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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 2, 16 July 1988

The Primary Stage of Socialism and the United Front

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[Article by Yan Mingfu 7051 2494 1788]

[Text] In his report to the 13th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Zhao Ziyang used the acceleration and the deepening of reform as a theme. On the basis of summing up historical experiences since the founding of the PRC, he integrated fundamental Marxist principles with our country's practice in construction and reform. He provided convincing proof that our country is still in the primary stage of socialism. He put forward the fundamental line for the Party in this primary stage. He worked out an overall blueprint for China's development in the days ahead. This is a programmatic document that guides overall reform and socialist modernization. It is also a programmatic document that guides united front work in the primary of socialism. We must study and grasp Comrade Ziyang's report and the documents of the 13th National Party Congress. This is of decisive significance in raising awareness and handling united front work correctly in the primary of socialism.

The general and specific policies and tasks related to united front work in the primary stage of socialism represent a new development in a long history of Party united front work, and a development and an improvement on the basis of the tremendous achievements scored in carrying out united front work-related general and specific policies and tasks since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Since the 3d plenary session, after an overall effort to bring order out of chaos in regard to guiding thoughts, the patriotic united front has entered a new stage of historical development. United front work has gradually brought about a strategic shift in emphasis on work and a changeover from the past emphasis on serving struggle and socialist transformation to the orbit of serving socialist modernization and unifying the Motherland. The patriotic united front has developed into a wide-ranging political alliance composed of all socialist workers, patriots supporting socialism, and patriots supporting the reunification of the Motherland, including Taiwanese compatriots, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and overseas Chinese. In recent years, with the deepening of reform and openness and the gradual implementation of the "one country, two systems" formula, the patriotic united front has been unprecedentedly inclusive, brimming with vim and vigor. A very favorable new situation or new pattern has appeared. The main indication of this very favorable new situation or pattern is that the patriotic united front has developed into an alliance of two groups: One is an alliance composed of all mainland

workers and patriots, with socialism as its political basis. The other is an alliance that has widely united Taiwanese compatriots, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, and overseas Chinese, with support for the reunification of the Motherland as its political base. The formation of an alliance that covers two groups is a most prominent feature that marks the new situation about the patriotic united front. It has made for great development in our united front work in breadth and depth. There have appeared large numbers of new targets for united front work. The past situation of being isolated has changed. A new pattern of taking the mainland as the base and being oriented to three sides (Taiwan, Hong Kong-Macao, and overseas) has formed.

In the primary stage of socialism, with the deepening and development of reform and openness, things like the further thriving of the socialist commodity economy and the gradual implementation of the "one country, two systems" formula will have a far-reaching and profound many-sided effect on the development of the united front.

First, with the reform of the economic system and the deepening of the degree of openness, the socialist commodity economy will show increasing buoyancy. Various components of an economy with public ownership as its core will develop greatly and become more active. There will be ceaseless development in the variety of the patterns of ownership, of the ways of distribution, and even of the patterns of operation within the system of public ownership. This will naturally lead to profound changes in our social structure and economic structure. New mixes of interests, new social colonies, and new representative figures will appear in large numbers. They show common unanimity in regard to fundamental interests. There are also differences and contradictions between them where concrete interests are concerned. The diversity of concrete interests on the basis of harmony of fundamental interests will naturally be deeply reflected within the united front and will permeate through the whole process of the primary stage of socialism. Therefore, we must study the profound changes in different social colonies and mixes of interests, the variety of respective interests, and the effects of all these on the united front, and properly coordinate the relations among interests in various fields within it. This will be a major task of the united front in the primary stage of socialism.

Second, with the gradual development of the process of reforming the political system and building socialist democratic politics, the consciousness of democracy and the demand for government participation and relevant discussions on the part of various classes, strata, political parties, mass organizations and social members in various fields will find strong expression in the state's political life and within the united front. Class or stratum consciousness, national consciousness, political party consciousness, mass organization consciousness, and so forth will be more active, given new historical

conditions. Variety involving social politics and the cultural field will be more marked. The goal of our political reform is to gradually perfect socialist democracy in various stages to meet the political demands of such progress in democracy. This is in line with the direction of our social progress. Therefore, we must perfect our system of multi-party cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party; give full play to the positive role of various democratic parties and groups and people outside the Party in running the government and discussing matters of government; establish and perfect a socialist system of consultation and dialogue at central, regional and grassroots levels; and stimulate the building of socialist democratic politics with Chinese features. This will be another weighty task of the united front in the primary stage of socialism.

Third, to peacefully resolve the Taiwan issue and fully reunify the Motherland—this has been put on the united front's agenda as a matter of urgency. We must arouse various patriotic forces to influence the Taiwan authorities and bring about "communication in three fields" and peace talks. After the reunification of the Motherland, under the "one country, two systems" formula, we must continue using the united front to readjust interests and contradictions between the mainland, and Taiwan and Hong Kong-Macao as areas with different social systems, and stimulate the thriving growth and revitalization of the Motherland. This is a duty that must be shouldered by the united front in the primary stage.

Fundamental national conditions in the primary stage of socialism and developments marking the front mentioned above have determined the strategic task in the primary stage of socialism as follows: We must hold high the two banners of socialism and patriotism, correctly handle and coordinate different interests and contradictions, unite all forces that can be united, call into action all positive factors, strive to turn negative factors into positive ones, and thoroughly carry out the Party's fundamental line of "one center, two basic points." We must serve the implementation of the "one country, two systems" formula; serve the reunification of the Motherland; serve the cause of carrying out reforms, opening up and building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization; serve the development of a political stability and unity; and serve the perfection of socialist democracy and the establishment of a legal system. We are to achieve the great goal of reunifying the Motherland, revitalizing China, and building socialism with Chinese features.

Our united front has in its long period of development formed superior features and fine traditions unique to itself. Some comrades have summed up these unique superior features as eight big functions. They are: Reflecting the people's will, political consultation, providing professional or expert advice, democratic supervision, acting in cooperation, coordinating relations, self-education, and arousing social forces in helping

implement general and specific policies of the Party and the state. Some comrades also sum them up as four big functions. They are rallying forces, stimulating communication, bringing about coordination, and seeking self-education. The function of rallying forces means seeking common ground with differences shelved and uniting all people that can be united and arousing people's socialist activism and their enthusiasm for patriotic unity in fighting for the realization of the common goal. The function of stimulating communication means holding consultations and dialogue, sorting out different ideas, discussing suggestions, and strengthening exchanges. The function of coordination means that under the guideline of making overall arrangements and through democratic consultations, we should coordinate and take care of the interests of allies, so that everyone can be treated as he should be, and so that a large host of contradictions among the people can be coordinated and solved. The function of seeking self-education means strengthening the study effort and achieving political, moral and spiritual unity, given the fundamental goal of realizing the reunification of the Motherland and revitalizing China. Undoubtedly, the full development of the functions of our patriotic united front will enable the united front in the primary stage of socialism to show great capacity for uniting people and great vitality; and play an inestimably positive role in greatly strengthening unity or unification of people of various nationalities in the country; in guaranteeing the smooth development of socialist modernization; in perfecting socialist democracy and the socialist legal system; and in other fields.

In sum, the united front in the primary stage of socialism will be an ever growing one. It will be one that will be tested and served, given reform and openness, the energetic development of the socialist commodity economy, and the gradual introduction of the "one country, two systems" formula. It will be one that will face various differences and contradictions, while packed with vitality. Our united front was one of the three great magic weapons in the period of democratic revolution. In the primary stage of socialism, it will also remain a great magic weapon in reunifying the Motherland, revitalizing China, and building socialism with Chinese features.

Some comrades have said that in the primary stage of socialism, contradictions are so complicated, assignments so important, and the work load so heavy, that they have no time to bother about united front work. Some comrades also think that united front work is in the category of a "soft" task, which is dispensable. These views are not in order. Our patriotic united front, as far as the mainland is concerned, is actually a wide-ranging party and non-party alliance. As far as the targets of the united front as a whole are concerned, most of the people that we serve and rely on are intellectuals and persons with a relatively high intellectual level among the masses. This alliance is an extremely important component of the most wide-ranging party and non-party alliance in the country that includes workers and peasants. The Party's united front work is actually a development of the Party's mass line. United front work is not

incompatible but fully compatible with Party and government central tasks in various units. The more important the assignments and problems, the greater the need to unite more people and arouse their activism. It is impossible to accomplish that many tasks, with just a small number of people involved. It seems that the handling of united front work requires quite a spell of our time. But with united front work properly handled, more people united, and the enthusiasm of everyone aroused, problems can be solved and tasks properly accomplished. Experiences of many units show that any unit that takes good care of united front work has a good record for the performance of assignments. United front work is no burden and is necessary in doing the work of a unit well.

I believe that at present and for a period of time to come, we should energetically strengthen united front work in the several main areas.

1. Develop the Superior Features of the United Front and Serve the Development of Productivity

The 13th National Party Congress pointed out: "The fundamental task of socialist society is to develop productivity. In the primary stage, to get rid of poverty and backwardness, we must especially take the development of productivity as the center of all work. Whether the development of productivity is being helped—this should be our starting point in weighing all problems and our fundamental criterion in testing all work." The united front has always served the Party's general line and general tasks. In the primary stage of socialism, one of the fundamental tasks of the united front is to concentrate forces and develop its superior features to serve the development of productivity. This is a basic starting point and an end of united front work. It is also a fundamental criterion for assessing the achievements in united front work. Detached from such a criterion as productivity, united front work will be diverted from the center and from the correct direction, with its vitality sapped. The patriotic united front covers people inside and outside the Party in various fields, and the masses of intellectuals. It is marked by such features as a galaxy of talent and extensive connections with people at home and abroad. There is much life in it when it comes to serving the development of productivity. There is much that it can do. Since 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the united front has done a large amount of work in serving the development of productivity. It has achieved marked economic and social results.

The central policy decision on the strategy for the economic development of coastal areas has imposed new tasks and still more exacting demands on united front work. The strategy for the economic development of coastal areas is not just a regional problem involving a given area. It is a strategy bearing on the economic development of the whole country. The implementation of this strategy requires coastal areas to energetically

attract foreign capital and develop an externally oriented economy. This will also give an effective boost to economic development in inland and western areas and greatly stimulate economic ties and cooperation between the mainland and Hong Kong-Macao and Taiwan. Therefore, the strategy for the economic development of coastal areas is not just an economic problem. It also carries great significance, as far as the cause of reunifying the Motherland is concerned. This strategy organically combines united front work serving productivity with united front work serving the introduction of the "one country, two systems" formula, and united front work in the mainland with overseas united front work. We must unite and mobilize patriotic forces at home and abroad, open up various channels, and pool mass wisdom and resources in contributing to the implementation of this strategy.

Given the development and stimulation of the traditional industrial revolution and the new technical revolution, our rural social relations and the masses of peasants are undergoing a great change of a profound nature. There has appeared a big trend in the masses of rural residents switching over from agriculture to non-agricultural operations. The momentum of this transformation is in its primary stage and will intensify. Several hundreds of millions of peasants will be divided into such categories as traditional peasants, specialized agricultural operators, peasant entrepreneurs, and town and township enterprise workers. Engineering and technical personnel, college graduates, and various other categories of intellectuals in urban areas have also joined town and township enterprises in large numbers and will continue doing so. This profound change in rural relations has provided a new theme, a new task and a new target for the united front in the primary stage of socialism. Apart from being of great significance in supporting depleted, underdeveloped, remote and backward areas, the work done by various democratic parties and groups and federations of industry and commerce in support of western areas in the past few years has also at the same time stimulated the transformation of the agricultural population in these areas in the direction of non-agricultural industries. United front work of many provinces has extended to towns and townships at the grassroots levels, with new areas of united front work opened up. To study the profound changes in rural relations, stimulate the town and township economy, support the healthy growth of town and township enterprises, unify new peasant entrepreneurs, and be devoted to the modernization of towns and townships—this has become another important task facing the united front in the primary stage of socialism.

In the primary stage of socialism, we must turn federations of industry and commerce into chambers of commerce among the people with Chinese features dealing with domestic and external matters—organs composed of enterprises owned under different systems, entrepreneurs, and people in economic circles. Given the development, reform and openness of the socialist commodity

economy, these chambers of commerce should have such functions as coordinating relations, passing on economic news, opening up economic channels, supporting western areas, stimulating the establishment of horizontal economic ties and economic exchanges with people at home and abroad, and so forth. At present, federations of industry and commerce are recruiting new members on an experimental basis. After practice and after summing up relevant experiences, federations of industry and commerce with their own unique superior features will play an ever greater role in serving the stimulation of reform and openness, the development of productivity, and so forth.

In the primary stage of socialism, with the deepening and development of reform and openness, various complicated political, economic and ideological contradictions constantly exist between various components of an economy, and between different interest groups and social colonies. These contradictions are, in the final analysis, clashes of economic interests. United front work must strengthen investigations and studies, and seek a deep understanding of the concrete interests and demands of various components of an economy and various social groups. Only in this way can we, on the basis of harmony of fundamental interests, properly coordinate and handle various complicated contradictions and relations, creating a political environment of stability and unity for the establishment of a new order of the socialist commodity economy, and guarantee the smooth development of the efforts to modernize our country and carry out reforms and open up.

2. Perfect the System of Multi-Party Cooperation and Consultation Under the Leadership of the Communist Party

The system of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is a new political party system of socialist nature that has formed during the long period of Chinese revolution and construction. It is a great or superior feature of our political system. The report of the 13th National Party Congress clearly called for "perfecting the system of multi-party cooperation and consultation under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and giving further play to the role of democratic parties and groups and non-party patriots in the state's political life." This is a general affirmation of the important position of democratic parties and groups in our political life. It has posed an important task for the united front under a new situation.

As far as the character of democratic parties and groups is concerned, our various democratic parties and groups have from the period of democratic revolution to the socialist period developed from a political party originally devoted to keeping in touch with and representing the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie of cities, into a political alliance of a number of socialist workers and patriots supporting socialism, who keep in contact with each other. It is a political party serving

socialism, with socialist workers as its core, and an important force to be relied on in promoting modernization and developing stability and unity.

As far as the position of democratic parties and groups is concerned, our various democratic parties and groups under the leadership of the Communist Party have participated in managing state affairs and in consultations on important state guidelines on government matters; and cooperated closely with the Communist Party, in the exercise of mutual supervision. This position in the state's political life has been determined by the historical conditions of China and was formed during the long period of revolution and construction. These relations between various democratic parties and groups and the Chinese Communist Party are new political party relations under the socialist system. They are sharply different from the relations of jostling against each other between the ruling party and the opposition party in western countries. They are instead close relations of wholehearted cooperation between friendly parties, given the common goal of building socialism with Chinese features. With the reform of the political system and the development of socialist democratic politics, the position of our democratic parties and groups has been further strengthened. The relations between the Party and democratic parties and groups will be further cemented. Our system of multi-party cooperation will be further perfected and gradually systematized and institutionalized.

As far as the role of democratic parties and groups is concerned, the democratic parties and groups as political parties must actively participate in running the government and discussing government matters. For many years, the democratic parties and groups have played an important role in political consultation and democratic supervision. They will give further play to their role in the days ahead and strengthen the contents of relevant programs. The democratic parties and groups have given play to their role in this respect through many channels and at various levels, with many patterns involved. These patterns include recommending their respective representatives to attend the people's congresses; and participate in political consultative conferences, in the people's government's work and in the consultative forums of people of democratic parties and groups and people with no party or group background. Hereafter, in building socialist democracy and the legal system, the democratic parties and groups will further play a positive role in running the government and discussing government matters. Apart from this, the democratic parties and groups will also play a many-sided role. For example, they will arouse the enthusiasm of their respective members and the masses with whom they keep in contact—in serving reform, openness and the building of two civilizations, serving democracy and the building of a legal system, and serving the reunification of the Motherland. They must not only represent the interests of their respective members and the masses with whom they get in touch and reflect the will of the people but

also help the Party and the government in publicizing and carrying out policies; in order to help coordinate relations, bring about a social and political environment for stability and unity, and guarantee the smooth development of the cause of building socialism. Also, they will arouse their respective members and the masses with whom they keep in contact to carry out socialist education and education on patriotism, and help them adapt to the developing situation and keep advancing.

As far as the programs of democratic parties and groups are concerned, some comrades of the democratic parties and groups suggest that in the primary stage of socialism, with the deepening of reform and openness, the members of society with whom democratic parties and groups keep in touch will naturally assert their respective concrete interests and demands, given the harmony of fundamental interests. Therefore, with support for the four fundamental principles specified in the constitution, various democratic parties and groups should formulate programs reflecting their respective concrete interests. The argument for taking this into consideration is well justified, and is in line with the course of historical development.

As far as the building of democratic parties and groups themselves is concerned, the comrades of democratic parties and groups generally suggest that to meet the needs of the development of socialist democratic politics and perfect the system of multi-party cooperation under the leadership of the Communist Party, democratic parties and groups should further strengthen building themselves up. This opinion is of great importance. The leading comrades of democratic parties and groups have increasingly felt the need to concentrate on strengthening the building of leading squads; to gradually bring about cooperation between the new and the old and the replacement of the latter by the former; and to quicken the training of a new generation of leaders. They consider that this is a major issue of extremely great importance bearing on the continuation of the fine tradition of close cooperation between democratic parties and groups and the Party. They have also suggested that democratic parties and groups must strengthen ideological construction and organizational construction, and educate their own members, so that they can realize the history and duties of democratic parties and groups; carry forward the glorious tradition of multi-party cooperation; and consolidate and develop organizational work in a planned manner. United front departments will energetically support and help democratic parties and groups in handling work in this respect.

3. Strengthen Work Related to Non-Party Intellectuals

After the elimination of the exploiting class, the problem of the united front within the working class has come to the fore. With the completion of socialist transformation, the masses of intellectuals have become part of the working class. The number of such intellectuals is growing. They boast of the glorious tradition of warmly loving

the Motherland, keenly loving their own specialized fields and doggedly fighting for the cause of national construction. Experiences of developed countries tell us that the process of modernization is marked with two prominent features. One is that science and technology have played an increasingly important role in productivity, and so forth. Another is that there is an increasingly large proportion of intellectuals in the ranks of workers. Our country has low technological and management levels. Returns from economic activities are relatively poor. To realize the second and third phases of the objective of struggle put forward at the 13th National Party Congress, the first thing to do is to rely on the energetic development of science and technology and the educational undertakings. In developing science and technology, we must first rely on intellectuals, on an improvement in their quality, on an expansion of the ranks of intellectuals, and on a universal improvement in the intellectual level of the whole nation. Therefore, to strengthen work related to intellectuals and strengthen the alliance between Party and non-Party intellectuals has a direct bearing on the progress of modernization and on national revitalization.

At present, working and living conditions for a number of intellectuals, especially middle-aged ones, are relatively poor. They have many problems in regard to pay, job titles, housing, and so forth. There exists the phenomenon of the order of mental and manual work being reversed in terms of pay. This is a result of the cumulative effects of "Leftist" thinking dominating over a long period of time. The improvement of pay scales for intellectuals must be gradually solved through reform. The main idea is that we must chiefly rely on the state to gradually increase financial appropriations. The central authorities have instructed relevant departments to make a survey and put forward a relevant implementation program. On the other hand, to help things in a supplementary way, we must relax policies and encourage the intellectuals of educational, sanitation and scientific research units to improve working and living conditions through their providing services for society with proper rewards and through the transfer of their intellectual efforts at a price. At present, these policies and measures have just been put forward. They must be continuously perfected in practice. To provide services for society with proper rewards, we must stress "making overall arrangements." This means that we must first ensure the fulfillment of state assignments and do the work on the job well, with a guarantee for the quality of teaching, medical, and scientific research work. With reality in mind, we must do what we are capable of, and not let the normal order of work and the physical health of working personnel suffer. Charges for services must be rational. The distribution of income must be rationally based on a person's performance in carrying out state assignments and his contributions to creating new sources of revenue.

As far as the tasks of the united front are concerned, the strengthening of work related to non-Party intellectuals is indispensable to the matter of reform, openness and

construction—in serving the reunification of the Motherland and the building of socialist democracies and the legal system. In fact, the targets of work involving various aspects of the united front are mostly intellectuals at different levels who represent different categories of people. The united front system covers the people's consultative conferences, various democratic parties and groups, non-party and non-group people, relevant mass organizations, and so forth. They are all important organizations and channels for carrying out non-Party intellectual-related work. We must encourage the organizations and groups in various fields of the united front system to do intellectual-related work well. The united front itself must also strengthen work related to non-Party intellectuals and treat this as an important matter on the agenda. It must widely make friends with non-Party intellectuals; strengthen efforts to hold dialogue; make penetrating investigations and studies; get acquainted with the whole situation about intellectuals; reflect relevant conditions to the central authorities, the State Council, and Party committees and governments at various levels; put forward suggestions in the form of policies; fervently ease worries and solve problems for intellectuals, and help them create better working and living conditions to facilitate their giving full play to their role. This is one of the strategic points of emphasis, as far as united front work in the primary stage of socialism is concerned.

4. Strengthen Work Related to Minority Nationalities and Bring About Common Prosperity Among Various Nationalities

As far as the problem of nationalities is concerned, at the national citation conference on national unity development held in April this year, Comrade Zhao Ziyang gave an important speech on behalf of the Party Central Committee. This speech is a programmatic document about the proper handling of nationalities-related work in the new historical period of our country.

Ours is a multi-national country. Apart from the Hans, there are 55 minority nationalities. Development among various nationalities is also very uneven. This is a big feature that marks the national conditions of our country. The people of minority nationalities account for 6.7 percent of the total population. But areas inhabited by minority nationalities represent more than 60 percent of the total area of the country, and are mainly spread over the western part of China. This part abounds in resources, but development is very backward. Most of our minority nationalities are traceable to a historical period of society more backward than semi-feudal and semi-colonial areas. (Some were placed in feudal serf society, and some in the last stage of primitive society.) After more than 30 years of construction, various minority nationalities have spanned several historical periods, joining the Han people in entering the primary stage of socialism. This is a big historical step forward. But due to minority nationality regions starting out at a very low level, there is still quite a big gap with central and eastern

areas. Meanwhile, the natural economy and the semi-natural economy play a relatively large role in minority nationality areas. They are also placed in the west and near the border, with poor communications, and many other inconveniences. Thus, there really exists a problem of "differential results" between these areas and central and eastern areas, given the commodity economy. This is a realistic problem now existing in national relations. We must direct efforts toward its study and seek a gradual solution.

In the primary stage of socialism, with economic and social development, the ties among various nationalities have become increasingly close. But, at the same time, it must be noted that national differences, national features, national sentiments, and other problems will long exist. Thus, the task of stimulating national unity is a very arduous and complicated one. To handle the relations among nationalities and stimulate common prosperity among various nationalities correctly, we must, first, seriously implement the "Law of Self-Government for Nationality Regions," and especially, energetically train cadres of minority nationalities, enabling cadres of various nationalities to be really the masters of the house. Hereafter, we must combine the new situation appearing in reform and openness with the further improvement of the system of regional national autonomy. Second, we must strengthen national unity. We must strengthen education on "two non-separations" (the Hans not separated from minority nationalities, and minority nationalities not separated from the Hans). Such education must be strengthened in minority nationality areas and also in inland areas. In recent years, the phenomenon of some comrades not respecting minority nationalities has often happened, hurting the feelings of the comrades of minority nationalities. Such an erroneous attitude must be resolutely overcome. We must create conditions, so that people of minority nationalities can feel the warmth of the Motherland from the close relations of equality, friendship, mutual aid, and cooperation among various nationalities of our country. The aim is to consolidate national unity and the unification of the Motherland. Third, we must help minority nationalities in energetically developing economic and cultural construction. This is a fundamental guarantee to gradually narrow the economic and cultural gaps between various nationalities and bring about equality, unity and prosperity among various nationalities. In the past few years, various democratic parties and groups and relevant mass organizations have done a large amount of work in supporting border areas in the intellectual field, developing horizontal ties, and helping nationality areas in their development. They have accumulated a lot of useful experiences, and have been well received in nationality areas. Hereafter, we should continue developing such a good tradition and such a good style, contributing mental and manual efforts toward the thriving and revitalization of nationality areas and creating welfare for the masses of minority nationalities.

