artistic products will have a market, and a big market. Only thus can we talk about economic results, and social effects and benefits. In this sense, economic results and social effects and benefits are identical, and not incompatible like fire and water. Through the cultural market, we should understand the demands and taste of the masses, and make efforts to produce artistic works which are loved by the masses. We should increase the quantity

and quality of our performances. In the meantime, we should avoid neglecting high artistic quality because of the influence of market demand.

The key lies in a correct policy of the state. Some artistic products are not profitable, but they demonstrate the highest artistic level of the state, or they are the art of our era, or the art having an exploration and demonstration role to play, or classical art with special historical value. Although there is no market for them, they are very important, because they are examples of the excellent cultural tradition of our nation. We should protect and support them. Guided by a correct policy, as long as we avoid onesidedness in our propaganda and work, there is no need for us to regard market demand or influence as a fearful, ugly and decadent thing. Nor should we regard them as an all-powerful thing. It is wrong to say that we are allowed to produce anything as long as we observe market law and demand. Of course, neither market nor reform is omnipotent. For instance, it is impossible for reform to solve the problem of creative work. It does not mean that good literature and art works will occur once we have done well in the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes. It does not mean that they will not occur before the reform. The occurrence of good works is inseparable from talented personnel, and the occurrence of talented personnel involves artistic education. The quality of our art is connected with the cultural quality of our entire nation. All these factors are indispensable. Therefore, we say that reform is not omnipotent. While carrying our reform, we should do a lot of work. We should do the work of supporting literature and art creation, and award excellent works. We should do party political and ideological work, do the work of the youth league, and do the work of consultation and dialogue. Besides, we should work out rules and regulations, and administrative methods for literature and art. We should cooperate with the financial department, labor personnel department, planning department, commercial department, public security department, and civil administration department, and so on. Although reform is not omnipotent, it promotes the progress of our work.

Some comrades are worried about the possibility that in the course of reform we will do things in an oversimplified way to discard some artists, and those old artists in particular. We can tell these comrades that we will never discard those artists who contributed their youth and talent to the artistic undertaking of our country for a long period of time. We will make good arrangements for those artistic professionals who once made their contributions, but whose golden age is over, or is coming to an end. We will make arrangements for their work, study, daily life, welfare and so on.

Some other comrades maintain that the reason why the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes is carried out is because our country is encountering financial difficulties. Cultural departments become the "victim." In the future, the state will not allocate funds

for them. Some comrades even say that the cultural departments are always the victims. This is truly a misunderstanding. The central leading comrades have repeatedly stressed that the allocation of funds to cultural and art units will not be reduced because of the reform. The central authorities have no such desires. Nor has such a problem existed. As far as financial problems are concerned, we are considering changing the structure. The existing cultural expenses "shared by all" will be turned into subsidies for performances and creative work, and awards for creative work and performances. In the meantime, through more flexible operational activities, we will improve the financial situation of the great number of performing arts troupes, and improve the livelihood of our artistic professionals, and our "top artists" in particular. Therefore, no problem of reducing funds because of reform exists. Some young artists, who are becoming more and more popular, think that once reform is carried out, it will be easier for them to make money, and that their incomes will be doubled, or redoubled. I am afraid that this will rarely happen. A more open policy will be implemented in certain aspects because of the reform. This will be more beneficial to those young artists. However, on the other hand, control over them might be stricter. Therefore, it is impractical to think that reform means earning more money, or increasing incomes, and that all people can earn more.

Some people are also worried about the possibility that reform will cause an imbalance between the "positions" of those persons engaged in art and "levels" of their performing arts troupes. Actually, such "positions" or "levels" is unscientific, because it is based on an administrative pattern. It should be reformed. For example, some troupes directly under the Ministry of Culture might belong to the level of a central bureau. Troupes under provinces or cities might belong to a sectional level. Troupes under prefectural governments belong to a departmental level. Those under county governments belong to divisional level. To what level should those under township governments belong? The way for grading the "levels" is irrational. Is it possible for a troupe which belongs to "departmental level" to stage a play, or to sing songs at "departmental level?" This is the thing which should be reformed. We should say that everything is determined by the quality of our artistic products. Only through reform can we eliminate such ideas on administrative levels, and truly do things in accordance with artistic law.

In conclusion, what should be stressed is that reform is a long process which needs exploration. The reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes is not a matter for the cultural administrative departments alone. It is a matter for the broad masses of literature and art workers, and a matter for the whole society. We should completely rely on the consciousness of the broad masses of literature and art workers. It does not mean that the reform is only carried out by the government, but our artists have become the targets of reform. Do our artists not enthusiastically hail the reform? Do they not always



look forward to reform? Through the continuous progress in the reform of the structure of our performing arts troupes, we will bring about the reform of the entire cultural system, so that our cultural structure will conform with our economic and political structure. This will enable us to continuously make new progress in developing socialist cultural structure with Chinese characteristics.

### **Give Full Play to Hong Kong's Role in Coastal Economic Development**

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[Article by Xu Jiatusun]

[Text] Economic development in China's coastal areas is making the best use of a good opportunity. In recent years, due to the depreciation of the U.S. dollar, the appreciation of the Japanese yen, and the plunge of stock markets, developed countries have been altering their structures of production, moving their labor-intensive industries to places where wages are low. Large amounts of surplus capital are seeking new, favorable places of investment. Since China's coastal areas, densely populated, have good transport facilities, a fairly sound technical force, a relatively good potential for developing new products, a fairly skilled and low-paid labor, comparatively good urban infrastructural facilities, they are, therefore, quite attractive to foreign investors. After judging the hour and sizing up the situation, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council have worked out in good time a development strategy for the country's coastal areas, urging coastal provinces and municipalities to start off before others in entering international markets in a guided, planned, and step-by-step way, to get themselves deeper involved in international exchange and competition, and to vigorously develop an export-oriented economy. As we see it, this strategic policy decision of the party Central Committee and the State Council has pointed out a direction for the economic development of coastal areas and is thus of great significance. At present, we must "go ahead boldly with an accelerated pace and on no account must we bungle the good opportunity" as Comrade Xiaoping emphatically pointed out.

Hong Kong is the bright pearl of the southern region of our country and a bridge between the interior and the world. Through the long-term operation of international capital and with the arduous efforts made by the people of Hong Kong for generations, Hong Kong has become a world trade center, an international financial center, and a hub of sea transportation. It is a new topic in the implementation of our economic development strategy to make full use of Hong Kong to serve our coastal economy.

### **I**

Hong Kong is now in a new economic upsurge.

Last year Hong Kong's total output value increased by 13.6 percent over the previous year, the second record high ever witnessed in the past. Its average per-capita output value amounted to \$8,227 and entrepot trade netted HK\$182.7 billion, an increase of 49.2 percent. The export volume of Hong Kong's products totaled HK\$195.2 billion, up 26.8 percent. The number of tourist arrivals amounted to 4,560,000, bringing in HK\$25.4 million in income, up 20 percent and 42.4 percent respectively. Although Hong Kong's economy was affected by consecutive stock-market slumps in the West last year, its momentum of continued growth was not altered. Simply put, Hong Kong is further strengthening its economic contacts with other countries in the world and its ties with the interior in the areas, such as trade, supply of raw and semifinished materials, processing and placements of goods orders, and development of new products, are getting closer. Hong Kong's economic structure is itself undergoing new changes and especially its third industry has made new advances.

The unprecedented development of Hong Kong's economy is the result of several factors. They are mainly first, the signing of the Sino-British agreement. The Hong Kong question left by history has been solved in accordance with the "one country, two systems" principle. China and Britain jointly ensured that the current system would not change at least in 50 years after 1997, thus boosting the confidence of other countries in the world in making use of Hong Kong. Second, the mainland's political situation is stable, the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world is developing in depth, the economy is continuing to develop, and its export trade has increased by a wide margin, thus promoting Hong Kong's prosperity and making Hong Kong more influential as an international trade center as well as a financial center. Third, with the changes in the world economy, international idle money has increased. Hong Kong's adherence to its foreign exchange pegging system has made its products more competitive. Fourth, Hong Kong has continued to develop its own characteristics and strong points. In world economic activities, the people of Hong Kong are highly competent and adaptable. The Chinese constitute 98 percent of Hong Kong's population. On the one hand, as descendants of the Yan and Huang emperors, they are familiar with China's inherent cultural traditions and people's habits and customs and know the interior's relevant policies and laws as well as policymaking procedures and on the other hand, long nurtured by the Western culture, they know the market developments in the West and are good at capturing every opportunity. With the above-mentioned subjective factors, it can be expected that Hong Kong's economy will continue to grow in a sustained manner for a long time and a new height will definitely appear. All countries in the world drool over China's vast markets, they want to make use of Hong Kong and view it as an observation post for the development of China's policy of reform and opening up. Foreigners are not very familiar with the Chinese market. Therefore, many foreign businessmen come to China accompanied by Hong



Kong businessmen, with the latter acting as a guide or a partner. Hong Kong has thus become a thoroughfare and spring board for economic exchanges between the interior and the rest of the world.

Hong Kong is a window for us to know the capitalist world and observe international economic developments and also an important thoroughfare through which our country exports its products to international markets and imports foreign capital. However, we have still had a quite inadequate understanding of Hong Kong's characteristics and strong points, in particular, Hong Kong people's special quality. We should upgrade our concepts. To develop the socialist commodity economy and establish an import-oriented economy in the coastal areas, not only do we need "hardware" such as machinery and equipment but we also need "software" such as information and public relations. Western entrepreneurs put equal stress on information, management, and public relations on the one hand and funds, machinery, and equipment on the other, arguing that they are necessary conditions for running enterprises well. In the contemporary world market, market quotations are fast changing. Only when one can obtain new, accurate economic information and has huge sales and purchasing networks can he likely determine the victory from far far away. We should attach importance and give full play to the Hong Kong's role in developing the economy in the coastal areas, because through Hong Kong we can directly know the Western world, most conveniently observe the new trends of the world economy, and promptly grasp international market information. Whether we can fully understand this characteristic and strong point of Hong Kong is the key to whether we can make the full use of Hong Kong.

## II

To promote the economic development of the coastal areas, Hong Kong can play an essential role in the following four respects:

First, make full use of Hong Kong's quick access to economic information to promptly provide the interior with the latest international economic information. As an international trade center, international financial center, and an international port, Hong Kong has quick telecommunications facilities and a huge volume of information transactions. In the last few years, with the further implementation of the policy of reform and opening up, the interior has conducted more economic exchanges with other countries, thus getting better access to information, but poor access to information remains a big hurdle to developing an export-oriented economy at present. Especially, many enterprises which have decisionmaking powers in doing foreign trade, numerous export commodity production bases, and export-oriented enterprises in the interior still find it difficult to have quick access to intentional economic information. We must make use of Hong Kong's multi-channel economic information network formed at various levels to

promptly offer international economic information which can serve as the basis for the interior to work out countermeasures, open up new markets, and enter in international competition, and to provide the economic organizations and enterprises in the interior with consultative services. We should strengthen our connections with figures in economic circles and economic scholars in Hong Kong and Taiwan and among overseas Chinese residing in various countries, study the trends of the international economy and the experiences of other countries in developing their economies, solicit their criticisms of, suggestions for, and demands on our economic work, and provide consultative services and help implement the policy of reform and opening up.

Second, give full play to Hong Kong's role as an international financial center and pool development funds for the coastal areas. According to the statistics published by the Hong Kong government, the accumulative balance of loans the Hong Kong financial institutions extended to the interior's non-banking clients increased from HK\$100 million or more at the end of 1979 to HK\$22.3 billion at the end of 1987. This shows that the Hong Kong banking circles are getting increasingly more enthusiastic in funding the interior's construction. At present, there is a big flow of international capital. The investment climate in the coastal areas which has improved remarkably has become increasingly attractive to foreign investment. On the other hand, to "put both ends of the production process on the world market" and to "import raw materials and export products on a large scale," our country's coastal areas have a greater need for working funds in foreign exchange. To improve the investment environment and the energy, communications, and other infrastructural facilities, their need for loans to fund the construction projects is also increasing with each passing day. Under these circumstances, we must actively make full use of Hong Kong to raise funds. The Chinese-funded financial and trade organizations in Hong Kong should contribute to Hong Kong's stability and prosperity as well as to the export-oriented economy of the coastal areas. They should unite the forces of Chinese capital, overseas capital, and foreign capital in Hong Kong and encourage them to make effective investments in our country's coastal areas. Currently, Chinese-funded banks are further increasing their direct loans in the coastal areas and supporting the "processing with supplied materials and samples, assembling with supplied parts, and compensation trade" and export-import trade. The Hong Kong and Macao International Investment Corporation is preparing to construct a power plant in Hainan, to open up an industrial park, and to support the coastal economic open areas in improving their infrastructural facilities. To put it briefly, we should make use of the role of Hong Kong's financial and trading institutions, raise funds in a flexible and diversified way so as to invest and accelerate the economic development of the coastal areas.

Third, to make use of Hong Kong to develop international markets for the commodities of China and to gradually set up sale networks. Hong Kong plays a

specially important role in our country's export trade. According to statistics, from 1978 to 1986, the interior's total export volume increased by 171.2 percent, the total volume of its products exported to Hong Kong rose by 670 percent and the volume of its commodities re-exported via Hong Kong in the same period went up by 1,300 percent. At present, nearly 40 percent of our country's commodities are shipped to Hong Kong or other countries and regions via Hong Kong. Hong Kong also serves as a direct thoroughfare for the trade between our country and Taiwan.

In recent years, the high-grade consumer goods markets in Western countries have been affected to a certain extent by such things as the stock-market crash and the devaluation of the U.S. dollar but the intermediate- and low-grade commodity markets were less affected. Most China's export goods are intermediate- and low-grade commodities. Therefore, its export trade potential remains very great. Take the United States for example. The volume of China's (including the Hong Kong area's) commodities exported to the United States constitutes just 4 percent of the latter's total import volume in 1987. It is necessary and entirely possible to raise our country's total import and export volume to a level commensurate with its economic strength after we have reformed our foreign trade structure and improved our import and export trade. For this purpose, Hong Kong should be made use of in conducting frequent studies on international market trends and in clearly defining the direction of commodities; various Hong Kong forces should be promoted to actively participate in building the export bases in the interior; and Hong Kong's experience should be drawn on, business management should be improved, and the competitive capability of China's commodities should be raised. Many compatriots in Hong Kong and overseas Chinese have a deep feeling for their motherland and hope that their businesses will prosper and their motherland will be prosperous and strong as well. Export enterprises in the interior should earnestly cooperate with them on the basis of the principle of mutual benefit and rely on their business ability and on their influence outside China to develop international markets and establish sales networks.

Fourth, make use of Hong Kong to help the coastal areas economically and train foreign trade cadres who are conversant with modern economic management knowledge. Our country's coastal areas have a batch of competent and experienced economic and foreign trade cadres but they are unevenly distributed. Particularly, there is a dearth of economic and foreign trade cadres who have modern economic knowledge in many newly developed export commodity production bases and export-oriented enterprises. We think that training centers can be set up in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and Hong Kong people who have modern economic management knowledge and experience should be invited to give lectures. People who have completed the task of theoretical study can then go to Hong Kong for a

short period of field-investigation. The Hong Kong Chinese General Assembly of Commerce and Chinese institutions stationed here have trained quite a number of cadres for the interior for many years, thus achieving considerable successes. In the days to come, the scope of training can be appropriately expanded and training methods diversified. Hong Kong is a society that operates the economy in accordance with the requirements of production socialization and commercialization of a high level, from which we can directly observe the capitalist society's strong points and weaknesses as well as advantages and disadvantages. At the same time, Hong Kong itself is also the model of an export-oriented economy. Hong Kong has made great successes in its long quest for a market opportunity characterized by less investment, simple technology, low costs, short production periods, and bigger profits in its economic development. This development strategy of the Hong Kong people is based on Hong Kong's own characteristics and strong points—reliance on self-raised funds in starting businesses, numerous small enterprises, and low-paid labor. Similarly, these characteristics and strong points of Hong Kong can be found in our country's coastal areas. Therefore, training economic and foreign trade cadres in a zone near Hong Kong is in fact a method of object teaching which will enable the students to have a direct knowledge about Hong Kong, to look far into the West, and to keep abreast of the modern international market from this window of Hong Kong. Hong Kong people can be invited to manage the interior's enterprises and conduct business so that our enterprise personnel can directly observe and use their experiences as reference.

### III

The emphasis on making use of Hong Kong in the development of the coastal areas, which is based on Hong Kong's geographical position and its own strong points, does not imply that the role of Hong Kong in the development of the economy of the central and western regions of China can be neglected. Recently, Hong Kong businessmen have been to every province and prefecture of China. Only when Hong Kong can extend its contacts to the whole country and fully make use of the strong points of various areas can it obtain a more sufficient supply of goods and wider investment scope. However, development varies from locality to locality, proceeding at a different pace. Therefore, Hong Kong's role has to fan out from near to far. When it comes to the "processing with supplied materials and samples, the assembling with supplied parts, and compensation trade," the coastal areas including Guangdong will of course develop a bit faster. However, interior provinces have their own strong points in resources and low costs and therefore, they can similarly make use of Hong Kong's information, talents, and funds to develop their own import-export trades and serve the development of their economies. Chinese-funded organizations can promote

the development of enterprises in the interior by organizing the export of the brand-name, high-quality products of the coastal areas. In organizing enterprise groups and purchasing and sales networks, strenuous efforts should be made to encourage enterprises concerned in interior provinces and Hong Kong to join and to cooperate with each other for common development.

