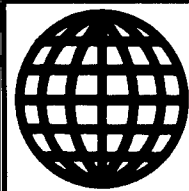


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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **China**

## ***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***

No 9, 1 May 1989

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

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**QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]**

No. 9, 1 May 1989

**Profound Mourning for Comrade Hu Yaobang**  
*OW2204035989 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 pp 2-5*

[A Speech given by Zhao Ziyang on 22 April at the Grand Memorial Meeting for Comrade Hu Yaobang at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing; text printed in FBIS-CHI-89-077 of 24 April 1989, pp 37-40]

**It Is Important for Us To Integrate Marxism With the Actual Conditions in China**  
*HK2305055589 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 pp 8-9*

[Editorial Commemorating the 70th Anniversary of the May 4th Movement]

[Text] This year we solemnly mark the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement because this great patriotic movement, which shocked the world by holding high the banner of democracy and science to advocate a new culture, awakened the Chinese people, and changed China's historical orientation from the old democratic revolution, under the leadership of the capitalist class, to a new democratic revolution under leadership by the proletariat. Since then China has turned over a new page and has been on its way toward victory step by step. The guiding principle for this orientation is Marxism.

Before the May 4th Movement, bourgeois democratism was the banner of the new ideological movement. After the May 4th Movement, advanced intellectuals who had accepted Marxism made more efforts to introduce, study, and propagate Marxism and immediately integrated it with the anti-imperialist and antifeudal movement in China. In particular, it was integrated with the workers' movement and stood in the forefront of the struggle. At that time, Marxist study societies and communist groups were established one after another. On such a basis the CPC was founded in 1921.

The spread of Marxism in China was comparatively late. At that time, not many people had the opportunity to read Marx's works. Why could it attract millions of Chinese people and gradually become accepted as the guiding ideology for the Chinese Revolution? True, it was due to the influence of the international environment (the victory of the great October Revolution in Russia and the crisis in the Western capitalist world). The most fundamental reason for this was that we had tried everything in China but it had all ended in failure. People gradually realized that only Marxism conformed with the national conditions in China and could guide the Chinese people in overthrowing the rule of imperialism and feudalism and embarking on the path of thorough emancipation. Just as Mao Zedong pointed

out: "Over the past 100 years the disaster-ridden Chinese nation and its excellent figures carried out their struggle and made sacrifices, advancing wave upon wave, seeking the truth which would rescue the nation and the people. It was an epic struggle. However, it was only after World War I and the October Revolution in Russia that they discovered the best truth of Marxism-Leninism. It was regarded as the best weapon for emancipating our nation. The CPC was the advocator, propagandist, and organizer in taking up this weapon." This was a historical choice.

Earth-shaking changes have taken place in our great motherland since the May 4th Movement. Under the leadership of the CPC all Chinese people fought bravely for 28 years and overthrew the reactionary rules of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, founded the PRC, and achieved success in the new democratic revolution. After that, a brand-new socialist system was established following socialist transformation and construction. In spite of the tortuous course taken over the past 40 years, we have achieved success in the political, economic, scientific and technological, and cultural spheres, success which has attracted worldwide attention. China has unprecedented prestige in the international community. Practice is the criterion for verifying truth. Seventy years of history prove that the choice made by the Chinese people was correct. It is under the guidance of Marxism that our achievements today have been made possible.

When the Chinese Marxist-Leninists began accepting Marxism, they attached importance to integrating it with the practical reality in China. However, such integration was never plain sailing. Dogmatist rule occurred inside the party. We once misunderstood, or dogmatized, certain tentative ideas and viewpoints contained in Marxist works and we wrongly regarded them as our guiding ideology. Such erroneous practice was characterized by the mistake of deviating from China's reality. As a result, our revolution and construction suffered repeated setbacks. Some mistakes lasted a long time whereas others lasted only a short while. They brought losses to our party in varying degrees, and the party overcame them by relying on its own efforts. Reviewing the entire history of the party, we realize that persisting in integrating Marxism with the reality in China has always been a main guiding ideology for our party.

In the process of integrating Marxism with China's practical reality, there were two historical leaps in our party's history. The first occurred in the period of the

new democratic revolution. During the 22-year period from 1927 to 1949, our party overcame numerous difficulties and gradually formulated a general strategy and various specific policies which turned the revolution from failure to victory. The party eventually succeeded in leading people throughout the country in winning the victory of the new democratic revolution. The second occurred after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. After summing up the experiences gained from the successes and failures of the socialist revolution and construction after the founding of the People's Republic, learning lessons from other socialist countries, and studying the development and changes in the world situation, we have begun to find a path to building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the practical reality in China, following our own path, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics is a basic conclusion we have drawn after summing up our long-term historical experiences."

China is now carrying out socialist modernization. It is necessary for us to attach due importance to this basic experience in our implementation of the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world. We must pay close attention to studying Marxist works by acquiring a good command of the Marxist stand, viewpoints, and methods, and by raising the level of theory. In our efforts to carry out socialist modernization, increase the productive forces, and develop the socialist commodity economy, we need to keep drawing strength from the treasure house of Marxist theories. Various Western ideological trends that swarm our way in the wake of our expanding international contacts are helpful to us in broadening our horizons. Absorbing new knowledge and drawing on experiences that are useful to us, we must classify them with the aid of the microscope and telescope of Marxism to decide which are worth learning. When studying Marxism we must "shoot the arrow at the target" and closely integrate it with the actual conditions in China. Marxism is not the starting point for our study. The starting point can only be the actual conditions in China or China's national conditions. The reason why the lines, guiding principles, and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee have achieved remarkable success and enjoyed wholehearted support by the broad masses of people is that they tally with the actual national conditions in China.

The 13th CPC National Congress made an important contribution to theory by proceeding from China's national conditions to expound and prove that our society is still at the initial stage of socialism. The report delivered to the congress by Comrade Zhao Ziyang on behalf of the CPC Central Committee points out: "China is currently at the initial stage of socialism. This thesis has two levels of meaning. First, our society is already a socialist society. We must adhere to socialism and must not deviate from it. Second, our socialist society is still at

an initial stage. We must proceed from the actual conditions and must not go beyond this stage." Here, two kinds of wrong viewpoints are negated. The first refuses to admit that under specific modern Chinese historical conditions, China can embark on the socialist road without going through the full development of capitalism stage. It even maintains that China has made a mistake in taking the socialist road and should make up the lessons of capitalism which it has missed. This is a mechanism concerning the issues that crop up in the course of the development of revolution and does not tally with the national conditions of China. History has proved that the capitalist road leads nowhere, that only socialism can save China, and that China must also advance along the socialist road if it wants to build itself into a modernized socialist country. The second kind of wrong thinking mechanically follows the instructions in the book or imitates the examples of other countries. It thinks that we can go beyond the initial stage of socialism without promoting tremendous development of the productive forces. It is overly hasty in seeking success and is blindly obsessed with pursuing ideological purity. Moreover, it rigidly adheres to the structure of an overly unitary ownership system, an ossified economic system, and an overly centralized political system linked to the aforementioned two systems. This is the theory of the idle dreamer among the issues that crop up in the course of the development of revolution, and does not tally with the national conditions of China. Practice has proved that this sort of theory and its corresponding economic and political systems have seriously hampered the development of the productive forces and socialist commodity economy. The only solution lies in reforms. The basic line of building socialism with Chinese characteristics during the initial stage of socialism was formulated by our party in light of China's national conditions. The theory on the initial stage of socialism is the result of integrating Marxism with the practical reality in China and it has developed and enriched Marxism. While studying Marxist and Leninist works, we should closely link with studying the theories on the initial stage of socialism and the party's basic line.