Our problem of nationalities is, fundamentally speaking, one of economic and cultural development and especially economic development for minority nationalities. The Party Central Committee and the State Council clearly pointed out that nationalities-related work in the new period must take economic construction as the center in seeking overall development of minority nationalities in the political, economic and cultural fields. The state will take a more relaxed policy toward the social, economic and cultural development of minority nationality areas, and will continue rendering necessary support in regard to manpower and material and financial resources. It will especially train skilled personnel in these areas, including cadres and management and scientific and technical personnel of minority nationalities. It must pay attention to combining the development of the resources of minority nationality areas with the interests of the people of nationalities there. Minority nationality areas must take safer steps suited for local realities, follow the road of reform and openness, gradually change the state of being isolated, change the backward ways of production, give full play to the superior features of given areas, develop the commodity economy, strengthen economic and technical cooperation with other areas, and raise productivity in a down-to-earth manner, with actual results and benefits in mind.

5. Unite Those in Religious Circles and People With Religious Beliefs To Serve Society

Viewing our problem of religion in light of the theory of the primary stage of socialism, we can see that first of all, class roots as a basis for the survival of religion have been eliminated in our socialist society. Generally speaking, religion is no longer a spiritual means used by exploiting classes to dull the will of people, and has become a kind of ideological faith among people. Contradictions involving the problem of religion have become mainly ones among the people. Second, in the primary stage of socialism in our country, the guiding role of Marxism in the ideological area has been established. But the level of productivity and of science and technology has been far from adequate to release people fully from the pressures of natural forces. The masses of peasants sadly lacking in cultural and scientific knowledge, and especially the illiterate and semi-illiterate people that account for one-quarter of the population, to quite a large degree, have been confined to traditional concepts and the realm of necessity in their knowledge of the natural world and especially of themselves. Various social problems that now exist in real life will also serve to strengthen the concept of religion on the part of a number of people, and will give rise to a new idea of religion among a number of people. This is to say that the soil and other conditions on which religion relies for its survival still exist. Social causes of religion and causes of relevant knowledge also still exist. The problem of religion is a long-standing one. It will exist for a long period in the primary stage of socialism. Based on the laws and features of its own development, it will also

continue to have an effect on society. Even in communist society, it will likely exist, to different degrees. This is an objective law independent of people's will. Running foul of this law, we will head for something absurd in terms of theory and knowledge, and will come to grief in practice.

Apart from its being of a protracted nature, the problem of religion has to do with the masses in our country in a way. Some nationalities are religious peoples. The problem thus partakes of a national character. Religion also has an international influence. This gives it an international character. Meanwhile, we must also note that in our society, some people are still exploiting religion to carry out illegal and disruptive activities. On the international scene, reactionary forces in religious circles have tried in every way to infiltrate into our country. These conditions have determined the problem of religion as a complicated one. They have also determined that in the primary stage of socialism, religion still cannot be treated as purely a problem of faith and purely a personal matter. Generally speaking, we must view things from the political angle. For example, we must determine whether the development of productivity is being served, whether the reunification of the motherland is being served, and whether stability and unity is being served. Resolutely safeguarding the freedom to believe in religion, as prescribed in the Constitution, has been our Party's consistent policy. Our country should continue uniting those in religious circles and people with religious beliefs, and join them in directing efforts toward modernization, safeguarding the freedom to believe in religion, and supporting patriotic religious organizations and normal religious activities. The aim is to bring our religion further in line with socialist development. Some erroneous "Leftist" practices, as previously followed in our approach to the problem of religion must be resolutely guarded against and overcome. On the other hand, we must maintain a high degree of vigilance against illegal and criminal activities carried out under the garb of religion and infiltration by reactionary religious forces from abroad. We must resolutely impose a ban according to the law, and overcome an attitude of letting things take their own course and keeping our hands off. Meanwhile, through patriotic religious organizations, we must guide and educate those in religious circles and people with religious beliefs, so that they can consciously put up resistance.

6. Implement the Fundamental National Policy of "One Country, Two Systems" in an Overall Manner

After Sino-British talks and Sino-Portuguese talks, we have successfully solved the problem of reclaiming sovereignty over Hong Kong and Macao. In future, we will use the guideline of "one country, two systems" to solve the Taiwan problem and realize the full reunification of the Motherland. The "one country, two systems" formula is our permanent strategic guideline. It will not change in 50 years and not change even up to 100 years. In the not too distant future, socialist modernization on the mainland will be carried out, given the "one country,

two systems" formula. This is one of the fundamental conditions of our country. We must uphold in an overall manner the guideline of "one country, two systems," and learn how to properly coordinate and handle the contradictions between two different social systems within the framework of national reunification. We must dare to cross the boundaries that set apart different social systems, different ideas, different ways of living, and other differences, and seek common ground on major issues with differences on minor matters shelved. This helps in accelerating the modernization of the socialist mainland and also in maintaining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao (including Taiwan, after the problem of peaceful reunification is solved).

The socialist construction of the mainland, and the maintenance of the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong and Macao stimulate and complement each other. With the deepening of reform and openness and the development of economic construction, there will be increasing political, economic and cultural exchanges and increasing contacts between the mainland and Hong Kong-Macao. After the full reunification of the Motherland, there will still be the need to uphold the guideline of "one country, two systems" for a long period of time. This will enable the mainland and Hong Kong-Macao as areas with two different social systems to coexist over a long period of time, compete peacefully with each other, support each other, and complement each other; and enable the two shores of the Straits to cooperate in jointly bringing about the reunification of the Motherland and its prosperity and revitalization.

7. Strive To Unite the Masses of Overseas Chinese in Serving the Reunification of the Motherland

There are more than 30 million overseas Chinese spread all over the world. There are also over 20 million returned overseas Chinese and members of their families. The masses of overseas Chinese are traditionally known for their fervent love for the Motherland. They are well provided with funds and well trained in advanced science and technology and management skills. They have also extensive connections with the mainland and Taiwan and Macao. They represent an important force in the great cause of reunifying the Motherland and revitalizing China. Uniting the masses of overseas Chinese in serving the reunification of the Motherland and revitalizing China is a glorious task of the patriotic united front.

Various democratic parties and groups, non-party people, and other mass organizations have long-established and extensive social relations with overseas Chinese. They are particularly well placed in attracting, winning over and uniting overseas Chinese. They must first do a good job of united front work at home, especially work related to returned overseas Chinese and members of their families. Meanwhile, they must actively work on contacting overseas Chinese and show concern for them

in various respects. They must combine united front work at home with united front work overseas, and increase the attraction of the Motherland to the masses of overseas Chinese.

8. Strengthen Cooperation With New and Old Representative Figures Outside the Party

For a period of time to come, it will be an important stage of the new and old cooperating and the new taking the place of the old within the united front. Representative figures of the older generation outside the Party have long cooperated with the Party. They have rich political experiences and are relatively well known in society, or have a relatively high academic position. They have special relations with society formed over a long period of time. They are relatively representative. But some friends being advanced in age are unequal to complicated work. With regard to different conditions, we should make proper arrangements for these friends. Thus, old friends can be properly placed in their old age. Meanwhile, they can continue giving play to their influence and role.

At present, a new generation of representative figures outside the Party is emerging as a backbone force on various fronts—a force playing an increasingly important role in various fields. The united front must set store by and adapt to this developing trend. It must pay attention to making investigations and studies, discovering new people, getting acquainted with them, making friends with them, and supporting and helping them in playing a still greater role in various aspects of the united front; and in carrying forward and developing the fine tradition of close cooperation between Party and non-Party figures, from generation to generation.

9. Strengthen the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

The building of socialist spiritual civilization is an important indication that sets socialism apart from capitalism, and also an important guarantee for turning our country into a powerful, democratic and civilized socialist modern country. The report of the 13th National Party Congress further affirmed the guideline of taking Marxism as a guide and striving to build spiritual civilization. It also pointed out that in line with the resolution of the 6th plenary session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on the building of spiritual civilization and in accordance with the demands of "four things in possession," we must improve the quality of thinking and morality of the whole nation and also the quality of its science and culture. Given the primary stage of socialism and an environment of reform and openness, the building of socialist spiritual civilization involves very complicated conditions and very arduous tasks. We must not only overcome and resist small-production, narrow conservative practices and the hackneyed thinking of feudalism and capitalism but also be skilled in absorbing all wholesome scientific and cultural products

in serving socialist modernization. In social practice, there are still many new conditions and new problems that need to be understood and studied by us. The problem of thinking among many people also requires analysis and guidance by us. After the realization of the "one country, two systems" formula, conditions will be still more complicated. In my opinion, only if we study the report of the 13th National Party Congress penetratingly and thoroughly, have a deep understanding of the theory of the primary stage of socialism, and keep a tight grip on the fundamental line of "one center, and two basic points," can we pinpoint the direction for building spiritual civilization in the tangle of contradictions; can we really pave the way for reform and openness; and can we really arouse the spirit of self-sacrifice of the people of all nationalities of the country in a hard struggle for modernization.

At present, our reform is placed in a crucial period. We must break through several barriers which cannot be sidestepped and which involve risks. This is a major issue bearing on the destiny of our country and people. It is also a major issue bearing on whether we will have our deserved place in the world hereafter. The Chinese Communist Party placed in a crucial period of reform has the duty to arouse the spirit of the whole nation and pool together its strengths. "Realizing modernization and revitalizing China"—this is a powerful spiritual pillar in arousing our spirit and pooling together our strength. It is also an objective that we arouse hundreds of millions of people to unite in the struggle. We must improve and strengthen ideological and political work, strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, improve the quality the whole nation's ideological level and moral caliber, and strengthen discipline, in order to bring things in line with the great task of our economic construction.

The theory of the primary stage of socialism has clearly spelled out the direction of progress for the patriotic united front and provided a powerful ideological weapon. The patriotic united front has two banners: One is the banner of building socialism with Chinese features. The other is a patriotic banner of reunifying the Motherland and revitalizing China. These two shining banners fly high over the vast land of China and the two shores of the Straits. Let us unite closely under these two banners and organize a large contingent of people in waging a joint struggle and contributing mental and manual efforts toward realizing the strategic goal of reunifying the Motherland and revitalizing China!

Several Viewpoints on Improving the Pay for Intellectuals

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[Text]

I. Situation Where Income of Manual Workers is Higher Than That of Mental Workers Is Disadvantageous to Four Modernizations

The low pay for intellectuals in China is a problem resulting from the past long period of history. In old

China, except for some upper level intellectuals, the status of ordinary intellectuals was low and their life was poor. In the period since the liberation, the social status of intellectuals has been raised greatly and their life improved. The party and the government put forward the slogan of "marching toward science" in 1956; intellectuals' wages were increased, and their working conditions and pay improved. It was a good trend in this respect. However, it did not last long. Over the past 20 years, the party was overwhelmed by the wrong-thinking trend of "leftist" deviation; economic construction suffered several setbacks; the scope of class struggle was seriously expanded; and the living standard of intellectuals tended to decline. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and the government have been working hard to implement the policy toward intellectuals; have raised their pay and done much work. In this respect, much has been achieved. In 1978, the average annual salary of a member of the staff and workers of the science, education, and public health systems was only 582 yuan. In 1986, it increased to 1,366 yuan, an increase of 134.7 percent. When the factor of inflation is deducted, the growth rate is 63.4 percent. However, as the problem has been unresolved for a long time, it has become a serious one and cannot be thoroughly solved within a short period. Up till now, there are also many problems concerning the living and working conditions, and other aspects of intellectuals. The most acute problem is the irrational income gap between mental workers and manual workers. There even exists the phenomenon that the income of manual workers is higher than that of mental workers. Intellectuals are very dissatisfied with this.

According to a random survey conducted by the units concerned on some 5,000 specialized technical personnel of 5 main systems such as the scientific research, higher education, public health, and engineering technology circles, and so on in 1987, the average wage income (including bonuses and subsidies) for specialized technical personnel is about 1.09 times that of workers. That means the wage income of specialized technical personnel and workers is basically at the same level. Viewing different age groups, when the wage income of specialized technical personnel aged between 26 and 35 is compared with that of workers, the ratio is 0.98 to 1; and the ratio is 0.89 to 1 in the age group 36 to 45. It is obvious that the irrational phenomenon of the income of manual workers being higher than that of mental workers exists in these two age groups. In the age group 46 to 55, the ratio is 1.22 to 1. Such a gap is obviously too small.

The phenomenon of the income of mental and manual workers being at the same level and even of manual workers being high is one of the most conspicuous expressions of the egalitarianist tendency in China's income distribution. Over the years, due to rapid economic development, the income gap between mental and manual workers in developed countries has been reduced; but a certain level is maintained. Taking the

income of a worker as 100 units, a secondary school teacher in the U.S. is 138 units, in the Federal Republic of Germany 151 units and in France 137 units. The income gap between mental and manual workers of developing countries is larger. For instance, in India, the monthly salary for an ordinary worker is \$45-\$50, for a university assistant lecturer \$125-\$150, and for a university professor \$250-\$290. In Pakistan, the monthly wage for a worker is \$31-\$51, for a university lecturer \$95-\$180, and a professor can get a maximum monthly salary of \$308. In Mexico, the monthly wage for a private enterprise worker is about \$150, for a PhD holder about \$500, and that for top grade research personnel is around \$700. The large income gap between mental and manual workers of developing countries matches the requirements of social development. China is a socialist country. When compared with other developing countries, due to the differences in their social system, the income gap between mental and manual workers in China is smaller than that of other developing countries. However, the gap should not be artificially reduced. China is still at the initial stage of socialism. The progress in science and technology, the rise in management levels, and the scientific and cultural development of the whole nation have decisive meanings in modernization. Therefore, we should respect science, respect knowledge; give full play to the role of intellectuals; try hard to provide the necessary living and working conditions for intellectuals; make the income of mental workers appropriately higher than that of manual workers; and maintain a rational income gap.

At present, on the one hand, modernization urgently requires us to put scientific and technical development, and educational undertakings in an important position. On the other, the reform of the management structure of the scientific, education, cultural, and public health systems in recent years has lagged behind the reform of the management system of enterprises; and the growth of the income for mental workers is slower than that of manual workers. If we do not adopt measures, the phenomenon that the income of manual workers is higher than that of mental workers will continue to exist, and the gap may even be enlarged. This will be very disadvantageous to mobilizing the enthusiasm of intellectuals; to raising the cultural quality of the nation; and will also obstruct the development of modernization and reform. Objective circumstances require us to make up our mind to accelerate the pace in improving the pay for intellectuals.

II. With the Practice of "Walking With Two Legs" Can the Problems of Intellectuals' Pay Be Solved in a Faster Way

Over the years, the system that we have been implementing toward intellectuals is a system of "eating from the great communal pot," by which the state is responsible for everything. The wage income for some 10 million intellectuals of institutions and organizations is paid by state's financial allocations. If we want to increase their

wage income, more money has to be taken from state finance. At the same time, although these institutions and organizations have their own wage ranks, the ranks are in fact defined on the basis of the wage standard of the cadres of state organizations. There is a high degree of correlation and competition between the wage for these intellectuals and state cadres. Therefore, it is very difficult to increase the wage for some personnel and not for others. The wage income of several million engineering and technical and management personnel in enterprises is paid by the income from the enterprises. The increase in their wage will increase the cost of enterprises and will thus indirectly affect financial income. Moreover, up till now, the wage standard, and the methods regarding the promotion and wage increment of them (including enterprise workers) are still being stipulated by the state in a unified way. Therefore, there is also a very high degree of correlation and competition between the wage of these personnel and personnel of state organizations. Under such circumstances, state finance has to pay a very large amount of money to increase the originally low income level of intellectuals. Of course, the state has to try its best to support the improvement of intellectuals' pay. However, state finance will not be under easy circumstances in the near future, and only a limited amount of money will be available. Therefore, it will be difficult to accelerate the progress of the improvement in intellectuals' pay if we depend only on state finance.

Over the past several years, the reform of the management structure of the scientific, education, cultural, and public health systems has been launched step by step. In scientific circles, in order to make scientific research serve economic construction in a better way, and to overcome the phenomenon that science and technology are divorced from production, scientific research units and scientific and technical personnel have carried out technology development services; technological consultation services; technological achievement transfer and other activities. In this way, scientific and technical personnel have made more contributions to society and their income is thus increased. Recently, they developed these activities: They contract to run enterprises; lead and organize enterprises; cooperate with enterprises to set up bodies that integrate scientific research with production; and even set up scientific and technical enterprises by themselves. These reform measures have promoted the reform of the system of science and technology, and the integration of science and technology and production, and have also provided advantageous conditions for increasing the funds for scientific research unit; improving the pay for scientific and technical personnel. Practice has enlightened us; apart from depending on financial support to improve intellectuals' pay, we should and can also find a way out from reform.

The practice of reform has enlightened us so that at present, we should adopt the principle of "walking with

two legs" to improve intellectuals' pay. That is: On the one hand, with the increase in the financial strength of the state, it should try its best to contribute more money to improve the pay and to support wage readjustment and wage reform. On the other, policies should be relaxed, management should be flexible, reform of the management structure of the scientific, education, cultural, and public health systems should be promoted, and intellectuals should be encouraged to make more contributions to society to correspondingly increase their income. Speaking in specific terms, that is to encourage intellectuals from institutions to get involved in diversified forms of social services, which will bring them rewards, while carrying out their duties; to reasonably allocate income; and to use them in developing businesses and improving the pay for the staff and workers of the institutions. At the same time, specialized technical staff and some cadres should be allowed and encouraged to enter fields which urgently need people; to earn legal income through the forms of contracting, organizing, taking up part time jobs, undertaking after-work services, and so on.

The practice of encouraging intellectuals to undertake diversified forms of services with rewards, and to contribute more to society has the following good points: (1) It is advantageous in expanding the scope of intellectual service; to promote economic construction and the development of various undertakings, and to combining the acceleration of the improvement of intellectuals' pay with the promotion of reform. (2) It is advantageous in promoting the reform of the management system of the scientific, education, cultural, and public health circles, and to combining the improvement of intellectuals' pay with the promotion of reform. (3) It can reduce the financial burden on the state, and can also reduce the resistance brought about by irrational competition. It is also advantageous in overcoming difficulties encountered in the course of improving the pay.

III. Principle of "Walking with Two Legs" Should Be Correctly and Thoroughly Implemented.

How can we thoroughly implement the principle of "walking with two legs" in a good way? I believe we should analyze and solve the following problems.

1. The starting point in encouraging the practice of undertaking social services with rewards should be clearly defined.

The fundamental starting point in encouraging the practice of undertaking social services with rewards is to promote the reform of the management structure of the scientific, education, cultural, and public health systems, and to give play to the potential of intellectuals, so that they can make more contributions to the society; promote the development of economic construction and various undertakings. For scientific research units, the first important objective in implementing the practice of undertaking develop services with rewards is to promote

the integration of science and technology with production; to mobilize more scientific research units, and scientific and technical personnel to enter the main battlefield of economic construction. The main objective for colleges and universities in implementing the practice is to encourage teachers and staff and workers to expand the service scope of education and scientific research; to promote the integration of teaching and scientific research with production; to overcome the current irrational teacher-student ratio; and to improve material conditions for the development of educational undertakings. The most important tasks of medical units are to expand the scope of and to increase the quality of medical services. The starting point of reform of the cultural circles is to enliven and enrich cultural life in society. Through the implementation of the practice, some institutions can gradually achieve economic independence and can thus reduce the state's financial burden. Moreover, advantageous conditions are created for the reform of the intellectuals' wage system.

We should make people understand that the launching of the practice is one of the forms used to encourage intellectuals to make more contributions to society; to promote the structural reform of the scientific, education, cultural, and public health systems and to give better play to the role of intellectuals are the starting points of the policy; and the increase in their income is a result of the increased contributions they made to society. When the relationship between the starting point and the results is clearly defined, a correct thinking guide can be established, and the activities of the practice of undertaking services with rewards can be developed in a good way.

2. We should depart from the practical situation of various professions and treat each profession in accordance with its situation.

Intellectuals are distributed over different departments, and the situation of different professions is very different. We should depart from practical situation, and separately define the specific targets and methods of the launching of the practice of undertaking services with rewards in accordance with the characteristics of each profession.

The improvement in pay for management, engineering and technical personnel in an enterprise should depend on the increase of the economic benefits of the enterprise itself, and on the improvement of the allocation relationships within the enterprise. The wage standards the personnel should be divorced from that of state cadres, and it should be linked to the economic benefits of their enterprises. Within an enterprise, the income gap between mental and manual workers should be gradually pulled apart. At the same time, management, engineering and technical personnel should be allowed, under the condition that they guarantee to fulfill their duties and

not to encroach on the interests of the enterprises they belong to, to take part time jobs outside the enterprise; and job mobility should be allowed.

Scientific and technical research units should distinguish three situations: First, for units or personnel engaged in technological development research, we should encourage a large number of scientific and technical personnel to enter the main battlefield of economic construction. We should allow them to have a free hand in carrying out activities such as technological development services, technological consultation services, and technological achievement transfer. They should also be given a free hand to contract, lead and organize, lease, and set up enterprises. This is to closely combine scientific and technological progress with economic development, and to try to make more units become independent of financial allocations, and economically independent or semi-independent. This is an important reform, and we should carry it out resolutely. Another two categories are research units or personnel engaged in fundamental theoretical study and those engaged in social public welfare activities. The scope of service activities with rewards they can undertake is limited. We should prevent the emergence of a tendency that inclines to neglect the study of fundamental theories; and we should also maintain a capable contingent that can steadily undertake research work. We have to depend on financial support to improve their pay. The problem cannot be completely solved if we just depend on the practice of "taking responsibility for one's surplus or deficit and retaining the saved balanced funds by economizing." In the near future, we should also study supplementary measures, and give these units and research personnel subsidies and encouragement.

Among the units of educational undertakings, the situation of primary and secondary schools is different from that of universities and colleges. At present, the teacher to student ratio of universities and colleges is 1 to 4 (the average teacher to student ratio of various countries in the world is 1 to 14), and the number of administrative and rear-service personnel is high. There are advantages and disadvantages in carrying out the practice of undertaking services with rewards under leadership, but their are more advantages. Of course, the situation in each school is different, as is the situation in the different departments of a college. We should study different specific methods for different situations. Primary and secondary schools in general lack of conditions in this aspect. We should encourage and support their carrying out activities of the work-study program to facilitate the combining of education with productive laboring and improvement of pay. However, we should not emphasize the practice of "earning extra income by oneself," but should emphasize wage readjustment and wage reform. Otherwise, it will be difficult to ensure the stability of the quality of primary and secondary school teachers and increase the quality of education.

At present, the problem concerning medical and health work is a rather serious one. Medical units are engaged in

the sacred tasks of healing the wounded and rescuing the dying, and they are different from profit-making enterprises. We should not implement economic units' reform methods in medical and health units, and we should implement the medical and technical responsibility system in separate ranks. In order to overcome the phenomenon of serious wastage in the free medical service system, we can study the gradual implementation of a medical benefit system. In view of the fact that the current development of medical and health undertakings is lagging behind the needs of society, and that the pay for medical personnel is low, the implementation of the practice of undertaking spare-time services with rewards is advantageous in expanding the realm of medical and health work; and promoting the reform of the medical and health system. It can also improve the pay for medical personnel. Therefore, it is a feasible method. However, the fundamental improvement in medical personnels' pay should be mainly handled by the state.

The management of and the pay for cadres of state organizations should be handled as an independent special issue. We should encourage some cadres and specialized technical personnel to transfer to enterprises and other institutions. Moreover, on the basis of streamlining the administrative structure of state organizations, we should implement a state civil service system as quickly as possible, and increase the wage standard. State cadres should be allowed to take up part-time teaching jobs, engage in spare-time research work and writing, or others. Since state organizations are to enforce state power, it is not suitable for them to undertake business activities with a productive and commercial nature.

3. We should pay attention to fulfilling the quality and quantity requirements of job duties which are designated by the state.