It is necessary to make use of Hong Kong to promote the economic development of the coastal areas. The development of the coastal areas in turn can promote Hong Kong's continued prosperity and unity. Although eye-catching achievements have been made in Hong Kong's economy over the last decades, there are some hidden worries behind the economic prosperity. Hong Kong's manufacturing industry which is developed at a lower level has made success. Under the pressure of an increasingly acute competition in international markets, it is extremely urgent for Hong Kong to upgrade its traditional products and to develop high-tech products. Hong Kong has begun applying the achievements of the interior's scientific and technological research. At the same time, because of labor shortages, labor-intensive industries are being shifted to the coastal areas. Hence, there has emerged a completely new pattern where there is "a shop in the front (the market lies in Hong Kong) and a workshop in the rear (processing zones are located in the coastal areas)." It is entirely possible for Hong Kong to contribute to the economic development of the interior, in particular, the coastal areas. The interior should also continue to support Hong Kong and to safeguard Hong Kong's prosperity and unity. Hong Kong and the interior should strive for common development, each benefiting the other. They should employ their strong points and make joint efforts to get themselves involved in international exchange and market competition.

The strategy adopted by the party Central Committee and the State Council for the economic development of the coastal areas marks that our country's situation of reform and opening up has developed to a new stage and is also a major measure taken by our country to strengthen economic relations and friendly cooperation with other countries in the world. In implementing this strategy, I am convinced that compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao as well as Taiwan and foreign nationals of Chinese origin will support and help us in an extensive way. The development of an export-oriented economy in the coastal areas will help raise our country's productivity as a whole and further promote the unity and rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

#### **Establish the Norms and Systems of the Socialist Commodity Economy—A New Subject Faced in China's Reforms**

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[Article by Wu Wei (0702 0251) and Xiao Xin (5135 2946) of the Central Political Restructuring Research Office and the Party School of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] In China, the whole purpose of advancing the reform of the economic structure is to use the new structure, namely, the structure of the socialist commodity economy, to replace in an all-round way the old

structure of the product economy. This replacement not only calls for the complete transformation of the original management model of the national economy from the macro level to the micro level, the relationship between the government and the enterprises and their modes of conduct, as well as all outdated norms of economic activities, but also depends on the establishment and improvement of the norms and systems of the socialist commodity economy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and after some 10 years of reform practice, fundamental changes have taken place in China's economic structure and the framework of the socialist commodity economic structure has been established. Under these circumstances, speeding up the building of the norms and systems of the commodity economy and shaping a new economic order conducive to the growth of the commodity economy has become a key subject currently faced by our country in deepening the reform.

#### **I**

Human economic activities are the basic practical activities conducted by man for his own survival and development. They have a social character and an organizational character. No matter under which economic formations, people's economic activities will inevitably develop to evolve certain rules and order. These rules and order are the basic guarantee to safeguard the normal progress and development of economic activities, to prevent the emergence of economic chaos, to coordinate various contradictions in economic life, and to control the conduct of the main players of economic activities so that it will not harm the interests of the whole society and other people. The development of the capitalist market economy is at the same time the process of establishing market norms and systems. In the early days of capitalism, there was a very long period of nonstandardized economic activities and chaotic socio-economic order. The practice generated a consensus on the necessity of establishing the necessary norms and systems. Thus, through state legislation and acceptable common practice, people gradually established various laws, rules, regulations, norms, and systems to restrain people's economic conduct, to ensure normal transactions, free competition, and state control, and to meddle in the economy. These provided effective leverage for the establishment and maintenance of the commodity economic order under the capitalist condition and for the promotion of market growth and economic development.

Socialism practices a planned commodity economy. This quality determines that it must be a standardized and orderly commodity economy. At present, our country's economic restructuring is shifting from the pattern of product economy to that of commodity economy. Division of work and the level of socialization in the national economy have exceeded the level of development in the early period of capitalism, and the commodity economy has developed to a considerable extent. However,

because we have just embarked on the track of commodity economy and are still in the initial stage of its development, it is impossible to immediately establish the series of norms and systems required by the commodity economy. With practice we can see that there are still many chaotic phenomena in our country's economic life, that the organized and planned macroeconomic regulatory and control mechanism of the state and the normal market order have not completely taken shape, that a considerable number of enterprises, as well as other commodity producers and operators, have not completely rectified their conduct, that there are still many defects in the circulation links of international trade and domestic market, and that various economic conduct infringing on the interests of the state and society still happen from time to time. For example, the practice of "transactions by bribery" in commodity exchange, "speculative impetus" [tou ji tui dong 2121 2623 2236 0520] in economic operations, "indiscriminate assignment of quotas and fines" in market management, "welfare distribution" of consumer goods by small groups, and "regional barriers" in the distribution of market and economic resources—all these not only hamper economic marketization, upset normal market operations, and intensify price increases and unfair practices in social distribution, but also serve as an economic basis for the development of decadent phenomena in the government. This is seemingly caused by the lowered standards of social conducts. In truth, it is caused by the lack of market norms and systems. This is because, while discarding the modes of management and operations of the traditional structure, the reform of our economic structure has also discarded the code of conduct and the mode of conduct in the traditional structure. However, we have not been able to establish the code of conduct, norms, and systems suited to the new commodity economic structure and the main players of economic activities (governments and commodity producers and operators) have been carrying out their economic activities while the code of conduct and the norms are still hazy. Therefore, it is impossible to effectively restrain or curb some unjustifiable economic conduct. Because there is not a clear demarcation line, it is difficult to determine whether some economic conduct is reasonable and justifiable. Under such circumstances, it is of decisive significance to speed up the building of the norms and systems of the socialist commodity economy, to rectify irrational practices in economic life, to ensure the normal operations of the national economy, and to overcome decadent phenomena in society and government.

Speeding up the building of the norms and systems of the socialist commodity economy is also aimed at speeding up and deepening the reform. Our country is now in a period in which the old economic structure is being replaced by the new. We have not finished making a transition to the commodity economy. The contradictions between the dualist economic pattern and the dualist economic structure still constantly worry us and become a practical obstruction in the development of the

commodity economy. To extricate ourselves from this predicament, apart from being determined to promptly put forward measures to deepen the reform of the management structure of the national economy, we should also speedily establish and improve various norms and systems which are advanced and which can promote the market growth, restrain the conduct of the main economic players, and help safeguard the normal order of the commodity economy. In this way, we shall be able to consolidate the reform achievements and, at the same time, promote and deepen the reform with their advanced character, and accelerate the elimination of the outdated structure and the formation and improvement of the new structure of the socialist commodity economy.

Viewed from the world's history of modern economic development, under capitalist conditions, it takes a fairly long time to develop the norms and systems of the commodity economy. Can we take a laissez-faire attitude for the time being and do this work after the commodity economy has developed considerably? Obviously not. First of all, given the socialist planned commodity economy, it is still necessary for the state to preserve its capability to effectively regulate and control the national economy. The previous method of chiefly using administrative means to directly regulate and control the national economy can no longer meet the needs of the development of the commodity economy. We can only adopt indirect and macroeconomic means of regulation and control. Apart from economic means, the most important thing here is the use of laws, statutes, and systems. Moreover, even economic means should be standardized in the form of laws, statutes, and systems to ensure their stability and continuity. If state controls over the economy are relaxed, the enterprises become relatively independent commodity producers and operators, and the state's macro regulatory and control mechanism has not been properly established, the entire economy will certainly be thrown into chaos, which in turn will affect the development of the commodity economy. For some time, the government capability to manage the economy and to exercise regulation and control has decreased in some economically developed regions. This has something to do with the failure of the government to make proper changes in its modes of conduct, norms of conduct, and work system and with our failure to catch up with the building of the norms and systems of commodity economy when the economic structure has changed track. We should attach full importance to this.

Second, the policy of opening up to the outside world has placed us in an international environment of fierce economic competition. To enable our commodities to hold their ground on the international market and to attract large amounts of foreign capital, and to use the advanced technology in the world to develop our economy, it is necessary to adopt economic and technological norms currently practiced in the world and to establish

an effective legal guarantee so as to develop a good market environment and a good investment environment.

Third, separating government from enterprise functions is a fundamental measure to invigorate enterprises and improve market mechanisms. At present, however, government conduct has not been standardized and economic management departments still meddle excessively in the affairs of enterprises; many enterprises have not rectified their conduct and there are widespread short-term acts and other conduct undermining market order. Moreover, there are also many irrational practices in the fields of circulation and distribution. Relaxing controls over the market does not mean letting things drift. If these issues are allowed to drift without the necessary restraint and standardization, they will bring enormous harm to China's economic development and social stability, and will possibly lead the reform to a difficult position.

Fourth, the decadent practices in some party and government organs, such as abuse of power, extortion, embezzlement, and bribe-taking, as well as the cases of party and government organs engaging in trade and running enterprises, have something to do with the lack of necessary norms and systems in developing the commodity economy and the lack of perfect and open systems in some grass-roots departments, which directly serve the development of the commodity economy and the social life. An effective measure to solve these problems is to establish and improve the norms and systems of the commodity economy. Due to the above-mentioned reasons, an important strategic alternative to deepen the reform under the present circumstances is to stimulate the development of the commodity economy in a sound and orderly way and the establishment of the new structure.

Under the present conditions in our country, it is also possible to quicken the pace of establishing the norms and systems of the socialist commodity economy. We are establishing the systems of the commodity economy in a highly developed international market and under a fairly stable world economic order. In all countries, whether the developed countries or among other countries, various norms and systems of the commodity economy have been set up and have been practiced for a fairly long time. This has provided us with the necessary conditions to use as reference and absorb the useful experience of other countries in establishing the norms and systems of the commodity economy. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has also accumulated a lot of successful experience in deepening the reform of the economic structure. In particular, we have conducted and are conducting many useful explorations in the coastal areas where the commodity economy is fairly developed. As long as we proceed from reality and are good at summing up and absorbing useful experience at home and abroad, it is entirely possible for

us to gradually establish and improve the norms and systems of China's socialist commodity economy by working hard for some time.

Naturally, some systems and norms may not be mature and perfect at the beginning. This is normal but we should not take this as a reason for not firmly grasping this work. It is better to have a system than no system at all. The development process of the commodity economy is also a process of the gradual improvement of its systems and norms. It is entirely possible for us to constantly make them mature in the course of developing the commodity economy while practicing, revising, and improving them.

## II

The establishment of the socialist commodity economic norms and systems involves a broad area. To sum up, it can generally be divided into the following categories: 1) The market discipline, regulations, and systems. These are the most fundamental norms of the commodity economy, consisting of the norms of various essential markets, such as capital goods market, consumer goods market, financial market, and labor service market. 2) The norms and systems within enterprises and those governing enterprise conduct. Enterprises are relatively independent commodity producers and operators. The relationship between enterprise ownership and power of operations; the status, rights, and obligations of enterprises as legal persons; the forms of operations, such as contracted management and leasing of enterprises and the joint-stock system; the decisionmaking process in enterprise production, property management, cost accounting, distribution of profit, personnel system, labor power employment system, and the relationships between party, government, trade union, league, and workers' congress; the responsibility, authority, and benefit of factory directors; and the various systems of management, rewards, and punishments—all these come under this category. 3) The norms and systems governing the government economic conduct. As a macro regulator and controller of the national economy, the government must regulate the market and guide enterprise conduct through its indirect economic conduct. The norms and systems governing the government economic conduct consist of the following three aspects: (1) The norms governing the relationships between the government and the enterprises, between the central and local authorities, and among various government economic management departments. (2) The system of work and the norm of conduct governing those departments directly regulating, managing, and acting on economic life, such as industrial and commercial administration, taxation, prices, statistics, auditing, finance, and the work procedure and personnel discipline for the administrative, supervisory, and other departments. (3) The policy-related norms and systems governing government management, regulation, and control of all aspects of the national economy. From the above-mentioned general classification we can see that the norms and systems of

the socialist commodity economy are a very complicated system involving all essential factors and aspects in the operations of the commodity economy and that their establishment and improvement will be a very arduous and meticulous task. All aspects of economic life, such as production, circulation, distribution, and consumption, and all main economic players, such as the government, industrial and commercial enterprises, and financial institutions, have the task of establishing mutually coordinated norms and systems. At present, we should selectively grasp things which are urgently needed in practice and which are basically mature and, starting from the desire to invigorate the enterprises and help separate government functions from enterprise functions, standardize, codify, and institutionalize all conduct of the main economic players and the mutual relationship between them.

There are many ways to establish the norms and systems of the socialist commodity economy. Judging the practical conditions, there are generally three ways:

1) To ensure macroeconomic regulation and control, market operational order, and the normal operations of foreign economic relations, the state standardizes the conduct of the main economic players, including government departments and commodity producers and operators, and regulates their relationships. The mandatory norms established through legislative actions and administrative means chiefly refer to the laws, statutes, and decisions approved by the NPC and the local people's congresses, as well as their standing committees, and the administrative laws promulgated by the governments at all levels. The "PRC Law on State-Owned Industrial Enterprises" recently approved by the Seventh NPC and the "Interim Regulations on Contracted Management Responsibility System in State-Owned Industrial Enterprises" and "Interim Regulations on Banning Assignment of Charges to Enterprises" promulgated by the State Council come under this category. Given the present conditions in our country that the relationship between the government and enterprises have not been completely straightened out and that the market has not developed perfectly, these norms and systems must be fairly advanced and should be implemented by the state mandatory power. Only in this way can we promote and deepen this reform, gradually rectify the conduct of the main economic players, and form a new order of the commodity economy. At present, it is necessary to take the legislation and formulation of statutes related to the development of the commodity economy, particularly the work of building the norms and systems of government conduct, as the focus of building the norms and systems of our socialist commodity economy. While standardizing and institutionalizing the economic activities, we should try to embark on the track of codifying, standardizing, and institutionalizing the state and government regulation, control, and supervision of the national economy. This is not only the objective development of the development of commodity economy but also the demand of building the socialist democratic legal system.

2) To protect the production and operational order of their trades and enterprises, some trade associations, enterprise operators or managers, or enterprise management organizations (and, under the present present conditions, the departments in charge of enterprises) may, in light of the specific features and needs of their trades and enterprises, work out norms and systems which have a binding power over their trades and enterprises. It should be said that the formulation of norms and systems in this respect is still quite weak today. If we effectively step up this work, we shall be able to greatly restrain and rectify enterprise conduct and raise their managerial level.

3) The norm of conduct, such as business ethics, which is established by usage in the course of market operations and is subject to the law governing the commodity economy. It is somewhat spontaneous and self-restraining in nature. It takes a long time to establish this norm, which gradually takes shape with the development of the commodity economy and the improvement of the market system. However, when we say that it is a long-term project with a spontaneous character, we do not mean that we can do nothing in this field today. We should voluntarily promote its growth and formation through the guidance and supervision of public opinion and a new type of ideological and political work.

### III

Establishing and improving the supervisory system of the national economy is also indispensable to the establishment of the norms and systems of the socialist commodity economy. The establishment of the norms and systems of the commodity economy calls for not only the establishment of various laws, statutes, norms, and systems but also a strict, perfect law-enforcement and supervisory system. Failure to act according to the law is like not having a law. Only by stepping up supervisory work can we ensure that all norms and system can become an effective binding mechanism and maintain the orderly operation of the commodity economy.

The supervisory system of the national economy involves a broad area. The main bodies exercising this supervision chiefly include the supervision of the state organs of power, the supervision of the state administrative management departments, the supervision of the state judiciary and procuratorial organs, banking supervision, auditing supervision, supervision by the masses, and the enterprise internal supervision. On a wider scale, they should also include supervision by the press and supervision by all political parties and mass organizations. Of these, the most important one should be the supervision by the government economic management and supervisory departments. This supervision is essentially different from the previous government practice of using administrative means to directly meddle in enterprises. It uses a certain norm of conduct to restrain the main bodies of economic activities so that their policy

decisions and actions will not undermine the market order, infringe upon the economic interests of the state, the collectives, the society, and the individuals, and thus develop and maintain a new order of the commodity economy in which the state regulates and controls the market and the market guides the enterprises.

At present, our country's supervisory system of the national economy is still very imperfect. In particular, in many aspects of the government economic supervisory departments, such as functions, establishment of institutions, personnel establishment and quality, and work system, there are still some problems to be solved. We should, in coordination with the government institutional reform and the establishment of the state civil servant system, as well as the implementation of measures for the reform of the economic and political structure, try to improve them as quickly as possible. Only in this way can these departments more effectively strengthen and deepen the economic supervisory work and play an increasingly greater role in developing and maintaining the order of the socialist commodity economy. It is necessary to use strict economic supervisory work to enable the main economic players, such as the industrial and commercial enterprises, self-employed producers and operators, and government departments, to carry out their activities within the scope of the laws, statutes, norms, and systems of the commodity economy. All practices violating the law and discipline and undermining the system must be subject to proper sanction and punishment. Moreover, it is also necessary to step up propaganda and education in the norms and systems of commodity economy and to carry out necessary training in the conduct of commodity economy in order to raise the consciousness of all main economic players to safeguard the order of the commodity economy.

**Gong Yuzhi: Looking Back and Looking Forward**  
*HK1807083188 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 pp 25-30*

[Interview with Gong Yuzhi [7895 5148 0037] by  
QIUSHI reporter Liu Wei (0491 0251)]

[Text] In 1978, the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee marked a new chapter in the history of China. Since then, dramatic changes have taken place in China's political, economic, educational, scientific and technological, and cultural fields that have attracted world-wide attention. When looking back on the years gone by and looking forward to the road ahead, some people with high aspirations and determination cannot help but ask: What role have theoretical workers played in the great changes of Chinese society over the past 10 years? And what course will the theoretical circles follow? With these questions in mind, this reporter interviewed Comrade Gong Yuzhi, vice minister of the CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, who is particularly in charge of theoretical work.

Question: Over the past few months, many papers and journals have carried articles to mark the 10th anniversary of the theoretical debate "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth." Taking these as introductory remarks, how should we view and evaluate the past 10 years of theoretical work, which currently is a topic of conversation? Since you have worked in the department of theoretical work for a long time, what are your views on this?