To commemorate the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement we should integrate the tradition of linking the inheritance and promotion of Marxism-Leninism with China's practical reality and the tradition of inheriting and carrying forward democracy and science. Chinese communists are the natural inheritors of the May 4th Movement and of the tradition of democracy and science. The process of integrating Marxism with the revolutionary practice in China is the process of continuously winning the victory in China's new democratic revolution. It is also the process of continuously carrying forward the patriotic, democratic, and scientific spirit of the May 4th Movement. This task has not yet been fulfilled. On the road to building socialism with Chinese characteristics we must continue to hold high the banner of patriotism, democracy, and science, and march forward victoriously.

**The May 4th Movement and Opposition of Feudalism**  
*HK3105030589 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 pp 10-19*

[Article by Hu Sheng]

[Text]

I

The historic achievement of the May 4th New Culture Movement lies in its courageous attack on the old culture, old ideology, and old ethics of feudalism. Hoisting the banner of democracy and science, the pioneers of the May 4th Movement opposed autocracy and obscuratism, and shouted slogans calling for the downfall of Confucius and Sons. But did they go overboard in making their demands?

By overthrowing the monarchy, the Revolution of 1911 did in a sense oppose feudalism. However, a president and a parliament existed only in form. Chaos and backwardness continued to reign in the country while politics and society remained bleak as ever: Yuan Shikai's self-proclamation as emperor, Zhang Xun's restoration attempt; even the signboard of the "republic" was in danger of being pulled down. Backed up by warlord rulers, organizations with names such as "Confucian Ethics Society," "Confucian Philosophy Society," and "Society for the Promotion of Confucianism" called for the designation of "Confucianism" as the "state religion" and advocated the three cardinal guides and five constant virtues of feudalism. By taking advantage of the people's disenchantment over the situation following the establishment of the republic, these organizations wanted people to believe that the salvation of China depended only on the stronger influence of feudal ethics. This was intended to mould public opinion in favor of the restoration of the monarchy.

The May 4th New Culture Movement raised the slogan "Down with Confucius and Sons" at a time when feudal forces occupied an absolutely predominant position. The fight against Confucianism had at least two implications at that time. First of all, Confucian ethics represented the "morals, ethics, lifestyle, and politics" of the feudal patriarchal era which was incompatible with the building of a new modern state. Hence, Chen Duxiu said: "A thorough understanding and resolute determination vis-a-vis Confucianism is absolutely necessary as the latter cannot coexist with a new society, new state, and new belief. Otherwise, no progress nor improvement will be made." Secondly, Confucius had been described as a sage for over 2,000 years and his views were regarded by people as the yardstick for determining right and wrong (rather, this is how the later generations described the "authoritativeness" of Confucius). Any deviation was regarded as criminal. The smashing of this idol to enable people to think independently was the demand spelled

out by the May 4th New Culture Movement. This was also the embodiment of the spirit of democracy and science as advocated by the May 4th New Culture Movement.

Indeed, some of the statements made by the pioneers of the May 4th Movement went too far. For instance, some people described everything inherited from Chinese history as worthless. Others considered traditional Chinese medicine as the practice of divination and the like. Still others even proposed the abolition of Chinese writing and language. In praising the achievements of the May 4th Movement in the fight against feudalism, Mao Zedong also pointed out the ideological mistakes committed in the form of formalism; that is, everything good is considered absolutely good, while everything bad is absolutely bad. This is something that the later generation should take note of.

Similarly, it should be noted that the May 4th New Culture Movement was conducted amid an unfavorable situation. Even though the journal XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] did receive positive reaction from other publications, it basically fought a lonely battle. To break out of the enveloping mass of darkness, these pioneers had to be fiercely determined and courageous. For a while, the idea of exceeding the proper limits to right a wrong was regarded by some modern ideological pioneers as a strategy to be adopted in the struggle. Looking at it from an historical point of view, this is entirely understandable. (In his 1902 "advise" to the press and media circle, Liang Qichao said: "If you gentlemen want to guide the people towards reforms, you will have to agitate them with the idea of civil rights, and if you want to guide them to strive for civil rights, you will have to agitate them with the idea of a revolution...You will probably have to agitate them with things that are two steps higher than what we want to achieve before they take the appropriate course of action.") His thinking was that readers should be stirred up with statements two grades higher than actual proposals. Thus, he continued: "If I want to implement one thing, I must first advocate another, so that the people in the future will implement the former rather than the latter. The worst conceivable consequence would be that people will laugh at my ignorance and call me a radical." This statement is in the article "A Message to My Colleagues in the Circle" which was published in XINMIN CONGBAO [NEW PEOPLE'S JOURNAL].

The development of culture is characterized by both time and national qualities. In denouncing the old feudal culture, the May 4th New Culture Movement emphasized the time element. The new country, new society, and new culture for which it yearned were inspired by western states. The movement endorsed the establishment of "a new western-style country," organization of a "new western-style society," and introduction of "new western-style belief and ideology." The so-called western style is just another name for bourgeois democracy. Because the needs of the times were presented in a

western framework and because of the above-mentioned biases exhibited in the fight against feudal traditions, the movement indeed paid less attention to the question of the national character of the culture.

However, some excessive remarks pronounced during the May 4th Movement—indeed some of them may be categorized as national nihilism—did not produce any substantial effects at the time. For example, traditional Chinese medical science and medicine were not destroyed because of the statements. What they really did was tear down the absolute authority of feudal tradition and culture. This was undoubtedly a momentous achievement. The XIN QINGNIAN writers were mostly people with high attainments in “classical studies.” In launching the offensive against old, feudal culture, they either fought at close quarters or engaged in bold and resolute campaigns. Sometimes, they had to turn against former colleagues but they also often hit at crucial spots. In view of the hasty manner and intensity with which the struggle was carried out (lasting only 2 to 3 years), it was not possible for them to make a thorough analysis and study of Chinese traditional culture.

The use of the vernacular language was encouraged during the May 4th Movement. However, the opponents then maintained that the popularization of the vernacular language would mean the death of the entire ancient culture of China. Reality proved otherwise. It was evident that a new dimension was opened in the study of China's traditional culture, from ancient history to folklore, after the May 4th Movement. The scope of study was greatly broadened, while methods and results of studies were unparalleled. Great contributions were made by many Marxist and non-Marxist scholars. Such developments could not have been possible without the attack against old culture and the ensuing emancipation of the mind during the period of the May 4th Movement. Therefore, it is not correct to say that the May 4th Movement broke up the progress of China's national culture.

The opposite of excessiveness is the lack of thoroughness. It is not entirely unreasonable to say that the fight against feudalism during the May 4th Movement was not thorough.

Indeed, the May 4th Movement did not fully accomplish its task of opposing feudalism. Feudalism existed in China for a very, very long time. After China became a semicolonial, semifeudal state in the latter half of the 19th century, foreign imperialists upheld and supported China's feudal and semifeudal ruling forces and social system, even as it undermined the country's sovereignty and plundered the country. This further complicated China's struggle against feudalism. This struggle had to be carried out under very protracted and arduous conditions in the realms of politics, economics, and culture. Naturally, the May 4th Movement could not fully accomplish this task within a short span of time.

The pioneers of the May 4th New Culture Movement maintained: Politically, the Revolution of 1911 fulfilled the mission of a democratic revolution. However, no results were produced and instead, a worsening situation ensued because the country did not launch a cultural revolution. A truly democratic state can be established only by using democracy to destroy feudalism in the domains of ideology, culture, and ethics. However, this line of thinking is unrealistic. In fact, total victory in the cultural and ideological domains is impossible as long as a new state and new society are not established. While countless victories were scored by the May 4th New Culture Movement, they could not serve as the basis for the establishment of a new state and a new society.

However, we should still acknowledge the fact that the May 4th New Culture Movement waged a thorough struggle against feudalism under the historical conditions of the time. China's struggle against feudalism in modern times did not begin with the May 4th Movement. The ideological struggle carried out by the people during the May 4th Movement had a more clear-cut stand, was more varied, more audacious, and more forceful than those carried out during the Reform Movement of 1898 and the Revolution of 1911. The weapon wielded by the May 4th New Culture Movement was still bourgeois democracy. However, it should not be accused of not being thorough because of this point. They used the ideological weapon that they could use to defend the fruits of the Revolution of 1911, enabling the young people and the intellectual circle (naturally not all of them) to smash through the ensnarement of feudalism and achieve a great emancipation of the mind.