Many comrades worry that the implementation of the practice of undertaking services with rewards will affect teaching, scientific research, and medical and health work sequences, and will affect work quality. This worry carries some truth. If sequences of work are not arranged in a proper way, contradictions will result. Therefore, in arranging the activities of the practice, we should pay attention to the improvement of the management of job duties and should ensure that the tasks designated by the state will be fulfilled. This is an important issue that will influence the results of the policy. We should pay attention to exploring effective methods in practice. We can consider the following points:

First, we should advocate the carrying out of the activities of the practice, under leadership. All units should make an overall plan and take all factors into consideration, and arrange their work and the activities of the practice of undertaking services with rewards in accordance with their working tasks and their manpower situation. In order to protect the enthusiasm of these

units in fulfilling their jobs, they should be allowed to withdraw part of their income and use it in improving the welfare of their staff and workers and in granting bonuses.

Second, the policy regarding "second jobs" should be clearly explained, so that intellectuals can handle the relationship between the second job and their first (their own job) correctly. At the same time, various units should enhance the management of the first job. For instance, colleges and universities should perfect the teaching workload system, and the system of examining and evaluating the quality of teaching; and scientific research units should strengthen the examination and evaluation of research results, and should stipulate methods of using technical information, and facilities, and so on.

Third, for people who have fulfilled their jobs very well, we should give them material and spiritual rewards. We should also promote the rank and increase the wages of people who have achieved outstanding results, or give them good rewards.

Fourth, when we found in practice that some specific methods of carrying out activities of the practice of undertaking services with rewards are not advantageous in ensuring the carrying out of the work of one's own job, we should correct these methods in time.

4. The problem of unequal opportunity and the problem of the expanding income gap should be handled correctly.

The opportunity for various professions and units to carry out the practice of undertaking services with rewards is objectively unequal. People who have done more work and have done a better job can get more pay. It is something that cannot be criticized. At present, it is also necessary to expand the gap appropriately. However, when opportunities are not equal among people, when the income gap is too enlarged, and when these phenomena have exceeded the mental bearing capacity of society, the situation will be disadvantageous to stability and unity. We should avoid this. Therefore, we should guide and manage the activities of the practice, and of income allocation, and make necessary readjustment to them.

First, we should not give up the using of the economic means by which the state regulates income allocation. Bonus tax is an economic means through which the state can prevent runaway growth of the consumption fund, and can regulate allocation relationships in society. Therefore, we should continue to collect this tax and to improve the methods of collection.

Second, in organizing activities of the practice of undertaking services with rewards, various units should pay attention to handling allocation relationships within each unit. Some units can try their best to adopt the

method of taking part in these activities alternatively, and the method of sharing the income earned from these activities, to make the opportunities relatively equal.

Third, for institutions that have difficulties, such as primary and secondary schools, the departments in charge should support them appropriately.

Fourth, for intellectuals in social welfare units, fundamental theoretical research units, and state organizations, due to the fact that they cannot or are not allowed to undertake service activities with rewards, appropriate "balancing" measures should be adopted. In the near future, subsidies or rewards, which are to be taken from financial allocations should be given to them; in the long run, their pay should be increased. Here, the issue that will easily arouse disputes is the one concerning the improvement of the pay for cadres of state organizations. Government civil servants in a socialist country should get the same amount of pay that mental workers get. The implementation of the principle of distribution according to work is advantageous to selecting the best civil servants and to retaining high quality ones, to ensure high efficiency and the honesty of government organizations. The remaining free supply system should be abolished and wages should not be artificially suppressed to a low level.

5. Wages for intellectuals should gradually be readjusted and the wage system should be reformed as quickly as possible.

When institutions carry out the practice of undertaking services with rewards, the course of improving the pay for intellectuals can be accelerated. However, the fundamental way to improve intellectuals' pay still depends on the development of the national economy. With its development, intellectuals' pay can gradually be increased. At the same time as we are encouraging the practice of undertaking services with rewards, we should also adjust the wages of intellectuals step by step in a planned way and should reform the wage system. In this aspect, there are several problems that we have to solve.

First, the system of managing cadres according to the categories they belong to and a categorized wage system should be adopted. State civil servants should be differentiated from various categories of specialized personnel; a civil service system and a corresponding wage system should be established as quickly as possible; the vestiges of the free supply system should be removed; and wage standards should be raised. At the same time, the usual practice of taking the wage standard of government organization cadres as the axis to fix the wage standard of various specialized posts should be abolished. Each profession should set up for itself a job order and a wage standard, which matches the characteristics of the profession. Moreover, this wage standard should not be linked to the wage standard of civil servants, and the wage standard of government cadres should not be used to suppress the maximum wage level of experts and

scholars. Furthermore, it is not suitable to mechanically merge the wage standards of different professions. For instance, people in the best age period of an artistic performing profession, sports profession, and so on should receive higher pay; the wage level of doctors can be appropriately increased, and so on.

Second, the phenomenon that the income of manual workers is higher than that of mental workers should be improved, and a reasonable gap between the income of these two types of workers should be maintained. At the current stage in China, the income gap between mental and manual workers should not be artificially kept at the same level, and the income of manual workers should not be higher than that of mental workers. I consider that, in the 8th 5-Year Plan period, the growth of the income of mental workers should be slightly higher than that of manual workers, and we should strive to gradually expand the gap to the 1.5 to 1 ratio.

Third, the gap of wage allocation among intellectuals should also be widened appropriately. At present, for all university graduates, whether from a 4-Year, 5-Year, or longer period, receive the same wage rates at the probation period, and after completion, their grade is fixed. Moreover, the income gap between senior posts, intermediate posts, and junior posts becomes smaller day by day. Apart from these, the problem of too many people staying at the same grade has not been solved; and people of different professions, who are in the best age period for the job or at a period that one can make his maximum contributions, do not receive higher wages. This egalitarianist inclination should be overcome in reform.

The fundamental improvement in intellectuals' pay cannot be accomplished in one move in the near future. With the progress of construction and reform, this can only be accomplished gradually on the basis of production development. We want it to be accomplished immediately, but in fact we cannot accomplish it within one move. If we adopt correct principles and policies, we can shorten the process. It seems that if we can thoroughly implement the principle of "walking with two legs," and with several years of continual effort, we can achieve the objective of improving the pay for intellectuals.

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[Text] After nearly 40 years of socialist economic construction the following profound changes have taken place in our country's economic layout: Compared with

the situation before the founding of the PRC, the industrial base in our country's hinterland has been greatly strengthened; the gap between the hinterland and the coastal areas regarding productive forces has been significantly narrowed; our country's overall economic structure has been greatly improved; the industrial structure of the coastal areas has been gradually rationalized and upgraded; thanks to huge state investment the hinterland has not only transformed and perfected its original industries, but has also built a lot of bases for the heavy chemical and light industries. Today, the North, Central, Southwest, Northeast, Northwest, and some other areas of the hinterland have been developed into important bases for our country's national economy.

However, an important question we still face in our economic development strategy is how to more effectively accelerate socialist economic construction, and especially how to strengthen economic cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas when the coastal areas are making great efforts to develop an export-oriented economy. This question must be correctly dealt with and this article will present some views on the subject.

**I. An Analysis of the Status Quo and Factors Affecting
Economic Cooperation Between the Hinterland and the
Coastal Areas**

Beyond doubt, economic cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas has yielded some good results. However, restricted by historical, political, economic, traditional, and structural factors, some irrational phenomena have existed in the past in economic cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas.

Generally speaking, at the initial stage of economic development the developing countries should concentrate their efforts on increasing economic results and achieving a reasonable development speed which can promote their overall economic development. This is the basic principle governing the regional economic layout. In the past we adopted a one-sided view and laid excessive stress on synchronous and coordinated development between the hinterland and the coastal areas, gave too much consideration to national defense and some other factors in our national development, and were over-hasty in eliminating the gap between the hinterland and the coastal areas, which had been left over from history, thus causing a serious waste. With regard to the investment structure: During the "First 5-Year Plan" 53.5 percent of the total investment in our national economy was devoted to the central and western areas, with the eastern coastal areas receiving only 46.5 percent; during the "Second 5-Year Plan" 55.9 percent of total investment was devoted to the hinterland; during the "Third 5-Year Plan," 68.5 percent of total investment was devoted to the hinterland; and during the "Fourth 5-Year Plan," some 57.5 percent of total investment was devoted to the hinterland. These

figures show that during those periods we tended to invest more and more in the hinterland rather than in the coastal areas. In terms of economic results, profit and taxes amounted to 35.9 percent of the capital of industrial enterprises practising independent accounting in the eastern coastal areas, 14.9 percent of the capital of industrial enterprises practising independent accounting in the hinterland, 18 percent of the capital of industrial enterprises practising independent accounting in the central area, and only about 11.7 percent of the capital of the industrial enterprises practising independent accounting in the western part of China. This situation shows that under the guidance of balanced economic layout ideology, economic development was carried out at the expense of economic results and healthy economic growth. Because less investment was made in the coastal areas, whose output-profit value was higher, the economic strength of the coastal areas also failed to be developed. On the contrary the areas whose output-profit value was lower received more investment. Such a situation caused a poverty cycle in regional economic growth and in the input-output structures of both the hinterland and the coastal areas.

With regard to industry, before 1975 our country had a number of proportionate regional industrial structures and no dominant industries at all. Thus almost all the industrial structures were similar to one another and tended to be falsely upgraded. Since the 1980's, because of the coexistence of a dual structure, the ratio between the net output value of industry producing consumer goods and the net output value of industry producing the means of production shows that the industrial structures in various regions have undergone some similar changes. Such a situation made it impossible for a dominant industry to emerge. The economies of scale have failed to emerge in our country's coastal areas and hinterland and the new advanced industries have failed to emerge although we have experienced rapid industrial growth over the past few years. The coastal areas have some old large industrial bases but for a long time the state has not invested sufficiently in them and as a result the equipment is outdated. Moreover, because the various provinces and regions have built a lot of new processing industries, the old large industrial bases in the coastal areas have often had to compete with these newly established processing industries for raw and processed materials, and for energy. As a result, the productive capacity of the old bases has not been brought into full play.

The formation of this abnormal industrial structure has mainly been caused by the barriers existing between various administrative regions in our country's planning structure.

The development of the commodity economy relies on effective regulation of the market mechanism. The market monopoly and the barriers existing between various administrative regions can only greatly obstruct the circulation of commodities and competition. For a long time economic development was carried out under the

strict control of the government. Administrative interference prevented the market force from developing its role. The various types of barriers, and both visible and invisible restrictive factors, divided our country into various closed markets and obstructed the circulation of resources between the various regions, and between the hinterland and the coastal areas. The economic relations between the coastal areas and the hinterland were still the relations of production. The essential economic elements could not rationally circulate between the various regions through market regulation. The closed and separated markets and the pluralistic market monopoly seriously impeded cooperation between various regions and made it impossible for the coastal areas and the hinterland to develop their respective resources.

The poverty cycle of low efficiency in our domestic economy, the market monopoly, and the irrational foreign trade structure has seriously hindered the development of foreign trade for a long time past. As a matter of fact, before our country implemented the policy of opening up to the outside world, our domestic production had actually been implemented regardless of the needs of the international market.

In the past, China's foreign trade and foreign exchange management structures were highly centralized. The circulation link was characterized by the government purchase system or the government-appointed-unit purchase system. The biggest defect of such a system was that production enterprises could not directly contact the international market. As a result they were deprived of their vitality and management vigor. Although it was more convenient for the coastal areas to carry out export trade and earn foreign exchange, they still could not develop their advantages and cooperate with the hinterland in doing so due to restrictions in our foreign trade system, and the barriers existing between the various domestic markets. Recently, enterprises producing products for export in both the hinterland and the coastal areas have strongly demanded that economic cooperation relations between them be smoothed out. The coastal areas have also strongly demanded reform of the original purchase system in order to take the lead in advancing toward the international market. This situation shows that only by properly carrying out and accelerating the process of reform will cooperation relations between the hinterland and the coastal areas be smoothed out, and will the hinterland and the coastal areas be able to develop together, jointly carry out the export trade, and participate in the modern international division of work.

II. Ideas on the Pattern of Economic Cooperation Between the Coastal Areas and the Hinterland

Economic cooperation between the coastal areas and the hinterland should observe the following principles:

1. The principle of regional advantage. It is necessary for the coastal areas and the hinterland to set up their

respective enterprise groups in the light of their respective regional natural and economic resources so as to fully utilize these resources. The production relations established between the hinterland and the coastal areas according to the principle of regional advantage will be direct and highly efficient. Such direct and highly efficient production relations will prevent the industrial structures from duplicating one another, thus objectively preventing an enormous waste of resources.

2. The principles of efficiency and compensation. At the present stage, any readjustment in the industrial structure between the hinterland and the coastal areas must conform with the goal of economic development and growth. In order to guarantee an increase in the efficiency of regional cooperation we must first of all respect and acknowledge the differences between the various regions, and their independent rights, and encourage the hinterland and the coastal areas to compete with each other on a basis of equality. The principle of efficiency is the starting point for economic cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas. However, as a result of market competition the economic development of the hinterland could be slowed down so that the gap between the hinterland and the coastal areas might be enlarged, and the contradiction and friction of interests between the various regions may be intensified. Therefore, while implementing the principle of efficiency we must also pay attention to implementing the principle of compensation. This means that state finance will carry out regional redistribution of the national income to compensate economic losses in the backward regions with the profits gained by the developed regions, and advance the orderly development of the social economy on the basis of higher efficiency. However, it should be pointed out that implementation of the principle of compensation should not be based on proportional development among the various regions, but should proceed from the principle of efficiency which has been formulated on the basis of the principle of regional advantage. Making compensation is aimed at more effectively pushing forward economic cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas and enabling the hinterland to better serve the needs of economic development in the coastal areas. Making compensation is also aimed at better utilizing the "blood" of the coastal areas, developing the hinterland's economic growth mechanism, improving the hinterland's "blood-making function," narrowing the income gap between the hinterland and the coastal areas, and accelerating the hinterland's economic development.

3. The principle of division of labor and cooperation. The principle of division of labor is subordinate to the principle of regional advantage and the principle of efficiency. In the past the hinterland and the coastal areas failed to establish effective links because they both put too much stress on the development of either the "large and comprehensive" or the "small and comprehensive" industries. There was no clear social division of labor between the hinterland and the coastal areas.

Specialized cooperation relations were not properly established between the hinterland and the coastal areas. Division of labor is the basis of effective cooperation. Division of labor will enable the hinterland and the coastal areas to complement and bring about the best in each other.

As far as the economic system is concerned, both the coastal areas and the hinterland are sub-systems under the big national economic system. Therefore the pattern of economic cooperation must be capable of allowing both the hinterland and the coastal areas to carry out and form a benign cycle of highly efficient economic cooperation. The formation of a benign cycle in our country's domestic economy is the most important task to be accomplished in regional economic cooperation because it is the basis on which our industrial structure for opening up to the outside world will be established. The industrial structure for opening up to the outside world will greatly help our enterprises to establish links with enterprises in other countries in the world. The national situation and the successful experiences of foreign countries show that economic cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas should be of the type which is under market regulation and control and with government intervention also. The main force in market regulation is the orientation of market interests. Government regulation is only an auxiliary regulation whose main function is to prevent extreme deviations from the orientation of the market interests and secure a fine economic environment for cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas.

Specifically speaking, the pattern of cooperation between the coastal areas and the hinterland should be a pattern of opening up to the outside world which enables constant development and cooperation under the relatively perfect and unified socialist market regulation. The basic contents of such a pattern should be:

(1) Acknowledgement of the objective difference between the economic development of the hinterland and the coastal areas and large-scale development of the export-oriented economy in coastal areas which have the conditions so to do. The development of the export-oriented economy should serve the needs of the international market. Therefore, the coastal areas should mainly develop the local labor-intensive or knowledge-intensive industries which have great potential and a sound basis. Greater efforts should be made to develop knowledge- and labor-intensive industries, technology- and knowledge-intensive industries, and modern sophisticated capital- and technology-intensive industries.

On the basis of making the best use of the international market the coastal areas should pay great attention to developing cooperative relations with the domestic market. Only by doing things in this way will it be possible

for the coastal areas to acquire a sound basis for steady development of their economy. We believe that in developing the export-oriented economy the coastal areas should walk on two legs with regard to their industrial development and structure: First, the coastal areas should rapidly change their old methods of conducting contacts with hinterland industries and their market goals. In the past, the cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas was mainly aimed at meeting the needs of the domestic market. In the future, cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas should be gradually geared to international market needs. Cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas should gradually be regulated by the market rather than by the government. Second, the coastal areas should, in a proper and timely manner, orient production in industrial departments which are strongly competitive to the needs of the international market. At present, labor-intensive and newly established knowledge- and labor-intensive industries should make use of international resources and carry out production "with both ends abroad" or "with one end abroad." In the meantime the coastal areas should make greater efforts to build promising modern industries capable of producing advanced technologies and big extra output values and enable the products from such industries to enter the international market as quickly as possible so as to upgrade the industrial structure of the coastal areas at various levels. In carrying out cooperation with the hinterland the fundamental task for the coastal areas is to help to upgrade the industrial structure .

(2) The orientation of the hinterland industrial development within the pattern enabling constant economic development and cooperation is to develop capital-intensive industries as the strategic industries while greatly developing labor-intensive and capital- and knowledge-intensive industries.

Although over the past several decades our country's investment-output coefficient has not been high and economic results have not been very ideal, a somewhat modern chemical industrial base has been established. The northeast, the hinterland of the north, the eastern part of the northwest, the central, and the southwest areas of China now have relatively good heavy industrial and chemical industrial bases. Moreover these regions are rich in natural resources, have a higher technological structure, and a large number of senior intellectuals. Therefore, it is realistic and of great strategic significance to develop the capital- and technology-intensive industries in these regions. This is because in order to develop the export-oriented economy the coastal areas must have the support of the hinterland, particularly with regard to the development of the energy and power industry, the basic raw and processed material industry, the metallurgical industry, the machinery and equipment manufacturing industry, the electronic industry, and so on. The hinterland's strong points will therefore offset the weak points of the coastal areas. Thus the coastal areas need the support of the hinterland. So long as the hinterland

can realize its development strategy stressing the development of the capital- and technology-intensive industries, the processing industry, agriculture, and so on, it will be able to raise production capacity and support the industrial and economic development of the coastal areas. At the same time, if the hinterland realizes its development strategy stressing the capital- and technology-intensive industries, then the coastal areas will have no more worries in the rear, and hinterland industrial structure development will be coordinated with the development of the coastal industrial structure to effectively combine the hinterland and coastal industries forming a benign cycle.

Under the pattern enabling constant development and cooperation the hinterland industries should have a two-way market goal. First, the hinterland industries should mainly meet the needs of the domestic market. This is because the development of the export-oriented economy in the coastal areas will inevitably reduce the supply of the means of production and consumer goods [xiao fei zi liao 3194 6316 6327 2436] throughout the country, including the coastal areas. Thus the hinterland should shoulder the responsibility of providing sufficient supply of the means of production and consumption to the domestic market so as to stabilize it. An insufficient supply on the domestic market will make it impossible for the coastal areas to smoothly enter the international market. Second, the hinterland industries should cooperate with the coastal industries in opening up more international markets by establishing economic associations, carrying out economic cooperation, and through some other forms. We should not simply think that the hinterland industries can only play a minor role in this respect because the coastal areas and the hinterland can complement each other in balancing the domestic and international markets.

In a word, the pattern enabling constant development and cooperation in the hinterland and coastal areas is one in which the hinterland and the coastal areas will constantly carry out their respective development, step by step, by proceeding from their respective strong points, and eventually upgrade the industrial structure of China at various levels step by step.

III. Countermeasures in Implementing the Pattern of Constant Development and Cooperation Between the Coastal Areas and the Hinterland

1. It is necessary to accelerate the building of industrial cooperation zones within the same region and industrial cooperation zones between various regions.

At present, small-scale regional cooperation has been developed from past administrative cooperation into economic cooperation. For example, in the coastal areas, some economic zones have already been established spontaneously such as the Shanghai Economic Zone, the Zhujiang Delta Economic Zone, the Bohai Bay Economic Zone, and so on. The establishment of these

economic zones shows the objective demand for the establishment of industrial cooperation zones. We must make use of market forces to guide the establishment of strategic industrial cooperation zones. We think that the whole country can be divided into five large strategic industrial cooperation zones namely: The Northeast, North, Northwest, South, and Southwest Economic Zones. In the Northeast Economic Cooperation Zone, efforts should mainly be made to develop capital-intensive industries, particularly the heavy industries such as metallurgy, heavy machinery and other types of manufacturing industry, and the energy industry. The international outposts in the Northeast Economic Cooperation Zone are the Liaodong Peninsula, which is centered on Dalian City, and the port of Heilongjiang which faces the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Northeast Economic Cooperation Zone can also carry out multi-lateral cooperation with the Soviet Union, Korea, and Mongolia. In the North Economic Cooperation Zone, efforts should mainly be made to develop capital- and knowledge-intensive industries such as energy, nonferrous metals, petroleum, chemicals, machinery, electronics, and the light and textile industries. The international outposts in the North Economic Cooperation Zone are the urban groups in the coastal areas. Agriculture has always occupied an important position in this region, thus efforts should also be made to develop agriculture and the agriculture-related processing industry. The South Economic Zone is our country's processing industrial zone which already has a sound basis and is now playing a very important role in developing the export-oriented economy. It is an industrial cooperation zone which mainly has a light industrial structure but also has some heavy industries. In the South Economic Cooperation Zone efforts should mainly be made to develop deep processing industries (such as the high-tech equipment manufacturing, electronics, sophisticated chemical fibers, silk, textile processing, farm product processing and so on). The international outposts in the South Economic Cooperation Zone are Shanghai, Xiamen, and Guangzhou. The Northwest Economic Zone (which mainly consists of the Xinjiang Region, Qinghai Province, western Inner Mongolia, and western Gansu Province) and the Southwest Economic Zone (which mainly consists of Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou Provinces, and the Tibet Region) not only have great potential for economic development but also are of great strategic importance. Therefore they should waste no time in developing their leading industries (such as the heavy industries which have a certain basis, the energy industry, and so on), and the traditional industries with nationality characteristics and animal husbandry, and should also develop economic cooperation with neighboring foreign countries.

To divide our country into these five large economic cooperation zones is only a tentative macroscopic plan. Since they all have their own better developed industries, they should try to benefit from each other's strong points, offset each other's weak points, and prevent their industrial structures from assimilating one another.

Therefore these five zones should first of all try to enter the international market by organizing their better developed industries together. Moreover, the zones can be further divided into many smaller economic cooperation zones so that they can further carry out regional economic cooperation.

2. It is necessary to develop a number of selected areas into economic growth spots so as to form a rational economic network of industrial cooperation between the coastal areas and the hinterland.

The main function of these economic growth spots is to gather together economic strength and to promote economic growth and development within a certain scope. The economic growth spots can be divided into several grades. For example, in the North Economic Zone, Beijing, Tianjin, Tangshan, Shijiazhuang, Taiyuan, Zhengzhou, and so on can become Grade 1 economic growth spots. The industries in these cities will thus become the mainstay of the North Economic Zone which will mainly develop the capital- and technology-intensive industries. The satellite cities of Beijing, Xingtai, Handan, Qinhuangdao, and so on can become Grade 2 economic growth spots. These areas should mainly develop industries aimed at supporting the Grade 1 economic growth spots. The Grade 3 economic growth spots can be selected from among cities and towns at the county level and should usually be selected from the agricultural production bases, the mineral production bases, the raw and processed material production bases, the primary processing bases, and some other types of production bases. The town and township enterprises can play a very important role in these economic growth spots.