Answer: In my personal opinion, first, I would like to say that not long ago a joint meeting of presidents of all social sciences academies discussing the research of social sciences as a whole over the past 10 years concluded: "Over the past 10 years tremendous successes have been achieved on our social sciences front as well as on other fronts. This period has been marked by a rapid development in social sciences research, the most active thinking, and numerous achievements never seen before." I favor this conclusion. So far, the research relating to the theoretical basis of the party's lines and policies is even better.

Question: What have the theoretical circles done in this aspect of work?

Answer: Take the theory of the initial stage of socialism formulated at the 13th National CPC Congress as an example. The formulation of this theory is a crystallization of collective wisdom, as are all other major policies and important theoretical views set forth since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Meanwhile, this theory has reviewed the experiences gained by the vast numbers of party cadres and the masses in their endeavor to blaze new trails and summed up the achievements scored by numerous cadres of our party in their theoretical research, including the practice, thinking, and exploration done by the theoretical circles.

This theory was first advanced during the debate on the criterion for testing truth launched by the philosophical and theoretical circles. This debate then touched off a discussion throughout the whole party under the leadership and support of Deng Xiaoping and other central leading comrades. It also paved the way for the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in the ideological and theoretical spheres. This was affirmed at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Since this session, the theoretical circles have done a lot in setting things right, summing up historical experiences, exposing and criticizing the guiding ideas for launching the "Cultural Revolution," repudiating the "theory of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," and in exposing and criticizing some fantastic things in our socialist ideology. The theoretical circles have also been very active in the process of carrying out comprehensive reforms. They have particularly done their part in the formulation of the new



theoretical view that a "socialist economy is a commodity economy based on public ownership," which has been regarded as a re-understanding of socialism. All this has helped us confirm the theory concerning the initial stage of socialism.

A few years ago the theoretical circles also launched a discussion on how to divide stages of social development after the proletariat seizes political power, and on the problem of what stage China is in now. In my opinion, to a certain degree this discussion played an introductory role in the formation of the theory concerning the initial stage of socialism. During the discussion, it was clearly pointed out that there is a big gap between the present socialist society in China and the socialist society envisaged in Marx' work the "Critique of the Gotha Program." How should we look upon this gap? Obviously, we should not ignore the concrete history and reality of China's socialist development; nor should we deny, according to the general principles envisaged by Marx, that our country has entered the stage of socialism. At the same time, we must see that the historical prerequisites for bringing China into the stage of socialism determine that China's socialist development must have its own characteristics. The most important demonstrations of these Chinese characteristics are: that the socialist society we are entering is unlikely the one in which capitalism has been fully developed; and that our country should experience a specific stage, that is, the initial stage of socialism our country is now in. You may remember that it is in the party document "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" that the view that our country is in the initial stage of socialism was first initiated. The resolution reads: "Although our socialist system is still in its early phase of development, China has undoubtedly established a socialist system and entered the stage of socialist society. Any view denying this basic fact is wrong." This passage was obviously targeted at the erroneous views which deny that our country has entered the stage of socialism and even oppose our choice of socialism. At the same time, it drew a new conclusion: Our country is still in the initial stage of socialism. When discussing this theoretical view on the basis of Marxism and on the foundation of supporting our choice of socialism, opinions in the theoretical circles were widely divided, and they failed to come to the clear conclusion that our country is still in the initial stage of socialism. But anyway, they raised the question, made preparations ideologically, tried to prove their views, and became involved in theoretical contention. Aren't all of these conditions indispensable to the drawing up and improvement of a new conclusion? When we affirm the creativeness of the party Central Committee in developing Marxist theory, we must also make definite the hard work and creativeness of the vast numbers of theoretical workers, including their efforts to probe into and contend for their different points of views.

Question: There is now a view that achievements in the natural sciences can be granted patents, but theoretical

explorations made by social sciences are all classified as "collective wisdom." How do you view this problem?

Answer: You are right. Maybe this is the difference between natural sciences and social sciences. Explorations made in the social sciences are much more complex and indeed need a long course of ideological preparations, mutual inspiration, and discussions by the collective (the collective of the theoretical circles and the collective of party organizations). Therefore, it is hard to say that the theoretical views stated and expounded in our party resolutions are totally absorbed from an article or a speech by a certain comrade, or contributed by a certain person and a certain article. However, so far as the whole course and general background are concerned, no doubt the thinking, explorations, arguments, and creations made by our theoretical circles and many comrades of our theoretical circles have indeed made their contributions to the theoretical building and creation of our party.

To keep more theoretical achievements on record, I think, comrades in the theoretical circles should work hard to produce more results through systematic and deep-going studies, and to write some real scientific works that can be left to future generations. No doubt, our Marxist theoretical circles shall meet the needs of the times, engage in new studies, and write new works. With these works, the position of our theorists will be established in China's annuals of ideologists. With our schools of thought, our theoretical works, and the achievements of our theoretists, the position of China's theoretists will be established in the world. And this will be a real record of achievements for our social sciences, but this can only be achieved through long and hard efforts. We must strive to move in this direction, and party leading organs should create a favorable environment and good conditions to support the effort.

Question: With regard to the creation of a favorable environment, do you think what is most important is that there must be stable policies which can ensure the implementation of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend?"

Answer: Yes, I think so. When the policy was set forth in 1956 as a basic policy of our party for scientific and cultural work, it was regarded an important policy decision as well as a major reform measure for the way of party leadership over science and literature and art. Drawing lessons from the Soviet Union, at that time we were really seeking a new way that could give full expression to the scientific spirit of Marxism, the spirit of democracy, and creative vitality. Today, when we are putting stress on improving or reforming the party's leadership over theoretical work, I think it is necessary to restudy documents issued at that time, including a report delivered by Comrade Lu Dingyi on behalf of the party



Central Committee to expound the party's policies to scientists and literary and artistic workers, and of course also including a number of documents written by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Question: Do you mean some expositions expounded in the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"?

Answer: Yes, they are included, but there were some other documents not published at that time. Here I would like to recommend two documents.

One is a letter Comrade Mao Zedong wrote on 19 February 1956 on the point that different views on academic problems can be discussed with any leader. The letter involved a Soviet expert on modern Chinese history and a biography on Dr Sun Yat-sen. During a visit to China, the Soviet expert said he did not agree with the appraisal made by Mao Zedong on Sun Yat-sen's world outlook and did not agree with the conclusion that Sun Yat-sen was an historical idealist. He believed that Sun Yat-sen was a historical materialist. Comrades who accompanied the expert reported his remarks to the Central Propaganda Department and maintained that Soviet Ambassador Yukin must be informed of the matter. When the Central Propaganda Department submitted the report to Comrade Mao Zedong, he wrote a note: "I think such free talk means no harm to my reputation. Therefore, there is no need to inform Yukin. Meanwhile, the different opinions of our own comrades on such academic problems and on any leaders should not be stopped. It is completely wrong to make any attempt to stop them."

These remarks illustrate a principle: On academic problems, we can contend with any leader. No matter whether or not you are a leader, everyone is equal before the truth. Both foreigners and Chinese can comment on the academic views of any leader if they do not agree. In so doing, there will not be, and there must not be, any formula that "Mao Zedong says it this way and you say it that way, so you are against Mao Zedong Thought."

Another document is a number of instructions written by Mao Zedong on 3 July 1957 on a report prepared by the Central Propaganda Department to reflect the different views of the participants in a national propaganda work conference on the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom. When the report was distributed to all the participants, a copy was also sent to Comrade Mao Zedong. When reading it, he wrote some comments on the report.

In the report one question is that some people hold that the party school cannot tolerate the contention of non-Marxist ideas. Mao underlined the passage and wrote the comment: "It seems this is not fair. Why should we be afraid of contention?"

Another question is that some people maintain that no skeptical attitude is allowed toward the classics of Marxism-Leninism. Mao wrote the comment: "Aren't they skeptical?"

Another question asks whether the party's policies can be debated. Mao commented: "Why not?"

Yet another question asks whether party members are allowed to doubt or oppose certain tenets of Marxism-Leninism? If a party member has grave doubts about Marxist philosophy and economics or theory concerning socialism, will he be allowed to remain in the party? On this question, Mao commented: "The former is affirmative and the latter is negative." This means a party member is allowed to doubt certain tenets of Marxism-Leninism but one who has grave doubts about Marxist-Leninist theory cannot be allowed to remain in the party.

Still another question asks how to do away with dogmatism in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Mao wrote: "The remedy is that criticism and debate must be encouraged."

These simple written instructions contain important ideas and demonstrate a Marxist's confidence and boldness of vision.

Question: The two documents are really of great significance.

Answer: The two documents were not made public at that time. However, the letter was included in the *Selected Letters of Mao Zedong*, which was published a few years ago. And those written instructions were also made public on the occasion marking the 30th anniversary of the "double-hundred" policy. Nevertheless, they did not arouse the attention of many people, so I would like to call attention to them again.

The two documents show that in 1956 we would have had a starting point for emancipation of the mind; that is to say, we would have freed ourselves of the Soviet patterns, including the pattern of theoretical work, the pattern of economic construction, and the pattern of political structure. We, however, failed to move forward. After mid-1957, our train of thought changed abruptly and our line of vision suddenly went astray. Owing to many complicated circumstances, many sound ideas and policies were forgotten or distorted, or even criticized. These setbacks yielded many bitter lessons. Today when we are improving or reforming party leadership over theoretical work, we must particularly review these historical lessons so that we will be able to persevere in the double-hundred policy under any circumstances.

Question: Only when a stable policy and a favorable environment are ensured, will a number of theoretical achievements and high-quality theoretical workers be able to appear.

Answer: In addition, there must also be realistic research and a correct style of study. Another point I want to make is that our investigations and studies must be geared to society.

Many comrades say the theory concerning the initial stage of socialism is on solid ground. This solid ground means China's specific conditions. The theory can be formulated just because we can correctly measure our specific conditions. When we further deepen, improve, and develop the theory, we must not forget that we should conduct more thorough-going investigations and studies of our basic, specific conditions. Since the 13th National CPC Congress, many comrades have believed that when we study the theory concerning the initial stage of socialism in depth, we must carry out investigations of our specific conditions on both a large and small scale, and conduct them in an all-round way and put them into different categories. This is really very important and it is also an ideal way to eliminate the superficial style of study—juggling with concepts and writing articles out of thin air.

When Comrade Mao Zedong talked about investigation and research, he regarded the question of investigation and research as one concerning the ideological line of our party. The original topic of his book *Opposing Book Worship was Investigation Report*. In his book *Opposing Book Worship*, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the ideological line communists should follow in their efforts to open up new prospects for their struggle. Therefore, the question of carrying out investigation and research on our national situation is a question concerning our ideological line, our struggle against book worship, and concerning whether our party's line and policies can be formulated on a scientific basis. Mao Zedong once said that without carrying out investigation and research on a given situation, one cannot have the right to make decisions concerning the given situation. Now when we talk about formulating policies on a scientific basis and letting social sciences enter our decisionmaking process, can we say that without carrying out investigation and research on our national situation, one cannot have the right to take part in the relevant decisionmaking process?

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the first collection of Mao Zedong's works compiled by the Party Literature Research Center was entitled *A Collection of Mao Zedong's Rural Investigation Reports*. It is a pity that this book failed to attract the attention of our comrades working in the field of social sciences. Many of these comrades did not know that this book contains an 80,000-character article entitled "Xun Wu Investigations," which is of great scientific value. When the book *Rural Investigations* was published in Yanan, the article "Xun Wu Investigations" could not be found and thus was not selected for publication. Fortunately, the article was found later and selected for publication in *A Collection of Mao Zedong's Rural Investigation Reports*.

The sociological development of our country has stagnated for many years without making any headway. Now, the time has come for us to revitalize our country's sociology. Before liberation, our country's sociologists trained in Europe and the United States once carried out some social investigations in the KMT [Kuomintang] controlled areas. After liberation, all schools of sociology imported from the West were criticized and repudiated. We cannot say that these criticisms were totally unreasonable. However, it is obviously a mistake that after all schools of sociology imported from the West were criticized and repudiated, sociology was wiped out in our country, the sociologists stopped conducting research and investigations, and nearly all the sociology research institutions of our country were abolished. The social investigations carried out by sociologists are of great value to our country. Now, sociology has been restored. Comrade Fei Xiaotong's book "Jiang Cun Investigations" has also been published. This book was originally published in English, not in Chinese. Now the Chinese version of the book has also been published. This book has for a long time been regarded as a necessary reference book on anthropology and sociology by Western sociologists. *Jiang Cun Investigations* (the English version of which is entitled *The Life of Chinese Peasants*) was written in 1963. The book also contains an investigative report entitled *The Life of Chinese Peasants Under the Leadership of the CPC*, which was written by an Australian sociologist who had been one of Fei Xiaotong's classmates. Fei Xiaotong is again presiding over a new round of social investigations and is planning to write an investigative report entitled *Jiang Cun Over the Past 50 Years*. I believe that a series of social investigations in the rural areas of our country is bound to exert great influence in the world sociological field. We must correctly view such work and pay great attention to such work. In the past, it was wrong for us to abolish such work. The time has now come for us restore it.

The Zhanwang Publishing House recently published a book entitled *China's Rural Areas Before Liberation* compiled by Chen Hansheng, Xue Muqiao, and Feng Hefa. If the ages of the three chief compilers were added together, they would exceed 250! Chen Hansheng is now 90 years old. The three chief compilers plan to publish a total of three volumes of the book. The first two volumes have already been published and mainly contain the rural investigation reports and works on China's rural economy all written by Marxist scholars. Before liberation, Comrade Chen Hansheng once presided over a series of social investigations in the KMT-controlled areas and also organized the establishment of the China Rural Economy Institute, which represented the Marxist school of sociology. The sociologists in the China Rural Economy Institute agreed with the analysis made by the 6th National CPC Congress on the nature of Chinese society and China's rural areas and consciously applied their scientific investigations to their scientific demonstration on the line formulated by the 6th National CPC Congress. They applied Marxist views to their analysis on China's economy and carried out in-depth social

investigations in the rural areas of our country. Unfortunately, the achievements these veteran sociologists made were later forgotten and overlooked by later generations. Now, very few young and middle-aged people know about the achievements made by these veteran sociologists. This is quite unfair. Now, people have begun to pay attention to the achievements made by these veteran sociologists.

Compared with the above-mentioned works, *A Collection of Mao Zedong's Rural Investigation Reports* has a special value. All the investigations mentioned in the book were carried in the areas ruled by the CPC. All the investigative reports contained in the book are the achievements made by a Marxist who closely integrated his scientific study on China's rural areas with the actual situation concerning the revolutionary transformation of China's rural areas in his investigations. In order to accomplish the agrarian revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong carried out social investigations in the rural areas. On the other hand, the agrarian revolution, its influence on the various classes and social strata in the rural areas, and the social changes caused by the agrarian revolution also became the contents of Mao Zedong's rural investigations. These investigations were not only aimed at solving specific questions, such as the policies of the agrarian revolution, how to determine class status in the rural areas, how to take from those who have too much and give to those who have too little, and so on, but also aimed at carrying out in-depth and meticulous investigations and research in the rural areas to acquire a better understanding of Chinese society. Comrade Mao Zedong called such investigations the basis for understanding China's society. Although the outstanding *Xun Wu Investigations* was written by Mao Zedong during the revolutionary war, it provides a systematic and comprehensive analysis of China's society. I think that the book *Xun Wu Investigations* has its own special characteristics and, therefore, should be given a due position both in China's sociology and in world sociology.

Since three rounds of systematic investigations (with the first interval being 20 years and the second interval being 30 years) were carried out in "*Jiang Cun*," why cannot a series of long-term investigations be carried out with stress on certain specific questions in "*Xun Wu*"? The year 1990 will be the 60th anniversary of the publication of the book *Xun Wu Investigations*. Wouldn't it be better for us to publish a book entitled *Xun Wu Over the Past 60 Years!* It has been learned that the Jiangxi Provincial Academy of Social Sciences is presently preparing this book. I sincerely hope that they will make valuable achievements in their scientific research and social investigations.

We should carry out our social investigations regarding our country's initial stage of socialism in some selected counties, cities, factories, and villages. Comrade Fei Xiaotong has called these areas social laboratories or

social observation points. Carrying out long-term investigations on these selected counties, cities, factories, and villages will be conducive to our understanding of our national situation. Comrade Mao Zedong's style of investigation should continue to be advocated. However, the present situation in our country is completely different from our country's situation when Comrade Mao Zedong carried out his investigations in the rural areas of our country. At the time Comrade Mao Zedong was carrying out his social investigations in the rural areas, the agrarian revolution was in progress. So, the main contents of Comrade Mao Zedong's investigations were class and land relations. *Xun Wu Investigations* is concerned with commerce and the question of how to formulate policies toward businessmen in the agrarian revolution. Today, we have achieved state power. The central task of our party has been shifted to construction. Our present task of modernizing our country and carrying out the overall reform is more complex and extensive than our task during the agrarian revolution. Therefore, the contents and methods of our investigation should also be updated accordingly. However, one thing has not changed: We still need to carry out social investigations. This is because not only should our policies be formulated on the basis of our social investigations but our economic, social, and political research should also be carried out on the basis of our social investigations.

Question: At present, most of our country's theoretical workers are scattered in the various academies of social sciences and universities and seldom go deep into the society to carry out social investigations. Some people describe these theoretical workers as researchers of basic theories and describe the comrades working in various policy study offices, policy research centers, and other policy study departments as researchers of applied theories. How do you look at such a division and the relationship between the two types of researchers?