The May 4th New Culture Movement directly inspired the May 4th Patriotic Movement. Initiated by young students and participated in widely by workers, merchants, and urban residents, this patriotic movement may have ended in limited victory but it led to a more intensive promotion of, and the opening of a new dimension in the New Culture Movement. It became the key element in ushering in a new phase in China's anti-imperialist, antifeudal revolution. The introduction of various western ideas, the growth of the vernacular language, and of a new literature, the new vitality injected into education and science amid adverse conditions, the new way that people looked at Chinese history and traditional culture—all these came about thanks to the May 4th Movement. An even more important result was the introduction of Marxism into China, its integration with China's realities, the establishment of the CPC, and the launching of a new bourgeois democratic revolution.

The May 4th Movement which began as an ideological struggle against feudalism eventually developed into the new democratic revolution led by the communist party. This was at least something that the leaders of the May 4th Movement never expected in the beginning and which was later regarded by some people as a mistake.

Hu Shi, one of the principal figures in the May 4th New Culture Movement, said in his autobiography in 1959: "The May 4th Movement which took place in 1919 is actually a monumental political intervention in this entire culture movement. It transformed a culture movement into a political movement."<sup>1</sup> However, Hu Shi made a different remark in 1947. Records showed him issuing the following statement: "The transformation of our ideological and culture movement into a political movement cannot be said to be a mistake. Rather, it should be regarded as a historical trend."<sup>2</sup>

I generally agree with Hu Shi's statement in 1947.

China's ancient, feudal society was basically a closed, stagnant one, while modern China is characterized by dramatic and rapid changes. This is attributed to the surging trends in the world, and more particularly, to the crisis situation caused by imperialist aggression. When the journal XIN QINGNIAN was launched, it announced that it would not discuss politics, but in fact, its struggle in the ideological and cultural domains had very clear-cut political objectives. In November 1916, Chen Duxiu said: "The fundamental objective is salvation while the most urgent need is the improvement of the people's character and conduct." At that time, he had already defined salvation as the objective in the struggle in the cultural front. Objective reality forced the people (at least the progressive ones) to realize that the "most fundamental objective of salvation" in semicolonial, semifeudal China cannot be isolated from, and, in fact, had to be linked to direct political struggle. The development of the antifeudal culture movement into a political struggle was not brought about by "intervention"; rather, it was a natural trend in the development of history.

Thirty years after the May 4th Movement, the new democratic revolution triumphed across the vast land of China. History moves according to its own logic, and no one can choreograph it to move according to another logic. The continuation of the antifeudal struggle will be discussed here.

## II

Sun Yat-sen once spoke warmly of the May 4th New Culture Movement and of the May 4th Patriotic Movement. He also accepted the CPC's political proposal to oppose imperialism and feudalism. The first KMT [Kuo-mintang]-CPC cooperation was thus formulated.

After the KMT split with the CPC in 1927 and obtained state power, its principal leaders were opposed to the May 4th Movement. As Hu Shi said in 1947: "The May 4th Movement is no longer fashionable these days and has been deleted from state-endorsed textbooks."<sup>3</sup> The KMT's rule did not bring any changes to China's semi-colonial, semifeudal conditions. Like the Northern Warlord rulers, the KMT regime upheld the feudal land system, and designated the landlord class as one of its

principal social foundations. In the realm of culture and education, it continued to endorse "the worship of Confucianism and the study of the classics," and "restoration of China's intrinsic ethics," that is, feudal ethics and principles. However, it was far more difficult to implement this proposal now than before the time of the May 4th Movement. Even after the KMT rulers were forced by the situation to carry out a second KMT-CPC cooperation and waged a war of resistance against Japanese aggression, they continued to reject any democratic suggestions. Instead, they continued to promote feudal autocracy as well as fascism. The so-called "compulsory implementation philosophy" openly called for an end to thinking, and encouraged superstition and blind obedience. Since they were implementing and propagating feudal fascism, they were naturally opposed to the spirit of democracy and science as advocated by the May 4th Movement.

During the reign of the KMT, the heirs to the fight against feudal traditions as embodied by the May 4th Movement period are generally divided into two categories. One category includes the Marxists and communists, while the other group is composed of non-Marxists or even democratic liberals who were opposed to Marxism.

Speaking about the second category, Hu Shi's case may be discussed here. Hu Shi did not recognize the concepts of "feudalism" and "antifeudalism," but he adhered to the liberal democratic view of the bourgeoisie and consistently adopted a critical attitude vis-a-vis the doctrine of "back to ancient culture," whether the doctrine appeared in the name of praising "oriental civilization" or in the name of "China's inherent civilization." In the 1930s, he even proposed "total westernization," acting according to Liang Qichao's suggestion of deliberately presenting "radical" slogans. On this point, he is a heir to the May 4th New Culture Movement. He did not recognize the necessity of opposing imperialism (although he supported the fight against Japanese aggression); he also did not realistically consider the social and political conditions which made it impossible for China to achieve democracy and freedom, and consistently opposed changing these conditions by means of a revolution. Eventually, he joined up with the KMT on the point of anticommunism. But his democratic views were not entirely to the liking of the KMT rulers and he was denounced by the KMT authorities in 1929. In his old age, he was merely regarded by the KMT as a "saint" in the cause of anticommunism.

The mentioning of Hu Shi here is not intended to say that the second category of people are to be represented by him. From the 1930s to the 1940s, the people in this category had varying attitudes vis-a-vis the communist party. Some lauded the spirit of struggle of the communist party but remained sceptical. Others sympathized with the communist party's proposals while still others expressed willingness to work with the communist party. Propelled by their own respective motivations, many of

them took part in the democratic movement and worked to arouse the people's consciousness, playing a positive role in the salvation movement and revolutionary movement of the period. Some people were also transformed from bourgeois democrats to Marxists and communists.

In China, the communist party was the first to explicitly announce that the fight against feudalism is one of the principal tasks during the democratic revolutionary stage. Marxists and communists inherited the tradition of the May 4th Movement in fighting against feudalism and propelled this struggle to newer heights. This may be seen from the following points:

First, the communists closely integrated the task of struggling against feudalism with that of struggling against imperialism. The unique features of modern Chinese history dictated that the two struggles had to be waged simultaneously. Of course, it is necessary to highlight one aspect of the struggles at different times and according to concrete conditions. While the anti-imperialist struggle was more prominent during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, the antifeudalist struggle was not relaxed even at this time. If salvation refers to the anti-imperialist struggle, then the salvation movement was always linked to the democratic movement and grew contrary to the wishes of the KMT rulers.

Second, the communist party grasped a fundamental question in the fight against feudalism, that is, the question of land reform. The great majority of the land belonged to landlords, with the masses of peasants owning little or no land at all. Moreover, they also suffered from onerous rents and other forms of feudal exploitation, and could only make a living by depending on individual production carried out by family units. This kind of land relationship has prevailed in China for more than 2,000 or 3,000 years and remains a tenacious force in modern China. It obstructed the development of a commodity economy, the development of capitalism as well as the progress of China. It served as the social foundation for feudal and fascist forces. While China's peasants were the most oppressed victims of feudalism, they were also seriously dominated by it. They had to fight feudalism, but they lacked a powerful ideological and political weapon. At most, only a small group of peasants could relate to the Revolution of 1911 but the Revolution did not guide them with bourgeois democratic ideas. The May 4th Movement did not raise the question of land reform, yet the old ideas, philosophy and ethics that it opposes were founded upon the feudal land ownership system. It was only the communist party that mobilized millions of peasants in the antifeudalist struggle and raised them to a level otherwise unattainable by their own spontaneous struggle.