The three grades of economic growth spots will form vertical relations in their industrial development and lateral economic networks through their industrial contacts. The strategic significance of the economic growth spots or economic networks lies in: First, the economic and technological advantages and the resources of the various economic growth spots will be brought into play so that various types of industries will be better developed, and the crisscross industrial cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas will be boosted. On the one hand this will help to avoid the "big and comprehensive" or "small and comprehensive" phenomena, realize the effective disposal of resources, and increase the domestic supply. On the other hand, this will help the coastal areas to successfully compete with other countries in international markets. Second, from a development point of view, the development of the coastal industries will meet the needs of the development of the international industries. The economic growth spots of various grades will readjust their product structures in the light of the changes in the domestic and foreign industries. As a result the hinterland will be able to accumulate enough economic strength to upgrade its industries and narrow the gap between the hinterland and the coastal areas.

The crisscross industrial cooperation established on the basis of economic growth spots or economic networks should be really specialized in the field of reproduction and highly efficient and free from administrative interference.

3. It is necessary to establish a comprehensive export-oriented production system and realize large-scale operation and joint coordinated production according to the principle of specialized cooperation and, through the establishment of enterprise groups, implement the joint stock system and other forms.

The dispersed operation of various trades and professions has caused a pluralistic low development standard and a pluralistic low operational standard. As a result the enterprises in various regions have failed to pay enough attention to specialized operations and the scale economy and have not been able to achieve the scale results. For this reason, in the cooperation between the hinterland and the coastal areas, it is necessary to establish and develop enterprise groups and enterprise combines which are centered on the big and key enterprises producing brand and major products according to the principle of specialized cooperation, to organize the production enterprises situated in the various regions together, and to enable these production enterprises to carry out large-scale combined operations and coordinated production. The major specialized production enterprises are situated in the developed areas while the majority of the specialized production enterprises are in the hinterland. Some export-oriented enterprise groups can form a hinterland-coastal export-oriented production network in which the development of raw and processed materials, primary processing, deep processing, the manufacture of spare parts, and the assembly of various types of products are carried out. This will enable the hinterland and the coastal areas to closely cooperate in their development.

Our country's present preferential policies toward the coastal areas which are open to the outside world are mainly regional preferential policies. The implementation of such regional preferential policies can easily enable the various coastal regions to do things their own way, monopolize their markets, and artificially create unequal conditions of competition. The successful experiences in foreign countries show that we should mainly implement preferential policies toward certain industries and should only implement preferential policies toward regions which carry out export-oriented processing and free trade. In the light of our country's actual conditions, apart from continuing to implement necessary regional preferential policies, we should gradually turn our regional preferential policies into preferential industrial policies as to provide more preferential treatment for the development of strategic industries which our country badly needs, and the development of the export-oriented industries with advanced technologies. We know that implementation of regional preferential policies will cause friction in the economic interests

between various regions. For example, at present some enterprises in the coastal areas send people to the hinterland to buy products for export and raw and processed materials at higher prices. In order to prevent the resources from spreading out local governments in the hinterland have actually ceased their economic cooperation with enterprises in the coastal areas. We think that it is impossible for all the products of the coastal areas to "have both ends abroad." Under such circumstances we should stabilize and further develop economic cooperation relations between the hinterland and the coastal areas. The most effective method of stabilizing and further developing these relations is to carry out cooperation between various trades and professions and carry out combined operations, exchanges of equal value, and equal distribution of economic interests so as to smooth out the economic relations.

The characteristics of preferential industrial policies are to remove the barriers between the various regions. The contents of these policies are determined by the specific characteristics of the various trades and professions and by the depth of processing. Therefore, the preferential industrial policies can help ease the contradiction between the hinterland and the coastal areas to a great extent, enable us to make full use of hinterland resources, help to ease the contradiction in the market structure (including the competition for raw and processed materials), and transform the regional markets into a unified national market.

When implementing preferential industrial policies the government should also implement correct industrial policies to: Encourage those industries which should be encouraged, protect those which should be protected, and restrict those which should be restricted; and to establish and develop the industrial production bases which can meet the needs of the scale economy and the demands of the specialized industries through implementation of gradient preferential industrial policies.

The management of various trades and professions is a coordinated production pattern with a clear-cut market goal and a clear-cut stress on economic results. Therefore within each trade or profession there will be a few big manufacturing enterprises producing the final products. These big manufacturing enterprises are the backbone within the various trades and professions and can guide the small and medium-sized enterprises within the same trade or profession to participate in a series of coordinated production activities such as attracting capital and qualified personnel, carrying out scientific research and development, and occupying the market. Thus, on the one hand these big manufacturing enterprises can help perfect our country's industrial structure while on the other hand they can help our country to further enter the international market and form a unified export-oriented production structure.

4. It is necessary to accelerate the comprehensive reform of the foreign trade structure, foreign exchange management system, and the state foreign exchange rate system.

This will enable hinterland and coastal area export-oriented production enterprises to become the mainstay of our foreign-oriented economy as soon as possible.

It is necessary to carry out a comprehensive reform of our country's foreign trade structure. We have long stressed that it is necessary to delegate the power of foreign trade from the central to the lower levels, but we have failed to do so. What are the reasons? One is that the power of foreign trade has not been directly delegated to the enterprises and has not been delegated according to the specific trades and professions. Rather, it has been delegated to local governments and the foreign trade departments. Thus, since the power of foreign trade has been delegated from the central level to the enterprises via the local governments, the actual power of foreign trade the enterprises have has been greatly reduced or distorted. Against the background that our country still lacks a unified domestic market and in order to protect the local interests, the various local governments have tried in every way to restrict the power of foreign trade the enterprises have. Therefore, in future the power of foreign trade should be directly delegated to the production enterprises and the enterprises doing foreign trade according to their respective trades and professions, to avoid interference from local governments.

In the circulation field we should transform the present state-purchase system into an agent system, and the industry-trade joint operation system, as soon as possible. It is also necessary to directly delegate the power of foreign trade to the big enterprises or enterprise groups which are capable of doing foreign trade, to orient production in domestic enterprises to the needs of the international market.

While carrying out reform of the foreign trade structure it is also necessary to carry out reform of the foreign exchange management and foreign exchange rate systems. In our country's foreign exchange management system the power is over-centralized in some aspects. However, in some other aspects, the power is over-dispersed. Our rigid and irrational exchange rate system has made us unable to adjust our foreign exchange rate in the light of changes in foreign currencies in a timely manner. With regard to foreign exchange management we suggest that, apart from formulating the basic policies concerning foreign exchange, the central authorities should mainly exercise the necessary control on the aggregate foreign exchange while delegating the foreign exchange management power to the financial institutions and the branch banks of an enterprise nature, to enable the enterprises to decide their productions and formulate their product prices in the light of international market price changes. The central authorities should also gradually start such services as foreign exchange accommodation, foreign exchange mortgage loans, property mortgage loans, and even property ownership mortgage loans, which are conducive to fund accommodation among the enterprises.

The vitality of the commodity economy stems from enterprises operating according to the market needs. Therefore, in both the hinterland and the coastal areas, if reform of the foreign trade structure was only carried out in the production and circulation fields, and if we did not pay attention to the important role played by the currency and foreign exchange systems, it would be impossible for us to greatly increase the vitality of our enterprises.

Ten Years of Law Study

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[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Chinese legal circles have made great efforts to integrate the Marxist basic principle on law with the actual circumstances of China and to gradually develop a Marxist science of law with Chinese characteristics. Remarkable achievements have been made in the academic study of law, education in law, the fostering of professionals in law, exchange and cooperation with foreign legal circles, involvement in the propaganda on the legal system and other work relating to the establishment of a legal system, the writing and translation of manuscripts in law, the compilation of reference books and materials concerning law, the publication and distribution of journals in law, and so on.

I

In the past 10 years, under the guidance of the principle laid down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, namely, "to emancipate our minds, use our brains, unite as one, and forge ahead," our legal circles have put forth and discussed a series of important theoretical and practical questions on the science of law, expedite the development of the science of law, and publish more than 2,000 books on the study of law. There were only several journals in law before. But now we have more than 20 journals in law and some nationwide distributed specialized newspapers, such as FAZHI RIBAO [LEGAL SYSTEM DAILY]. Local judicial and administrative organs, as well as local law societies, have founded more than 20 locally distributed journals and more than 40 newspapers on law. Of course, the real development of the science of law demands not only a large quantity of work but also a good quality of work. But, without a certain degree of quantitative development, we can hardly achieve a qualitative improvement. For this reason, the publication of a large number of manuscripts in law and journals relating to the study of law is a good phenomenon.

The science of law is one of most practical branches of social science. The practical value of the science of law has been acknowledged by more and more people especially when our country is entering a new period of

historical development. A series of questions concerning law arising from economic construction, reform, and opening up have become an important aspect of law teaching and study. And emphasis has been placed on this aspect in the implementation of the philosophical and social science research projects under the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1981-1985) and the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1986-1990) on economic and social development. Many outstanding professors, researchers, and young and middle-aged scholars in law have actively undertaken research projects and made studies in the application of and policies relating to law. All the projects concerned covered by the Sixth 5-Year Plan were already completed, while those covered by the Seventh 5-Year plan are being carried out.

Law education has been developing rapidly in the past 10 years. At present, there are more than 50 law departments installed in universities, political and legal institutes subordinate to ministries, and nationality institutes, the highest figure since the founding of the PRC. The enrollment of undergraduate students majoring in law at universities and colleges totals more than 40,000, and there are more than 3,000 postgraduate students enrolled in master's degree programs and more than 100 enrolled in doctoral degree programs. Law graduates who are now in active service are generally well received, and some of them have even become backbone members of their units. In the past, there was only one general, and three specialized research institutes of law. But now we have more than 40 research institutes of law with more than 1,000 research fellows. The NPC Standing Committee, the standing committees of provincial people's congresses, political and legal organizations subordinate to the central government and at the provincial level, all ministries and commissions concerned under the State Council, and all the provincial people's governments have established or restored their own law research institutes (offices). Some universities have also established their own general or specialized research institutes in law. So a contingent of law researchers which covers a wide range of branches of studies in law and upholds the principle of integration of theory and practice is taking shape.

The state legislative organ has always set store by the legal circles' role in legislation. This role has been brought into fuller play in the past 10 years. Action has been taken to solicit opinions among the legal circles, to adopt their opinions, and to make use of the information they provide, during the formulation and revision of the current constitution and a series of important laws. Some people have been directly involved in the drafting and revision of laws. The same procedures have been followed in the formulation of administrative regulations and local laws and ordinances. During the drive to spread common knowledge about law, law teachers and researchers in Beijing and other places have been invited to give lectures on law to various units. They have also written and published some popular law books.

Since their founding, the China Law Society and the law societies of various provinces, autonomous regions,

municipalities directly under the central government, and some large- and medium-sized cities have done much work in uniting law researchers and practitioners throughout the country and promoting studies in law, as well as cooperation and academic exchange with foreign law researchers and practitioners.

The Chinese law researchers and practitioners have joined more than 10 international and regional organizations of law study and practice, and some of them are holding posts in these organizations. The number of students and research fellows sent abroad to further their studies and that of foreign students and research fellows received into China have increased every year. All these activities have been of positive value to the fostering of qualified personnel in the field of law and the improvement of teaching and study of law in China.

II

The legal circles have conscientiously summed up both positive and negative experience obtained in the past. In light of the smooth development of the science of law in the past 10 years, they have realized that, to ensure further development of the science of law in China, it is necessary to uphold the four cardinal principles, implement the principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend;" it is necessary to integrate qualitative and quantitative analyses with synthetic methods under the guidance of the dialectic materialism and historical materialism, and to introduce step by step modern scientific and technological methods and means into the teaching and study of law; it is necessary to develop comparative study of law, critically inherit the science of law from ancient times, assimilate its essence, study and criticize erroneous elements of the bourgeois science of law, and study and assimilate all useful results of study of law abroad; organize the research personnel of law study organizations, political and legal institutes, and departments in charge of practical work, and ensure that they will closely cooperate and give full play to their own strong points; it is necessary to make unified arrangements to strengthen law education at all levels, unremittingly foster qualified personnel in the field of law, and build up a reasonable structure of law professionals; it is necessary to enhance the standard of study in law while continuing our efforts to spread knowledge on law, publish books and journals in law of different academic standards by various means, in brief, to raise the standards on the basis of popularization of education in law, and to popularize education in law with the aim of enhancing the standards; it is necessary to strengthen the forecast of the development trend of law, have the whole world and the future in view, and thus constantly enhance the guiding role of law study in practice.

At present, the law circles are concentrating their attention on the integration of the theoretical study of the initial stage of socialism with the study of theoretical and

practical questions in all branches of the science of law. They are working hard to make new achievements and to draw new experience.

During the initial stage of socialism, in order to cast off poverty and backwardness, we must take the development of productive forces as the key link in our work in all fields. Of course the study of law must observe this rule, serve the development of productive forces, and take it as the fundamental criterion for verifying the teaching of law, the standards of law study, and their value. In the past 10 years, the science of law has developed smoothly, the theoretical standard of law study and especially the practical value of law have been enhanced, the knowledge on the science of law which used to be a subject of studies in institutes has been spread among hundreds of millions of citizens. All these should be attributed to the emphasis of this key link.

At the initial stage of socialism, only by persisting in an all-round reform will we be able to cast off the trammels of the hidebound system which took shape over a long period of time in the past and to achieve further development of socialist society. Reform needs administrative, economic, and legal means. Here the legal means plays its role as an independent means and is incorporated in administrative and economic means as well, in other words, the government is run and the economy operates according to law. So reform has placed before the science of law a wide range of tasks which involve almost all fields (first of all the economy and politics) of society. In order to meet the needs of reform, law teaching and research institutes, their leadership structure, the administration of their staff members, the design of courses, the content and methods of teaching and research, and so on, need to be reformed accordingly to ensure the further development of the science of law.

During the initial stage of socialism, we must uphold the policy of opening up to the outside world, further break away from closed-doorism, and play a part in the development of more and more close international economic relations. Legal means are playing an increasingly prominent and important role in international economic relations. In foreign businessmen's eyes, a fine environment for investment consists of several factors, namely, stable policies, complete and sound laws, apart from other natural conditions (which mainly consist of human and material resources). To quite a large extent, stable policies rely on complete and sound laws. We must not only protect the legitimate interests of foreign businessmen but also ensure that the state's interests are not infringed upon. Therefore, in the teaching and study of law, we must make greater efforts to improve laws concerning foreigners and, at the same time, speed up training of law professionals specialized in international legal affairs, so as to meet the need of the policy of opening up to the outside world.

During the initial stage of socialism, we must take the public ownership and the system of distribution according to work as the key link while vigorously developing

the commodity economy and the diversified economy, and adopt different forms of distribution. Commodity production and exchange have given a direct impetus to the making of law and are a motive force to the development of laws and the science of law. The development of the socialist commodity economy has already given an impetus and will certainly give a still greater impetus to the development of the science of law. A series of questions that were unfamiliar to us in the past have now emerged one after another. This has presented a challenge and offered one of the best opportunities to the legal circles of China.

During the initial stage of socialism, we must do our best to develop socialist democratic politics, improve the socialist legal system, and safeguard a political situation characterized by stability and unity. In our country, on the one hand, the development of democracy and the legal system is extremely difficult due to the limitation of historical and social conditions; and, on the other hand, it is a very pressing task because of the needs of economic construction, reform, and opening up. Our legal circles are naturally the first to undertake the study of the theories, application, and policies concerning law in the development of democracy and legal system. The efforts that our legal circles have made in this aspect in the past 10 years can merely be regarded as a good beginning, and still heavier tasks are now placed before us. To accomplish these tasks, we will have to unite with each other and make concerted efforts.

During the initial stage of socialism, we must do our best to build socialist spiritual civilization under the guidance of Marxism. In other words, we must try to enhance the whole Chinese nation's ideological, moral, and cultural quality in accordance with the requirements for citizens "with lofty ideals, moral integrity, good educational background, and a high sense of discipline." The development of the science of law is a part of the development of spiritual civilization. On the one hand, the development of the science of law in China must get rid of all views and theories on law that do not suit the conditions of the country, overcome "Left" influence and conservative habits, and resist reactionary and erroneous thinking on law of the feudal landlord class and the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, it undertakes a glorious mission in the building of spiritual civilization. Our aim in building spiritual civilization is to cultivate a guiding ideology, a public opinion, values, cultural conditions, and social environment that are favorable to economic construction, reform, and opening up. This aim can hardly be achieved without the popularization and enhancement of knowledge on law, the conception on legal system, and the sense of law among all citizens.

III

In China, the Marxist basic principle on the science of law has always been upheld as the guidance of development of the science of law. This is an advantage of our

science of law. In the further development of the science of law, we must retain this advantage, in other words, we must place our science of law on a new, scientific, higher starting point. However, as pointed out by Engels: "Marx's world outlook as a whole is not a creed but a method. It does not offer an available dogma but a starting point for further studies and a method for such studies." ¹An absolute requirement of this method is that the change in everything depends on time, place, and conditions. The world has witnessed great changes since the beginning of this century, and China has undergone earth-shaking changes as well and is still undergoing profound changes. Under such a circumstance, we must prevent the two tendencies.

The first tendency is that we have stuck to certain specific arguments and conclusions of the Marxist science of law but failed to grasp its spiritual essence and basic method and apply them to the analysis of new circumstances and the solution of new problems. We held to dogmatism and hidebound thinking, indiscriminately copied available conclusions, and mechanically applied them to changing conditions in the past, causing heavy losses to our cause. Although we have repeatedly opposed this tendency, its influence has not been completely eliminated. As the field of law studies has also been influenced by the same tendency, it is necessary to make further efforts to overcome such influence.

The second tendency is the blind worship and emulation of the bourgeois science of law without making a concrete analysis of it. Science and technology are advanced and material production is developed in some Western countries. But not everything is good there. What they have developed in the field of social science in particular cannot be readily imported like technology, equipment, and management methods. If imported technology, equipment, and management methods have to be modified to adapt to the specific circumstances in China before they can produce full economic results, then, in importing social sciences, we must not only make a thorough study and carefully assimilate only useful things, but must also take a clear-cut stand against and resolutely refuse all reactionary, erroneous, and decadent things.

Some of the results of studies and expositions relating to the science of law are worth studying and assimilating, such as those on certain specific legislative and judicial systems and measures; those on the legal systems governing politics, economy, culture, and other fields of social life; those on certain issues concerning public security and prevention of crimes; those on a series of legal questions concerning international intercourse in the economic, scientific and technological, and cultural fields; those on some criminal activities lately emerging in the world and the policies to deal with them, and so on. However, as far as the theoretical basis and guiding ideology of the science of law as a whole are concerned, many members of the Western legal circles are trampled by positivism and apriorism. Furthermore, due to

their class status, their social environment, the type of their clients, and so on, most of them have doubts about or adopt a negative attitude toward historical materialism. Therefore, they can hardly ensure that their basic theoretical views and theoretical systems will be in keeping with the objective law of development of human society, and this will very seriously hinder them from maintaining the scientific nature of their theories. Even the above-mentioned studies and expositions that are worth studying and assimilating must not be copied indiscriminately but be accepted on the basis of concrete analysis, since these things, though proved to be effective and useful in their countries, actually do not completely apply to ours due to differences in time, place, and conditions. If we blindly worship or emulate the bourgeois science of law, it will not be a progress but a retrogression as viewed from the starting point of our science of law.

With regard to the theoretical basis and guiding ideology of the science of law, we must carry out the struggle between two lines. We must oppose the dogmatic attitude toward either the Marxist or the bourgeois science of law. Only in this way will we be able to develop a Marxist science of law with Chinese characteristics.

At present, the development of different branch disciplines of the science of law is unbalanced. Although we began 10 years ago to study the theory of legislation, including some theoretical and practical issues concerning the formulation of administrative regulations and local laws and ordinances, the development of this field still cannot meet the needs of the times. We must devote more resources to and step up the study of this field. The theory on administrative regulations and the theory on administrative legal proceedings are closely related to the reform of the political structure and are directly linked to the safeguarding of all legitimate rights and freedom of the citizens. In light of the present development trend, these two subjects, which will become a field of study with rich content and a very wide range of applications, badly need to be developed to meet the needs of democratic politics. In the wake of the development of international economic relations, some new subjects are being separated from the theory on international private law. We must pay attention to the development of this field, strengthen theoretical study and personnel training, and provide more and better service in support of the opening up process. As for those cross-discipline subjects developed on the basis of the science of law and other social and natural sciences, at the moment most of them consist of some rough ideas. But the development of cross-discipline subjects is a must in scientific development and a trend of the modernization of the science of law. We must devote greater efforts to this aspect according to needs and feasibility.

The study of law needs rich knowledge and practical experience. At present, not only those engaging in teaching and research of law but also those engaging in detection, procuratorial work, trial, and other political

and legal work deeply feel it is necessary to study law and to have some knowledge about other social and natural sciences. What is more, as man's knowledge is updated rapidly; those who are in active service have to constantly learn more. Also, it is necessary to strengthen training of double-major students, masters and doctorates in law and to foster a large number of qualified law personnel with an all-round educational background so that they are qualified for and capable of doing an outstanding job in the academic field and playing a more active role at the decision-making level in the economic, political, cultural, and scientific and technological fields and other social affairs. Undoubtedly, efforts made in this aspect will give a direct impetus to the development of democracy and the legal system.

Under the guidance of Marxist methodology, we are now applying step by step modern means to the study of the science of law. Some political and legal institutes are now offering such courses as system theory, information theory, cybernetics, basic electronic computing, and introduction to modern sciences. Some political and legal organs and institutes have already installed their own computers and begun to provide service. The China Law Society has established an academic exchange center for the science of law and is establishing its own modern books, references, and information center and offering other services. The modernization of methods and means will gradually free information collectors and compilers from backward, heavy, and time-consuming manual labor which can hardly accomplish a job in an all-round, systematic, and accurate manner. But all these are merely the concrete application or development of the Marxist methodology in the technological aspect and, after all, they cannot replace the Marxist methodology.

Looking forward to the future, we are definitely optimistic about the prospects of the development of the science of law in China. We must do our best to make our due contributions to the teaching and research of the science of law so that we will not feel ashamed to our predecessors and successors.

Footnote

1. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 406

From A 'Classical Form' to A 'Contemporary Form'—Thoughts on Reforming the Study of Marxist Literature and Art

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[Article by Dong Xuewen 5516 1331 2429 of Beijing University]

[Text]

I

With the surge and development of China's theory of literature and art, we have come to the stage where we should start reforming the study of Marxist literature and art!

All clearheaded literature and art theory workers cannot but be aware that the rejuvenation of the study of Marxist literature and art, to suit the needs of the times and to provide it with more theoretical power and charm, is a subject and a mission which they cannot evade.

On the macro level, the literature and art theoretical movement in the last decade has generally undergone three stages: The first was the period of restoring the traditional study of Marxist literature and art, in which the literature and art theoretical and critical movement, centering on the calls for "realism" and "truthfulness," played the role of setting things to rights and conducting a thoroughgoing reform. We call it a stage of reflection or restoration. With the progress in literature and art theory and creation, particularly with the arrival of the all-directional reform and the age of opening up, literature and art theory has irresistibly flowed toward its second stage: Introducing and importing in large quantities, modern trends of thought in literature and art; literary concepts; and literary methods from abroad, especially from the West, to make up for our long-standing deficiencies and to use them as a link in conducting explorations and blazing new trails, and as a reference and a condition to enliven our theory. We call this period the stage of introducing and following the fashion. This stage has made an indelible contribution. In truth, this stage is still continuing and its tasks have not been completed. In the past 1 or 2 years however, particularly since the theory of the "initial stage of socialism" was officially put forward at the 13th CPC National Congress, the question of how the literature and art circles can, under the new situation, creatively apply and develop the study of Marxist literature and art, "open up new horizons, develop new concepts, enter a new plane," and strive to carry forward the scientific spirit and creative vitality of that branch of science so that the noisy and restless theory can become more constructive and instructive, has become very urgent and conspicuous. We should discard the one-sided thesis formed over the years under various historical conditions, and discard all dogmatic understandings and all erroneous concepts attached under the name of Marxism. We should also master all new things, sum up experience, and critically absorb and digest all useful theories and viewpoints. In this way, the entire literature and art theoretical circles will be able to enter the third stage: The stage of construction, development and creation.