Answer: Of course, the research on basic theories is different from the research on applied theories. However, the difference between the two is not that the researchers of applied theories need to carry out social investigations while the researchers of basic theories do not need to carry out social investigations and just need to carry out academic research. The natural sciences are also divided into research on basic theories and research on applied theories. However, who dares to say that the research on the basic theories of the natural sciences can be divorced from the scientific experiments and scientific observations carried out in the great nature? The social investigations (including a correct understanding of the social situation and the summation of the practical experiences) are the basis of the research on the social sciences while the scientific experiments and scientific observations are the basis of the research on the natural sciences. Nowadays, people like to say that the social sciences researchers should learn from the research methods of the researchers of the natural sciences. In my view, the most important research method used by the researchers of the natural sciences is to base their

research on the scientific experiments and scientific observations they carry out in the great nature. On the other hand, in carrying out research into the natural sciences, the researchers should also pay great attention to studying the established theories and acquire a clear understanding of the research achievements made by their predecessors. However, the research on the natural sciences should not be restricted by existing theories and research achievements. The new scientific experiments and scientific observations are the motive force for the progress of the natural sciences. Isn't it the method we researchers of the social sciences should learn first?

In a word, social investigations should become the important basis of our scientific decisionmaking process and the important basis for summing up the theories of the social sciences. The process of carrying out social investigations should become the process of improving our study style in our theoretical research, making our research work more conformable to the reality of China, training a large contingent of theory workers, and enabling our theory workers to take root on the vast land of China. The study on Marxism and Leninism and the study on contemporary Western works and ideological trends must serve the purpose of solving China's problems and building China into a strong and prosperous country. If our researchers only try to look for some sort of enlightenment and inspiration from the works of foreign scholars but lack a correct understanding of the real situation in China, their research will be useless and they will only be able to make empty talk, just like the rootless duckweed is unable to grow into flowers or big trees.

The theory of the initial stage of socialism was formulated on the basis of China's reality. The in-depth development of the theory of the initial stage of socialism requires us researchers of social sciences to make greater efforts to understand the real situation in China and make some practical achievements in our research. In order to deepen and perfect the theory of the initial stage of socialism, we need to carry out much research in all aspects. To carry out social investigations is the basis of our theoretical development, the basis of improving our study style, and the basis of training a large contingent of theory workers. Therefore, we must attach great importance to this work. I think that the works which will continue to hold water both in China's academic circles and in world academic circles in the future will certainly include the works written on the basis of scientific social investigations.

**Manuscripts Sought for QIUSHI Columns**  
*HK1607053688 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 p 30*

[Text] We are eagerly looking forward to receiving contributions from cadres at all levels, those who are engaged in theoretical and propaganda work, and people from all walks of life to fill the following columns of this

journal: "Forum on Reform and Opening Up," "Ideological Exploration and Contention," "Party Life," "Work Studies," "Survey Reports," and "Book Review," as well as "Green Field," which is to carry essays, prose, and other manuscripts on literature and art. All contributions should be addressed to the Editorial Department, QIUSHI Journal, 2 Shatan Street North, Beijing. Contributors are requested to keep a copy of their manuscripts, since we will not be able to return their contributions owing to limited human resources. It will be up to the contributors to dispose of their manuscripts on their own if a notice on selection of manuscript is not received 2 months after the manuscript is mailed.

**Brief Discussion on 'Trends of Social Thought'**  
*HK1907111788 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 pp 31-34*

[Article by Liu Defu (0491 1795 4395) of the CPC Central Party School]

[Text] In China, trend of social thought is a concept which is frequently used in social and political fields. We are now in the transition from an old era to a new one; the replacement of the old structure and sharp confrontation between old and new trends of social thought have almost become the ideological hallmark of our times. How to evaluate and handle this phenomenon has become an important aspect of ideological work in the course of reform.

What is a trend of social thought? The late Mr Liang Qichao said: "We often talk about a 'trend of social thought'. To find a definition of this term is really interesting. Suppose a country is culturally developed, its citizens, due to environmental changes and mental inspiration, may align with each other in a same ideological doctrine. So they make the same appeal and echo each other to launch a campaign which proceeds like a surging tide." He also said: "Not all 'thoughts' can become a 'trend.' A 'thought' that can become a 'trend' must be of some value and should be able to suit the needs of the times. Not all 'times' witness 'trends of thoughts.' It must be one enjoying prosperity of culture." (Liang Qichao: *An Introduction to the Intellectual History of Qing Dynasty*, 1954 edition by Zhonghua Book Store, p 1) One of our contemporaries said: "In substance, a trend of social thought is the reflection of the economic relations of materials and the social conditions for living in the minds of some people, in the forms of ideological views and emotion. Since people's economic status or social conditions for living are almost identical or similar, their ideological views and emotions arising thereof will naturally form a trend of social thought." (see the article by Wang Ruisheng in "Eastern Mountain Series of Theses," vol 3, 1981) Based on past and current interpretation on the definition of the trend of social thought and Marxist classic writers' views in this field, I think the trend of social thought can be defined as an

ideological tendency which is based on a social mentality widely prevailing within a certain scope and represented by a corresponding ideological system.

Why do we say the study of trends of social thought is of great significance to the improvement of ideological work, especially to the improvement of the leadership and administration over it? This is because the trend of social thought is the key link in the structure of social ideology as a whole. As a complicated multilevel structure, social ideology can be divided into three basic levels. Arranged in order from elementary to advanced, these three basic levels are social mentality, social trend of thoughts, and social ideology. There are differences and links between them, with the trend of social thought playing an intermediary role.

Let us first consider the transformation from social mentality to social ideology. Social mentality is a kind of consciousness that people naturally obtain from their everyday life, a direct, spontaneous, nontheoretical, unsystematic, and subjective reflection of the "relations between man and nature," of the "relations between men," and of "man's own physical body." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 1, p 30) Social mentality provides the initial motive and basis for the emergence and development of a certain social ideology. But this transformation depends on latent possibility and certain conditions are needed for it to be realized. In every form of society, there are different social mentalities subject to restriction by different economic and social relations, and their open expression, in particular, is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Some social groups may have their own social demands and their own opinions on some social phenomena. These demands and opinions however, will not become the basis of their society's ideology if there is no channel for them to be publicly voiced or if they are stifled by certain forces. Only social mentalities that suit the society's economic and political system can be voiced openly; diffused by the means of "organized public opinion;" and then emerge as a trend of social thought. Through this trend of social thought thinkers will be able to feel the pulse of the times and hear the real appeal of the society. Being summed up and refined, this trend will be incorporated in the dominating ideological system. Therefore it can be seen that social mentality (everyday mentality) can only serve as the basis of social ideology through the intermediary trend of social thought.

Viewed from the other side, the dominant ideology in a society of any form must have its political and legal thought and moral conception merge with social motives, attitude, and the aesthetic standards of the public, before it can be understood and applied by most members of the society; have influence on their behavior; and have an extensive and sustained effect on social development. One cannot turn the ideological content into people's long-term behavioral standard only with the help of some material force and organizational means. To complete this merging process, it is necessary

to turn the content of the ideology into a trend of social thought through various media and in various forms and thus foster a strong social spiritual force. Under such a trend of social thought, people's thinking and behavior will be imperceptibly influenced and finally dominated by the ideological and behavioral standards preached by this trend. An individual who is influenced by such a sentiment and views "would believe that that sentiment and those views represent the real motive and starting point of his own behavior." (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, vol 1, p 629)

This role of the trend of social thought in the structure of social ideology determines its powerful function in social life.

First, the trend of social thought is a tremendous spiritual force in social development. In a period of reform when a new society is replacing an old one, a trend of advanced social thought serves as the catalytic agent for the birth of the new society and the elegy to the old; the trend of reactionary social thought is the cardiotoxic helping the dying society linger on and is the stumbling block of the rising new society. Massive and stormy trends of social thought used to emerge as precursors of social and political reforms in history. The ideological trend of reformism; the ideological trend of bourgeois revolution; the May 4th New Culture Movement in the history of modern China; the ideological trend of patriotism emerging from the national crisis in the 1930's; and the ideological trend for peace and democracy rising after the anti-Japanese war all heralded social reforms. During historical periods of peaceful development, non-stormy trends of social thought either push for the solution of certain social issues in an affirmative or negative way, or interfere in social life in one way or another, intensifying the positive aspects of social life or playing down the healthy aspects of social life. Take the trend of reformatory thought for an example, both positive and negative experiences and lessons in the past 30-odd years have enabled the Chinese people to see more and more clearly that reform is the only hope for the nation and the only way to further social development. "The public's desire for change" has become a common social mentality in the 1980's. It is in these years that our party's statesmen and thinkers have made a wide range of thorough studies on a series of important theoretical and practical problems relating to socialist reform and have given wide publicity to the results. On the one hand, starting from the basic principle of seeking truth from facts, they have broken away from the "Left" thinking, made a scientific reevaluation of the socialist theory and practice, and thus put forth some original views on a series of major issues on socialist political economy; scientific socialism; the general law and specific form of socialist practice, and so on. On the other hand, in light of China's national conditions; developments in the contemporary world; and the positive and negative experiences of other socialist countries, they have expounded the nature, goals, basic tasks, contents, and guideline of reform in China. They have developed

an ideological system for reform based on the theory on the initial stage of socialism, and have emancipated people's minds further; helped them to have a deeper theoretical understanding of reform; and brought forth a powerful and common ideological trend for reform in our society.

Second, the trend of social thought is an important form of social ideological control. As a reflection of social being, social ideology emerges on the premise of social mentality and the trend of social thought, and its reaction must also be realized through the trend of social thought as an intermediary. In other words, without a trend of social thought, it will be very difficult or even impossible to turn social ideology, namely, all kinds of propaganda, slogans, or even directives, into the masses' actions. Just as Marx pointed out: "Any class that wants to play this role (emancipating the whole society—author's note) must instantly rouse up the passion of the masses as well as its own. In this instance, this class and the whole society will become one and close as brothers and the former will be regarded as the universal representative of society. In this instance, the demand and rights of this class itself will genuinely become those of society, as well as the genuine social reason and heart of society" (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels* vol 1, p 12). The scope, effects, and life spans of any ideology and ideological system depend on the depth and breadth of social ideological trends. To achieve the greatest effects of an advanced ideological system on the masses, and to give it greater play, it is imperative to fully consider the social psychology and social ideological trends surfacing in various nationalities, professions, classes, and social strata; the most intense issue in people's universal demands is found here, and the focus of excitement in social psychology and social ideological trends is grasped.

And third, social ideological trends are the most sensitive indicator that shows the relaxation or intensification of basic social contradictions and at the same time the regulator of social contradictions. Facing a strong social ideological trend, people from different interest groups, with different ideological trends will often forget about their differences to join hands in the struggle for a common cause. Even people with vested interests and those injured by the powers that be, will consciously or unconsciously follow the tide; some will pursue whatever new social ideological trend is "in fashion." Lots of capitalists welcomed joint state-private ownership during the socialist transformation of capitalist enterprises in China in 1956, while lots of old cadres earnestly and sincerely examined how they "had reduced to revisionists" during the "great cultural revolution". These are precisely two typical examples, positive and negative.

Viewing the social functions of social ideological trends, we will not find it too difficult to see the following characteristics:

First, group mentality. This is a fundamental of social ideological trends. Social ideological trends are not the ideology of some individuals or the minority, but views shared by a certain class, group, social stratum or the majority in a region. They may even transcend nationalities, classes, groups and social strata, and become the common views of many groups. As a kind of group mentality, social ideological trends are the merger of many individual ideologies, in formation with such psychological factors as the thoughts, faiths, emotions and prejudices of many people. However, group mentality is not simply the arithmetical addition of all these factors. They are the organic outcome of the mutual reactions in people's ties; the conceptional forms comprehensively embodying certain social relations to certain extents. Although not everyone will agree or object to a certain matter, "one or two concepts will be shared between them and will provide a common ground and starting point of their thinking" (Liang Qichao: "A General Introduction to Academic Studies of the Qing Dynasty" p 1).

Second, reality. Marx pointed out that ideology, including social ideological trends "at any time can only exist in awareness, while people's existence is precisely the course of their actual lives" (*Selected Works of Marx and Engels* vol 1, p 31.) Here, "the course of their actual lives," refers to the technical combination forms naturally taking shape in people's production activities as well as the social combination forms in human relations: the production mode formed by the productive force and production relations. Social ideological trends are always linked to a certain production mode under certain specific historical conditions. They do not become popular by chance because of certain slogans or ideas advocated by a few people. They are popular because some ideas or slogans fall in line with people's practical interests, and are universally accepted and believed; when people are aware of the fact that the resolution of a certain social issue conforms to their own personal interests; and when the material conditions for a solution are ready or in formation. Only then will people's common desires and demands shape into social ideological trends with the inspirations of these slogans. Social ideological trends are one big "data bank," feeding back realistic social information in every description. Statesmen regard them as a "barometer," or a "meteorological map," and continuously revise their navigation routes based on the political weather forecast, to guarantee the safety of the "ship of society" during storms. Thinkers believe them to be the pulse of the times, through which social diseases of various categories are detected and diagnosed, and work hard to find cures for them.

And third, action. "Without exception, all ideological trends of the times take shape in 'continuous' mass movements" (Liang Qichao: *A General Introduction of Academic Studies of the Qing Dynasty* p 1.) Movements do not always have a purpose, a plan, organization, and a program, nor is it easy to distinguish between the active and passive. Often, the participants of a movement are

not acquainted with each other. They are guided by a common concept and merged into tempestuous mass action. The ideological trend of humanism in Renaissance Europe; the political ideological trends in Tsarist Russia's reform of serfdom; the ideological tides of reform since the Opium War in China; the upsurge of socialism in China's rural areas; the Great Leap Forward movement, and the "Great Cultural Revolution" since the founding of the PRC were all stamped with such a characteristic.

In sum, the characteristics of social ideological trends themselves as well as their rise and spread are important media for the universal acknowledgement and rapid socialization of an ideology. It is not difficult to see that an explicit declaration, an eye-opening slogan, or a book with deep intent has often elevated a vague psychology of the times to an explicit spirit; a spontaneous class psychology to conscious class ideology; and a primary national psychology to an advanced national spirit. In such a spiritual atmosphere, the ideological effects on people within a few weeks or even a few days can be greater than years of education. For example, the "April 5th" movement in 1976 lasted only a few days, but awoke the sense of democracy in the Chinese people, and laid down mass foundation for smashing the "gang of four." In the 40 or so years since the founding of the PRC, advanced social ideological trends have played a tremendous role in promoting revolution and construction, and backward, erroneous social ideological trends have helped us draw bitter lessons. In particular, the flooding of ultraleftist social ideological trends have caused great disasters for the Chinese nation. Even today we can still often feel their strength in pulling things back because of the deep-rooted effects of such "leftist" ideological trends. Reform is a gigantic project for the social system, and calls for correct guidance of social ideological trends to help people tell right from wrong; to enable reform to advance along a correct path. Otherwise, we shall have to pay a greater price for it.

Then how are we to study social ideological trends?

The analysis of contradictions is primary in the study of social ideological trends. Macroscopically, it will show people a way to seek the root causes of social ideological trends in the contradictions contained in society itself. Microscopically, it will show in a definite form, the movement of unity of opposites in the development of social ideological trends, and reveal the conditions and ways for their rise and development from a certain angle and aspect. If we adhere to this approach, we will find that behind the bewildering social ideological trends is the movement of basic contradictions in society. Social ideological trends are waves, whereas social contradictions are the undercurrent. Social contradictions usually go through four phases: incubation, development, intensification, and solution. Correspondingly, social ideological trends are generally "divided into four phases," "1. the enlightenment phase (rise); 2. the period of full bloom (continuation); 3. degeneration and splitting

(alienation); and 4. decline (extinction) (according to Liang Qichao's approach of division.) Social contradictions are bound to convert to their opposites; likewise, social ideological trends are characterized by the conversion of one trend to another. In the wake of the full bloom of a certain social ideological trend, a new social ideological trend will inevitably rise to counteract the old. For example, when the social ideological trend of the personality cult was at its peak, the ideological trend of skepticism characterized by "I do not believe in anything or anybody" rose. Therefore, we can see that in studying social ideological trends, it is necessary for us to apply the approach of contradictions analysis, which is a weapon of dialectics.

Social ideological trends are a complicated and varied system of contradictions. Viewing their nature, there are progressive and reactionary social ideological trends. From a regional angle, there are social ideological trends of a regional, national, and international scope. In a classification based on their different areas, there are economic, political, and cultural social ideological trends. From the angle of the characteristics in the course of their shaping, there are new and old ideological trends; and from the view of time, there are lasting and transient ones, so on and so forth. Moreover, in a large system of social ideological trends, they each include numerous smaller sub-systems. For example, cultural ideological trends include literary, historical, and philosophical ones. Generally speaking, these ideological trends do not play their roles in isolation. They interact, with every ideological trend affecting others, while being affected itself; "consequently, a complicated and overlapping network has taken shape, which is characterized by interaction, direct play and reflection" ("Selection from Plekhanov's Philosophical Works" vol 2, p 265). The rise and development of social ideological trends are not one of monotrack cause-and-effect changes in a linear chain, but a complicated and overlapping network structure. It does not pulsate like a "string" when pulled, but tremors like a "net." For example, the social ideological trends of socialist humanism, which has surfaced in China now and then in recent years, has not only embodied the rise in democratic political ideological trends, but also the parallel rise in the ideological trends of the subjective aspect in philosophy, literature, history, and economics, as well as the rise in human studies.

Social ideological trends are the results of the interaction of all kinds of contradictions as well as various factors, economic and political; ideological and cultural; realistic and historical; domestic and international; objective and subjective; they are the embodiment of a merger of various social forces. The dissection of complicated objects into simple elements, and the analysis of social ideological trends in the approach characterized by static observation are rather pale and weak in effect. Whereas, providing a multidimensional picture of life, and a systematic approach characterized by multiple layers, factors, and facades, with greater variations for the analysis and research of matters and phenomena will be

effective in our research and analysis of social ideological trends. Only when social ideological trends are analyzed in a systematic way, will it be possible for us to have a comprehensive grasp of them and to strengthen our forecast of social ideological trends; so effective for that "when the moon is seen with a halo, we know it means wind; when house foundations become moist, we know it means rain;" and "from one small clue, we can see what is coming." Thus, "when the grass is singing with the breeze," we will be able to grasp the developing tendency of social ideological trends; to make the best of the situation and guide them correctly; or nip the unhealthy ones in the bud. This is very necessary for us to do a good job in ideological work during the new period.