Third, the communist party was the main force in the antifeudal, antifascist struggle in the ideological and cultural fronts. Working hand in hand with progressive personalities outside the party, communist party members spread the ideas of democracy, science, salvation,

and Marxism among, first of all, the educated youth, and then the people. The result surpassed that brought about by the enlightenment inspired by the May 4th Movement period. The number of educated youth mobilized by the revolutionary movement led by the communist party was unmatched by the May 4th Movement. Many of them had to smash through various bondages of feudalism in order to take part in the revolution. In a speech to female university students in 1923, Lu Xun raised the question: "What happens after Nora leaves?" In the late 1920s and from the 1930s to the 1940s, hundreds and thousands of "Noras" answered that question by joining the people's revolutionary movement.

Fourth, instead of a policy of rejecting patriotic and antifeudal bourgeois democrats, the communist party sought vigorously to form an alliance with them in the struggle for salvation and democracy. Of course, arguments existed between the two sides. "Revolution or reform" was for a while an issue of contention. Since a revolution that would bring about fundamental changes in the political and social systems was necessary in order to rescue China from its semicolonial, semifeudal state of existence, thus it was necessary to resist all kinds of proposals dismissing the necessity of such a revolution and calling for reforms in certain aspects, notably the proposal seeking to preserve the old system in the name of reforms. When the communist party voiced its objection to such theories as salvation through industrialization and salvation through education, it factually pointed out that these proposals could not work nor save the country given the social and political conditions at the time. However, in so far as the people who engaged in industrial and educational endeavors in order to save the country, and those who still could not accept the revolutionary proposals but eagerly sought to break free of the semicolonial, semifeudal state of existence, the communist party looked upon them as allies. Many of them sooner or later became friends of the communist party, and some even became communists.

The above-mentioned points also explain the reason why the CPC was able to lead the antifeudal struggle to victory.

Growing amid feudal forces, was the communist party itself not affected by the pernicious influence of feudalism? During the democratic revolution, the army, led by the party, and the areas where the party held political power, practiced democracy as never seen before in China's army or history. The party carried out relentless struggles against warlordism, bureaucratism, absolute egalitarianism, liberalism, and other tendencies found within its own ranks. These tendencies all bore the marks of feudalism. The lack of democracy in party life is related to the war environment and underground work; but the patriarchal behavior often exhibited by party leaders at all level is related to the influence of feudalism. When the party's guiding ideology turned erroneously



"left," then intraparty democracy further diminished, fomenting the robust growth of paternalism and other tendencies marked with feudalism.

In the early 1930s, the leaders of the CPC committed "leftist" blunders, the essence of which was to deny that China's revolution was still in the bourgeois democratic revolutionary stage and to regard socialist revolution as the task of the time. Therefore, all forces that could have been considered as allies in the anti-imperialist, antifeudalist struggle were regarded as enemies. China's revolution suffered major losses because of this blunder. Leftist error also appears in the form of Marxist dogmatism. The introduction of Marxism was originally a result of the emancipation of the mind during the May 4th Movement. People only believed in Marxism after having compared different ideologies and conducted rational deliberations following verification through practice. By disregarding China's realities and hailing bits and pieces of Marxism as the gospel of truth, the dogmatists seriously impaired the scientific spirit and fighting power of Marxism.

In the late 1930s, the Chinese communists led by Mao Zedong exerted great efforts to comprehensively correct the mistakes of leftist dogmatism through actual work, and through ideology and theories. The theory about the new democratic revolution, presented in full by the party, was its major achievement after overcoming leftist mistakes. This theory not only pointed out the path towards the victory of the new democratic revolution, but also drew up a blueprint for new China's politics, economy, and culture after the victory of the revolution.

Mao Zedong used the three concepts of the Chinese nation, science, and the masses to explain the new democratic culture. He said: "The new democratic culture belongs to the masses, and so it is democratic." In other words, democracy should not belong to only a handful, but should be extended to the great majority of people. Adding the Chinese nation to the two slogans of democracy and science of the May 4th Movement was obviously intended to correct the bias of the May 4th Movement. The Chinese nation refers to the form and characteristics of the Chinese nation, the need to inherit the fine traditions of the nation as well as to the need to absorb progressive culture of foreign countries.

Mao Zedong explained that the Chinese communists favor both private capitalism as well as development of individuality in the new democratic revolution. On the latter point, he said: "Oppression by the nation and by feudalism brutally restricted the development of the individuality of the Chinese people." "The task of the new democratic system which we advocate is precisely to take away these restrictions...ensure that the great masses of people will be able to freely develop their own individualities in community life."<sup>4</sup> In fact, in the common struggle for salvation and revolution, the development of the individuality of the Chinese youth and the masses of people was unprecedented in Chinese history.

The slogan raised during the May 4th Movement calling for the emancipation of the self did not (or very seldom) mention the peasants, yet the peasants who made up majority of the population needed to emancipate their individualities. The peasant uprisings led by the CPC proved that once liberated from the oppression of the old system, the wisdom and ingenuity of the peasants was capable of wielding great might.

As long as the old feudalist politics and economy prevailed over the land, it is not possible for the new democratic culture to achieve total victory and shape the national culture. Hence, the struggle against feudalism cannot be limited within the cultural domain, but should first gain victory in the political and economic realms.

The liberation of the entire country in 1949 announced the political victory of the antifeudalist struggle. The implementation of land reforms in the country in 1949 announced the victory of the antifeudalist struggle in the economic front.

The destruction of the landlord class's land ownership system through the land reform was an event of immense historic significance in the history of China's struggle against feudalism. Of course, this was not the socialist revolution; rather, it was a revolution of bourgeois democratic character. Through the land reform, the peasants became master of the land they till but remained small individual producers. (This was clearly understood by the people before implementation of land reform). However, it should be noted that individual production under feudal exploitation is fundamentally different from that liberated from this exploitation as the latter has obtained the broad prospect of free development.

The victory of the 1949 revolution destroyed the economic foundation of feudalism and overthrew the ruling forces defending this foundation (and, at the same time, ended the rule of foreign imperialists in China). Consequently, the historic task of fighting against feudalism was totally accomplished. However, the pernicious vestiges of feudalism did not and could not be immediately wiped away. Hence, under the new historical conditions, it is still necessary to wage an antifeudalist struggle by employing methods different from those used in the past revolution. This will be discussed in the following section.

Summing up, the revolutionary struggle against feudalism continued to surge ahead 30 years after the May 4th Movement. The offensive against feudalism in the cultural domain will naturally develop into a political struggle and revolution (new democratic revolution). Political struggle and revolution did not break up the struggle waged by the May 4th Movement pioneers. Instead, they made possible the intensification of this struggle and the achievement of victory in a fundamental sense.

### III

Looking back at the May 4th Movement today, the Chinese people waged countless struggles over the last 70 years, the objective of which was to build China into a modern state that can stand proudly among the nations of the world. This has always been a consistent goal.

The struggles in the first 30 of these 70 years may be summarized as "struggles to smash things." Feudal and semifeudal politics, economy and culture were among the principal targets of demolition. Actually, the smashing of things begun as early as 20, 30 years before the May 4th Movement. For a while, people thought that the Revolution of 1911 had led to the building of a new country from the ruins of the old one. This was not so. Hence, the demolition task was resumed at the start of the May 4th Movement.

The demolition task lasted for 30 years, starting with the destruction of feudalist culture during the May 4th Movement and graduating to the destruction of the old political and economic systems after the May 4th Movement (simultaneous with the breaking down of feudalism was the ending of imperialist oppression and domination of China). During this 30-year period, constructive endeavours were not absent, and in fact, there were many meaningful and worthwhile ones. However, it was only after the establishment of a people's government in New China that such construction was possible all over the country and involving the entire population.

"Destruction first before construction" was reasonable within a definite historical period, while "destruction simultaneous with construction" was also reasonable to a certain degree. However, it is wrong to think that construction automatically follows at the heels of destruction, that problems encountered in breaking down old structures mean that not enough destruction has been undertaken, or that one should insist on destruction even if the time has come for construction.

Even though the need to oppose feudalism continues to exist after 1949, historical conditions were fundamentally different now and methods different from those applied in the first 30 years should be adopted. The difference may be summed up as follows: abandoning destruction and focusing on construction.