Today, building the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art with Chinese characteristics or, in other words, portraying the new face of the study of Marxist literature and art suited to the features of the initial stage of China's socialism, has become an internal demand of the literature and art theoretical movement. It is also the hope of the vast number of literature and art theoretical workers who are advancing the cause.

II

If we do not avoid contradictions, we can say that, given the unprecedentedly lively, prosperous, and chaotic situation, there were obviously two tendencies in the literature and art theoretical movement in the previous period: In the course of seeking new things, changes, novelties, and breakthroughs, some explorers of literature and art theory have consciously or unconsciously neglected or cast away the most valuable things in the science of Marxist literature and art, namely, historical materialism and artistic dialectics. In the "dazzling" atmosphere characterized by the existence of numerous theories, they have been led by the nose by some "fashionable" and non-scientific things. In truth, they have submitted their "individual consciousness" [zhu ti yi shi 0031 7555 1942 6221] to other people's "alien consciousness" [ta ti yi shi 0100 7555 1942 6221] and their freedom of action has become the right to give up choosing the best path. This has given people a misty feeling of weightlessness. Some literature and art theory workers scrupulously abide by their theoretical belief and uphold the Marxist position, but their theoretical pattern still seems to be old and there are no movements or changes in their choice or standard of value as is expected from them. They have no wish to portray the study of Marxist literature and art as a branch of open science and they hope to use the so-called "monistic diversity" [yi yuan duo yang 0001 0337 1122 2876] pattern to guide the fleet of literature and art study along a fixed course. Some people even regard all modern literature and art theories from the West as diametrically opposed to and incompatible with Marxism. This has generated among people a feeling that "a thousand sails pass by the shipwreck."

Here I do not want to give a more careful analysis of the two tendencies. It is natural and understandable that all theoretical movement processes will lead to these two tendencies. It also conforms to the logic of thinking that at times people's understanding has a general tendency. I only want to say that we should voluntarily overcome both tendencies so that we can avoid detours in building our literature and art theory and that we can eat less or do not eat the bitter fruit of theory resulting from the lack of dialectics.

On the other hand, we should also note that the two tendencies also complement each other at a certain level. Debate is useful. But the truth does not lie simply on the side of one party. The opposing parties are just like mountaineers linked together on a mountain slope; they either climb the mountain or fall into the deep valley together. This is because the two poles of a thing are always nearest the sheer precipice and overhanging rocks. For the sake of the science of literature and art,

both the "biased" parties should remove misunderstandings; end their estrangement; cast away their narrow understanding of theoretical interest; respect each other's strong points; and understand the necessity of unity and harmony, so that the theoretical opponents can become cooperative partners in exploring the common path of modernizing the study of China's literature and art.

Is there such a path? Is there a theoretical choice which appeals to and is an inspiration to all schools of thought? If the above mentioned "tendencies" exist, is there a more reliable, perfect, and scientific method of correction? As I see it, apart from the individual cases which should be dealt with separately, it is perhaps the common will and desire of most people to join hand in hand in building the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art. We should pool the anxiety, pain, and conscience of all theoreticians in rebuilding our theoretical ideal! In this land of ours, this ideal should be and can only be the revitalization of the study of Marxist literature and art.

III

To this end, I would like to concentrate on discussing the question of making a transition from a "classical form" to a "contemporary form" (or "modern form") of the study of Marxist literature and art.

By "classical form" we refer to what the Marxist classical writers said in their works about the questions of literature and art, as well as the traditional concepts of the future generations about these formulations; the "contemporary form" is naturally an exploratory concept and it refers chiefly to the need to stand on the high plane of our era and to use the vision of modern people to absorb the latest achievements, sum up new experience, and once again freshly portray the image of the study of Marxist literature and art. The "classical form" and the "contemporary form" are the two different development stages of a thing. There are both quantitative changes and qualitative variations. The common and eternal elements in them link them together inseparably. They have become a chain preserving creations and achievements of previous generations and passing them over to us. But this tradition should not merely serve as a housekeeper changelessly passing over to the future generations the things which he or she has accepted and loyally preserved. Neither is it like the process of nature. Despite the infinite changes and activities of its forms and shapes, it still preserves its primitive law forever, without making any progress. The tradition of the study of Marxist literature and art "is not a motionless stone statue but is as full of life as a mighty torrent growing bigger the farther it is from its source."¹ Through the storms and stress of more than a century, countless theoretical collisions and tempering, and the constant reflections and pursuit of people, the study of Marxist literature and art should appear with a brand-new look in the world.

As far as the researchers' ideological activities are concerned, the "classical form" of the study of Marxist literature and art, which is an object of understanding, cannot be modernized with the development of the times. But people's understanding and explanation of the "classical form" may change and leap with the advance of the times. It should constantly substantiate and enrich itself in light of new experience and new theoretical nutrition. It requires people to explore, build and create its "contemporary form." The extent of its modernization depends on the extent people can break away from some of its closed and rigid concepts; instill creative consciousness in keeping with the historical trends; and use the developing concepts of openness to turn static explanations into an examination of dynamic developments; thus raising it to the scientific level of modern consciousness, which can answer questions relating to literature, art, and aesthetics in the contemporary world. Here, the yardstick of ideological emancipation is in direct proportion to achievements.

This upgrading and transition neither negates the previous historical achievements nor parts company with the basic tenets of Marxism. Based on this understanding: "Apart from indefiniteness, there is nothing definite in the destiny of mankind and, apart from changes, there is nothing unchanged."² We are advocates of uninterrupted development. In the face of the ever changing trends of thought in literature and art and literary creation on a worldwide scale, and in the face of the scientific and technological revolution and the widespread socialist revolution, we, in the field of the study of literature and art, should no longer be constrained by habitual ideas and long established languages and terms.

The initial stage of the emergence and formation of the study of Marxist literature and art has passed. In many courses of the study of literature and art however, the structural form and content system formed at that time has not changed a great deal. With the development of the science of literature and art, some "obstruction systems" in the original theory, which have limitations and which hinder its development to the new stage, have gradually come to light. Now we need a new idea. If we hold on to the old form, it will directly damage the prestige and potential of the study of Marxist literature and art. The harsh reality has provided us with a lot of examples. This is also one of the reasons why we call for the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art.

IV

Needless to say, the philosophical pillar of the traditional Marxist literature and art study, with which we are familiar, is chiefly the historical materialist theory of knowledge and theory of reflection. To a considerable extent this topic has reflected the features and advantages of the study of Marxist literature and art, as well as its theoretical tendencies and historical limitations.

The excessively socialized and politicized tenets of philosophy, which serve as a prop for the study of literature and art, have not only increasingly politicized, hardened, and stiffened it, but in fact, have seriously led to various theories in the study of literature and art, such as the theory that objects decide everything and the corrosion of subjective spirit. The different forms of the theory that objects decide everything, such as the "theory that society decides everything," the "theory that themes decide everything," the "theory that class decides everything," have blocked all the paths and possibilities for researchers to find the literary essence and the laws of art from other levels or from the peripheries or the interior cracks of literature.

Viewed from the theoretical category of the "classical form" with which we are familiar, the overall grasp of literature and art is still chiefly concentrated on explaining the relationship between works and reality. Strictly speaking therefore, it is still the "theory of reconstruction" and the "theory of imitation" which have been developed. Literature and art are reflections of reality and forms of recognizing reality. Their features lie in the reflection of the world by means of images provided with a sentimental factor. Their dynamic roles finds expression in the generalization and typification of reality, resulting in a truthfulness in accord with reality. They play the role of cognition, education, appreciation of the beautiful. In truth, the literature and art study system is merely a pattern of exploring the relationship between works of literature and art and the objective target, a pattern characterized by works directly reflecting reality, which is being reflected, and by the action and counteraction between works and reality. Even in this pattern, it has also seriously neglected and weakened the intermediary role of writers and readers. As for other units in the study of literature and art as a whole, such as the manifestation pattern in subject creation and production; the form pattern in works on the fictitious world; and the acceptance pattern of readers and audience in the world of value; particularly in the endlessly circulatory, two-way dynamic circuit from the actual world, to the creative world, to the fictitious world, and to the world of value, it cannot express itself satisfactorily. True, the Marxist theory does not lack such factors as "activity systems" and "structural ideas," but we cannot but concede that these elements have been too thinly or limitedly manifested in the "classical form" of the study of literature and art.

For a long time, people have not conducted the studies of Marxist literature and art ideas with the aim of exploring and developing them. They often remain at the stage of introducing and describing these ideas, merely act as a "mouthpiece," or play the role of explaining the literature and art policy. This has also accelerated the ageing process of the "classical form."

This study form and standard, which is restricted to explaining the literature and art ideas of classical writers and quoting the targets as proof, is not the conduct of a

person or several persons but a general phenomenon. It has been formed in history and has a profound social root and cultural habit. On the one hand, it has been gradually influenced by the traditional study of Confucian classics; on the other, it also had something to do with the study pattern and method developed in the Soviet Union since the 1920's and 30's. The practice of not daring to go one step beyond the prescribed limit and of joining the words of classical writers into a system, has widened the distance between the formulation of "classical form" and the sea of ideas of the founders of Marxism. True, the slogans of "returning to Marx" and "rebuilding the study of Marxist literature and art" have certain practical significance. However, if we do not change our knowledge structure and modes of thinking considerably and if we do not "make revolution" within the existing form, it will also be very difficult to meet the needs of contemporary scholars and the masses longing for theory and knowledge. If things should go wrong, such efforts are nothing short of "taking measures without regard to changes in circumstances."

V

Therefore, we should not only give play to its advantages but also lay down the burden of outmoded rules boldly. We should set about thinking and upgrading the study of Marxist literature and art, welcome the challenge of the times, and use the splendor of the "contemporary form" to win people's good grace and draw greater attention.

We should make a transition from the "classical form" to the "contemporary form." This is the most effective way and the most reliable measure to prevent the study of Marxist literature and art from withering and becoming rigid and dogmatic and to preserve its vigor and vitality. It is also the most essential and most active theoretical quality contained in the theory of Marxist literature and art. On building the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art, we only have a tentative idea and not a ready made answer. This requires the joint struggle of one or even several generations. The broad outline I draw here is only a view. I hope that people in theoretical circles will criticize and discuss it.

As I see it, in building the "contemporary form" we should at least solve the following problems:

1. It is necessary to integrate the ideological theory of literature and art flexibly with the non-ideological view. Literature and art are "ideological forms" (the underlined mark is added by the person quoting this remark) of the "superstructure." This represents a great contribution to Marxism. But literature and art are not tantamount to ideology itself. Their emergence and existence are due to some non-ideological factors or levels. By their very nature literature and art are a social phenomenon, a spiritual phenomena, a phenomenon of life, and a cultural phenomenon. If we apply the "ideological" theory mechanically, in an oversimplified way and "turn into

an ideology" the theory of literature and art, we cannot explain all problems, such as the nature, features, laws, and functions of literature and art completely. Therefore, it is necessary to absorb Chinese and foreign theories, especially the desirable elements in the non-ideological theories of the modern western science of literature and art, so that the specialities of literature and art can exist in the aggregate of ideology and non-ideology. Only such a theory and a system can eventually eradicate the interference and encroachment of various kinds of vulgar sociology.

2. Greater efforts should be made to explain and study the non-rational feature of literature and art activities. By its very nature the world of literature and art is rational. Both the writers and readers consciously and soberly deal with the objects of manifestation and acceptance. Rationalism represents a great progress of mankind. However, modern science has proved that man's spiritual structure—including the spiritual structure of literature and art activities—has irrational, illogical conceptual, and "unconscious" existence. True, the pessimism and isolationist tendency, as well as the irrationalist literature of being loyal to "self" and "innermost being" by preposterous, unreasonable, and ugly means, reflects an aspect of spiritual poverty and crisis, but they have also left a theoretical space for us to ponder the relationship between irrationality and literature. As for the various irrational factors in literature, such as intuition, inspiration, sudden realization, sentiment, and fantasy, they have existed since ancient times and are a kind of special thinking which many writers have experienced. Only by basing ourselves on rationality and explaining man's irrational, unsystematic, unbalanced, and "inexplicable" aspects is it possible to fully reveal the link between the cognitive structure of the subject and the assessment structure of sentiment, will, and aesthetics in terms of content and form and to inherently join literary theory and modern science.

3. It is necessary to place the building of contemporary poetry study in a prominent position. The existing literature and art system is a macro literature and art system, which chiefly expounds the overall operational mechanism of literature and art in the major social system. Therefore, to a greater extent it belongs to the philosophical and sociological level of literature and art. Our study at this level is still to be deepened. In the meantime however, the work of exploring the law governing literature and art, which is relatively independent, should draw our full attention because this is our weak link. In examining the special nature of literature and art, we should proceed from stipulation of the special relationship between man and objects because "it is precisely the stipulation of this relationship that forms a special, realistic mode of affirmation".³ We should study the aesthetic self-discipline of literature and art and various other questions, such as style, rhythm, form, rules of rhyming, type of writing, pattern, language, semantics, structure, and symbols, as well as artistry and technique. We should break away from the monopoly of

realist aesthetics in the "classical form" of the study of literature and art, and give various methods of creation their proper status. We should make greater efforts to study literature itself and vigorously apply formalism, structuralism, the study of symbols, and the enlightenment of the neo-critical faction. If the study of literature and art is to advance toward modernization, the rise of the new poetry study is undoubtedly an indispensable link. In a sense, the visual shift from the "classical form" to the "contemporary form" can start here.

4. It is necessary to reexamine the object of the study of literature and art. As stated above, the previous study was excessively concentrated on the relationship between literature and art works and reality, as if it was the overall scope and task of the study of literature and art. The defects of this form have already been fully revealed. In the new form, the object of the study should center on works, including the "four factors,"⁴ namely, the universe, artist, works, and audience, as well as the dynamic entity formed by various complicated factors, such as the actual world, creative world, fictitious world, and the world of value. Here, there are no objects without subjects, neither are there subjects unrestricted by objects. Here, various themes, such as "taking man as the center of all," "taking works as the center of all," and "taking reality as the center of all," have the same meaning. Here, the systematic method, humanism [ren wen zhu yi 0086 2429 0031 5030], and scientology have become an effective weapon in developing a new system of the study of literature and art. History has provided us with the necessary conditions to grasp objects comprehensively and entirely. Building the theoretical system of the study of literature and art according to such an object of study also helps surpass the development pattern characterized by the exclusive antagonism of concepts and methods.

5. More important, it is necessary to sum up and reveal the speciality, law, direction, and trend of socialism and China's socialism, especially literature and art in the "initial stage" of socialism. Marx and Engels did not touch upon this question in a positive way; Lenin was aware of and pondered this question but he died too soon. Although there are experiences in our heritage, hot and bitter tears and painful lessons are more plentiful. We are still far from raising it to the level of a scientific theory. It does not match the vigorously developing cause of literature art reform. For this reason, how to strike root in literature and art reality of present-day China and to use the most advanced stand, viewpoint, and method to find a new path for the development of the productive forces of our socialist art and to discard those abstract principles and fantastic models is still the primary and sacred task of literature and art theory workers. The history of China's literature and art movement since the 20th century has its unique operating path, its specific aesthetic and cultural sediment, and its spiritual wealth which is not inferior to others. In many ways "we also stand on the 'apex of contemporary

culture'."⁵ Therefore, we should sum it up as an indispensable brick or foundation stone for the mansion of the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art.

VI

We should no longer place the study of Marxist literature and art in such an awkward position, making it impossible to develop. Nor should we place it in such a nominal castle in the air, prattling on about development without making any practical efforts. We should emancipate ourselves from the traditional, deductive, alphabetically composed methods of study and ideological pattern and from some rigid concepts; adapt ourselves to the needs of reform and opening up; advance this theory to a higher standard and a higher level; and conform it to the reality and the theoretical conditions of contemporary literature and art.

As I see it, whether or not we uphold Marxism has a direct bearing on the destiny of the study of literature and art; similarly, whether or not we develop Marxism has a direct bearing on the destiny of the study of literature and art.

There must be a strong sense of historical substitution in our hearts. We must use the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art, which is full of creative power and clarity, to fill up the central position of the multivariate coordinate system in literature and art theory.

In China today, the study of literature and art has entered an unprecedented state in which "one hundred schools of thought contend." In this ancient but also young country, people are running quickly on every road and cultivating every piece of land. At a time when we will soon step into the 21st century, the study of Marxist literature and art should also usher in the future with a new appearance.

We are looking forward to a philosophical breakthrough although philosophy is facing poverty; we are looking for a homeland for the study of literature and art although this homeland is not a mountain village with dense willow trees and bright flowers; and we are calling for the great renaissance of the study of Marxist literature and art although it still has to face more impacts and tests.

The farsighted academic character of the Marxist literature and art concept finds expression in the fact that on the one hand, it persistently pays close attention to changes in reality and on the other, it sets its theoretical eyes on the future and dares to face all challenges which have come or will come in the future.

Whether you admit it or not and whether you like it or not, in terms of nature, method, and concept, the current literary theories are pluralistic. The school of thought of Marxist literature and art is also varied. This condition is

very much in keeping with our country's economic base and social reality. This is not a bad thing. Competition, contest, and impact also serve as a lever for the development of social sciences. Given such "pluralistic" and "varied" conditions, we favor the "dominant" or "principal" position of scientific Marxist literature and art concept and aesthetic concept. I am sure that pluralism and monism form a dialectical unity. Given certain historical conditions, the development of pluralistic study will certainly lead to monistic results; the monistic condensation will certainly be broken again by pluralism. So long as the aims of achieving the modernization of the study of literature and art coincide, building the contemporary form of the study of Marxist literature and art will certainly become the joint pursuit of the people.

This is our confidence, our sense of theoretical integrity, and our sense of theoretical sublimity.

Footnotes

1. Hegel: "Collected Speeches on the History of Philosophy—Preface"
2. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 9, p 37
3. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 42, p 125
4. See the formulation of American critic Abrams in "Mirror and Lamp"
5. Lenin's remark in a conversation with Clara Zetkin

Profile on Quit-Smoking Day

HK0908120388 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 p 31

[Poem by Li Xia 2621 0007 and sketch [not included] by Fang Cheng 2455 2052]

[Text] Who says I have not set an example?

I the Chairman am personally serving as the standard bearer.

In terms of manpower, the whole office has been mobilized.

In terms of publicity, loudspeakers have been blasting the last 3 days.

You old smoker, come to the fore,

No need to look so dejected.

It is not hard to kick the habit.

I myself have given it up 20 times.

Let us hang on a bit longer.

As soon as the inspection team has turned its back,

We will go and claim our "quit-smoking wine"

And of course our "quit-drinking cigarettes."

What Cannot the Market Handle?

HK0908080188 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 pp 32-35

[Article by Ding Ningning 0002 1337 1337]

[Text] Development of the socialist commodity economy is closely linked to the cultivation and perfection of the market. Generally speaking, the so-called economic operating mechanism refers to the operating mechanism whereby "the state regulates the market, and the market leads the enterprises" and which takes markets as the focal point. Following the implementation of reforms we have gradually introduced the market mechanism into the economic arenas, and have achieved outstanding results. Enterprises that had long been subject to the mandatory plans became energetic, and the national economy as a whole is now thriving. However, there must be conditions for the existence of everything. The intensive development of reforms has brought us new problems. What are the limits of market mechanism within which it will function rationally? Which areas are not suitable for the introduction of the market competition mechanism? In order to further promote reforms, it is necessary for us to give an explicit theoretical answer to these questions, to establish as quickly as possible a new order for our socialist commodity economy.

I

Generally speaking it is not suitable for us to introduce the market competition mechanism into areas that need special criteria for valuation. The reason is that the importance of special criteria in these areas is often greater than that of economic criteria, or it is difficult for us to compare them. We cannot determine their value simply by means of economic criteria, otherwise society will suffer. These areas include education, public health, basic scientific research, administrative and executive branches of the government (including industrial and commercial departments, tax departments, and so on) and public security organs (mainly the armed forces and police). The competition of professions in these areas is not in the main based on economic criteria. Their functionary units still practice economic accounting. To them, however, economic accounting is only a kind of external restrictive condition rather than a spontaneous inherent demand. Their yardstick of achievements often contradicts with the economic one, so that some of these areas are called areas with "negative results." The existence of these areas is, however, vital to the achievement of a high level of economic results in society. Called the "external economy" in economics, their "results" are manifested in the form of benefits gained by other areas and welfare improvements in society as a whole. In

terms of maintaining fair market competition and safeguarding stability and civic standards in society, they play such a significant role that they cannot be replaced. This point of view is so thoroughly discussed in works about welfare economics in the West, and about modern social sciences, that it has become common knowledge. However, many of our comrades neglect the speciality of these areas. They believe that no matter what, everything will be settled satisfactorily once the market competition mechanism is introduced. This is a manifestation of simple-minded thinking. At this critical moment of economic structural reform it is very important for us to re-examine theoretically things that were left over from the modern Western civilization, and clearly understand which cases the market cannot handle, in accordance with China's actual situation.

II

At present many primary and secondary schools are operating after-work classes, factories, guesthouses, and restaurants. Some teachers even sell food and beverage, stationery, and books during lessons. Some comrades hold that at this time of reform and opening up, this is an act of self-reliance helping to improve the income of teachers and a solution to insufficient educational funds. I hold that this is a tentative and remedial measure under circumstances where the government is failing to function properly. We cannot put the blame on teachers because of this. In the long run however, this is unfavorable to the healthy development of educational undertakings.

We had school-run factories and part-time students as early as the 1950's. The prime goal was, in addition to helping concentrate their efforts on study by solving their family economic difficulties, to help the students develop: Their initiative; their moral, intellectual, and physical characters; and their ability, in order to become the successes of the socialist cause. As those school-run enterprises were enterprises they naturally practised economic accounting, and it was inviolable that the surplus was used to support the educational undertaking. However, their prime goal should not be profit-making. In particular, they should not make profit by means of student labor or they will violate the state laws prohibiting child labor. We do not object to vocational schools at the secondary level running some profit-making enterprises related to their professions, but their main goal should be the cultivation of qualified personnel. Today, some school-run enterprises, instead of requesting participation by students, recruit unemployed people from society or hire their own teaching staff as part-time workers. The nature of this kind of school-run enterprise has therefore changed. There is no connection between the enterprises and the schools concerned except for the name, under which they are entitled to tax reductions and exemptions. It is a way of using the enterprise surplus to make good the educational funds, and settle the economic difficulties faced by the teachers.

The essence of the issue is whether or not we can adopt this method to run educational undertakings properly. Because the wage standard of teachers is so low they need a second job or subsidies from society in order to make a living. Thus, who wants to be a teacher? How can we ask others to respect this profession when its income can hardly sustain the minimum of dignity? Teachers are engineers of the human soul and their profession is a lofty one in which they must devote all their efforts in order to do well. If the state does not promptly take measures for improving the treatment of teachers and allow them to make their living, no administrative measures or pressure can maintain a persistent stability in the contingents of teachers, and all calls for improving teaching quality will become impractical and empty words.

Marxist classical writers took compulsory education as an important social revolutionary goal. The experiences in various countries shows that educational undertakings cannot be spontaneously developed by relying on the market mechanism. After the Renaissance, public schools gradually replaced private ones. This was a global trend. The high economic growth in the Soviet Union and Japan has once again proved that in order to catch up with the pace of progress of industry and civilization in the world, a government must spend great efforts on popularizing its national education. Education itself must not be a profit-making undertaking, but the investment in education can yield the best results of all government investment. In terms of economics, the external economic results of education are the greatest. If a government withdraws its financial support from the popularization of education and allows the rules of economics to function in their own way, children and youths in backward regions and of the lower classes will not have the chance to receive education, and even tertiary education and scientific research in the developed areas will suffer. This is not favorable to either the economic development of the state or the stability of society.

III

China is a big country with a population of 1 billion and is at the initial stage of socialism. It is impossible for the government to bear all financial expenses relating to medical and public health services. For the past 30 years and more those whose financial expenses were borne by the government were in fact just a part of the urban population. Compared to the situation of the 800 million peasants who lacked such services this was a serious wastage as some cadres and workers ate from the same big pot in terms of utilizing public funds for their medical expenses. Therefore it is undoubtedly correct that we should reform the original system regarding medical expenditure, and strengthen the practice of economic accounting in medical institutions. But the question is whether or not we can introduce the market competition mechanism in hospitals? Can hospitals strive for economic results?