### **The Subject of Philosophy and Reform**

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in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 pp 34-36

[Article by Li Lianke [2621 6647 4430] of the People's Publishing House]

[Text] In the tortuous and surging great tide of reform, has philosophy been in utter destitution and made no contribution at all or has it made any innovative progress and accomplished anything? What relationship has been and should be there between philosophical study and social reform? With this article the author would like to discuss his humble opinions on these questions of great importance.

#### **I. The Present Situation of Philosophy and the Question of Subject**

The shouts of "philosophy being in destitution" have reverberated in theoretical circles for many years. This state of affairs is almost attributed to the divorce of philosophy from reality, in particular, from reform. However, with some review of events in the last 30 years or more, one will easily find a contradictory phenomenon like this: When criticizing problems in philosophical study and manifestations of "philosophy being in destitution," people always attribute them to the divorce of theory from practice, but the more philosophical theory is criticized as being divorced from reality, the farther philosophy will develop to "leftist" deviation, rigidity, and destitution. Where does the problem lie? Is the appraisal of "philosophy being in destitution" wrong? It is not exactly so. Is the principle of integrating theory with practice wrong? It is all the more not so. The problem is that the interpretation of the implications of the manifestations of "philosophy being in destitution" and of the integration of theory and practice differs from individual to individual.

Philosophical study in the last few years is indeed poor. This situation is manifested in the fact that inadequate efforts have been made to thoroughly eradicate ossified views and to absorb the essence of the spirit of the times

but not in the fact that inadequate efforts have been made to propagate and explain philosophical clauses and to make direct deliberations for reform policies.

While fully estimating inadequacies in philosophical study over the last few years, on no account must we neglect the achievements in philosophical study. Otherwise, we will underestimate the promotion of theory by the social reform practice and the achievements made by the party Central Committee and the vast numbers of theoretical workers in seeking truth from facts and in emancipating the mind since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the last few years, in the study of Marxist philosophy, bourgeois liberalization has not run rampant but instead some progress and innovative developments have been made. According to the relatively widely held view in philosophical circles, the new development of philosophical theory is manifested in two ways: One is that philosophical theory has been closely linked with the results of the new technological revolution and the other is that an encouraging step has been made in the study of the question of man, subject, and value.

Why do we say that the study of philosophical subject (such as man, subject, and value) is a deepening and development to the classic Marxist philosophy? Although the founders of Marxist philosophy emphatically stressed starting study with the subjective aspect (or subject), an area that was neglected by the old materialism, and put forth practical materialism, at that time the main (not the only) task of Marxist philosophy was to fight against philosophical idealism. It emphatically stressed the question of object and objective laws and therefore, it could not but be subject to the restrictions of the then classic sciences, which were based on the observation of macroscopic and low-speed objects and characterized by the noticeable centralization of objects. The modern non-classical sciences have increasingly strongly revealed: Though the subject and object in man's knowledge are different, they are not absolutely separated. The modern natural sciences represented by the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics have increasingly revealed the role of subject in the process and result of recognition. In modern society, the East opposes feudalism and the West opposes the capitalist alienation phenomenon and both demand that man be liberated from the slavery and trammels of "things" and human beings fully display their own identities and become the masters of their own fate and practical activities. Science and technology as well as social life have promoted Marxist philosophy to liberate the principal thinking already embraced by its founders from the shackles of traditional textbooks and enriched it. This helps enrich the question of subject with the contents of the times which were nonexistent in the years of the founders of Marxism. It is not actually a deepening and development to Marxist philosophy?



## II. Subject and Individual Consciousness [zhu ti yi shi 0031 7555 1942 6221]

What is subject or individual identity? As I see it, there must be two interpretations, narrow and broad. Subject or individual identity in a narrow sense refers to man's initiative and transcendence [chao yue xing 6389 6390 1840] and subject or individual identity in a broad sense should include such aspects as man, subject, value.

Man in a philosophical sense should include man's quality, need, value, respect, and other respects. Philosophy studies the common laws governing nature, society and thought but the concrete object of philosophical study is manifested in man. This is because man is a both natural and social being and also the subject of thought. All categories of philosophy can form an integral whole on the question of man. "Man engaged in practical activities" is the starting point of Marxist philosophy. Subject (or individual identity) in a narrow philosophical sense is one aspect of man in a philosophical sense: Man is both an object and a subject. Subject should have the meaning of consciousness, self-reliance, self-making, and freedom. Acknowledging that practice is the foundation of recognition means acknowledging that man is not only an object but also a subject (an individual who has consciousness and can think). The so-called practice means the activities willingly conducted by man to make and use tools so as to meet his needs. In the absence of subject, the theory of reflection will be devoid of its dynamic role. It is subject or individual entity that embodies the revolutionary and critical character of Marxist philosophy. Value in a philosophical sense is the affirmation-negation relationship between the object's attribute and the subject's needs. The differentiation-based comprehensive trend of modern science has posed new topics to philosophy. For example, in the study of social sciences, how should we handle the relationship between quantitative and qualitative study? How should we understand the relationship between scientific and technological progress and social progress? These questions involve the question of value. Value appraising is one of the important functions of the contemporary philosophy. The question of stand and the question of choice of targets in practice in the world outlook belong to the category of the philosophical theory of value. The question of value, though independent of man's will and consciousness, is dependent on man's needs. It finds expression in the unity of the object's attribute and the subject's needs. As such, the question of value is part of the question of subject. It can thus be seen that the question of man contains the question of subject and the question of subject contains the question of value.

In this connection, individual consciousness also has two interpretations, narrow and broad. Individual consciousness in a broad sense refers to the consciousness on man's quality, needs, value, and respect, on man's initiative and transcendence, and on the choice of man's

value. Individual consciousness in a narrow sense refers to the consciousness on man's initiative and transcendence and on man's freedom and self-reliance.

The question of individual consciousness belongs to the question of self-consciousness, which is mainly the question of self-understanding. In the relationship between the subject and the object in man's knowledge, man is not only a subject but also an object and the target of recognition as well. The understanding of man as an object by man as a subject is called self-understanding. Self-understanding in a philosophical sense refers to the understanding of man's ordinary social attributes and of man's social status, social attachment, and social nature as well as man's ideology, moral characters, ability, role, and value. The question of self-consciousness and self-understanding has all along been monopolized by idealist philosophy in the past. Marxist philosophy must occupy this position.

To develop individual consciousness or correct self-consciousness, it is necessary not only to differentiate man as a subject from man as an object but also to differentiate what is subjective from what is objective and the two should not be confused. A man without self-consciousness will be unable to become a free man. A man without correct self-consciousness will be unable to become a man with individual consciousness and a dynamic, self-made, and self-reliant man with a creative spirit. To become people with fairly deep individual consciousness, we should pay attention to differentiating ideals from reality and to spurring man in reality or self on with man in imagination or self. Ideals can make people rise with force and spirit and keep forging ahead and also make people feel vexed. Ideals stem from and stand above reality. To solve the contradiction between the two, it is necessary to continuously change reality under the guidance of ideals so that man in reality or self will constantly approach to man in imagination or self. To develop individual consciousness, one should rely on media: Using other people or things as "a mirror" and in the contacts with other people, learning from their enterprising spirit. However, what the "mirror" reflects is none other than man's practice. To develop individual consciousness, one should also be good at freeing himself from the obstruction of various alienation phenomena. Only when one constantly gets rid of the corrosive influence of money, power, and fame worship can he become a self-reliant man able to improve himself unceasingly and to do whatever he can and can he have firm individual consciousness.

## III. Individual Consciousness and Reform

Self-reliance, self-improvement, self-making, and freedom are the central contents of individual consciousness, be it in a broad or narrow sense. It is therefore a dynamic and transcendent consciousness. This consciousness is revolutionary and creative in nature. It is diametrically opposed to ideological ossification, conservatism, the mentality of just listening to the higher-up

and just following what is said in books, blind worship, inertia, and the practice of drifting with the tide. Obviously, individual consciousness is a spiritual force indispensable to the reform cause.

In China, a land where the sediments of feudal cultural psychology are deep-seated, it is particularly more urgent to conduct reform and encourage individual consciousness. The Chinese nation indeed has rich and great cultural traditions. The outstanding cultural achievements are an embodiment of the great national spirit of the Chinese nation. However, without a doubt, the dominant tendency of the traditional culture is backward, decadent, and feudal in nature. It belittles freedom, suppresses individuality, and is devoid of individual consciousness. All these have caused evil consequences, such as social backwardness, systemic ossification, and national inertia.

Although the traditional Chinese culture has the elements of subject and individual consciousness, generally speaking, it is precisely opposed to subject and individual consciousness. Although China's ancient theory of "unity of the Heaven and man" contained the ideas of man being differentiated from the universe and man transforming the nature, its central theme was the admission of "the Heaven" being a god with a independent will that dominated human affairs or an entity-in-itself-and-for-itself with boundless might. The "doctrines" that the Heaven follows stand above everything and decide and create everything. "The Heaven" is an absolute force overriding man. Though man is the wisest of all creatures, he is insignificant and powerless before "the Heaven." Only through self-cultivation, self-disappearance, and submersion with the Heaven can "a unity of the Heaven and man" be achieved. China's ancient theories of "distinguishing righteousness from gain" and of "distinguishing reason from desire" fully reflected the Confucianists' extreme selfish departmentalism which lays undue stress on the interests of the whole to the neglect of local interests and on society to the neglect of the individuals. Even the ideas of "respecting the people" and "treasuring the people" served in the final analysis the consolidation of the throne and the interests of the country. The dominant tendency of China's ancient doctrine centering on morality was to strangle people's "human desire"-dominated creative spirit.

If we say that the building of material civilization is the transformation of the natural object and reform is the transformation of the social object, then, the building of spiritual civilization is the transformation of the subject itself. Only by understanding and transforming the subject itself and by enhancing people's individual consciousness and their ability to transform the object can the reform of the social object be accelerated, the transformation of the natural object achieved, and enormous social wealth created. As the transformation of the social object's ossified structure, reform should be carried out by understanding and transforming the subject itself, deepening the understanding of, enhancing the

ability to, and boosting the enterprising spirit of changing society, and by strengthening individual consciousness. Without deep individual consciousness, the success of reform is out of the question. On the contrary, only in the practice of reform and in the social practice of creating social wealth can the subject's ability and individual consciousness be tempered and enhanced. This is the relationship between remoulding one's subjective world and changing the objective world, a relationship already known to all.

When it comes to China's present reform, there are no precedents for us to go by and no ready-made foreign experiences to use for reference, still less ready answers in books to employ. To make reform, people should take great risks and put in a lot of hard work. Reform requires people to have not only the ordinary enterprising spirit but also a risk-taking spirit. Not only does reform require the vast numbers of people to enhance individual consciousness but it also requires the reform backbone elements to have greater wisdom, courage, imaginative power, and creativity than ordinary people have. Therefore, only when individual consciousness is repeatedly strengthened can reform be carried forward continuously.

More often than not, that philosophy is in destitution is attributed to its divorce from reality, in particular, from reform and the argument of philosophy being divorced from reform is often based on the failure of philosophy to provide reform with adequate deliberations and to provide concrete reform propositions with methodological guidance. In fact, such a direct relationship between philosophy and reform is impossible and not necessary. If the principle of philosophical identity can arouse the individual consciousness of the entire nation, especially, the reformers, and play an instructive and guiding role, is this not already a good integration of philosophy and reform practice and a promotion of the latter by the former?

### **What is the Crux of the Problem of Newsprint Shortage?**

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[Article by Ma Chuanjing (7456 0278 2529) of QIUSHI; Zong Han (1350 1383) and Zheng Youyun (6774 1635 0061) also took part in the investigation and revised the investigation report]

[Text]

### **The Call from Journalist and Publication Circles: Save the Newspapers and Publication Houses**

The phenomenon of a serious shortage of newsprint and paper for publication never appeared in China before 1987. Since the beginning of last year, there has been a

serious shortage of paper for newspapers and publication houses. All of a sudden, the problem of paper has become a hot topic for discussion in newspapers and magazines.

The shortage of newsprint and relief printing paper is indeed very serious. In 1987, the volume of newsprint needed by the country was 570,000 to 600,000 tons, but the total volume of newsprint produced and imported was only about 490,000 tons; and the volume of relief printing paper needed in that year was 900,000 tons, but the volume produced was only 750,000 tons. The rate of newsprint delivery to central newspapers, magazines, and publication houses was only 82.7 percent, 20,000 tons short; and that of relief printing paper was only 58 percent, 60,000 tons short. Therefore, all major newspapers and publication houses of the country, including 17 central newspapers and 1 central magazine, were in an emergency because of shortage in paper supply. Some newspapers had a stock of paper that would last only a few days. Some magazines could not be printed on time because of paper shortage, thus postponing the time of publication. To ensure the normal publication of important newspapers and magazines, the country's emergency paper reserves were used on several occasions. At the same time, the prices of paper rose rapidly, causing many newspapers and magazines to suffer losses. The situation in publication houses was even worse. Losses in printing the first edition of books, valuable academic books in particular, were increasing. In order to survive, many publication houses had no alternative but reluctantly gave up the printing of valuable academic books if the number of their printed copies was not big enough. Last year, science and technology publication houses paid 30,000 yuan for returning the manuscripts of 70 books which had been scheduled for publication.

Since the beginning of this year, the situation has not changed for the better. In the first quarter, 33,000 tons of newsprint should have been delivered to the State Media and Publications Office, but only 28,000 tons were delivered and the rate of delivery was only 84 percent; and 34,000 tons of relief printing paper should have been delivered, but only 22,000 tons were delivered and the rate of delivery was only 66 percent. Last year, paper in stock and substitutes could still be used to meet the pressing needs. However, this year, there is not much paper in stock and the use of substitutes is quite limited. If no effective measures are taken, it might be impossible to print some newspapers, magazines, and textbooks for primary and middle schools.

What is the root cause of paper shortage? How should the problem be solved? With these questions in mind, we have recently visited the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Forestry, the State Media and Publications Office, and other departments concerned and have held forums with leaders of more than a dozen of the county's major paper mills.

### The Role of 'An Invisible Hand'

The only way to look for the causes of shortage of newsprint and relief printing paper is to proceed from their supply and demand. Has the shortage of newsprint and relief printing paper been caused by excessive growth in demand? No. Since 1985, the demand for newsprint in our country has basically remained the same. Compared with that in 1985, the demand of relief printing paper in 1987 even decreased. Compared with foreign countries, the per capita consumption of newsprint and relief printing paper is very small in our country. The per capita consumption of newsprint of Americans is 52.4 kilograms. The average world level is 6 kilograms, but that of our country is only 0.6 kilogram. In 1987, the per capita consumption of relief printing paper was less than 1 kilogram, which was also much lower than the world's average consumption level. This shows that shortage of paper for newspapers and publication is not caused by undue development of journalist and publication undertakings.

The main cause of shortage of newsprint and relief printing paper is that since 1985, output has decreased year after year, leaving a gap between supply and demand. In 1985, China's output of newsprint was 425,000 tons and in 1986, this dropped to 414,000 tons, a decrease of 2.6 percent. In 1987, the output further dropped to 346,000 tons, a decrease of 16.4 percent. In 1988, the scheduled output is only 335,000 tons. In 1985, the output of relief printing paper was 987,000 tons and in 1986, this dropped to 803,000 tons, a decrease of 18.6 percent. In 1987, the output further dropped to 753,000 tons, a decrease of 6 percent. In 1988, the scheduled output is only 723,000 tons. This sharply contrasts with the increase of the output of our country's paper-making industry as a whole in the past few years. In 1980, China's output of paper and cardboard was 5.35 million tons. In 1985, this rose to 9.11 million tons. In 1986, the output further rose to 9.9857 million tons. In 1987, this reached 11.41 million tons. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the average annual increase was about 10 percent and the increase from 1986 to 1987 was 14.3 percent.

This gives rise to the following question: Why has the output of newsprint and relief printing paper decreased year after year when the output of the paper-making industry as a whole is increasing? The root cause is that in the past few years, the prices of raw materials (wood, caustic soda, and liquefied chlorine) have shot up much faster than those of newsprint and relief printing paper, thus seriously dampening the enthusiasm of producers. Let us take newsprint as an example. In 1984, the price of 1 cubic meter of wood for paper-making in southern China was 97 yuan. In 1986, it rose to 200 yuan and in 1987, it rose to 332 yuan. In the first quarter of 1988, the price already rose to 420 yuan. The price of wood has increased by more than 300 percent in 3 years or so. However, in 1985, the price of 1 ton of newsprint in southern China was 1,100 yuan. In 1986, it was 1,400

yuan, in 1987, it was 1,550 yuan, and in 1988, it is 2,050 yuan. The price has increased by 86.3 percent. In 1980, the prices of 1 cubic meter of graded white pine and red pine in northern China were respectively 113.36 and 99.65 yuan. In 1987, they rose to 224.57 and 289.12 yuan, a rise of respectively about 100 and 200 percent. During the same period, the price of 1 ton of newsprint rose from 850 yuan to 1,600 yuan, an increase of 88.24 percent. The change of prices of relief printing paper and of the wood used for processing was more or less the same. Wood is the chief raw material for making newsprint, accounting for 62 percent of the production cost. Wood also accounts for a great percentage in the production cost of relief printing paper. The disparity between the rise in the prices of paper and the prices of wood is so great that it is impossible for enterprises to digest it. The planned supply of other raw materials such as caustic soda and liquefied chlorine greatly falls short of actual needs and enterprises have to purchase them at high prices at the market. At present, the price of 1 ton of caustic soda supplied according to state plan is about 1,000 yuan, but the negotiated price for the same is as high as 2,000 yuan. The price of 1 ton of liquefied chlorine supplied according to state plans is 650 yuan, but the negotiated price for the same is as high as 900 yuan. Since the production costs of newsprint and relief printing paper have increased by a big margin, the profitability and the retainable profits of enterprises have markedly decreased. Since the beginning of last year, about two-thirds of enterprises which sell relief printing paper at the planned price have suffered losses. With the exception of a few plants of which the situation is relatively good, most plants making newsprint have not been able to keep the level of profits even at 5 percent. The Liujiang Paper Mill in Guangxi Province is a medium-sized plant with an annual capacity of 25,000 tons of paper for books and magazines. In 1986, it retained 2.84 million yuan of profits for its own use, but in 1987, it could retain only 320,000 yuan, a decrease by 89 percent. The Guangzhou Paper Mill is one of the four biggest plants for producing newsprint in China. In 1986, it retained 11.2 million yuan of profits for its own use, but in 1987, it retained only 7.75 million yuan, a decrease of 30 percent.