After the disintegration of feudal and semifeudal ruling forces and economic system, people acquired many new concepts in their new life. However, old feudal ideas and things not consistent with the new life will not automatically and completely disappear from the people's attitude towards life, moral values, interpersonal relationships and even social and political relations; many of them have become force of habit and continue to be preserved. In spite of this, it should still be acknowledged that the revolutionary task to oppose feudalism had been completed. After all, the elimination of the vestiges of old ideas and values could not be

accomplished through revolutionary struggles. The storm of the revolution may be used to overthrow old ruling forces and economic system, but it could not be used to deal with the force of habit of millions of people. The completion of the revolutionary task to oppose feudalism cleared the way for the building of new politics, new economy and new culture. Only with their establishment and development can the influence of old ideas and old values be wiped out.

The New China established in 1949 inherited a backward economy and culture from the old society. A manifestation of such economic backwardness was the large number of individual economy and natural as well as seminatural economy connected to it. Without the elimination of this state of economic and cultural backwardness, feudalist force of habit will not only remain but will even flourish. Naturally, the hundreds and thousands of small individual producers cannot be destroyed like the overthrow of feudal economic forces. While the socialist transformation of the individual economy composed of agricultural and handicrafts industries in the 1950s contained features of a socialist revolution, the revolution referred to here does not have the same definition as the one before 1949. The establishment of socialist collective economy to replace individual economy basically pointed toward the right direction. However, owing to rather crude methods employed and subsequent domination by an erroneous tendency, the appropriate result was not obtained. In carrying out socialist transformation, the country's vigorous development of industry at the same time is, of course, basically correct.

During the 3 years of recovery starting from 1949, the CPC leaders led the people in choosing the path of socialism. Looking at it from a historical point of view, this choice was a correct one. The achievements of the First 5-Year Plan (1953 to 1957) enabled China to begin emerging out of the state of backwardness that characterized it at the founding of the PRC. Of course, it was far from completely breaking away from this condition.

The guiding ideology of the communist party plunged into leftist mistakes at the beginning of 1957. Although the blunders were contained for a few years (1962 to 1966), and great strides still made in construction, but generally speaking, the mistakes were not checked and eventually gave rise to the catastrophic Cultural Revolution. The occurrence and growth of leftist mistakes was related to the pernicious influence of feudalism. The massive destruction spurred by the Cultural Revolution provided the most suitable breeding ground for the abnormal growth of feudalist force of habit. But it would be simplistic to blame the errors committed over these 20 years' time (1957 to 1976) entirely to feudalist influence.

Leftist errors committed in the last 20 years were the results of impatience motivated by a sense of urgency to wipe out China's backwardness; of the erroneous application of methods employed during the democratic

revolution (such as reliance on mass movements and taking class struggle as the key link); of the dogmatic interpretation of certain Marxist sayings; of a failure to realize the need for socialism to make use of the "inheritance" from capitalism which may have been useful socialist construction as well as engaging in a steadfast, protracted and total "criticism" of bourgeois ideas (this was a repetition of the mistake of formalist thinking and methods during the May 4th Movement); of the utopianization of socialist objectives (the people's commune had in fact abolished commodity economy and instead, practiced autarky. This was not acceptable to the peasants who had already broken free of feudal bondage. Actually, it was a combination of the antifeudalist traditions of peasants of the old days and of utopian socialism); of inappropriate and excessive concentration of powers in economic affairs (which also affected other aspects of the country's affairs), which in turn was due to the fact that using state power to accumulate capital was once the most effective means available, and others. While the root of all these factors may be traced to China's economic and cultural backwardness, they cannot be simply blamed entirely on the influence of feudalism. (For instance, the excessive concentration of power in central authorities should not be regarded as an extension of the concentration of powers which existed in feudal autocracy.) Owing to economic and cultural backwardness, the entry into a socialist society was limited to the initial stage—a point that was not well understood at the time. In fact, there was a belief that backwardness would lead to a faster and better development of socialism.

The Cultural Revolution brought the growth of leftist errors to a height and fully exposed their disastrous effects. Socialism was moving in the opposite direction. While it looked as if it was trying to attain the "purest" state in political and ideological domains, it was actually creating an enormous chaos. Personality cult and worship of an individual (these are phenomena left over from a long history of feudal society.) reached an apex and even assumed the form of a religion. It was thought that "great chaos" (that is, smashing everything on sight) would lead to "great order," but in fact, it only caused massive turmoil and moved the country farther and farther away from order. While the new socialist economy and politics formed before the Cultural Revolution were not perfect and needed more polishing, assaulting them with the fury of "great democracy" and causing serious damage in all aspects of socialist construction only resulted in the increased influence of feudalist force of habits and enabled Lin Biao and the gang of four to exercise feudal and fascist dictatorship.

The fact is: The mistakes committed over the last 20 years could not liberate China from its economic and cultural backwardness. Moreover, they not only failed to weaken the vestiges of feudalism but actually strengthened them. Thus, it is necessary to seriously analyze the causes of these mistakes in order to overcome leftist blunders and avoid a repetition. If everything is blamed

on feudalist vestiges, and a conclusion drawn that so long as one opposes feudalism, then one can avoid mistakes and propel Chinese society to progress, then this is not only simplistic but will actually lead to a repeat of total destruction. A fundamental lesson drawn from the Cultural Revolution is precisely that total destruction was undertaken at a time when efforts should have concentrated on construction. There was also a belief that total destruction will bring everything. In fact, it only created the danger of total loss.

The complete elimination of everything regarded as feudalist and capitalist was the slogan of the Cultural Revolution. To destroy everything considered bourgeois and capitalist is also wrong. But that is another issue which will only be mentioned in passing.

After much bitter reflections following the Cultural Revolution, the people realized the gravity of the pernicious effects of feudalism and decided that they should not be ignored. These effects have in fact already invaded the party and ruined the party's image. No wonder, some people maintained that feudalism is not a pernicious vestige from history but is a very real prevailing force. Hence, it is necessary to resume the struggle against feudalism.

To regard feudalism as a pernicious vestige from history does not mean the downplaying of its danger. Rather, it describes the ways to overcome it under certain concrete conditions.

Feudalism and fascism prevailed for a time during the Cultural Revolution because they took advantage of the mistakes we committed in the socialist construction. The mistakes were related to the influences left over by history as well as to the backwardness of the economy and culture. At the same time, there were complicated subjective reasons. Owing to these mistakes, socialist construction proceeded very slowly as it failed to replace the widely existing backward small production with large-scale socialized production. It failed to fully and soundly foster democracy and make socialism more systematic and legalistic. Consequently, backward concepts such as the force of habit connected with small production and with bureaucratism, the rule by an individual, and egalitarianism continue to plague us. The feudalist fascism practiced by Lin Biao and the gang of four was defeated in a single stroke because it did not have any social foundation. However, the feudalist force of habit permeating social and political life could not be wiped out in a single movement nor in a single morning. Naturally, opposition to feudalism will also not ensure that we will no longer commit mistakes.

Hence, only by fully accepting the lessons drawn from past mistakes can we guide our socialist cause towards the right path and develop soundly in all aspects, at least not to commit any major mistakes again. Only thus can the influence of bad and undesirable traditions from the past as well as the force of habit inconsistent with

socialism be gradually weakened and eventually eliminated. This is what is meant by emphasizing construction as the primary responsibility and destroying undesirable elements along the way.

This was what precisely what the party did since the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in 1978.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee steadfastly shifted the focus of work of the party and state to socialist construction. With economic construction designated as the main task, it upheld the Four Cardinal Principles, adhered to the policy of reforms and opening up, realistically recognized that China is still in the preliminary stage of socialism, and, in accordance with China's concrete conditions, set forth to establish socialism with Chinese characteristics in order to gradually achieve modernization. This is the basic spirit of the general line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

This is a line which considers construction as the main function. Admittedly, the reform is designed to dismantle the ossified economic structure and the social superstructure and ideas closely linked to it, but the reform is not mere destruction. It represents a self-perfecting mechanism of the socialist system intended to continuously develop the forces of social production. Why do we not dismantle the old structure in a day? Because that will not ensure the creation of a new structure but will only bring about social turmoil. We can only gradually establish and perfect a new structure favorable to the development of productive forces during a transition period where both old and new economic systems coexist with one another, and then eventually overcome the old system.