Hospitals are regarded as institutions with "negative results" in terms of welfare economics. This means that the economic results of hospitals and the goals of social welfare are contradictory. No matter who runs a hospital the cost of maintaining normal operations is very high. No matter how many patients there are the wages of medical staff, the depreciation of premises and equipment, and expenses relating to water, electricity, gas, materials, and medicine stocks must be paid. Its only proper source of income are the diagnostic and medical treatment fees paid by patients. Under the precondition that the charges are standardized the economic results of the hospital is in proportion to the number of its patients. From the economic perspective the more patients treated, the more income earned, and the greater economic results achieved. From the social perspective however, the fewer patients treated the better is the state of the national health, manifesting greater social welfare. Hospitals cannot intentionally make people sick in order to increase their income or they will be committing a social crime. Therefore, the special nature of hospitals determines that they cannot strive for economic results.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that hospitals can ignore the practice of economic accounting and adopting a rigid system of budget supervision. The practice of eating from the same big pot by hospitals over the years has brought about various financial and management loopholes which provide illegal elements with an opportunity to exploit the system and waste a large amount of invaluable medicine and equipment. The level of registration fees, out-patient charges, surgery fees, and charges for medical treatment was so low that the revenue could hardly make up for the actual cost. In the wake of population increases, the scope of medical expenditure expands and the financial burden becomes heavier. Hence, we cannot but reform it. We should explain clearly to the masses that hospitals are not production units. They are unable to absorb the expenses in connection with the operation of equipment and the consumption of medicine and materials and the state cannot shoulder them all. The only solution is to have the patients, or social institutions which undertake medical insurance for the patients, pay these expenses. One of the significant conditions for improving the quality of medical service by hospitals is to adopt a rigid system of financial management.

However, I feel doubtful about the present practice of contracting financial responsibilities, level by level, in hospitals, and that of presenting their own bonuses by sections. The practice of economic accounting and the adoption of a rigid budget supervision system are not equal to the practice of contracting financial responsibilities level by level. Theoretically, hospitals cannot contract out their financial responsibilities. This is because hospitals are unable to determine whether or not people will be sick, what kind of illness they will suffer, or the number of patients. To put it bluntly the practices of contracting financial responsibilities level by level, and

presenting their own bonuses, are methods for various sections in hospitals to find their solution to the problem of low income received by their medical staff, and allow the medical staff to "create" economic results directly from the patients. This approach is in violation of their professional ethics. The status of doctors and patients are not equal. Suffering from illness and facing the threat of death patients cannot bargain with the medical staff on prices. When treating patients the medical staff should not concentrate on their personal interests. This is a humane principle by which medical undertakings must abide. It would be too dreadful to contemplate if a doctor formulated his plan to get more money from his patient while treating him.

The medical profession is a lofty one with great responsibility. It has a great bearing on the health and future of the nation as a whole. Wages for medical staff should be sufficient for them to maintain their professional dignity. This is a duty of the state. Under the conditions of continuous inflation the income received by medical staff may be less than that of a barber because of the drop in financial capability. It seems that the government cannot stop hospitals from contracting financial responsibilities and views it as a stopgap measure. However, the focal points of hospital reforms should be to strengthen economic accounting and perfect the medical supervision system. While readjusting the standard of charges, we should avoid directly linking the income of medical staff to the number of patients; acts of income comparison among various sections; and levying arbitrary charges. We should urge the undertaking at all times of the sacred duty of "helping the sick and practicing revolutionary humanism."

IV

A popular viewpoint holds that both universities and research institutes are capable of being revitalized. So long as we let them go all out and overcome the lofty attitude adopted by the intelligentsia, the intellectuals will get rich easily. This viewpoint is a bit biased. As our universities and research institutes are all under the state it is true that they have become overstaffed and inefficient. But it is incorrect to indiscriminately push them into the competitive market; to make them directly serve our economic development; and to solve the problem of treatment of intellectuals by their own efforts.

Compared to the developed countries, China's proportion of teaching staff to university students is rather low; still less is the proportion of lecturers to other staff and workers, which has reached an incredibly low level. This is closely related to our current personnel system and our employment policy. All activities undertaken by the school community are paid by the state. We do not know how much funds for tertiary education is actually spent each year on educational undertakings, but we must introduce reform. The state personnel system and employment policy will not make any great readjustment, and universities cannot achieve any practical

results simply by relying on their own efforts. Not every university department can directly serve production. The practice of making those departments which teach basic lectures, human studies, and basic theories create revenue can be likened to that of making primary and secondary school teachers undertake part-time jobs. The same situation will develop as that faced by primary and secondary schools. Even departments which are closely related to actual economic work such as engineering, economics, and law face difficulties in how to handle the relations between teaching and conducting scientific research. It is necessary for a university lecturer to give lectures, while conducting scientific research in order to keep abreast of the new knowledge. But who will seriously give lecturer if the additional income derived from scientific research is more than a lecturer's normal income? It will be inevitable that we repeat the same mistake as in 1958, if we turn the lecture theatres completely into forums for solving practical problems.

There are various levels in scientific research. Generally speaking they can be classified as basic research, development research, and application research. In foreign countries the levels of development research and application research are mainly undertaken by enterprises and consortia, and are supported by government subsidies. The basic research level is mainly subsidized by the government. In the past, China's scientific research institutes were plagued by the following problems: Duplication, redundancy, and unclear division of labor; mutual blockades among regions and departments because they were under different administrative systems; the practice of eating from the same big pot by all scientific research institutes because government administration was not separated from enterprise management; and difficulty in realizing circulation of personnel. Though many scientific achievements have been made in the past 30 years and more, only a few were promptly applied to production. In fact, many appraisal meetings on scientific achievements were mourning meetings. The lifetime efforts of many scientific researchers were simply wasted in this way. The slogan of making scientific research serve the national economic construction is absolutely correct in terms of development research and application research. In our scientific and technological structure reform, we may and should turn these research institutes into enterprises. They must stop depending on state financial subsidies. However, we must not turn institutes engaging in basic research into enterprises. Any breakthrough in basic research will have a great bearing on the future economic and cultural development of the state, and even of mankind. But this usually takes a rather long time and cannot be turned into a direct productive force before going through the stages of development and application research. Generally, there is only investment in basic research itself without any economic output. Therefore, the practice of gearing basic research to the needs of economic construction is actually an attempt to abolish this kind of research and to cause comrades undertaking such work to switch to conducting development and application research.

Whether or not a country should engage in basic scientific research, and what the specific contents of such basic scientific research should be, are controversial global issues. Many people take the economic growth in Japan as an example to illustrate that there is no need to undertake any basic scientific research at the preliminary stage of economic development. However, China's situation is greatly different from that of Japan. Proceeding from the development of national economy as well as the long-term national interests, it is necessary to maintain a certain work force undertaking basic scientific research. It is necessary for the competent departments in charge of research and the relevant specialists, to negotiate and determine what kind of basic scientific research should be preserved under China's present financial situation. No institute conducting basic research should be forced to create economic results or be geared to the needs of rural areas, grass-roots, or economic construction once they have been chosen for preservation.

V

The government judicial and administrative systems and the armed forces of the state maintain social justice, order in the market, and safeguard national security. Any system, be it an industrial and commercial, taxation, administration, or a judicial one, the army, or the police force, should have its own set of criteria for valuation and rules on promotion, rather than depending on the introduction of the market competition mechanism. The efficiency of a modern government depends on a strict grading system of supervision. A person becomes devoted to his duties mainly because he feels honor in serving his society rather than for the sake of economic results. The income of civil servants in the West is guaranteed, and is sufficient for them to maintain their dignity and make a living. Compared to the situation in their society, however, their income is just at the middle or little more than the middle level. It is not the case as some of our comrades imagine, that they are "occupying high positions and receiving handsome rewards."

The nature and function of a modern government determines that its organizations cannot pursue their so-called own economic results. Organizations under the government usually practice a rigid financial budget system but their first priority is to perform their social obligations. The goal that they pursue is efficiency in performing their civil duties. Together with the necessary knowledge, loyalty, and observance of discipline and laws, these constitute the main criteria for promoting a civil servant. Any civil servant who has an outstanding performance record will be given merits and awards, in addition to promotion and increased wages. Any civil servant who violates discipline and the law will be seriously dealt with. Any civil servant who has been dismissed is generally denied a further chance of recruitment. According to Western customs the family income of an individual is confidential, except for civil servants. For example, when the living standard of a Hong Kong

civil servant reaches such a level that he cannot use his income to explain the situation, officers of the Independent Commission Against Corruption will invite him to their office. All countries have formulated laws that put strict limits on the quantity of gifts and presents acceptable by civil servants, to ensure their impartiality when performing their civil duties.

Traditionally, the government administration was not separated from enterprise management in China's economic structure. The government got rid of corruption only by means of political movements. As we are changing toward a modern government structure we should draw lessons from the administrative experience of various governments. We must not forsake some of our principles in the construction of our government structure just because of imminent difficulties. For instance, in order to solve problems concerning the drop in actual income received by civil servants and the employment of their children, many functionary organizations under the government set up labor service companies. This is in fact the practice of government organizations directly engaging in business, which is strictly prohibited by law in Western countries. Government organizations are the ones which maintain order in society. Their duty is to maintain impartial conditions for market competition. This can be likened to a sports event, in which fair play cannot be achieved when the referee is also one of the sportsmen. Therefore, in the course of reforming the economic structure it is correct that, in accordance with the principle of separating government administration from enterprise management, we gradually sever the links between these labor service companies and the functionary organizations under the government; and turn them into genuine enterprises that practice independent economic accounting and assume sole responsibility for their own profits and losses. The issue concerning the drop in actual income received by civil servants should be settled through other proper channels.

Some comrades always use the drop in actual income received by civil servants as an excuse for corruption, and advocate the payment of allowances to honest civil servants. As there are so many people working for the government, can the public afford such allowances? Have they thought about this? It is difficult to increase the income of civil servants mainly because the government structure has become too large. Though the army underwent demobilization, the vicious staff expansion in other government organizations has exceeded by a large margin their financial capacity. The present situation is that on the one hand, the actual income of civil servants has dropped; and on the other, there are still too many people working in government organizations. Such a contradiction hides a perilous tendency, and that is the legalization of consumption at the expense of public funds and acts of corruption. If we do not check this situation and allow it to develop on its own course, the work of establishing a new order for the socialist commodity economy will become empty talk. Therefore, one of our important political tasks in our current economic

structural reform is to resolutely implement the principle of separating government administration from enterprise management, to streamline the army and administration, and to mobilize all cadres and masses to struggle against all corruption phenomena.

Economic structural reform is a profound social revolution. Since it is a revolution it is impossible that each of the reform steps will be completely correct. Only through practice and exploration can people find the way to achieve the ideal goals. We should respect the pioneering spirit of the people at the height of the revolutionary tide. To our theoretical workers however, it will be a case of serious dereliction of duty if they do not promptly sum up our experience, pay attention to avoiding repeating the same mistakes made by other countries in their economic development, and try their best to avoid making progress along a winding course.

The Shock of Elections in Which There Are More Candidates Than Posts To Be Filled—Thoughts on Provincial People's Congress Elections
HK1008090188 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 pp 36-39

[Article by reporters Luo Shugang 7170 2885 0474 and Liu Jinxiu 0491 0093 4423]

[Text] On 29 January 1988, at the First Session of the Seventh People's Congress of Henan Province, Liu Yuan [0491 3293] who had been jointly nominated by deputies was elected a vice governor of Henan Province through elections in which there were more candidates than posts to be filled. The news spread quickly and for a time it was a hot topic of conversation among the people.

The people's interest in this news was not mainly in the fact that Liu Yuan is the son of the late State Chairman Liu Shaoqi, or that at only 37 he had become a top-level cadre in the provincial government. Rather, it was the fact that the form and method of his election had broken through traditions. The significance of Liu Yuan's election exceeded the significance that it was he who was elected.

In 1988, our country's provincial-level people's congresses are changing their memberships. The law on local people's congresses and local government organizations stipulates that the chairman, vice chairmen and the secretary-general of the provincial people's congresses, the governor and vice governors of the provincial government, the president of the provincial higher people's court and the chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate be elected through elections whereby there are more candidates than posts to be filled, and that the deputies can jointly submit names of candidates. Provincial-level delegates have the right to submit names for the highest local leadership posts and to select people for

these posts. This is the first time this has occurred in our country and people were interested in the fact that this type of election would bring with it an atmosphere of competition.

Sure enough, unexpected winners appeared. Liu Yuan was proposed by the deputies and was lined up against candidates proposed by the presidium of the congress. Through elections in which there were more candidates than posts to be filled he was surprisingly not eliminated and he was elected as a vice governor. Subsequently, this phenomenon repeatedly re-occurred in Anhui, Zhejiang, Hunan, Gansu, Jiangxi and Hebei Provinces. According to statistics from 20 provinces, cities and autonomous regions, of 67 candidates put forward by delegates at the provincial congress level, 8 were elected. Of these, three were elected as vice governors, three were elected as people's congress chairmen, one was elected as vice chairman and one was elected as provincial higher people's court president. The deputies can, through elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled, decide on who will be promoted and who will be demoted, and democracy has thus truly taken a big step forward.

I. A Breakthrough in Democracy

The masses having the right to elect cadres is a democratic principle of socialism determined over 100 years ago by Marx. Every socialist shouts this slogan without the least hesitation. However, practice has often been a cause for regret. The Constitution of the PRC clearly stipulates that the NPC is the highest organ of state power. The local people's congresses at all levels are local organs of state power. However, for quite a long time, the masses' right to vote was reduced to where the whole body of deputies raised their hands to pass the name list of candidates handed down from the higher level. Some people even called the organs of power "rubber stamps" and said that the people's deputies were "voting machines." Even the following type of strange event occurred: The upper level would select a batch of city or county leading cadres and before the city or county people's congress even appointed them in accordance with the law, these city and county leaders would have already taken up their posts and the newspapers would have carried bold headlines of "warm welcome." This undoubtedly made a mockery of the people's sacred rights.

The contrast was indeed great between, on the one hand, the resounding calls and on the other hand, the masses not having the full powers of selection. The secrecy and closed nature of the system and the cadres' selection meant that each time there was a change in the leadership level, the masses could only guess what was going to happen and had to passively wait until the name list decided by the upper level was made known.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the pounding of the commodity economy, democratic politics, although clearly lagging, did see some firm development. The hardened levels of the structure which constrained democracy also became more flexible. The most obvious aspect of this was that the masses were prepared to directly speak out. Starting with the NPC deputies request for an explanation regarding the "Bohai No. 2" incident in 1979, criticisms, suggestions and requests for explanation have become common in our country. The daily-increasing vigor of the democratic atmosphere and the daily-increasing strength of democratic consciousness has provided the conditions for elections whereby there are more candidates than posts to be filled and made this an inevitable and necessary step towards democracy. Put another way, democracy without elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled is incomplete democracy. If there is no power to select cadres, the masses' right to criticize, make suggestions and request explanations will lack strong support. Those in authority are always afraid of and respect those who give them their authority. However, when the people's deputies only had formalistic power of election, all of the people's deputies suggestions, criticisms and requests for explanation could be formalistically accepted but actually cast aside.

The system of election in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled gives the people's deputies a certain power to elect cadres. This is a return to the masses' sacred rights and is a breakthrough in moving towards a high degree of democracy, and in improving democracy.

II. The Selection by Deputies and the Deputies Being Selected

When the previous congresses were approaching the time for election, the deputies often had nothing to do other than wait for the vote. The atmosphere was one of boredom. The present congress deputies act quite differently and in the process, which in the past was very peaceful, great waves and billows have occurred.

Scene one: January 1988. Beijing in winter. In the municipal people's congress there is a heated dialogue going on between candidates for vice mayor and the deputies. The vice mayoral candidates give speeches and then the deputies ask questions. The candidates open themselves to enquiries and the deputies engage in assessment from many angles. Many ideas collide in this one place and the choices change and are decided through these collisions.

Scene two: May 1988. The Yanzhao Hotel in Shijiazhuang City, Hebei Province. The provincial congress delegates are expressing strong opposition to the name put forward as a candidate for the post of chairman of the provincial people's congress by the people's congress presidium: "He has not realized any outstanding achievements in his work," "He is too old," and "He has

no experience in people's congress work." The deputies then put forward a more appropriate candidate. Not only this, but the deputies put forward dozens of their own candidates for the posts where the incumbents should be elected by them.

Scene three: May 1988. The Donghu Hotel in Wuhan. The people's congress deputies are in the process of considering and discussing candidates. A deputy excitedly says: "Only if we do well in electing the leading group will it be truly possible to realize our province's plan to "achieve an upward surge in the central region." If we do not do well in selecting the provincial leaders, we will be doing a disservice to the 50 million people of the province. This vote of mine is sacred!"

Just after the implementation of the system of election in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled, the deputies' democratic consciousness and capacity for participating in government has been demonstrated. On the surface it appears that the system determines democracy and that the degree of mass democracy will be determined by what system is formulated above. Actually, the case is just the opposite. The democratic consciousness of the masses and their capacity to participate in government is sufficient for us to establish a more democratic and more enlightened system. Some current systems and structures repress the masses' democratic consciousness and capacity to participate in government. The zeal for democracy seeks a breakthrough and as soon as a breakthrough point is found, it will burst forth. The system of elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled is the point of breakthrough. The inspiration we gain from this is that the present system of democracy lags behind the democracy demanded by the masses, and that there is a need for a more advanced system which releases the potential energy of democracy among the masses.

Of course, the democratic quality of deputies needs to be raised and democratic desire and courage also need to be strengthened. If not, the enthusiastic scene of our country's elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled may have come a few years too early. In 1982, the law regarding local people's congresses and local government organizations stipulated that the people's congress elections could use elections in which the number of candidates exceeded the number of posts to be filled. However, there was not one province which used such an election system in its people's congress. In 1986 the law was revised and it was stipulated that the election system in which there are more candidates than the posts to be filled was to be used, and it set down proportions for such elections. The party's 13th Congress further stressed that the system of elections in which the number of candidates exceeded the number of posts to be filled should be persisted in as only thus could the zeal for democracy be stimulated. The verdict on this question was: In democratic political construction, we must establish a democratic system

which does not lag behind the masses' democratic qualities and at the same time we must get the masses to cast off as quickly as possible the distorted mentalities found in the shadowy and ossified systems of traditional culture.

When one goes to the congress, a deep feeling one gets is that the deputies have become excessively fastidious. In the past when candidates were introduced, it was sufficient to just provide a simple resume. Now, the deputies need more information and if the candidates just provide a simple resume and do not provide details of work achievements, their presentation will not be accepted. This is still not enough, as the deputies demand to meet with the candidates and directly assess their abilities.

This is a strengthened sense of responsibility and sense of mission among the deputies. Why was this not so in the past? It was because they did not have full powers to choose cadres. Thus naturally there was no need for close questioning. Asking questions was of no use anyway, and it was likely to make one subject to suspicion that one "lacked confidence." Now that they have power, a sense of responsibility and a sense of mission have come with it. It can be said that the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled have, for the deputies, "unified responsibilities and rights."

The "unification of responsibilities and rights" has greatly stimulated the deputies' latent potential for choice. Those voted in have generally realized achievements of one sort or another. This is especially so of those who the deputies nominate. These people, in the words of the deputies, have a dazzling "gleam." Regarding those who were voted out, the deputies can give one reason or another for their choice.

Of course, we cannot say that those who are selected to move up are definitely those with the greatest abilities. However, it can be said that the cadres who the masses dislike will certainly fail to be elected.

There are also deputies who cannot or dare not use their rights. It is very difficult to get these deputies who lack democratic qualities to not follow blindly when elections are conducted. We have observed that when discussions and deliberations in respect of candidates are being conducted, some deputies do not utter a word, while others are sound asleep. Some deputies have expressed objections to the fact that the law allows joint nomination by 10 deputies or more: How can candidates nominated by 10 people be listed together with people nominated by the presidium? Some deputies feel that the candidates determined by the upper levels are the most suitable and most natural candidates. They feel this is so because the upper levels are linked with the party and the party is in turn linked with absolute discernment. Some deputies were themselves selected for appointment by the upper levels. If they now use their power to oppose those who made them deputies, that would be embarrassing and would be lacking in consideration.

III. The Impact on the Mind

It can be said that in our country high-level cadres have never had to go through a situation of open competition like this, even though this is but "initial" competition.

In the past, the upper levels decided who would be candidates. The decision was final and "guaranteed." This was a divergence from the democratic system and produced mental abnormalities in some cadres. You may recall when not long ago ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO disclosed details about the mayor of Wuwei City. "I have been sent by the provincial and prefectural committees. It was not I who chose to come." When he aggressively stifled the criticisms and suggestions put forward by the people's congress and the prefectural committee leader roughly received the paper which contained the deputies' criticisms, they did not have the people in mind. The reason is that their rise or fall, or their glory or disgrace depends on a word or an order from the upper levels, and has nothing to do with the people. For a long time, many of our cadres have similarly only been responsible to the upper levels and not had to be responsible to the lower levels or the masses.

Now, the election form has been injected with with some real content. Just having the upper levels agree does not mean that a person will be a candidate, because it is still necessary to widely solicit people's opinions. After the person becomes a candidate, it is possible to be elected or not to be elected. This is because with more candidates than posts to be filled, some persons will fail to be elected. In addition, the candidates nominated by the deputies will also join the ranks of open competition. According to statistics for 20 provinces, cities and autonomous regions, people's congress presidiums nominated 404 candidates, while those who were jointly nominated by deputies and determined to be official candidates numbered 67. Of the total of 471 candidates, it was necessary to weed out 122. That is for each three persons, one would fail to be elected. The competitiveness was greatly increased. No wonder many candidates said: "These elections have truly got the sweat flowing."

In the tranquility following the excitement of the elections, the cadres' spirits were not really calm. The cadres who were elected naturally were grateful that they had won the masses' trust, but more of their thoughts were spent on how they were going to maintain the support of the masses. The cadres then began to put more efforts into this aspect, and give more of their thoughts to it. Yue Qifeng [1471 1477 1496], the newly-elected governor of Hebei Province said: "After I was elected, I had a greater sense of worry. Hebei is more backward than its neighbors of Henan and Shandong and it is necessary to "cure poverty" and "cure sluggishness." Wang Youhui [3769 1635 6540], who has been newly-elected as a vice chairman of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress pointed out: "The conditions and treatment accorded to us high-level cadres should be made known to the public

and we should be subject to supervision by the masses. First, we should publicly disclose our incomes to the people of the province and if the people discover that our expenditure is greater than our income, they can ask for an explanation. Second, we should make known the names and units of our close relations. As soon as anyone uses their position to engage in irrational transfers, the masses should ask for an explanation. Third, we should make known our vehicles and houses and allow the masses to supervise us and ensure that during our tenure in office we do not change our vehicles and housing to seek prestige and luxury."

As the elections involve more candidates than posts to be filled, while some people are elected, there will indeed be people who fail to be elected. Of course the reasons for someone failing to be elected are complex. There are some cadres who have great support but who, because of restrictions in terms of the number of candidates allowed or the structure of the group, fail to be elected. Some cadres are always arrogant and harsh and only consider themselves. They naturally fail to be elected. There are other cadres who work hard and bear the burdens of their jobs, but whose official achievements have been ordinary. Sometimes such cadres fail to get the deputies' nod.

Further, some other people fail to be elected because the session organization is too rigid, the process by which the candidates are introduced is not perfect or the masses do not know them well. This shows that we still have not yet completely broken through the fetters of the old system and that the degree of transparency has not yet reached its optimum level. This affects the thoughts and choices of the deputies and requires the adoption of the correct attitude towards elections where there are more candidates than posts to be filled and a correct attitude towards the masses.