In the past, the production tasks of paper-making enterprises are assigned by state plans and raw materials are also supplied according to those plans. The economic results of an enterprise are not directly linked with the interests of the enterprise or its workers. Things have changed now. Through contracts and leases, enterprises have become commodity producers with relative independence. The economic results of an enterprise have a direct bearing on the existence and development of the enterprise and on the material interests of its workers. Since the prices of newsprint and relief printing paper are low and the prices of paper produced in excess of production target cannot be increased, the paper mills, in order to continue to exist and develop, can only change its product mix, reduce the planned output of newsprint and relief printing paper, produce profitable products, or

increase the prices of their products under disguise by change brand names, thus resulting in reduction of output of newsprint and relief printing paper across the country.

The prices of raw materials are soaring and the shortage of raw materials are also serious. Mandatory production targets are not guaranteed by mandatory supply of raw materials. Moreover, some plants are not able to buy raw materials even at high prices. This is another cause of the decrease in production of newsprint and relief printing paper. At present, plant directors of almost all large and medium-sized paper mills in southern China are in charge of the work in purchasing wood with the assistance of one to several dozen full-time purchasing agents. Some plant directors said humorously: "At present editors-in-chief are looking for paper and plant directors are looking for wood." Since 1987, there has been a shortage in the supply of wood in southern China and several large and medium-sized paper mills are not operating at full capacity. Because of lack of wood, only four out of five sets of the paper-making machines of the Guangzhou Paper Mill are operating. From September last year to March this year, the plant only operated at two-thirds of its production capacity. In 6 months, the plant produced 30,000 tons of newsprint less. In July and August last year, the Jiangxi Paper Mill suspended production for 2 months because there was no supply of wood and the plant produced 4,300 tons less. Although the supply of wood is guaranteed in northern China, there is a serious shortage of caustic soda and liquefied chlorine. There is no guarantee of the supply of caustic soda and chlorine for production under plans for guidance. There is no guarantee of the supply of these raw materials for production under mandatory plans either. This year, the Qiqihar Paper Mill needs 5,739 tons of caustic soda, but only 1,700 tons are supplied according to state plans, accounting for about 30 percent of the total need. The annual need for liquefied chlorine is 2,465 tons, but only 550 tons are supplied, accounting for about 23 percent of the need. It seems that if the problem of raw materials is not solved this year, the production of many key paper mills will be affected and the shortage of newsprint and relief printing paper will become even more serious.

#### Disclose the Secret in Circulation

It is a fact that in the past few years, the production of newsprint and relief printing paper has decreased and there has been a gap between supply and demand. Nevertheless, although everyone is complaining about paper shortages, how many newspapers, magazines, and publication houses have you ever heard that have closed down? This is also a fact. This shows that the gap is not very big. In 1987, China needed 570,000 to 600,000 tons of newsprint. Some 346,000 tons were produced domestically and 150,000 tons were imported. In addition, about 100,000 tons originally earmarked for cultural purposes were used. As a result, the gap was only about 50,000 tons. In 1987, the need for relief printing paper was 900,000 tons. Some 753,000 tons were produced

domestically and 50,000 tons of paper earmarked for cultural purposes were used, totaling 803,000 tons. The gap was about 100,000 tons. The paper shortage should not have been so serious as it is. There should not be any problem for at least the supply of paper for 91 kinds of central key newspapers and magazines. Therefore, to disclose the secret of paper shortage, it is necessary to focus our attention on the field of circulation.

The situation in the circulation of newsprint and relief printing paper can be summed up as: out of control and numerous links. Because the ratio between the prices of paper and the prices of raw materials are irrational, paper mills have tried various ways to reduce planned supply tasks to ensure economic results. They sell paper at negotiated prices before fulfilling their tasks assigned them according to state plans or call newsprint and relief printing paper for cultural purposes and sell them at high prices. In 1987, at least 150,000 tons of paper for cultural purposes were sold on the market and they account for a large percentage in the total sale volume of newsprint and relief printing paper. Substantial quantity of paper which was formally distributed according to state plans was sold freely on the market to those who offered higher prices or those who have closer ties with paper mills. As a result, many key newspapers, magazines, and publications houses did not have sufficient paper and failed to publish many good books, whereas some local tabloids and magazines had a good supply. There are only two causes to such situation: First, the ratio between prices of paper and prices of raw materials is irrational and the enterprises have real difficulties. Therefore, the enterprises did not fulfill their tasks assigned them according to state plans and they can win the sympathy of organizations at higher levels. Second, the existing paper management system does not have effective restrictions on enterprises. The Paper-Making Bureau of the Ministry of Light Industry is in charge of paper mills, but the bureau only supervises the fulfillment of production plans of the paper-making industry and does not manage sales of paper. The Supply and Marketing Bureau of the Ministry of Light Industry and the China Printing Goods and Materials Company are responsible for distribution and allocation of paper, but they are not in charge of paper mills and have no right to exercise effective control over paper mills.

Since substantial amount of paper is freely circulated and great profits can be obtained in the management of paper, many organizations which have something or nothing to do with newsprint and relief printing paper have tried to manage paper. According to our investigation, in addition to central and local organizations in charge of media and publications that are responsible for the storage and allocation of paper, organizations managing paper at present include companies selling cultural and recreational articles and daily necessities, paper processing plants, printing presses, labor service companies, and so on. Even paper carton plants, publication houses, paper warehouses, and packaging plants are also

buying and selling paper to get profits. Some self-employed businessmen are also profiteering in paper. This can be described as "the whole nation managing paper."

According to the requirements of the commodity economy, the invigoration of circulation should play the following roles: 1) Shorten the time for circulation of commodities in order to link the producers closer with the consumers, to promote production, and to provide greater convenience for consumption; and 2) Free fluctuation of prices should reflect the requirements of the law of value and arouse the enthusiasm of producers in developing production. Unfortunately, the "invigoration" of the circulation of newsprint and relief printing paper has brought opposite results. First, the time for the circulation of paper has been prolonged, thus aggravating the shortage of newsprint and relief printing paper. Originally, collectives and individuals were not allowed to manage newsprint and relief printing paper in China. Paper was directly allocated by paper mills to users according to state plans and this could save more time and provide greater convenience to users. At present, paper from paper mills has to go through many intermediate links before it enters the users' warehouses. It takes time to go through each link and if the time for transportation is also included, the time for circulation is greatly prolonged. The speed of circulation has lowered and the amount of paper in circulation has increased. Consequently, more paper has to be produced to meet the needs and the shortage of paper is aggravated. The slow-down of the speed of circulation of paper and the further aggravation of the shortage in paper supply have compelled the users to increase their stocks and this in turn will also aggravate the shortage. Second, price increases after each link have caused the market prices of newsprint and relief printing paper to soar and most of the benefits from increasing prices go to the intermediate links. Since the beginning of this year, the market prices of newsprint and relief printing paper have increased by nearly 100 yuan per ton every month. If no measures are taken, the prices of these two kinds of paper may exceed 3,000 yuan in the first half of this year. Newspapers, magazines, and publication houses can no longer bear such price rises. But at the work conference of key paper mills held in April this year, factory managers still said that the price of paper was low. The reason was that while the market price was obviously very high, the factory price of paper was not high. The factory price of newsprint in the south was 2,050 yuan a ton, and 1,600 yuan a ton in the north. But the market price had reached 2,700 yuan a ton. The factory price of relief printing paper was 2,300 yuan a ton, while the market price had reached 2,800 yuan a ton. This means that the benefits in a price rise have been obtained by links in the middle. Many peddlers have reaped fat profits by making unauthorized paper resales, transferring contracts, and charging "information" fees.

What is worth noting is that the above situation just does not happen in the process of circulation of newsprint and relief printing paper. Now the endless rise in the prices of

many kinds of raw materials in extremely short supply and a relevant serious shortage are wholly or partly caused by trouble-making in the area of circulation. This situation tells us that simultaneously with the effort to open up and revitalize the economy, we must seek effective macroeconomic management. Especially given an imperfect market mechanism in our country, just opening up will naturally give rise to chaos. The problems appearing in the circulation of newsprint and relief printing paper also reflect the ever increasing negative effects on economic development, with the deepening of the reform and the introduction of a dual pricing system. We must quicken the pace of the reform of the commodities system, and let two different price ranges transit to a unified market price pattern.

### What Is the Way to Solve the Problem of Paper Shortage?

#### How should we solve the problem of paper?

Our country has a paper production capacity of more than 11 million tons. Combined newsprint and relief printing paper requirements do not exceed 1.5 million tons. Logically speaking, so long as we act according to the law of value, adopt the right policy, and take the correct measures, there will be no problem in guaranteeing satisfying fundamental demand.

First, we must respect economic laws and straighten out the prices of raw materials and paper.

To sort out the prices of paper, we must first stabilize the price of timber. Our country's state-owned forest production operations in the north are mainly based on mandatory plans. The prices are set by the state. Forest farms in the north are large, and timber production is substantial. So long as the forest farms in the north resolutely carry out mandatory plans, produce according to plan, and supply timber on the basis of planned prices, the costs of paper mills in the north will stabilize. This is an important factor. Forest farms in the south are both owned by the state and collectively or individually operated. To retrace the old path and again apply the old ways to management will no longer work. But letting things take their own course, letting people fell trees freely, and letting unauthorized peddlers enter mountainous areas to make purchases freely—this will do more harm and than good in protecting forests and increasing peasant income. Now the forest farms in the south have strengthened management. After a period of practice, they have achieved good results. People suggest that a price ceiling be put on timber. This seems to be something that must be carried out.

In the matter of price, a different approach should be taken toward paper requirements based or not based on mandatory plans. Paper needs for important newspapers and magazines and textbooks, especially central newspapers and magazines and middle and primary school

textbooks, are all included in plans. Paper-making enterprises must guarantee production according to plan, sales according to plan, and supply of goods according to planned prices. Ensuring paper needs for these newspapers and magazines and textbooks is a major issue bearing on the propagation of the party's general and specific policies and the cultivation of the younger generation. Paper mills must make it their own duty to fulfill given plans. They should not stop production, or make a production switch, because of low profits. But it is also difficult for paper mills to continue fulfilling set plans with the use of high-priced raw materials for production. Materials and goods supply departments should ensure supplying raw materials to paper mills at originally set prices. Otherwise, it is also just talking nonsense if we want paper mills to fulfill given plans.

The prices of paper supplies outside mandatory plans and general plans should follow the market trend, with proper readjustments. There are two principles guiding price readjustment. First, we must take the paper-making industry as an industry involved with the means of production, and let relevant enterprises have an average share of industry profits through pricing and acquire a capacity for self-development and self-transformation. Second, in light of the prices of other kinds of paper, we must enable economic yields from the production of newsprint and relief printing paper to be not lower than in making other types of paper. The rise in the paper price will naturally affect newspapers and publishing houses. Given the peculiar nature of this industry, we can provide subsidies for some of the newspapers, books and magazines. For some others, we may use the way of pricing with a small margin of profit added to costs—with prices liberalized.

Second, we must establish paper-making raw materials bases and guarantee the supply of raw materials for making paper.

Wood pulp is the main raw material for making newsprint and relief printing paper. It accounts for around 20 percent of the pulp used in our paper-making industry. In developing the paper-making industry, we must give priority attention to the development of paper-making raw materials and especially timber.

In recent years, people have in practice evolved a lot of effective ways in solving the problem of paper-making raw materials. For example, we may follow the road of combining forests and paper, with the paper mills investing in the forest industry and the forest industry guaranteeing timber needs for paper mills. Our country is short of forest resources. We cannot find a way out by just relying on existing forests in making paper. For this reason, it is important to pay close attention to man-made forests and to manage and use well the existing forest resources.

By opening all timber resources and making full use of wood chips, branch wood, bagasse, and waste paper in papermaking the paper mills can also ease the timber shortage. We are fairly rich in the above-mentioned resources. According to one calculation, for the production of every cubic meter of timber we can produce 2 tons of branch wood. Calculated on the basis of an annual output of 200 million cubic meters of timber, we can have 400 million tons of branch timber for papermaking a year. At present most of the branch timber in our country is used as fire wood or left rotting in the hills. It is a pity that it cannot be fully utilized. Of the 9 million tons of bagasse left annually by sugar refineries, only 20 percent is used in papermaking while the rest is used as fuel. Therefore, an important way to save on timber is to raise the utility rate of bagasse. For example, if we can produce 20 tons of bagasse newsprint a year, we can save 500,000 cubic meters of timber.

Third, we should speed up technological transformation and expand our paper production capacity.

With the development of economic and cultural undertakings, the use of paper in all trades and professions will certainly increase continuously. The paper-making trade is a technology-intensive one, requiring large investments and a long cycle and yielding slow returns. If we do not set about expanding the production capacity of newsprint and relief printing paper, the contradiction between supply and demand will be more acute. Therefore, we should look further ahead and do our work in advance. We have rich timber resources in southern China. Yunnan, Guizhou, and the Leizhou peninsula have the necessary conditions to develop large paper mills. As long as we support them in a selective way, they can quickly develop production. Moreover, we should also step up the technological transformation of the existing enterprises. The equipment of most of the 30-odd key paper mills in our country are aging, with backward technology, high consumption, and low efficiency. Of the several big paper mills in the north, some consume less than 5 cubic meters and some consume as much as 6 cubic meters of timber for every ton of paper. In the south, some consume as little as 4.37 cubic meters and some consume as high as 6.402 cubic meters of timber for every ton of paper; the consumption of small paper mills is even higher. Only through technological transformation will it be possible to rapidly expand production capacity, reduce consumption, and raise China's production of newsprint and relief printing paper to a new high.

Fourth, we should readjust the management structure and strengthen trade management.

Paper production involves numerous departments, such as light industry, forestry, chemical industry, textile, machinery, and foreign trade. The price and distribution of paper also involve the interests of the central and local authorities. The important reasons for our current paper shortage are the failure to straighten out relationships

and to coordinate with one another, the existence of many contradictions, and the lack of a department in charge of comprehensive coordination work, which makes it impossible to do many things which could have been done easily. Therefore, it is necessary to set up a comprehensive department to manage paper production and circulation in a unified way.

Paper mills must be consolidated. There are now more than 4,000 paper mills in the country. Most of them are small in scale, with backward technology and serious pollution. Their distribution is also irrational. We should properly readjust them by supporting key enterprises with a sound foundation and restricting those which do not have prospects for development. We should no longer make blind arrangements and indiscriminately set up paper mills. Key paper mills should carry out division of work along special lines and work in close coordination. Cooperation between paper mills and the production of raw materials should also be strengthened.

It is necessary to strengthen management over timber circulation, reduce intermediate links, abolish irrational marking up of prices at every level, and sternly crack down on profiteering activities through re-purchase and re-sale. The timber business should be handled solely by the forestry departments so as to ensure the stability of timber prices. Moreover, it is necessary to strengthen management over paper circulation and ban profiteering activities to ensure the authority and seriousness of planning and the use of paper by key newspapers, books, and periodicals.

**Why is This Book Well-Received?—On the  
Compilation and Publication of the 'Shorter  
Encyclopaedia Britannica'**

*HK1707070088 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
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[Article by Liu Zunqi (0491 1415 2759), a staff member of the CPPCC.]

[Text]

**Taiwan Also Eager to Reprint**

Since the publication of the "Shorter Encyclopaedia Britannica" (Chinese edition) in 1986 some 100,000 sets, totaling 1 million copies (10 volumes in one set) have been printed and distributed. It has been reported that measures were adopted to control the impression. Otherwise, the amount would have far exceeded this figure. Over the past year or so, it has been extremely difficult for subscribers to get a set even through the "back door." It was hard to purchase the encyclopedia from the bookstores, to say nothing of subscribing.

This book is by no means cheap. The hardcover edition costs 286 yuan per set, while the popular edition, 186 per set. According to the distributors, the majority of the subscribers are individuals rather than organs or units. This fully shows that the book has attracted wide interests.

It is quite interesting that some publishers in Taiwan have vied with one another for the right to publish and distribute the book in spite of copyright disputes. Thanks to the agreement reached between the Taiwan China Bookstore on the one hand and the U.S. Britannica Publisher and the Chinese Encyclopedia Publishing House on the other in Chicago, Tokyo, and Hong Kong, respectively, the Chinese edition of the encyclopedia was allowed to be reprinted (in the original complex form of Chinese characters) in Taipei.

This is a new thing in the current international publication circles which is beyond the sharp political and ideological contradictions.

The Taiwan China Bookstore started to work on a set of "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (Chinese edition) 4 years ago. The bookstore organized a huge translation and editing team to translate the encyclopedia from English to Chinese according to the alphabetical order of the original book, disregarding the 10-volume "Micropaedia" published by the Beijing Chinese Encyclopedia Publishing House. This gigantic plan was terminated in 1987 when only 3 volumes were published. To protect its copyright, the U.S. Britannica Publisher put pressure on Taiwan through political, diplomatic, and legal channels and accused the the Taiwan China Bookstore of "piracy" (internationally, it refers to the illegal act of translating and reproducing a book without authority). Unwilling to continue to run the risk, the Taiwan China Bookstore decided to give up its original plan of publishing a 20-volume encyclopedia costing tens of millions of Taiwan dollars and to reprint the "Micropaedia" jointly published by the Chinese Encyclopedia Publishing House and the U.S. Britannica Publisher.