Everything will have to be decided according to the time, location and conditions. While the theories of saving the country through education and industrialization were not feasible during the revolutionary period, they are rational and viable today. The radical remarks of Liang Qichao cited above and used as a propaganda tactic to stir up the people may be understandable in his times, but can definitely not be adopted by the socially responsible media of today.

There is destruction along with construction. Taking for instance the question of opposing feudalism, we do have the responsibility to wipe out the feudalist influences in thinking, political as well as social life. We have to develop the socialist commodity economy, enhance the level of the socialization of production, perfect the socialist democratic system and socialist legal system, strengthen the level of education and science, and upgrade the quality of the entire nation. This is the only way to fundamentally eliminate the pernicious effects of feudalism. Construction must be the basis of destruction.

Reform and construction are not an easy business. Many real difficulties will be encountered in the road ahead, along with the intervention of various erroneous ideas. However, it is necessary at all times to focus on construction as a means to overcome all kinds of difficulties and errors. It is imperative not to repeat that fundamental mistake of destroying everything. Naturally, all unlawful acts must be punished according to the legal system. This is the reason for the need to strengthen the legal system. In the process of transforming a highly-concentrated, planned economic system that relies mainly on administrative means to a planned commodity economic system, and given the circumstances characterized by a commodity economy that is still developing and still not perfect nor sound, new contradictions will appear in social life as well as in the ideological concepts of people. The shadows of feudalist vestiges can be detected in various contradictions. These contradictions must be resolved conscientiously. Consequently, it is even more necessary not to be swung away from the basic guideline of focusing on construction by impatience.

Therefore, the conclusion is: In the 70 years since the May 4th Movement, the entire social and political situation as well as the struggle against feudalism in the first 30 years are completely different from those of the last 40 years. In the last 40 years, feudal forces no longer occupy a real and dominant position. At present (as well as during the period before the realization of modernization), we still have to conduct some degree of antifeudalism. This only demonstrates how deeply feudalist influence is imbedded in our history. This influence will continue to exist so long as the backward economy and culture are not fundamentally transformed. However, today, we have the benefit of the achievements acquired during the 30 years of antifeudalist struggle after the May 4th Movement. In addition, we have accumulated and absorbed countless new experiences in the last 40 years. We now stand on a ground far more elevated than that of the May 4th Movement and will complete the task of opposing feudalism through the building of socialist modernization. The history of the last 70 years is indeed not one of going around circles.

#### IV

Lastly, a few points will be discussed here to clarify the preceding portions.

(1) Simplistic analogy should be avoided when reviewing history. In other words, analogy should not be made on the rights and wrongs occurring under a specific set of historical conditions with those under a different set of historical conditions. If destruction was the right thing to do during the May 4th New Culture Movement and in the 30 years following the May 4th Movement, it should not be regarded as necessarily the right thing in the succeeding 40 years. We affirm the great historic achievements of the May 4th Movement's struggle against feudalism, and should not use today's standards to negate them. At the same time, the same methods

used during the May 4th Movement should not be applied today. Naturally, history should also not be distorted. It can be said that while we are supposed to inherit the cause of the May 4th Movement today, we cannot do so if we cannot surpass the May 4th Movement.

(2) During the May 4th Movement, the people used the spirit of democracy and science to oppose feudal traditions. While they did oppose things which should be opposed, they also opposed things which should not be opposed. They failed to make a thorough analysis of tradition and neglected the national character of culture. In effect, this violated the spirit of science which they endorsed. We have to continue negating the traditional force of habit which conflicts with modernization. But we should not oppose traditions in a sweeping manner. Instead, we should adopt a scientific attitude toward tradition. Not only should we avoid the excessive destruction which inevitably occurs under conditions dictated by an overwhelming predominance of feudal traditions, but we should take care to absorb all the fine heritage in the national tradition. After polishing and improvement, some of our heritage could serve to enhance the self-confidence, cohesiveness and spirit of struggle and hard work of the nation as it goes through the process of modernization. Hence, these should not be discarded lightly. New culture should break away from undesirable old tradition, but it can not be totally isolated from tradition. This is often overlooked in the struggle for total destruction. So, it is necessary to consider it now.

(3) Admittedly, the democracy and science raised during the May 4th Movement may be regarded as constructive endeavours. However, the spirit of democracy and science that people talked about at that time referred mainly to destruction. Democracy and science have at least two implied meanings: The first is the cause of democracy (political and economic democracy) and of science (popularization of scientific knowledge and development of scientific research); the second is the spirit of democracy and science which includes opposition to superstition, theocracy, autocracy, blind obedience, and arbitrary decision. In the last 40 years, while the cause of socialist democracy and of science have met with various obstacles, they have also made great strides. In the last 10 years, socialism has rid itself of its utopian elements, while Marxist science has made advances through its integration with practice. Naturally, as we continue to promote the cause of democracy and science, we should also foster the spirit of democracy and science, and dismantle ideas which are opposed to democracy and science. To a very large extent, these ideas exist in the force of habit of millions of people. Such force of habit cannot be resolved by revolutionary methods, but through the perfection and development of new socialist economy and politics and through education.

(4) Why is it that modernization has not been realized 70 years after the May 4th Movement? Destruction is necessary when the forces obstructing modernization are

predominant; but that is not construction per se. At a time when construction should have been the main task, we failed to do so with all our might and instead, concentrated on destruction. This resulted in delay and even stagnation in the effort to realize modernization. Under the historical conditions of China, modernization is a very arduous enterprise. Past experiences tell us that there are no shortcuts nor "instant formulas." We can only carry out protracted socialist construction one step at a time in the economic, political and cultural realms in order to realize the goals of modernization.

(5) The May 4th Movement was a movement initiated by intellectuals. Intellectuals in China's revolution and construction play a very vital role in China's revolution and construction. However, the fact that 80 percent of China's population is made up of peasants should not be ignored in the revolution and construction. Naturally, intellectuals continue to rise from the ranks of peasants. The development of commodity economy in the last decade has enabled the majority of peasants to begin breaking away from the natural and seminatural economies (although many new problems have also cropped up). This is a very important phenomenon in China's modernization efforts. If the peasants do not take part in the modernization process, if the winds of democracy and science do not reach the countryside, then modernization, democracy and science will not be realized in China.

(6) At the time of the May 4th Movement, people called for the improvement of the "national character" and raised the question of improving the "national character and conduct." This question was raised primarily in line with the attack against the slavish mentality resulting from the influence of feudal ethics. Nevertheless, it is unrealistic to say that the "national character" today is the same as that of the May 4th Movement period, the passing of 70 years notwithstanding. However, we are still confronted by the task of enhancing the quality of the entire nation. In overcoming poverty, we should also triumph over ignorance. The adverse influences of feudal traditions as well as the old habits such as conservatism, unwillingness to seek progress and accept new things are not only related to poverty but also to ignorance. Our endeavour to build modernization is also an attempt to build material as well as spiritual civilizations. If we fail to raise the cultural and spiritual qualities of the nation, then we will not be able to accomplish the task of modernization. It is only through the development of socialist economic construction, of socialist democratic politics and of socialist culture and education can the nation's cultural and spiritual qualities continue to be upgraded.