The thoughts of the cadres who failed to be elected are also diverse. Those whose achievements in office have not been outstanding want to know how they can start from the beginning. Those who have not gone deeply among the masses think about how they can obtain the masses' trust. Those who have not been too honest think about how they can be honest in their administration. Of course, it cannot be denied that there are some candidates who "have a high perception of themselves." They do not prepare sufficiently in terms of thinking about the likelihood of their being elected, and after they fail to be elected, they are immediately dispirited. They do not look for defects in themselves and only get angry that there has been insufficient affirmation of their work.

In brief, a large number of our country's cadres are not used to democratic life. In the competitive activities where they meet the deputies, have a dialogue with the deputies and accept the deputies' choice, some people still appear unnatural and seem awkward. Some continually fidget with their hand and some, on facing the several hundred delegates, are so anxious that they weat.

Some even plead sickness and do not come, and this results in the deputies losing their hopes in them. There are other candidates who were nominated by deputies and who generally seem to be not very bold or assured. It is as if not having been nominated by the presidium of the congress, they are "unofficial." They always repeatedly state their attitudes both orally and in writing, and note that if they did not have the qualities, they could not have become candidates. The deputies always ask them: If you were a candidate nominated by the congress presidium, would you have stated your stand so often? Of course, we can understand the attitude of these candidates. They have all sorts of apprehensions: They are afraid of people accusing them of wanting to be officials and wanting "to get something for themselves"; they are afraid that they will lose face if they fail to be elected; they are afraid that people will say they do not respect the party committee, and so on. In the same way, some high-level cadres do not have a very large capacity for bearing losses suffered in competition. Being able to move up or move down is an ideal which has just been tried. Today, as the mechanism of competition has been drawn into the high-level cadre management system, high-level cadres in facing the possibility of failing to be elected, must be calm and firm. They must not become dejected or down-hearted and instead should establish a new concept which accords with the democratic political development. Those who have abilities must be willing to again participate in competition and must not rely on preferential work arrangements. The practice of making arrangements elsewhere for those who have been voted out in a particular place will form a threat to the system of elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled.

IV. The Tilt of the Old System

The force which has been released by the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled has spread to the entire system.

This type of election has enriched the content and connotation of "the party managing cadres." In the past, "the party managing cadres" was restricted to several people in the party committee and several people in the organizational department deciding on cadres. The cadre choice was very narrow, it was a very closed affair and the irregularities go without saying. The elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled expands the cadre choice to the whole of society and greatly increases the degree of openness. Liu Yuan spoke well when he said that the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled and the joint nomination of candidates by deputies constituted a pounding and reform of the series of old personnel and organizational appointment systems. Regarding his own election, he humorously noted: "In an inevitable situation, it was coincidental that it was I who was elected."

The selection of cadres by the masses does not constitute an attack on "the party managing cadres." Quite the contrary, it is a fine supplement and it results in a strengthening of the party's leadership. This is because regardless of whether it is the presidium or the masses who nominate the cadres, the yardstick for the use of power is unitary: observance of the Constitution and law and the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies. The party's leadership as manifested by the party's management of cadres and the party's leadership as manifested by the selection of the cadres by the masses are here harmonized and unified. A leading comrade of the central authorities has said that for a long period there had not been any good methods devised by which the system of appointments and dismissals could be linked up with the masses' appraisal. These elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled is a beneficial experiment in this respect.

The sad thing is that there are some party committees which do not consciously complete this unification. When they recommend candidates, some within the party do not encourage democracy and instead decide the name list on the basis of the personal preferences of the party committee leaders. There are others who, although they carry out surveys of public opinion, do not decide the name list on that basis. The soliciting of views from democratic parties is only for show. Doing things in this way will, either through the meeting of obstacles in the elections or through the extension of inner-party contradictions to the sphere outside the party, create many problems for the elections.

The elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled place higher demands on the people's congresses. In the past, some of the masses said: The party secretary and the governor do not need to worry when they get advanced in years as there is always the provincial CPPCC committee and the people's congress." This sees the provincial CPPCC Committee and the people's congress as organs for cadres after they leave their posts or retire. The elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled has changed this idea. For people's congress leaders, the deputies require people who are competent for the tasks and who are brave enough to establish people's congress power. Liu Fusheng [0491 1133 3932], who was jointly nominated by deputies and elected as the chairman of the people's congress of Hunan Province, is 57 this year. When answering our queries, he frankly stated that his nomination and election by the deputies was unexpected. According to unwritten stipulations, when provincial party committee or provincial government leaders reach 60, they are transferred to the people's congress, and he said that he did not have the "strings." Perhaps his election was the externalization of the great hopes of the Hunan deputies. Wang Youhui, a vice chairman of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress clearly stated: "The people's congress leadership should not be a step towards retirement."

Elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled demand open government and that leaders' major achievements are directly known to the masses. In these elections, some people fail to be elected because the achievements of the candidates nominated by the upper levels are not understood by the masses, because there is blind voting and because people vote for whoever they have heard the most about. We made enquiries of some deputies on this point. Someone said: "I vote on the basis of age and ignore the youngest and the oldest." Another said: "I only go by the resumes. I am a bit confused when casting my sacred vote." Many people's congress deputies strongly pointed out that it was necessary for there to be regular reports of government activities issued to the deputies. Regular work reports of all those who were voted into office should also be provided to deputies. The work achievements of all these people should also be quantitatively analyzed and sent to the deputies.

Elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled demand a more scientific and more democratic system of election for people's congress deputies. The raising of the quality of provincial level people's congress deputies depends on the improvement of the electoral system below the provincial level. If we begin at the basic-level elections and at each level can get those people who can best represent the masses and have the greatest ability to participate in administration as people's deputies, then it will greatly raise the quality of the provincial level and even the national level people's congresses. With the improvement of the quality of the deputies, the atmosphere of democracy will be more lively.

Elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled also require self-improvement. At present, the elections have not fully manifested democratic, equal and open competition. In the election of people's congress chairmen and governors in some provinces, where it is possible not to have elections in which there are more candidates than the number of posts to be filled, they will do their best not to have such elections. Where it is necessary to have such elections, they ensure that the elections are restricted to the lowest proportion possible. In some provinces, there is very unequal treatment meted out to the candidates nominated by the presidium and candidates nominated by deputies and in the name lists there will be a definite precedence. The deputies have called for breaking through this old system as quickly as possible. In order to further perfect the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled, the deputies have called for the reform of the electoral system. For example, they want to increase the time between the nomination by the presidium and the voting. It may even be possible to adjourn the meeting to allow fuller consideration of candidates. Some others advocate making the list of candidates known to the public so that the broad masses can participate in the choice.

In the beginning, the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled cannot avoid mistakes. For example, after the election of deputy governors in

some provinces, it was found that structural imbalance occurred, with more than enough who could manage cultural, education and public health, but none who could manage agriculture. Further, those cadres who had been very honest and fair in their work but who had thereby offended many people were not elected, while those people who were indifferent to principle and did not offend anyone were voted in. Those with good abilities and talents were not elected while those mediocre persons were elected. Many other examples of the problems which exist could be cited. However, the important thing is that we should not negate the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled just because the system has some defects. These drawbacks will be rectified and gradually reduced as the electoral system is perfected. Everything has both good and bad sides. We should use those things with great benefits. This is the fundamental point in our appraisal and choices during the reforms. Are not the suppression of democracy, the structural imbalance and the difficult-to-resolve defects produced by elections in which the number of candidates is equal to the number of posts to be filled, greater drawbacks than those which the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled bring?

V. The Curtain Has Opened

Elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled are a democratic system which stimulates the masses to participate in government. At present, it signifies the progress of the systematization of our country's politics and also signifies the level of the masses' participation in politics in our country.

Elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled combines the power of the masses to choose cadres and the mechanism of competition between cadres. At present, the power of the masses to choose cadres is not great or wide-ranging and competition between cadres has not been developed in an overall way. The limits in these two respects restrict the elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled to their primary stage. If we say that the implementation of elections in which there are more candidates than posts to be filled is a breakthrough in perfecting democracy, then we are only at the breakthrough point and there is plenty of room for further development

A Good Form for Democratic Political Building at the Grass Roots Level—Comments on Peasants' Self-Government Organizations

*HK1108123888 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 pp 40-41*

[Article by Zhao Zhongsan 6392 0112 0005 of QIUSHI]

[Text] One of our imperative tasks at present is to build socialist democratic politics. How to do this at the rural grass-roots level? In recent years, peasants' self-governed

organizations have been formed at short intervals in Xingtai Prefecture on the South Hebei Plains. They provide us with good experience in this light.

In the spring of 1986, the first committee for weddings and funerals in Hebei Province was formed by peasants of Dajiang Village in the south of Baixiang County, Xingtai Prefecture. Not long after that, peasants' self-governed organizations mushroomed in rural areas of other counties or cities of Xingtai Prefecture, and across all Hebei Province. They were in the form of social moral appraisal council, political participation council, society for the study of major events, association against women's gambling, association for coordinated housing construction, appraisal council to register villagers' contributions and faults, or association for the respect for the aged and for the virtuous. The committees of these groups are all recommended and elected by the villagers. Usually they are law-abiding, competent, impartial individuals who are "public" figures revered by the villagers. The groups name themselves and establish their own system of office. The rules and regulations are democratically established by the villagers. They are then publicized and all have to abide by them. These peasants' self-governed organizations discuss and participate in village politics and carry out self-administration, self-education, and self-service. They neither require funds for their activities nor subsidies for the time members spend on them. They work at their own will and deal with difficult and practical cases related to the interest of all the households. These are cases that the village government cannot reach, the village cadres cannot handle well, or the individual household is not fit to deal with. These groups have basically formed the ability to control public opinion in the village and to resolve many practical problems. They have opened a feasible channel of the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots level.

The emergence of peasants' self-governed organizations is not incidental. In recent years, the deepening of the contract system of responsibility linked to production and the development of the commodity economy have stimulated the consciousness of independence and autonomy that has been latent in peasants' souls. The peasants have further developed their consciousness of democracy and political participation or discussion and have raised new demands for the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots level. It is in this context that many peasants' self-governed organizations in Xingtai prefecture were created by peasants themselves. Since these new groups appeared, they have manifested their own vitality. Not only are they supported by the peasants, they are also highly esteemed and supported by the party and the government.

In the report to the 13th party congress, comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that "the nature and the core of socialist democratic politics is that the people are masters who truly enjoy all the rights of citizens and the power to administer the country and the enterprises and

undertakings. At the present stage of building of socialist democratic politics, we must aim at practical results and at mobilizing the initiative of the masses at the grass-roots level. We must start from what can be done and aim at perfecting the system at the grass-roots level." To strengthen the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots level is the basis for the building of socialist democratic politics. To practice self-government by villagers is a good form of practicing democratic politics at the grass-roots level. The peasants' self-governed organizations of Xingtai prefecture have diverse styles and goals. They participate in or administer specific social affairs and deal with social contradictions in villages. In this way they have shown the characteristic of "self-government." The masses are their own masters. They are equal and all of them participate and decide on things related to themselves. They are true masters. In the past, there was a lack of democratic consciousness and democratic habits. When there were problems, such as conflict between neighbors over land for houses, or occupation of motor-pumped wells and electrical machinery to water the fields, peasants had the habit of going to the leadership or the government for help. Since various peasants self-governed organizations have been formed, things have changed. Peasants no longer go to the leadership with every problem. Instead, they administer themselves and resolve problems among themselves with their new concepts of independence and participation and as their own masters. With the advantage of self-education, which cannot be replaced by cadres, and their unique ways of resolving conflicts, the peasants have resolved many difficult cases which were headaches for the government and the court. They have changed the phenomenon of looking for the government to resolve major and minor problems alike. Before, cadres at the village and county levels had to expend a great deal of energy tackling village disputes and other social affairs. Now, most of these are well resolved by peasants' self-governed organizations at the village level.

What happened in Xingtai prefecture over the past 2 years shows that peasant self-government has promoted the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots levels in several ways.

First, the peasants are now more conscious of themselves as masters and of democracy and political participation. This is good for changing ideas and behavior, and establishing new social customs and a good social order. Since they started practicing self-government, peasants have changed from the attitude of "having to do" to "wanting to do" things. Their sense of mission and responsibility has also strengthened. They take the initiative to raise suggestions to cadres. Before it was "cadres leading the masses by the nose." Now it is "the masses pushing the cadres along." Weddings and funerals that were carried out in luxury for a time before are now done frugally according to new regulations. Baixiang county is a small county with a population of 150,000. In the past, 7 million yuan had to be spent on weddings, funerals, and temple fair each year. The

amount was a tenth of the entire county's income. With villagers' self-government, 5 million yuan can be saved and used for development of production. In the past, no one looked after the ditches or repaired the roads. There were fights over the land for construction of houses. The financial administration was chaotic. Now these phenomena are all gone. The number of criminal cases related to fighting, theft, gambling, and serious violation of the law have drastically dropped. Village order has much improved.

Second, the cadres' responsibility has become lighter and scientific and democratic decision-making at the grass-roots level has been promoted. Before, major and minor business in the village had to be decided by the cadres. Many conflicts had to be resolved by cadres. Cadres were always busy but not often understood by villagers. In some places there was even tension between cadres and the masses. With the implementation of rural reform, the number of cadres has been reduced. Because of peasant self-government, cadres can free themselves from nitty gritty things and concentrate their energy on grasping party branch construction, the thorough implementation of party direction and policy, and long range village planning, and guide the masses to get rich. At the same time, because of the participation of and supervision by peasants' self-governed organizations, corruption of cadres at the grass-roots level has been decreasing and more cadres work according to party policy. On the other hand, democratic and scientific decision-making at the grass-roots level has been promoted and losses caused by subjective and blind decisions have decreased. There has been conspicuous improvement of cadre-masses relationship which is much more harmonious than before. People's production initiative has also been greatly raised.

Third, the political and cultural quality and legal concept of the rural masses have been raised, and this is positive for the development of a new generation of peasants. Since their rights of political participation and criticism are respected, the rural masses are more willing to work according to party policy. After the formation of peasants' self-governed organizations, more peasants are concerned for national affairs, view television news programs, study party direction and policy, study scientific and cultural knowledge, study legal knowledge, have a concern for collective life, and act according to law.

The main body of democratic politics at the rural grass-roots level is the peasantry. Of China's 1 billion population, 80 percent is rural. The building of democratic politics at the rural grass-roots will have tremendous impact on the building of democratic politics nationwide. Some people argue that the peasants are free and unorganized and have a low cultural and policy level. They conclude that conditions are not ripe for peasant self-government. This is a prejudice. It is true that the cultural and political qualities of our rural masses are not high enough. However, we should not ignore their socialist initiative and competent individuals among them

who can govern the nation. Nor should we slow down the pace of building democratic politics at the grass-roots level. We should correctly understand the peasants ideologically, actively support them, and guide them to carry out self-government. The peasants self-governed organizations of Xingtai prefecture have proved that the rural masses need self-government and are competent enough for it. As well, they have sought a road for the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots level. They are a good beginning in spite of some areas that need improvement.

Since the press has reported on the peasants' self-governed organizations of Xingtai prefecture, many similar organizations have been formed across China to promote the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots level. This is a very good thing. The leadership at all levels of the party and the government should respect the innovative spirit of the masses and actively support, nurture, guide, and help them. Give them autonomy to do it but do not abandon them, and help them do it but do not take it over altogether. Leaders should neither perform formalism and abruptly put things into practice with the power of administrative order, nor take the peasants' job into their own hands. Peasants should have the autonomy to run their own business. The Xingtai experience has shown that the relationship between the party and government on one hand and self-governed organizations on the other is not one between the leading and the led, but is one between the guiding and the guided. Under the guidance of the party and the government, different kinds of people's self-governed organizations actively work to continue promoting the building of democratic politics at the grass-roots level and to further perfect themselves.

Manuscripts Sought for QUSHI Columns
Beijing QUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese
No 2, 16 Jul 88 p 41

[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," "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, QUSHI Journal, 2 Shatan Street North, Beijing. Contributors are requested to keep a copy of their manuscripts, since we will not be able to retrun 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

**Brilliant Thought and Lofty Values—A Praise of
‘Selections of Zhou Enlai’s Letters’**

*HK1008073188 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 pp 42-44*

[Article by Yang Zenghe 2799 1073 0735 of the CPC
Literature Research Center]

[Text] In March this year, “Selections of Zhou Enlai’s Letters”, edited by the CPC Literature Research Center, was published and copies were soon sold out. This book is very popular. To meet public demand, the publisher has reprinted more copies.

It is not incidental that the people are so interested in “Selections of Zhou Enlai’s Letters.” Like other important works of Zhou Enlai, this book is rich in content. The ideas expressed in it are insightful. The readers feel encouraged and urged on after reading it. Meanwhile, this book has its own characteristics. Letters are not articles written for publication, long speeches, or formal work reports. They are usually written to one’s family, relatives, classmates, party comrades, and friends outside the party. They are used to exchange ideas, share views, and investigate problems. Usually they are not long. Some are just a few lines. Yet they are even more telling of the writer’s personality and thought, and more effective in conveying the writer’s thoughts and arousing response from readers.

The introduction of the book brings us back to the beginning of this century, a dark age when imperialism and feudal warlords ruled China. Then Zhou Enlai was still a young man at school. At that age he already felt deeply about the broken country and the suffering people. He had been seeking ways to save the motherland and the people from adversity and humiliation.

In September 1917, Zhou left Tianjin and boarded an eastbound steamer. After landing in Japan, he tried to learn from everything. In his diary he wrote: “People today should have aspirations. Ordinary people are only concerned about food and clothing. But people with lofty aspirations wish to save the nation and contribute to society.” In April 1918, he wrote in a letter to Feng Wenqian, a former classmate at Nankai School who had gone to the United States, “You live in the United States. You must have seen a lot. I hope you will share your experience with me, especially new thoughts in that country.” In reading this letter, we can feel Zhou’s imperative effort to seek ways to save the country and his love for the motherland and the people.

In April 1919, Zhou returned to China and took part in the May Fourth Movement in Tianjin. After that he left for Europe. Why did Zhou go to Europe to study? In January 1921 he wrote to his cousin Chen Shizhou that “the main purpose is to acquire practical knowledge in order to become independent, and to understand the reality of foreign countries and ways to resolve problems so as to apply what I learned to our people. As to the

-isms, I am still not knowledgeable enough to identify with any one of them yet.” Here we see Zhou’s sincerity in going abroad to find ways to save China and his seriousness in choosing a way to save China. In Europe Zhou saw the developed capitalist industries and agriculture in Britain and France and felt deeply that “the major problems in China today are underdeveloped industries and education.” He hoped that Chinese students studying abroad “will be thoroughly awakened and that they will not bow to power or profit when they are back in China, but will participate more in the people’s movements.” He also hoped these people “will make more effort” to restore China. In Europe, Zhou came into contact with many social thoughts and all kinds of -isms. After serious studying and comparison and field investigation of social contradictions in the capitalist world, he maintained that anarchism “can easily become empty talk,” and reformism “has no hope of success.” Finally, he chose communism as a goal for his lifelong struggle. In March 1922, in a letter to members of the Awakening Society in China, he wrote: “We should believe in the principle of communism and the two major principles of class revolution and proletarian dictatorship.” He solemnly declared: “Once I believe in an -ism I will not change. I am determined to work for it and publicize it.” He said, “Die a heroic death, drag an ignoble existence. It is better to die heroically and give up living than to cling cravenly to life instead of braving death.” “Without cultivating, how can we harvest? Without sowing the seeds of revolution, how can we hope that communism will flower? How can we dream about red flags rising without shedding blood? Where can we find such bargains in the world?” Since then Zhou had selflessly persevered in his lifelong struggle for communism.

Many of young Zhou Enlai’s letters reveal his aspirations and ideals for going abroad to find ways to save China. They record in detail his course of development from a patriot to a communist. This is seldom found in other published works of Zhou Enlai.

In the book, Zhou’s letters to his family and relatives or about them are moving and can reveal much about Zhou as a person.

Zhou Enlai and Deng Yingchao became comrades-in-arms as early as in the May Fourth period. After going to Europe to study they decided that they would become lifelong companions. Ten of Zhou’s letters to Deng which are precious keepsakes for Deng are included in the selections for this book. Apart from two which have been published before, the rest are published for the first time. In July 1947, Deng Yingchao was in Shanghai to welcome Soong Chingling to go north to discuss plans to build the nation. Zhou wrote to her, “I was about to wash my face and go out when your letter reached me. I am very happy to receive it. I have waited a long time for it. Apart from contacting Madame Sun, please rest well. Completion of the 2-month plan will be an asset to your future work.” In March 1951, Deng was recuperating in

Hangzhou. Zhou wrote to her: "The busy person does not think of the patient as often as the patient does the busy person. But who thinks more deeply of the other has to wait for proof later." During the Geneva conference in 1954, Zhou wrote: "You are still both passionate and rational. In fact, more so as you grow old." Deng Yingchao likes this comment a great deal and regards it as the best appraisal of her. In March 1959 Zhou wrote again, "Now that I am old, there are inevitably remembrances. But this age always asks us to look forward, to think for our antecedents, and to learn from the young." From these letters, we see the noble and affectionate communication between husband and wife as well as mutual encouragement in ideology and work. They manifest the noble sentiments of communists in family life.

In all his letters to other family members and relatives or about them, Zhou showed the same noble sentiment. During the war years, Zhou wrote to his cousin and cousin's wife. He said that "life depends on struggle" and advised them to involve in production. After the founding of the PRC, he did not allow his family and relatives to enjoy any "privilege" because of him. What Zhou expected others to do he always did it first. In 1956, Zhou's aunt was seriously ill. Zhou sent a letter to the people's committee of Huaian county and said that since no cure was possible, "do not send her elsewhere for cure." He also added that the funeral should be "run according to the spirit of frugality and simplicity." He also sent 200 yuan for medical and funeral expenses. In April 1957, he again wrote to the people's committee of Huaian county. The money he had previously sent was not enough to pay for his aunt's funeral. So Zhou also sent the outstanding amount. He also said in the letter that he would financially support his sister-in-law Tao Hua thereafter. Zhou disciplined himself strictly and expected his family and relatives to discipline themselves too. He never said or did anything without considering its effect on the party and the people first.

When we read Zhou's letters to his friends and comrades, we can also feel his modesty in the form of treating all as equal. He respected others and was concerned for them. He never imposed his ideas on others. During the anti-Japanese war, Guo Moruo was in Chongqing and had written the play "Chinese Bush Cherry Flowers" and a research paper "The Thoughts of Qu Yuan". He invited Zhou to comment on them. After reading them, Zhou suggested many changes in terms of content and language and raised many valuable points. However, he still discussed these with Guo in a letter, asking, "Do you agree with me on them?" Specifically, he asked: "In your original letter, you put down 'guanshan zhu hai', I wonder if it should be the allusion 'guanshan fu hai'? I at first thought it was a slip of hand so I changed it. Now I ask you again just to make sure." During a meeting in Shanghai in 1958, Mao Zedong's poem "Huanxisha" had not been published yet, comrades Lu Zhengcao and others were reading the hand copied poem. In it was a line "It was dark in Chi county throughout the long night." Another Chinese character was put down for

"county" so no one could make out what the line meant. They asked Zhou. Zhou said he did not understand the line either. Afterwards Zhou found the original copy and realized a mistake had been made in the hand written copy. He immediately wrote to Lu Zhengcao and said, "At first I wanted to phone you. But you were taking an afternoon nap, so I am writing you a letter instead." This letter is short but reveals how modest, sincere, and caring Zhou was to his comrades.

Zhou Enlai was a great proletarian revolutionary. He was a party and state leader for a long time. He had written letters to fight for the Chinese liberation and socialist victory. Although it was his work to write these letters, they still reflect his thoughts and style.