#### Authoritativeness and International Orientation

Why has "Micropaedia" been well-received? The main reason is that it suits the needs of Chinese readers. It is a concise edition translated from the English version "Encyclopaedia Britannica" (15th edition) which had the following two supplements: First, extracted translation of entries from the "Macropaedia" (in 19 volumes). The "Macropaedia" was originally composed of major entries (such as "industrial revolution" and "Western art"). Some 4,200 entries (102,000 entries in "Micropaedia") were lengthy, each with tens of thousands of words. These lengthy entries were reduced and translated to around 1,000 characters, more or less the same as the ordinary entries in the "Micropaedia." Second, most of the 4,000 entries on China in the English edition which were outdated and did not conform to reality were not included in the Chinese edition. These entries, which

increased from around 4,000 from the original book to 4,400, were rewritten by contemporary Chinese experts in the style of "Britannica." According to an agreement reached between China and the United States, the entries rewritten and translated by Chinese authors could be included in the English edition in the future. These supplements increased the reliability of the "Shorter Encyclopaedia Britannica" (Chinese edition) and also increased the academic value of the future new edition (including French and Spanish editions) of the "Britannica." The English name of "Bu Lie Dian Bai Ke Quan Shu [0008 0441 7351 4102 4430 0356 2579]" is Encyclopaedia Britannica. The intellectual circles in China are more familiar with "Da Ying Bai Ke Quan Shu [1129 5391 4102 4430 0356 2579]," the title of the book in the past. More than 200 years have elapsed since the first three editions which appeared in three bound volumes between 1768 to 1771 in Edinburg, Scotland. Later the book was revised and reprinted several times. The eighth edition of the book was published in the 1870s. By the end of the 19th century, a U.S. publisher signed a contract with the original publisher on reproducing the ninth edition of the book in 24 volumes. The number of books sold in the United States far exceeded that in Britain. In the early 20th Century the Americans obtained part of the copyright. With the cooperation of Britain and the United States during the period from 1901 to 1943, the 14th edition of the book came off the press in 1929 which was regarded as a model for large, comprehensive modern encyclopedias. Later the book was revised and reprinted every year and 41 impressions of the book were sold. The copyright of the book was wholly transferred to Chicago University in 1943 and published by the "Encyclopaedia Britannica Company" (E.B. Inc.) The 15th edition came out in a brand new style in 1974. The book was divided into the three parts: First, "Propaedia" in one volume; second, "Micropaedia" in 10 volumes; and third, "Macropaedia" in 29 volumes, which was also called "three-in-one."

The "Micropaedia" in 10 volumes, which is also entitled "Ready Reference and Index," includes 102,000 entries (each entry not exceeding 750 English words) and 16,000 tables and charts. It serves as an index to "Macropaedia" and can also be used as a concise encyclopaedia independently.

In the 10 volumes of "Micropaedia," the entries on human and social science account for 60 percent of the total while those on nature and technology account for 40 percent. Since the publication of the 15th edition, the contents of the encyclopedia have been renewed every year. The book was revised and reprinted 12 times by 1985 and more than 2 million sets were printed and sold throughout the world. The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company also cooperated with foreign publishers in publishing the Japanese, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and Arab editions. The Chinese edition also came off the press in 1986. Thus, the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" became a veritable, worldwide encyclopedia.



The "Preface" to the 15th edition revealed the six major editing principles of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica":

1. **Authoritativeness:** Whether it speaks in its own voice, or in that of its contributors, the new Britannica must speak from and with authority;
2. **Comprehensiveness:** The proper scope of a general encyclopedia is the whole circle of learning. The presence of all parts of that circle must be a demonstrable characteristic of the new Britannica;
3. **Encyclopedic brevity of condensation:** In the new Britannica even the longest articles on even the most major subjects should be less lengthy than books and treatises on the subject. The entries in Micropaedia are generally in capsules of 750 words;
4. **Accessibility:** By the imaginative use of a useful alphabetical index, internal cross-referencing, and other devices, the contents of the new Britannica must be efficiently available to its users;
5. **Accuracy:** No matter how clearly the new Britannica manifests its other qualities, it will fail to the extent that inaccuracy renders its contents undependable; and
6. **International orientation:** While the new Britannica is uniquely a product of the culture of the West, it must not be parochially Western in its view of learning.

In connection with these principles, half of the articles of the 15th edition were written by Americans, the other half by foreigners. Articles on subjects spread across the whole of the broad spectrum of knowledge have been assigned to experts without regard to their place of origin, of residence, or of occupation. For example, the entry on "electric power" is written by a member of the Japanese Atomic Energy Commission, that on nuclear fusion is by a Russian, and that on defense expenditure by an Englishman. An Australian has written on Vladimir Nabokov (a noted Russian-American writer residing in the United States) and a Canadian has written on the history of Rome.

To ensure the authoritativeness and objectivity of the articles and avoid subjective, one-sided factors, the board of editors looked for qualified writers worldwide. A total of 4,277 contributors from 131 countries and regions contributed articles to the 15th edition.

When a science or theory is controversial, an entry should present the different views to ensure its objectivity.

### The Chinese Edition and Articles on China

Prior to the 1980s, no one ever thought of publishing the Chinese edition of "Encyclopaedia Britannica." How can a classical, lexicographical work of bourgeois culture of the West be expressed in modern Chinese language guided by Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought?

The joint publication of "Micropaedia" by the U.S. Britannica Publisher and the Chinese Encyclopaedia Publishing House in 1981 was an application of Zhou Enlai's "Bandung Conference" principle of seeking common ground while reserving cultural differences.

The close-door policy adopted by China in culture, regarding Western culture as a bourgeois forbidden zone, did not start with liberation. It was implemented in the liberated areas prior to the founding of the PRC. Almost a generation of Chinese had been completely cut off from Western culture till the end of 1977. You can hardly find a Chinese person, even among intellectuals, who is familiar with the stories in the Bible (New and Old Testament). When the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee set things to rights, put an end to the "leftist" line, and implemented the policy of invigorating the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world, understanding of Western culture was almost blank in China's intellectual circles. Naturally, the blank could not be filled overnight. Nevertheless, it was the most appropriate time for publishing the "Shorter Encyclopaedia Britannica."

Regarding the U.S. publishing circles, this cooperative agreement was also a great "breakthrough" which had the following significance: First, an authoritative Western lexicographical work is published for the first time in Chinese, breaking through the "forbidden zone"; and second, China has for the first time recognized the question of "copyright" inviolable in the Western capitalist world which it had always ignored in the past.

Both China and the United States agreed that the articles should abide by the basic principles of objectivity and accuracy. To ensure these principles organizationally, each side designated 3 persons to set up a Sino-U.S. Joint Editing Commission.

The Chinese edition would have to come out in 20 volumes if the full text of the 10-volume Micropaedia was to be translated. Consequently, the price would be too high and the circulation would be restricted because of the limited purchasing power of the Chinese readers. Through repeated deliberations, both sides agreed that a set of 10 volumes would be appropriate. This gave rise to a question of reducing the contents of the book. Both sides decided that all entries should be maintained (except the entries not meeting with the unanimous approval of the members of the editing commission which would be cancelled). In light of the needs of Chinese readers, however, the human and social science entries should be reduced by 30 to 40 percent, while the

entries on natural science and technology should be reduced by 70 to 80 percent. Thanks to this flexibility, many controversial articles could be resolved. Of all the entries in the "Micropaedia," "Stalinism" was taken out because the members of the editing commission could not reach unanimity of opinions. Even in the Soviet Union, there is no consensus on "Stalinism." This is the only entry out of more than 100,000 entries in "Micropaedia" which is not translated into Chinese.

There were also numerous disputes between the two sides concerning the articles on China. The "Korean War" (namely, the "War to Resist the United States and Aid Korea") was a typical example. The Chinese side could not accept the original text because it deviated from facts. The original text shifted the responsibility onto the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, mistakenly blaming "North Korea, prompted by the Soviet Union" for launching the war. The entry also regarded the party which supported South Korea in the war as "UN forces." In fact, it was a war between the United States which flaunted the banner of "UN forces" and the Korean People's Army and Chinese Volunteers. Naturally, the U.S. side was against reversing the reversal of facts. The Sino-U.S. Joint Editing Commission discussed the matter for 3 days in Harbin in August 1982, revised the article four times, and eventually reached a compromising "unanimity." The article evaded the cause of the war and replaced it with "the unceasing small-scale wars between North and South Korea since 1949 eventually led to a violent conflict on 25 June 1950..." Meanwhile, the article also pointed out that the Chinese Volunteers got involved in the war because the U.S. Air Force commanded by General MacArthur ignored warnings by the Chinese side and bombed Andong and the northern banks of the Yalu River. Although the historical facts are simplified, they remain undistorted.

Fourteen years have elapsed since the publication of the 15th edition of "Encyclopaedia Britannica" in English and 2 years have passed since the publication of the Chinese edition of "Shorter Encyclopaedia Britannica." The knowledge in all spheres is changing with each passing day. No matter how it is recorded in detail, it's life is conditioned by the time. People will take delight in using the Chinese edition of "Micropaedia" as a useful tool. They also look forward to its revision, renewal, and enlargement.

### **The Strategy for the Economic Development of the Coastal Areas is Not Tantamount to the 'Great International Circle'**

HK1607050788 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 p 43

[Article by Teng Shengwen (7506 3932 2429)—reprinted from JINGJI RIBAO dated 29 March 1988]

[Text] The strategy for the economic development of the coastal areas is a strategic decision on stepping up economic development in the coastal areas put forward

by Comrade Zhao Ziyang and decided by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. Its main contents are: Take full advantage of the favorable opportunities provided by the readjustments in the international production structure, as well as the numerous advantages in China's coastal areas, such as the rich labor resources, to vigorously develop the export-oriented economy in the coastal areas, including the development of labor-intensive industries (without neglecting knowledge- and high-technology-intensive industries) and processing industries, and put into effect the policy of "both ends abroad," and high volume imports and exports (and, at the same time, attach importance to the development and exploitation of the country's raw material resources, as well as to the lateral economic links between the coastal areas and the interior); encourage foreign investments and vigorously run the three kinds of enterprises that are partially or wholly foreign-owned to speed up economic development in the coastal areas and to bring along the whole nation.

The "great international circle" theory, however, is an academic viewpoint in economic theoretical circles. In the view of those academics holding this viewpoint, there is a "circulatory" relationship between agriculture and heavy industry. As they see it, the current development of heavy industry needs funds and the shift of surplus agricultural labor to nonagricultural fields also needs funds. This develops into a contradiction contending for funds. "This contradiction is the principal contradiction in the current economic development." They favor using surplus agricultural labor to develop labor-intensive products for export to earn foreign exchange, and then use this foreign exchange to purchase equipment and technology, develop heavy industry, and thus "link up the circulatory relationship between agriculture and heavy industry."

The "great international circle" theory attaches importance to the development of labor-intensive products for export. This is in line with a requirement of the strategy for the economic development of the coastal areas. However, the strategy for the economic development of the coastal areas is not the same as the "great international circle." The former is a policy decision of the party and government, while the latter is an academic viewpoint of economic theoretical circles; the former deals with the question of how to "develop" the economy in the coastal areas, while the latter deals with the question of how the "circulation" is conducted between agriculture and heavy industry; the former is a working principle which must be implemented by the party committees and governments at all levels, while the latter comes under the category of theoretical exploration.

### **The Soviet Union Publishes *Principles of Philosophy* Which Has Broken Through the Conventional Framework**

HK1607084988 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 p 44

[Article by Xu Xiaoying [1776 1420 5391] of the Party School of the CPC Central Committee.]

[Text] Recently, a political works publishing house in Moscow has published a new work of philosophy, *Principles of Philosophy*. This is the latest reference book of

philosophy for educational purposes published by the Soviet Union in 1988. The author is Professor Sbergin [phonetic 2448 3024 1422 6855], a member of the information section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. The manuscript of the book won third prize in the 1983-1986 competition for teaching materials for students of all Soviet colleges and institutes of higher learning (the first and second prizes not yet having been awarded).

This book was published through competition in the heat of reform. Compared with various kinds of philosophical teaching materials published by the Soviet Union in the past, it shows some new features in its structure. In a break with such stereotypes as an introduction to the history of philosophy, dialectical materialism, and the history of materialism, it presents a new structure, with such sections as an introduction, being and ideology, dialectical theory, knowledge and creation, and the problems of social philosophy. The contents of various sections and the points of emphasis also differ from those of previous philosophical teaching materials.

In the "Introduction," the author, apart from giving prominence to a philosophical world outlook and the functions of methodology and dealing with the emergence of Marxist philosophy and the development of Lenin, critically portrays various schools of contemporary Western philosophy. This structure helps readers have a deep understanding of the essence of Marxist philosophy and the process of its creation and development—through a comparison between Marxist philosophy and non-Marxist philosophy and the relevant internal struggle.

The chapter "Being and Ideology" is generally similar to the section on materialism in the traditional textbooks on philosophy. It mainly deals with matter and consciousness. What is worth mentioning is that in dealing with concepts of matter, emphasis is put on linking modern scientific results with a description of the material unity of the world and its varied nature. The author points out that from the angle of modern philosophy, matter assumes two basic forms of being—matter and field. These two basic forms enable matter to have a structure of discontinuity—basic particles, atoms, molecules, celestial bodies, and galaxies, the Milky Way system, and so forth—and also continuity—various forms of field with no rest mass, such as the gravitational field, the electromagnetic field, the nuclear field, and so forth. The author also makes a special analysis of the relation between matter and field. The field unites basic particles, enabling them to act on each other. So the boundary between matter and field must be distinguished. But this boundary also cannot be put into absolute terms. In the realm of microphenomena, such boundaries seem to be disappearing. Matter and field can be transformed into each other. For example, the meson is not only a particle of matter but also the quantum of a given field.

The chapter "Dialectical Theory" stresses that the fundamental principle of dialectics calls for linking things together and for development. It also blends the laws and the realms of dialectics and puts the emphasis on expounding the realms. In the process of expounding the realms, the laws of dialectics are described. A break has been made with the structure of the three principal laws of dialectics in the traditional textbook of philosophy. Related to them are three realms: quality, quantity, and degree; contradiction and harmony; and negation, continuation, and innovation.

The chapter "Knowledge and Creation" says that the theory of knowledge must first affirm such fundamental principles as that knowledge is a reflection of objective reality. It stresses that practice is the fundamental aim of knowledge. Meanwhile, the relation between subject and object in the matter of knowledge, the role of thinking, and the mental creativity and activity of men cannot be overlooked. In this chapter, a special section is devoted to discussing mentally challenging [si-wei 1835 4850] philosophy. There is put forward the concept of reason-direct perception. Sensation, perceptual knowledge, and ideas are chiefly dealt with. In addition, in describing the logic of thought, the relation between dialectical logic and formal logic is specially mentioned. There is a section specially devoted to scientific knowledge in regard to levels of experience and levels of knowledge. These contents give the feeling of something new.

The fourth chapter is "Problems of Social Philosophy." This chapter takes up more than two-fifths of the book. From the angle of social philosophy, he dwells on the relation between society and nature and the economic, social, political, and mental aspects of social life. In addition, he also covers some aspects very seldom mentioned in traditional textbooks of philosophy, such as social management, the philosophical view of man, cultural philosophy, historical progress, contemporary world problems, and so forth. These problems are closely related to the contemporary era and reform. There has been a lot of debate on the problem of the relation between dialectical materialism and historical materialism among Soviet students of philosophy in recent years. In this chapter, the author, in expounding the essence of the materialist concept of society, devotes a special section to analyzing the interrelation between materialism and historical materialism. The author considers that the relatively effective, independent, and isolated development of Marxist-Leninist philosophy in these two areas has constituted an obstacle to the further development of philosophy. Whether in social knowledge or knowledge of natural sciences, it has interfered with the penetrating study of contemporary themes. This is because some problems in the natural sciences cannot be studied in depth without taking the social consequences of scientific research into account. For natural sciences to determine social problems—this has been clearly put on the agenda of general philosophical knowledge. Meanwhile, without relying on the realm of general

philosophy to define social realities, the target of social philosophy would be buried in studies concerning the targets of society's other sciences.

### What One Does, Sees, and Calculates

HK1907084088 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul pp 45-46

[Article by Yan Xiu (0917 4423)]

[Text] There is an old folk proverb: The one who does is not the same as the one who overlooks, and the one who overlooks is not the same as the one who makes trouble. A year or two ago, I learned another version of this proverb from a reader's letter: The one who does is not the same as the one who overlooks, and the one who overlooks is not the same as the one who calculates. According to that reader, to "calculate" means to secretly scheme or plot against others, or to expose and criticize the deeds of others. In other words, it means not doing any serious work, but only secretly scheming to harm others.