#### Footnotes

1. Quoted from Chapter 9 of *Hu Shi's Autobiography*, edited and translated by Tang Degang.

2. See "Mr Hu Shi Talks About the May 4th Movement" in the journal XUEFENG of 1947.

3. Op. cit.

4. See "On a Coalition Government."

**Carry Forward the Spirit of the May 4th Movement in the Spirit of the Movement—An Interview With Pang Pu**

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[Interview with Pang Pu 7894 2613 by Staff Reporter Li Mingsan 2621 2494 0005]

[Text] The May 4th Movement that broke out in 1919 was a turning point in Chinese history from the old democratic revolution to the new democratic revolution. The Movement promoted the ideological emancipation of the Chinese people, the spread of Marxism in China, the birth of the Chinese Communist Party, and exerted far-reaching effects on social progress. People have studied and assessed it from various angles, and drawn different conclusions in their understanding over the past 70 years. Today, when the Chinese people are working hard to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, an important issue of universal concern remains to be how to correctly appraise the May 4th Movement, and to inherit and bring forward its spirit. Bearing this in mind, this reporter interviewed Comrade Pang Pu, Fellow Researcher of the Academy of Social Sciences of China, Academic Committee Chairman of the Institute of Cultural Books of China, Chinese representative to UNESCO International Editorial Committee of "The History of Science and Cultural Development of Mankind," and the editor-in-chief of "The Chinese Culture and Cultural China Series," and asked him to talk about, from the ideological and cultural angles, the contributions and shortcomings of the May 4th Movement, and how to inherit the May 4th spirit.

**1. The May 4th Spirit Is One of Thorough Criticism**

Reporter: Earth-shaking changes have taken place in China in the 70 years since the May 4th Movement. We may put it that the changes in all aspects are related to the May 4th Movement, directly or indirectly, from which their historical roots can be traced. When we are marking the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement today, naturally we should proceed from how to better inherit and to bring forward its spirit, and how to do a good job in our national construction. What do you think we should treasure most of the May 4th Movement as a new cultural movement?

Pang: First and foremost, the spirit of thorough criticism. What is the May 4th spirit? The representatives of the May 4th Movement summed it up in those days. Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423] said the spirit was none other than Mr De [1795] and Mr Sai [6857], namely

Democracy and Science. To Hu Hsi, it was "the reassessment of all values." Chen Duxiu believed that spirit was none other than democracy and science because of their absence in reality at that time; he criticised history. Quoting from Nietzsche, Hu Hsi was all the more critical of the past. Obviously, they took different angles, with different stresses in summing up the May 4th spirit. In our words today, they were summing it up either from the angle of eradicating old concepts or from the angle of establishing some new ones. But they arrived at the same conclusion, namely, the May 4th spirit was none other than a critical spirit. Reviewing the history of the May 4th Movement, such a conclusion is correct. Without a critical spirit, the mind will become ossified, progress will be impossible, and society will become stagnant. That must be true in all times. Therefore, the May 4th Movement should also be viewed in such a spirit.

Reporter: A thorough critical spirit is really very important to China which has a 2,000-year history under the reign of feudal autocracy. Can you be more specific about the expression of such a spirit in the times of the May 4th Movement?

Pang: The expression was found in many aspects. It is impossible to list them all. The kernel of the May 4th New Cultural Movement seemed to be a daring spirit, which relegated to the dustbin the principle of China being the center of the world, and thoroughly broke through the ideological system typified by severing all international intercourse, while it accepted Western culture in a comprehensive way. To illustrate this we might as well briefly review history prior to the May 4th Movement.

The dominant mentality under the reign of the Qing Dynasty was that China was the No 1 authority under heaven as well as the center of the world. The Westernization Movement that began in the 1860s broke through such a mentality in the area of technical know-how. Some people came to see that China was not the No 1 authority in everything, and Western learning did exist along side with Chinese learning, and began to acknowledge that foreign technical know-how was something to be followed; they seemed to deviate from the mentality of China being the center of the world. However, they continued to believe that Western learning was only an insignificant skill, and that Chinese learning was the groundwork for ruling the state, and Western learning could never be on a par with it. That was where the famous theory, "Chinese learning for the essential principle, Western learning for the practical applications" came in. Hence, the mentality of China's superiority remained dominant. By the time of the Reform Movement in the early 1890s, Chinese learning and Western learning had been classified as old and new learning respectively. Old and new were no longer a time concept, but one that contained value judgment, which signaled that the principle, China as the center of the world, was on the verge of collapse. However, the long-lived dream that China was the No 1 authority under heaven

remained the theme in comparing the old and new learning. "China is an old kingdom, but it will be invigorated through modernization." True, the "new" system was imported, but many "reforms" had taken place in China's history; an historical heritage at that. Hence, constitutional reform must be modified by "modernization," so that China, the center of the world, might not lose face. Even many who took part in the 1911 Revolution, which brought about great changes in the social and political systems, including the thinker Zhang Taiyan [4545 1132 3508], should have referred "renovation" to "restoration," in the implication of going back to things ancient. This has proved that in the 50-year ideological ferment prior to the May 4th Movement, people's understanding of Chinese and Western cultures had not arrived at "the eventual awakening in the final awakening stage."

From a worldwide angle, the May 4th New Cultural Movement courageously reviewed oriental and Western cultures, and believed the oriental culture is the offspring of an agricultural and patriarchal society, and of an era that was far behind Western culture, which was typified by industry and democracy. The former would inevitably evolve into the latter. Otherwise, the entire Chinese nation would not be able to survive and would be eliminated through competition. Contemporaries of the May 4th Movement replaced the slogan, 'Chinese learning for the essential principles, Western learning for the practical applications', with total Westernization. They were no longer arrogant, but lamented for the inferiority of the Chinese in every way. They no longer quoted from all saints and sages including Confucius in history, but dumped the entire ancient civilization into the dustbin once and for all. Chen Duxiu said: "Rather the extinction of the quintessence of Chinese culture than the nation being unable to survive and eliminated through competition today or in the future." That was a solemn, and stirring declaration of the New Cultural Movement. Based on such an understanding, the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement, compared the medieval blind faith with the scientific attitude of the new times, and the outmoded autocratic custom with the new rising democratic custom. Thus, they drew a conclusion from comparison such that it was imperative to say goodbye to the past, and to renovate the Chinese nation. Therefore, we can see that the May 4th spirit was one to smash the bonds of, and thoroughly break away from, tradition. Such a spirit was the precise factor that had been absent in the psychological and cultural layers of the Chinese nation.

This process has illustrated that it took half a century from the Westernization Movement, which began with learning foreign skills, to the Constitutional Reform in the 1890s, and the 1911 Revolution, which absorbed the Western political system; whereas, it took only a few years for the May 4th Movement to develop from a political revolution to a cultural revolution, which freely breathed in the Western spirit. Whether in time or substance, that was a big leap in knowledge as well as a

leap transcending the times of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement. Therefore, the May 4th Movement completed the entire course of China's departure, from the medieval age to modern society with Westernization and Constitutional Reform in the 1890s as the starting points, and opened a wider path for the thorough modernization in material, systems, and ideology in its wake. Therefore, the May 4th Movement was epoch-making.

Reporter: The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement were courageous in ruthlessly lashing at Chinese traditional culture, and asserted that Chinese culture will survive only by evolving into Western culture. In those days, that could be regarded as the worst offense. The resistance to them was imaginable, so how do we account for their understanding and courage?