During the great revolutionary period, the communist party and the KMT collaborated. Zhou had done a lot of work to make this collaboration a possibility. After that Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution and tens of thousands of communists were jailed or killed. Large numbers of workers, peasants, and the Red Army were ruthlessly "encircled and suppressed" five times. However, when Japanese imperialism was deeply entrenched in China and the Chinese people were facing life or death, Zhou advocated forgetting past misgivings and jointly confronting the enemies. The communists and the KMT collaborated again. In order to form a united national front against Japanese invasion, Zhou wrote many letters to appeal to many people in China and to the KMT authorities. In May 1936 he wrote to Zhang Boling, president of Nankai University, and said that "regardless of party and creed, we should unite all Chinese regional governments and all army troops to form a national defense government against the Japanese army and to unite in the face of a common enemy." He added that "if you agree, please be the first to say it and lead the others." This shows how sincere Zhou was. In September, he wrote to Chen Guofu, Chen Lifu, Hu Zongnan, and Chiang Kai-shek respectively to comment on the situation and advised them frankly. He said to Chiang, "I wish you to be a national hero, not a national sinner." He sincerely urged them to put as priority the defense against the Japanese and to "enter the domain of collaborating again to fight the Japanese." Zhou was broad-minded, forgiving, perceptive, and had foresight. For the benefit of the nation and the people, he was prepared to forgive past enemies and unite all that could be united. He was able to grasp turning points in history, raise correct proposals in time, and push the wheel of history forward. Zhou treated as equal all democratic parties and people, worked with them sincerely and helped them in many ways. After the South Anhui incident created by the KMT happened in January 1941, the safety of democratic patriots was threatened. Zhou arranged for them to transfer to south China and Hong Kong to work. In the winter of the same year, Zhou sent an urgent message to Liao Chengzhi and others, who were responsible for the Hong Kong office of the Eighth Route Army, and asked them to help the democratic patriots who were stuck in Hong Kong to move to a safe

place. In June 1946, the Communist and KMT peace talk was about to come to a breach. Zhou wrote to the party central in time and said that "if the situation comes to an abrupt change, our party members working outside will try all means to return to the liberated areas. Also, members of the Democratic League and other progressive elements will go to various liberated areas so as to flee KMT oppression." These letters and actions demonstrate our party's determination to work together with non-party people and stand with them in times of adversity.

Many of Zhou's letters to responsible comrades and cadres in the party reflect Zhou's consideration for the whole situation, his effort to unite the comrades, and his opposition to factionalism and "leftism." In December 1931, once Zhou entered the Chinese Soviet Area, he wrote to the Central Political Bureau and suggested correcting the mistake committed during the elimination of counter-revolutionaries in west Fujian. In July 1932, he wrote to the Central Bureau of the Chinese Soviet Area to oppose the resistance against Mao Zedong's correct leadership and to suggest "appointing Mao as chief political commissar." In December, Zhou wrote to the Central Bureau of the Chinese Soviet Area again and stressed that those who had worked for the previous government should be correctly treated. He suggested that comrades who had committed mistakes should be criticized and corrected in trust. In a letter to Wang Zimu in January 1945, Zhou hoped he would "do more studying and research," showing Zhou's friendliness and willingness to advise. During the Cultural Revolution, Zhou did his best to protect those comrades who were oppressed. In a letter to Ji Dengkui, Li Zhen and others in December 1972, Zhou showed his deep concern for comrades who were exiled or jailed.

Many entries in "Selections of Zhou Enlai's Letters" reflect Zhou's correct ideas and suggestions for socialist construction. In January 1951, he wrote to Wang Zhen and Sai Fuding to say that "when inviting Soviet experts to design for us, we must inform them beforehand about the scope of design, our material basis, technological conditions, production ability, and financial state, so that they know what is within our means" and design according to Chinese reality and needs. In 1952, China was about to start planned economic construction. Zhou wrote to Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi in time and said that he proposed "to focus my work on studying the 5-year plan and on foreign affairs." In January 1955, he wrote to Mao suggesting a meeting with Li Siguang and Qian Sanqiang. He and other party central leaders then made a strategic decision to develop China's atomic work. In 1958, mistakes like the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune movement took place. Zhou wrote to Deng Yingchao on the need to pay attention to problems arising from the drastic transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people and from socialism to communism. In 1960, Zhou wrote to Li Fuchun, head of the State Planning Commission, and reminded him that there should be allowance in planning

and that "the situation of spending the next year's revenues should be avoided so as to avoid finding the country in a tight financial situation." Up until the Cultural Revolution, Zhou still wrote to Zhang Wenyu and Zhu Guangya to urge "the academy of sciences to grasp the basic sciences and theoretical research." These correct ideas of Zhou had great significance to the development of China's socialist construction.

Zhou is known in and outside of the party for his spirit of selfless contribution. "Selections of Zhou Enlai's Letters" also manifests this characteristic. Every day Zhou was occupied with a myriad of state affairs and he worked his heart out. In 1972 he caught a terminal disease, but he still worked as much as he could. After being hospitalized in June 1974, he still met with many foreign guests, talked with responsible party central comrades, and handled large amounts of routine party and state work. In March 1975, before he went in for the 3rd major operation, he still wrote to Mao to report his illness in detail, and "to plead with the chairman not to be worried." After the operation, in July he wrote to a Thai friend urging him to give his best to promote the friendship between Thailand and neighboring countries. During the last days of his life, Zhou still only thought about state affairs.

"Selections of Zhou Enlai's Letters" is a precious spiritual wealth that Zhou left to the Chinese people.

It Is Difficult To Be An Honest and Upright Official

HK1008081588 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 pp 45-46

[Article by Yan Gang 7051 4854 after reading 'The Way of Stories' by Lu Wenfu 7120 2429 1133, which was originally published in YALU JIANG No 3, 1988]

[Text] Beginning by "talking" about a "small" place, speaking sincere words, laughing a little, talking about the people of the villages, creating interest with his clever pen and making sharp comments through seemingly simple prose—this is realism, Lu Wenfu's realism.

He has already written 21 of the "Accounts of People in the Back-Streets."

In respect of Yao Xiaoming, who has "become an official," all the people of the "back-streets" use "the way of stories" in giving him all sorts of views, raising all sorts of difficulties, carrying out lively discussion, talking frivolously, dredging up embarrassing facts from the past, seeking news, making jokes, hoping that he will set up a back door for his friends from the neighborhood and thereby pay his debts and do good deeds.

"Even Judge Bao sometimes carried out incognito visits. How could he remain aloof from the masses?"

"Didn't Liu Shaoqi go deep among the masses? He went to people's places, sat on the brick bed. And what was the result? Whoever he had sat with suffered afterwards. They were either killed or had their legs broken."

It is difficult being an official.

Although this Yao who is head of a certain unit is very conscientious, keeps busy, is honest and upright, does not have his secretary compile draft reports, does not swagger around in his limousine, he can still not get away from the banquets, the ribbon-cuttings and the congratulations. He wants no part of it, but what can he do?

Serving as an official is momentary, but living as a person is for life. You must therefore be honest in your office in order to not let people gossip about you.

Still this will not do. If it is not old neighbors sitting around, it is their children blocking the way and engaging in abuse.

"You have to get on in the world, sonny, and now all you care about is your own future." "I have no prospects, no qualifications or professional post. I am coming to you for help because I have no other way. All I want is some kind of housing arrangement. But you put on airs and talk to me in your bureaucratic tone. Must admit you have put on an impressive show.... And I used to know you so well."

Yao was infuriated by all these remarks. He asked himself: What is so good being an official? What is so good about being one? "Some kind of housing arrangement" indeed. He himself had not even given any thought to his own housing arrangement.

It is difficult to be an official, even more difficult to be an honest and upright official.

Lu Wenfu is full of sympathy for the young new official. What can he do if that is the way of the world?

On reading such accounts, educated people like us—those who are officials and those who are not, those who want to be officials and those who do not, those who are familiar with officialdom and those who are not, as well as those who vowed never to become officials and vowed to fight for the interests of the people—can all imagine what it must have been like and sympathize with his predicament.

This is probably a common situation at a time when the state is resolved to reform its political structure but the political structure has not been thoroughly reformed. "Back-streets" is a world in miniature. How can it not be one? On the big stage of the "back-streets," one can see the prevailing mood from trivial things and read issues from light-hearted comments and critical remarks. A light pen reveals a heavy heart.

To be an official, one must face the problem of whether or not to set up a back door and handle interpersonal

relations well. Yao, a kind-hearted young man, is after all too green in the ways of the world and in office. He is baffled by requests for housing, job transfers and what not from his acquaintances. By a stroke of luck he has managed to solve the problems inadvertently. He is really too green and inexperienced in officialdom. He is perhaps too cautious and is not aware of the authority he has. On the question of authority, he can only see its external drawbacks and has not yet realized that it can work wonders and miracles. "All he is aware of is the simple and crude practice of abusing one's authority for personal gains. He has yet to learn the skill of using one's authority to get one's ideas across."

Lu Wenfu soon discovers that this young man has made some progress (at least in his study of authority as something that is both stable and can reduce friction, just as one studies fluid mechanics). Hydraulic drive is indeed superior to gear drive. Last time he got his problems solved quite by accident. This time he is much cleverer and is doing things deliberately.

When Lu Wenfu is writing his stories up in his attic, our protagonist has skillfully, appropriately, smoothly and without friction, discreetly and without being too obvious solved a number of difficult problems, demonstrated his good office and repaid favors to everyone's satisfaction. He has kept the interests of the state, the public, the back-streets, his friends and himself at heart while remaining honest and upright. You probably ought to know that this time contract teams have moved into the back-streets. "Contracting" has been introduced into the city. Gone is the sewage problem in the "King of Hell Avenue" where Yao lives. All of a sudden there are flowers and trees, creeping vines, nice shades and cool breeze in this part of town. Gentlemen, can you say this is not the work of reform?

Old ginger has a stronger bite to it. Lu Wenfu, being older than the new official, has the piercing eyes of a writer and is able to make penetrating analysis while talking cheerfully and humorously in a rather laid back manner. Although he spends most of his time in his attic, he is knowledgeable and is full of worldly understanding. His "Way of Stories" has infinite power and shows keen insight into people and events. He tells his stories in a leisurely tone of voice. He just talks about what is happening in this or that household without passing judgement. He describes the scenery and the people, throws in one or two anecdotes and jokes, talks to and teases his readers. His stories are both interesting and funny, but they are not to be taken lightly. Casual but meaningful words mark the style of Lu Wenfu.

Lu Wenfu naturally hopes to see the "back-streets" become affluent as soon as possible. He is, after all, extremely warm-hearted and sober. Otherwise his "Ways of Stories" would not have been such an ingenious piece of work.

"In tranquility one can see Nature's clever arrangements; in leisure one can look back and see the difficulties people had gone through." This is how the attic writer of the back-streets works.

Notes on the Poem 'Decapitation of Lu Xun'
*HK1008082988 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 p 46*

[Article by Shu Wu 5289 5617]

[Text] "If Lu Xun had lived, he would be here in front of Tiananmen, awaiting decapitation." This line was from a poem which was being secretly circulated during the Cultural Revolution. After the downfall of the "Gang of Four," Zhou Yang was asked if he had written this line. Zhou Yang admitted to having heard of it, but said he did not write it. I do not quite agree with the pessimistic tone in this poem. As I see it, had Lu Xun lived, he definitely would not have been beheaded during the Cultural Revolution. Neither would he have become a "key target to be protected." Was it not true that Mao Dun and Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] were both given protection? How could Lu Xun not be given protection? However, I totally understand how the author of this line and those who circulated this poem must have felt. I also subscribe to the basis on which their pessimistic view was shaped. They had soberly realized that in the field of culture, the "Cultural Revolution" had its target directed against the "May Fourth" tradition represented by Lu Xun. Mao Dun and Guo Moruo were representative figures of the "May Fourth" tradition who were still alive when the "Cultural Revolution" broke out. Although they were given protection, life was anything but pleasant for them. This was obvious to all. The criticism of the "theory of middle characters" and of the film "The Lin Family Shop" was directed against Mao Dun although his name was not mentioned. Guo Moruo had to hurriedly declare that he was about to burn all his books. It has now been discovered that he had made this statement under pressure from Kang Sheng. This laid bare their intention to "kill the person and burn his books." In any case, "Li Bai and Du Fu" subsequently published was still criticized as "a bad piece." If Mao Dun and Guo Moruo had to go through such an ordeal, one can imagine what life must be like for Lu Xun had he lived in those days. During the "Cultural Revolution" Lu Xun was often quoted out of context and his words were often distorted and used as a weapon for attacking people. That was because Lu Xun was already dead. That was Lu Xun's tragedy. Had Lu Xun lived, as someone more representative of the "May Fourth" tradition than Mao Dun and Guo Moruo, the problem would have been how to weaken his influence as much as possible rather than how best to make use of him. Although Lu Xun would not have been physically there in front of Tiananmen awaiting decapitation, it is definitely not too much of an exaggeration to say that spiritually he would have been among those "awaiting decapitation."

This is by no means a wild fancy. It has now been generally agreed that the "Cultural Revolution" was against science and democracy. In other words, it was opposed to the two principles supported by the "May Fourth" movement. Since the "Cultural Revolution" was opposed to the "May Fourth" tradition, it must also

have been opposed to Lu Xun. This is a logical conclusion. Is it not true that the so-called "sinister line in literature and art during the 1930s" which bore the brunt of attack was in fact just a development of the "May Fourth" tradition toward the left wing. Is it not true that Zhou Yang, Xia Yan [1115 5888] and Tian Han [3944 3352] had all received their initial enlightenment during the "May Fourth" movement before they eventually became Marxists. Is it not true that Feng Xuefeng [7458 7185 1496], Hu Feng [5170 7364] and Ding Ling [0002 3781] had been looked upon as "unorthodox" since the 1940s because they had to varying degrees upheld the "May Fourth" tradition? Toward the last days of the "Cultural Revolution," in particular, with the formula of "from democrats to capitalist-roaders" being invented, the "Gang of Four" had finally revealed their real intentions and fully laid bare their plans to oppose the "May Fourth" movement and democracy.

For some strange reason, over the last few years there are people at home and abroad who attribute the historical responsibility for the "Cultural Revolution" to the "May Fourth" movement and to Lu Xun. They say that the "May Fourth" movement, particularly Lu Xun, had paved the way for the "Cultural Revolution" because they had gone overboard in advocating a complete break with the traditional culture of the nation. Some people even said that because the "May Fourth" movement had created a "cultural fault line", there was advocacy that "neo-Confucianism" should be resorted to to save our culture. Let us forget about the high-sounding question of culture for the moment and concentrate on facts. As I see it, the so-called movement to "destroy the four-olds" was only actions taken to confiscate people's homes. It was out and out looting. In the place of the "four-olds" that had been destroyed was established the most (here I feel impelled to use the language of the "Cultural Revolution") feudal set of rituals for eulogizing the sacred and worshipping the idol. For some strange reason the criticism of Lin Biao dragged Confucius into the mud. Later when it developed to the stage of criticizing the Duke of Zhou the real counterrevolutionary intentions were realed. The evaluation of the legalist school as opposed to the criticism of Confucianism in effect epitomized feudal restoration. Foreign scholars had not been through all this. I just cannot understand why people like me who live on the mainland seem to have forgotten everything and really think that Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" wanted to oppose everything traditional. Hence, I must say I admire the wisdom shown in the poem quoted at the beginning of this article.

My Views on 'Sense of Mission'
*HK1008084188 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 pp 47-48*

[Article by Su Xiaokang 5685 2556 1660 in Green Fields column]

[Text] Our big and old nation is showing signs of agitation and anxiety never seen before. The halls of our

ancestors have crumbled and the legacy and precepts handed down by our predecessors are being reevaluated. Repeated stimuli from the affluent West have disturbed the peace of mind of many of us living in the East. Descendants of Emperor Chengzu of the Ming Dynasty who ordered the eunuch Zheng He [6774-0735] and his treasure ship to embark on a mission spread his imperial benevolence overseas are now looking longingly for treasure ships from the Western Pacific.... In short, we all seem to have an inkling that our situation on this planet is somehow anything but reassuring.

Late though this realization might have come, it means that we Chinese have ceased to live in a daze. Once we have come to see where we stand, we are overcome with anxiety and decide our ancestors are to blame. We begin to scrutinize our ancestors and get angry with them easily. Honestly, for an aging nation that is waning in vitality, it is a good thing to be able to still get angry, to dare to joke about things and make criticism, and glower and glare at our ancestors. It is a pity that in the last century or so there have been far too few people like Lu Xun who dared to satirize and demonstrate their indignation at the situation.

This kind of feeling has been given a rather heavy name: sense of worry. Looking back over the past, I have discovered that we Chinese have never been lacking in this sense of worry. The roots can be traced back to Confucius who lamented that "the country will cease to be a country", and to Qu Yuan who chanted in despair at the river bank. In the glorious days of the Han and the Tang dynasties, national spirit was high. Since the Yuan and Ming dynasties, with the country frequently humiliated by foreign aggressors and in a dreadful state, a sense of worry has been passed on from generation to generation. The most typical example of such people is probably Gong Zizhen [7895-5261-3791], who wailed and cried morning and night. In my opinion, although the Chinese sense of worry has been there since time immemorial, it is neither thoroughgoing nor profound. More often than not, it is there only when the goings are rough. Nonetheless, it is something passed on from the gentry of the olden days. Thus, the awakening of this sense of worry in the minds of our present-day intellectuals, particularly against the backdrop of such a backward economic and cultural environment, is already an attainment in itself.

In China, thinkers seem to demonstrate a much stronger and more vivid sense of worry than anyone else. They have been at the vanguard all the while, from the demonstration of concern to all kinds of real-life crises and the criticism of the past to the questioning of the entire culture. Compared to them, writers who have attracted a large following with their spectacular works over the last decade seem slow in action and unaccomplished, so much so that people are getting bored with them racking their brains trying to achieve the purity of the mind, present life at its simplest, and trace their own roots. Literature has lost its powerful impact because writers have been unable to precisely grasp the pulse of the Chinese people.

This is not the case with reportage. Rather than losing their powerful impact, some of the best of such works have left such a bitter after taste in their readers that they feel disturbed for quite some time afterwards. Critics have been unable to explain this at first, but have put forward all kinds of explanations afterward. In most cases, the cause has been attributed to the fact that the sense of worry has not been eradicated from literature.

Novelists must have their considerations when they want to produce a refined piece of art. Do writers of reportage have to follow their footsteps? I should think not. While reportage does not necessarily have to serve politics, it also does not have to be the handmaid of novels. We have to find our own place and role. When so many novels are seeking to present life at its simplest, perhaps reportage is just the thing to fill up the gaps left by them.

Reportage of today cannot be without a sense of worry. We have been singing songs of praises for too long, so long that readers must have grown sick and tired of them. We should all open our eyes and take a good look. Can our songs of praises really soothe China's embittered soul? Even the most praiseworthy of all causes, namely reform, is replete with contradictions and bitterness, is it not? Readers do not want to hear any more songs of praises in reportage, just as they are bored with novels that try to achieve purity of the mind and present life at its simplest. We should be able to find our place between these two extremes.

I am not sure what we can write in reportage in times of peace. Some people say reportage has had a long history in China, but I have not done any research into this. Nonetheless, reportage which saw its ascendance at the turn of this century was indeed the product of a turbulent age. It meant that writers and artists were no longer fabricating stories under a solitary lamp in the seclusion of their studies. The American John Reed went to Russia to write about the October Revolution. The Czech (Ji-xi) [1015-1585] and another American by the name of Edgar Snow came to China to write about the revolution in the East. Those were not peaceful times. Thus, if the present era still permits us to hold our patience and either write something light or shut ourselves up in our study writing a colossal piece of work, what do we need reportage for?

Of course I have no intention of making reportage sound like an all-curing panacea. Literature can only be understood as the external projection of one's mind. We cannot be too utilitarian about it. It may be able to cure some of the social ills, but such a function is latent, not explicit. It is very difficult for writers to tell at the very beginning that they are writing works which will have a particular function or purpose. Thus, I do not quite agree with some of the views on the "sense of worry." It may have been a befitting laurel from the perspective of mass consciousness and research afterwards, but if it is used to describe the writer's creative motive, it may make him feel very embarrassed.

I cannot quite explain it, but I feel this way every time people say that my reportage on social issues shows a strong sense of mission. Not that I am ashamed to talk about the "sense of mission." Neither do I have the fashionable mentality of an "inverse sense of mission." Many times I have asked myself why I have to write about the miserable peasants, the common people who have nowhere to turn to, the intellectuals who have used up their last drop of oil. Can I, after listening to their grievances, pretend I was the savior and declare to them "I have come to save you"? Although my conscience and sympathy have often made me feel indignant, even outrageous, but I also know that I can do nothing other than say a few sympathetic and soothing words. Can I change their situation by writing their stories? Sometimes things may turn out contrary to our good intention and they may have to suffer even more. What can I change by telling their stories to the public? After the publication of "A Collection of Sacred Worries," some teachers said: Do not show me what you have written, show it to the officials. I was confused. We had sincerely intended this collection for the teachers. Thus, if we are really utilitarian in our intentions and have a strong sense of mission, we should try to wield some real power and take part in politics rather than try to write and engage in literary pursuits. Literature can no longer serve as a tool for politics. It can no longer intervene in actual life in an all-round way. Neither does society want its writers to have a direct and real sense of mission as the politicians should have.

As intellectuals, it is quite sufficient for writers to have a sense of worry. Besides, this sense of worry cannot be injected into the body like the injection of gamma globulin for the prevention of hepatitis A. Today, young people in their twenties refuse to admit they have worries although they are feeling agitated and restless. Intellectuals of the older generation are full of worries, but they keep everything to themselves while feeling miserable. I wonder if they will develop cancer if they keep their feelings pent up like that. Thus, Jin Guantao [6855 6034 3447] said: "The attitude toward intellectuals' sense of mission can perhaps be classified in terms of age." This phenomenon is a very apt topic for reportage.

What I would like to talk about here are people who have grown up in the gap between the two groups mentioned above, that is, people around 40 years of age. They are the ones who have the clearest and most profound idea of what they are worried about. Be they thinkers or writers, officials or ordinary people, these are the only people who dare not cast worries out of their minds. They are indeed what philosophers described as people with the "ultimate concern." This, I think, is the legacy

which has been dumped into their lap against their will by those absurd years and results from their having to take everything seriously in the present era.

As I see it, this generation has such a strong sense of worry probably because they, for some strange reason, think that they need to find a reasonable explanation for the youth they wasted in a life of abnormal fanaticism, zeal, infantile disorder, blind obedience, naive frankness and dedication. Even if we are not doing it out of a sense of mission, or doing it for future generations or such lofty objectives, we have to examine ourselves. Otherwise we would be doing ourselves a great injustice without really knowing why, otherwise we would become a pitiable and laughable generation of our nation. Naturally we do not hope to find the older generation blaming us any more than we deserve for having caused the turmoil. All the same we would not have dared to put the blame on society, times, fate, and so on. We have to bear our responsibility and must settle accounts with ourselves. But, very sad indeed, such settling of accounts is not meant to involve each and every person who had gone through such times, or our ancestors. This, I think, is where our worries and ultimate concern lie.

We must first of all redeem ourselves. If we have any sense of mission at all, we should first of all be responsible to ourselves. We should know that people of our generation were growing up, we were not taught how we were to combine holding ourselves responsible to ourselves and to society as a whole. We grew up under constraints, restrictions and inhibitions. We did not have a head on our shoulders. That was why we behaved so preposterously. We had been badly cheated. Now that we are finally able to exercise our own judgement, how can we not feel remorseful and want to cry our hearts out? Our sense of worry has grown out of this kind of remorse.

Since we are still linked to the past and are still very much our old mundane self, it is very difficult for us to act passionately. Thus, we are also less extreme. This is our strong point as well as our weakness. The transience of life has inadvertently given us a sense of mission, which enables us to speak only the truth and refrain from cheating others although we have been cheated. This is the sense of mission as I understand it.

Manuscripts Wanted for 'Green Fields' Column
HK0908112988 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 2, 16 Jul 88 p 48

[Text] The "Green Fields" column will mostly carry essays, prose, impressions, short commentaries on literature and art, satirical poems and cartoons. We sincerely hope that readers will give us their enthusiastic support by contributing manuscripts. Articles of less than 1,000 characters are most welcomed.

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