What did Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng do by hiding permanently in the Party Central? (Jiang did not have any important responsibilities before the Cultural Revolution.) They did not do any work. They spent all their time calculating about others, or plotting against others. What did Lin Biao do after the founding of the PRC? He did not do any work either. He spent all his time creating "the spiritual atomic bomb" which violated the interest of both the party and the nation. When the enemy attacked us, he said the "book of quotations" could bring us victory over all enemies. He was not even a witch as a witch would have more tricks. Lin Biao spent all his energy on how to destroy old revolutionaries in the Party, especially those who were also military strategists. And who was Zhang Chunqiao of Shanghai? For a long time, he had been in name the political secretary of that Emperor of the East Sea, a "good student" who had adhered to ultra leftism. Although Zhang's title was member of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai municipal Party committee, he seldom did any work or appeared in public. He was like a "hermit" in officialdom. However, he spent years watching and preparing. When it was time to plot against others, he would appear and conduct the whole thing. He was like a miniature Kang Sheng. A characteristic of such people is that they do not usually do any work. They live comfortably and spend all their time organizing a black group. They identify a bunch of people with super-sensitivity to fabricate "black materials" of others. Their only skill is to pick two tons of bones from an egg. When a movement takes place, they become the most prestigious people. They can bring death to tens of thousands of people and destruction to as many families. In doing so, their power can expand even further. Such people are not human beings, nor members of the Communist Party. They are wolves that eat human flesh and drink human blood. They pretend to be thinkers, but have no thinking, and to be theoreticians, but have no theory. Once they

have achieved their goal, they would violate the thinking of Marx and Engels. These people have harmed tens of thousands of people and cadres by plotting against them. Their victims are not "the people's public enemies". It is they themselves who are "the people's public enemies." At this point, I recall two plays written by Romain Rolland. One is entitled *The Wolves* and the other *July 14*. Both describe how, in the years following the French Revolution, bourgeois and petty bourgeois revolutionaries incessantly destroyed each other without legitimate reasons. I read these two plays in the winter of 1943. At that time I had been "saved" for a few months. So I had a question: Does revolution mean we must destroy our own people until there is no one left? However, although I had been "saved" and become a "spy," I was still very "leftist." I secretly criticized Romain Rolland. I thought he was only a simplistic humanitarian who could not accept the principle of the "horror of revolution." I was superior to him and could accept this principle. He likened the relationship among revolutionary leaders to wolves that swallow each other up. (Actually such a relationship does not exist among wolves.) Therefore, I was very critical about Rolland's works. Now, I think we should be sober. When he wrote these two plays, Rolland was perhaps not yet a Marxist, nor a member of the communist party. Although he joined the French Communist Party later, as a staunch humanitarian he perhaps never regretted having written these two plays. In fact, he was then already a friend who would give forthright admonition to the communists. History has proved that his plays are extremely well-written and necessary.

I hope these two plays will be reprinted soon so that we can use them as a mirror. I also hope that all communist leaders will learn from the tragic and bloody experience and from the experience in China and other countries over the last 6 decades, in order to end forever the tragedy that Rolland had unfortunately predicted with accuracy. Communism without humanism is false communism. Communism maintained with terror is only fascism.

People who do nothing but calculate about and plot against others, and then go up the stage to ruin others, are just too horrible. So much that is precious of the party and the people is lost through such calculation. We regret not having remonstrated with our party in the past, but we can make up for the mistake in the future. Can we guarantee that wolves like Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng who schemed against others will never reappear? We believe that the only way to prevent similar incidents and wolves from reappearing is to gradually realize democracy both in and outside of the Party and change secret struggle and calculation to open struggle and calculation. In the open world today, the traditional ruling method of "bolting the door and beating the dog, i. e., blocking the enemy's retreat and then beating him" does not work anymore. If we insist on that method, and people do not rise to resist it, we will only be seen as barbarians. People will not accept history shaped by dictators. All unjust verdicts must be reversed whether

after as long as a few decades or as short as a few years. The three best known unjust verdicts in Chinese history are the death sentence of Yue Fei in the Song dynasty, that of Yu Qian in the Ming dynasty, and the accusation against Lin Zexu in the Qing dynasty. However, were not all these cases reversed shortly after they took place and these three people more respected by the people? Ruthless killers will be condemned forever and people's heroes who are unjustly killed will be respected forever. Are there exceptions to this law in history?

Of course, "calculation" also refers to foresight, scientific calculation, and careful planning. However, that belongs to another topic. They have nothing to do with the kind of calculation I condemn here, and so I will not discuss them in this article.

**Random Talk on 'Affected Aids' Zhi**  
*HK1907085088 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]*  
*in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 pp 46-47*

[Article by Tang Zhi (0781 2304)]

[Text] It is common sense that in daily life we must behave in a reasonable manner. Yet, both in history and in reality, a lot of things are unreasonable and absurd. They can even become a fad. This is stunning as well as disturbing. For example, we are born with a pair of feet to walk. Yet in the past, some people made women bind their feet so as to make them look like "three-inch lotus flowers". It is hard for people to imagine how much pain this cruel idea brought to women. I recall what my mother told me when I was a child. She said that before she was 12, she had always been a happy and active child. Once she reached the age of 12, her mother suddenly became harsh and said, "You always run around like a crazy person. If your feet grow large, who will marry you?" My mother did not take heed of what my grandmother said. Shortly after that, my grandmother used a long strip of black cloth and bound my mother's feet in the way people had taught her. My mother said that was a horrible torture on a 12-year-old girl. To prevent her feet from growing healthily, her feet were bound in such a way that the toes curled up and the foot look like a little pyramid. When a young pair of feet became so distorted, how could they walk? Mother said every step she took brought extreme pain. Still the adults forced her to walk. They said only when the feet had walked until a thick callus resulted were they sufficiently adaptable. We can imagine what torture the whole process was. Fortunately, my mother dared to rebel. Every time her feet were bound, she yelled and tore the strip of cloth away. My grandmother scolded her and beat her up, and sewed the cloth up. However, my mother cut the cloth apart with a pair of scissors. Finally, she simply refused to eat. My grandmother wept, but still insisted on carrying out this torture. At the same time, she muttered, "You crazy girl. You will never get a husband!" Still, my mother did not compromise. She cried all day long and all the neighbors heard her. At last my grandfather could not bear it and said, "Well, let her have her way." My mother was brave enough, but even today there is evidence of her feet having been hurt. Whenever she mentioned this incident, she would

conclude in a helpless and sad way, "People then were so affected!"

Clearly, such affectation was absurd. This incident is already a thing of the past. However, mother is wrong to say that only "people then" were affected. Actually affectation still exists, but only in different forms. As I have witnessed, people today are as sophisticated about their affectation. I remember that in the 1950s, some people encouraged writers to write about new people and new things. There is nothing wrong with this. However, there emerged a piece of writing like the following. The setting was a village. On their wedding night, after the guests had left, a bride and bridegroom were together in their bedroom. There was no sweet love talk between them. Instead, they decided that they should learn from and even compete with each other in labor. The author was trying to show how keen the characters were about labor, and it was all right for him to do so. (It was a fad then to do this.) The striking part was that, looking at the beautiful moonlight, the bridegroom suddenly suggested that he and the bride go to the beach to work by shoveling the sand and carrying it somewhere. The bride agreed with pleasure. So the couple fetched their baskets and shoulder poles and were off to work. At this point the reader would be stunned. There is no doubt that the bride and bridegroom were model laborers. However, one would wonder if it was necessary for them to show off their initiative by laboring even on their wedding night. At that time I could only sigh like mother did when she talked about her foot binding. Short of a better word, I would call that "affectation."

During the 1960s, the movement to learn from Lei Feng reached a climax. Lei Feng was a respectable person. He sacrificed for the good of the country. There was nothing wrong in learning from him. However, something strange happened. A comrade I knew well complained to me that her daughter had been very determined not to wear the dress she had bought her. Her daughter blamed her for buying a pretty dress and said that her friends would not approve. So my friend bought a blue Lenin-style outfit and a new pair of cloth shoes for her. The daughter still refused to put them on and said they were too new and tidy. My friend was worried and did not know what to do. At last her daughter declared that she would wear the clothes and shoes only if a few patches had been sewn onto them. It seemed that only in doing so did she follow Lei Feng's frugality. I could see from my friend's eyes and tone that she found her daughter's behavior inexplicable and shocking, and that she was helpless. I did not know how to console her. In fact I found it tragic. The fad of affectation had turned an innocent child into an affected one. No wonder when Comrade Liu Xinwu wrote about how a girl like Xie Huimin saw the story "The Gadfly" as a pornographic one, he pleaded that we "save the children."

However, acts of affectation seem to last forever, and there seems always to be a market for them. For example, literary works have always been careful about who and what they portray. Lu Hsun said, "When I wrote 'The Story of Ah Q,' some minor politicians and minor bureaucrats were angry and accused me of being sarcas-

tic about them. Actually Ah Q existed in other small towns, and he was really husking rice for others." Such anger was an affectation. Several decades have passed. Recently I have read in the newspaper that Chen Haosu, vice minister of broadcasting, films, and television, complained about this too. He said that fearful of possibly violating a ban, some directors give their own family name to negative characters in their films and use code names for cities and provinces. It was said that in a film the employees of a certain guesthouse were criticized. As a result the film could not be shown in the city where the guesthouse was located. What is it if it is not affectation?

Not long ago I heard a theory that you cannot investigate the meaning and purpose of literature. If you want to, it is no longer literature, as it is said that literature does not have such a responsibility. One finds this theory really confusing. If literature is so mysterious, how have people been able to write on the history of literature throughout the centuries. For example, according to the historian Sima Qian, China's first major poet, Chu Yuan, "wrote 'The Book of Sorrows' because the emperor did not listen to his advice and justice had no place in the court." The purpose and meaning of writing the "Book of Sorrows" were clear. Could it still be a work of literature? If it could not, then it will be difficult to name any works of literature that these people approve of. As to what kind of "sophisticated" works can pass as "literature," ordinary people like us do not have the insight to tell. Since we cannot even imagine it, we need not spend the energy to. Of course, it is an act of affectation to simplify literature and demand a literary work to serve the policy of a certain period in history, or to give concrete meaning to ideas, so that we do not see the human emotions and flesh and blood of life. However, isn't it another form of affectation to turn it the other way around and correct the above approach by denying or canceling any meaning and purpose in literature? Both approaches are equally affected.

To me, anything that is related to practice and falls into the law of things can be handled in a reasonable way. Most people handle things this way. Even without superior theories, they treat things in a natural manner. When things become extreme, absolute, and metaphysical, they can hurt our emotions or even distort our soul and body. Unfortunately, many people still think and work this way and affectation remains a frequent phenomenon. We can do nothing about it. However, since acts of affectation violate what is natural, they cannot be dominant forever. It is perhaps for this reason that affectation appears in different forms and in ups and downs.

#### **A Talk Beginning With Cartoons by Young Cartoonists**

*HK1507001288 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jul 88 p 48*

[Article by Hua Junwu (5478 0689 2976)]

[Text] Recently, the Society of Modern Young Cartoonists, formed by the art editors of some newspapers and

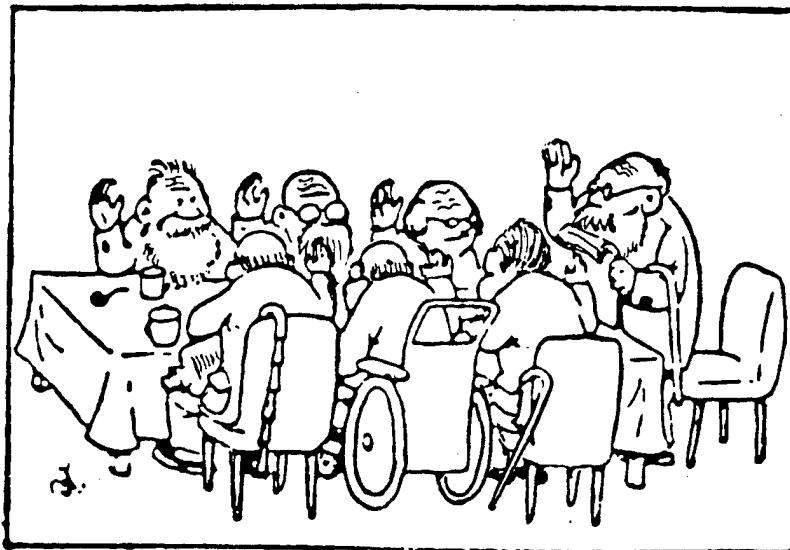
periodicals in Beijing, exhibited the new works of these art editors. These new cartoons emphasize upgrading the artistic quality of cartoons. This is also a question concerning present-day Chinese cartoons that has to be solved.

Chinese cartoons have achieved great development over the last decade. One indication is that a large number of young people has emerged in the cartoon field, and some of them have made a prominent showing. Young people have their own strong points. Most of them are from the grass roots, and their work is closely related to real life. They also have active and quick minds and facile imaginations. The theme of some cartoons is ingeniously conceived. I feel ashamed that my work is not as good as theirs.

Young people need society's concern and support. I have deep experience regarding this. I began submitting my manuscripts in 1934 in Shanghai. Many of my seniors, such as Lin Yutang, Feng Zikai, Lu Shaofei, Zhang Guangyu, and so on gave me much spiritual encouragement. They published my cartoons. They gave me advice on my work; and they were easy to approach, as with Mr Feng Zikai. They played a decisive role in my upbringing. Now, we old cartoonists always think of Fan Changjiang, Deng Tuo, and Jin Zhonghua. It is because they trained us when they were in charge of the work on newspapers and periodicals. During the revolutionary war period, I published my cartoons in DONGBEI RIBAO, and I was instructed and helped by comrades Li Changqing, Liao Jingdan, and others regarding the themes of my works. It is a pity that this practice has become unpopular in recent years. Now, QIUSHI is a new periodical, and it wants to introduce to readers the works of young cartoonists. I feel that they are being fostered as we were in the past.

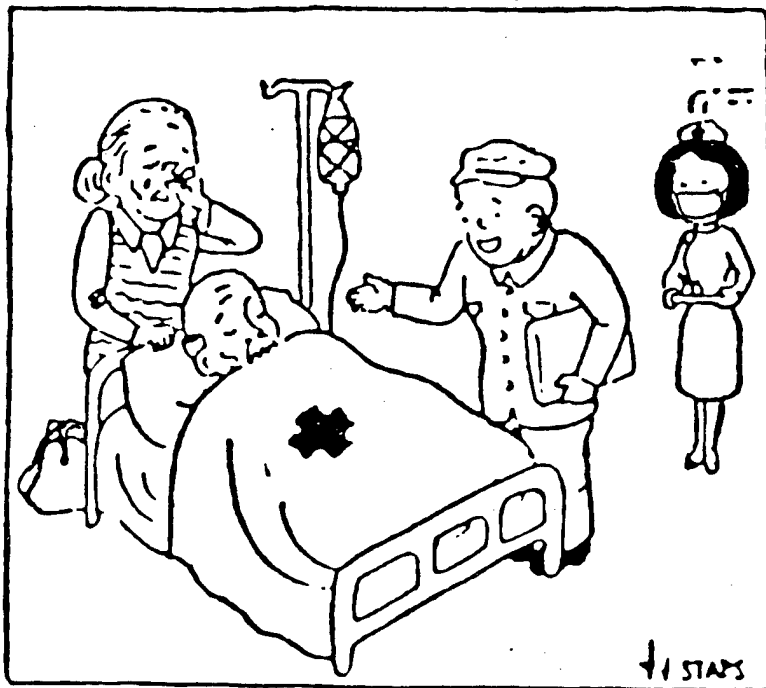
Newspapers and periodicals can publish works by anyone. However, I consider it is more important for a newspaper or a periodical to train its own exclusive cartoonists for its special cartoon section, so as to make it different from other newspapers and periodicals. This will require the editors to have discerning eyes that can tell greatness from mediocrity. Editors can be described as persons who possess such discerning eyes when they can distinguish prominent people before they become famous. If an editor regards prominent people as prominent only when they have become famous, then he is not a person who has such discerning eyes. Therefore, QIUSHI has foresight in this aspect as it is paying attention to young cartoonists as it begins publishing.

Cartoonists also have their worries. They realize that they have insufficient knowledge and experience. In the situation of economic and political structural reforms, we have to tackle large numbers of contradictions that we do not understand. We always feel that we are being constrained, and are incapable. I also hope that the editorial department of QIUSHI can give advice and assistance to both new and old cartoonists, so that our cartoons will not remain shapeless. Editorial comrades asked me to talk about the new works of young cartoonists, but I have written too much. It is one of the phenomena of becoming old. I stop here.

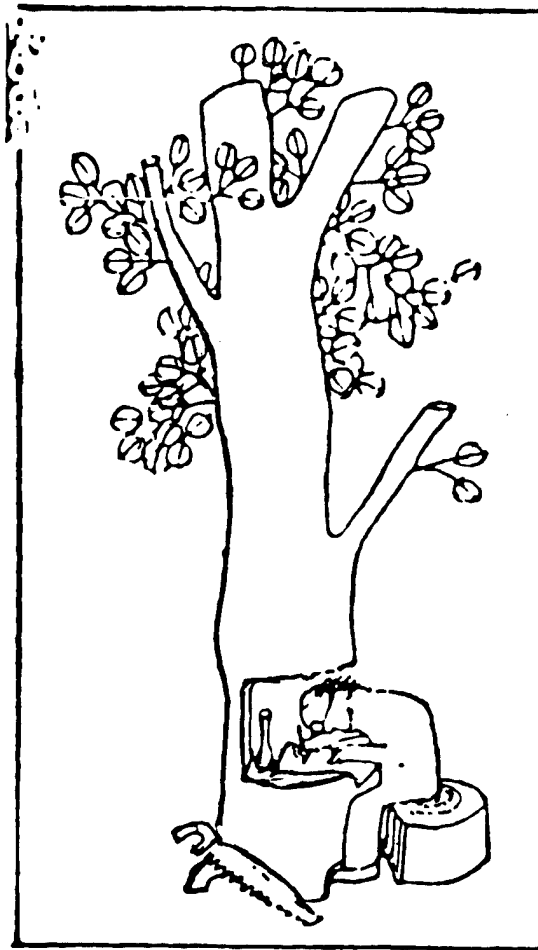


It's unanimous then: we will emphasize youth.  
[Cartoonist] Sun Xiaogang [1327 2556 0474]

LATE GOOD NEWS



Ballooned caption: Your problem of separated living quarters has been solved.  
[Cartoonist] Zhao Xuanhua [6392 1357 5478]



Writing down one's experience of having a great  
calamity hanging over one's head.  
[Cartoonist] Zhang An [1728 1344]





"Once upon a time there was a beautiful place called a 'forest'..."  
[Cartoonist] Zhang Yaoning [1728 5069 1337]

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