Pang: Historical inevitability accounted for that. That was also the results of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement giving full play to their own role as the subjective aspect. Inevitable, from a logical and historical point of view, were the changes in ideological concepts in the wake of the change in the social system, with China's departure from the medieval age. It was changes in ideological concepts that deepened the changes in material and the system. That is the inevitability of society as well as history. However, historical inevitability does not dominate the will of the individual or everyone. The will is free, and everyone has ample room to choose for himself. The majority at that time was against democracy and science. Historical inevitability was remote to ordinary citizens; even many of the elite in society stood in opposite or away from the new cultural movement. Among them were some people who had scored outstanding accomplishments in their own fields, they had never knocked at the door of historical inevitability throughout their whole lives. They either moved against the historical trend, or conformed to the general trend. Take for example the renowned Qian Xuantong [6929 3769 0681]. He used to batter the Constitutional Reform advocated by Kang Youwei [1660 2589 3634] and Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] and the 1911 Revolution before his 30th birthday, and wrote stereotyped articles to advocate the preservation the quintessence of Chinese cultural heritage and even the traditional Chinese gown. At the age of 30, he was awakened to the fact that Chinese cultural heritage should be dumped in the dustbin when Yuan Shikai [5913 0013 0418] started his own imperial dynasty. Then he came to see the need to convert to historical inevitability. Therefore, people are free only when they have come to see the inevitability, and free in making their own choice for their behavior. The former is the freedom in knowledge, and the latter is the freedom in ethics. In actuality, the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement selected historical inevitability although they were affected by the belief in science, and they negated the existence of ethical freedom. With regard to inevitability, the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement did what was required by history in conformity with their



own times, and provided specific forms for the realization of inherent trends in history. With regard to freedom, they did things against the tide, while they transcended their own times, and did their best to realize each of their own personalities. Therefore, the May 4th New Cultural Movement was an inevitability in the development of modern Chinese history. Its development was rapid, fierce, and stubborn. True, we may find some explanations from such negative examples as the disturbances created by Yuan Shikai and the restoration farce conducted by Zhang Xun [1728 8114], but a direct cause should be the qualities of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement and the full expression of the activities in their subjective will. The fine qualities of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement, typified by their being good at grasping the pulse of history, their courageous critical spirit in spearheading against the sacred tradition, and a new style of going against the tide and regarding state affairs as their own duty are, and will, be admired by many generations after them.

## **2. The Greatest Shortcoming of the May 4th Movement Was the Belief That the West Was the Center**

Reporter: Should we see the shortcomings of the May 4th New Culture Movement when we fully affirm its thorough critical spirit? Otherwise, it will be impossible to really inherit and bring forward the May 4th spirit. Could you say something about this point?

Pang: Something has been ossified in our understanding of the May 4th Movement. It seems that very few people have pointed out the movement's shortcomings with the exception of Comrade Mao Zedong, who pointed out the formalism of the contemporaries of the movement in viewing things long ago. But we should not be too harsh in our criticism, because the tasks proposed by the May 4th Movement have not completed to date. For example, the spirit of democracy and science remains something to be pursued. Should past requirements be repeated simply today, while the May 4th Movement is assessed in other than a critical spirit, its contemporaries would not have agreed to it should they have lived to this day.

The greatest shortcoming of the May 4th New Cultural Movement was the belief that the West was the center. In the eyes of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement, modernization was Europeanization or Westernization. This was only natural at that time, and had nothing to do with fawning on, or acknowledging allegiance to foreign powers. They believed: the Western material civilization of Europe was "the new learning of the advanced class of mankind quoted Wu Ya-hui [0702 7161 2547]," "by taking it over, it will save a lot of our efforts. When it is taken to China, it will become something of our own, and the question of Europeanization does not exist" quoted Zhou Zuoren [0719 0155 0088]. Because they were certain that European modernization was characterized by a progressive phase of mankind, the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement believed themselves justified to import Europeanization

as the import of truth and justice. Chen Duxiu said: "New Western approaches should be adopted ... whatever it is, be it political, academic or ethical, no nonsense of the quintessence of traditional Chinese culture and China's national condition should interfere with it." Qian Xuantong said, "The Republic of China should follow others' good example in all areas including politics, education, literature, art, and science." Lu Xun said, "Even if what is worshipped is some new idol, it will still be better than the old idol of China." Therefore, in the eyes of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement, "the pursuit of modernization" whole-heartedly meant "total Westernization," and were equivalent to each other.

Another point accounting for the craze for Europeanization of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement was their belief that Europeanization would help bring to light the shortcomings of Confucianism; therefore, it would awaken those who indulged themselves in the day dream of restoration, which had been so often repeated. The feudal ethical code and a democratic republican were diametrically opposed to each other. At that time, the Republic of China was just founded, and the danger of restoration was really present. Restoration did not necessarily rely on Confucianism, but the advocacy of the latter would inevitably lead to its realization. Confucianism dominated China for more than 2,000 years. The doctrines of other saints and sages did not affect its foundation; even Taoism and Buddhism were dominated, and affected by Confucianism. Therefore, Chen Duxiu said: should the Western doctrine of independence, equality, and human rights have been nonexistent, people would not have been able to discuss the shortcomings of Confucianism in comparison. Of course, criticizing Confucianism based on Europeanization would not be convincing enough, for people could do otherwise. That involved the surfacing of a higher judge. In actuality, that judge was none other than the coordinate of the times, which was fixed by the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement. Judging Europeanization and Confucianism by the yardstick of the times, everything was clear at a glance, what was antique, and what was modern, what was old, and what was new. If time was regarded as a criteria in value assessment, things old and new would be categorized into concepts of right or wrong, superior or inferior respectively.

Reporter: The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement grasped the spirit of the times in culture, upon which they based their criticism of China's traditional culture. Wasn't it necessary for China to adopt the way to modernization! That should be treated as a merit not a shortcoming, do you agree?

Pang: That depended on what they actually criticized, and how they dealt with the relations of modernization and tradition. Any nation's culture has its own objective grounds for its survival, rationality, merits, and shortcomings. What to be criticized or affirmed was not to be rashly determined by the spirit of the times. More often



than not, the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement set tradition against modernization in an oversimplified way. The conservatives misunderstood that modernization meant giving up all traditions, and would grieve over their loss, whereas the radicals firmly believed that all traditions ran counter to modernization, and swore to break away from them. Li Dazhao [2621 1129 6856] set forth that both tradition and modernization, the old and the new were indispensable because each had its own merits and shortcomings, and he was under attack from both the conservatives and radicals. In fact, none of them truly understood that modernization was precisely the modernization of tradition itself. Modernization was derived from a West European tradition, while in the East, modernization relied on the conversion of tradition. Tradition was not a pile of still lives, but would nurture and give birth to a modern society (as in the West), or a baby inseminated in the womb of modernization (as in the East). The relationship between tradition and modernization is not one of mechanical maintenance or separation, nor is it one of chemical combination, but is governed by a social law on a higher level. The radicals hoped that all old things would be eradicated overnight, while they failed to understand what they could eradicate was only the external traditional culture with regards to man. Whereas the most difficult part was the internal traditional culture in man, which affected him profoundly and could be very difficult to sever. As to what could, and needed be thrown away, what should be retained, and what would be difficult to eradicate, and how to apply to the axe as well as how deep the cut should be, those questions should all be studied and analyzed specifically. The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement failed to tell the difference between traditional culture and cultural traditions. They made contributions to history in opposing the feudal ethical code; however, the abolition of too many Han characters was involved. The advocacy of science by the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement benefited later generations; however, their conclusion that traditional Chinese medicine should be wiped out was not based on a truth-seeking spirit. The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement had a high reputation in reforming literature and art; however, their curse that Beijing opera should perish was imposing. Their pursuit of the Georgian Calendar has been favorable to exchanges with foreign countries; but their advocacy to abolish the Dragon Boat Festival and the Mid-Autumn Festival showed little consideration for popular interest. All this involved only the traditional cultural tier. As to cultural tradition, namely, what the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement largely referred to as the qualities of Chinese nationals, vague and racial attributives were used extensively. For example, "the Chinese are typified by seeking momentary ease, mediocrity, and frailty," "inferiority, shamelessness, seeking momentary ease, altering with intent to deceive, and evasiveness," "a peaceful inferior nation that attaches importance to ease, mildness, and elegance," "corrupted and degenerated to below the general level of mankind" and "we Chinese" could be called "standard dogs," and "standard pigs," so

on and so forth. Should the qualities of the Chinese or cultural tradition have been what they depicted, the Chinese nation would have been stripped of its membership of the world. In a certain sense, the May 4th Movement was an era in which national culture was under attack, and an era characterized by cultural nihilism. Therefore, the biggest shortcoming of the movement was the misunderstanding that Western behavior was universal human nature, regarding Western doctrines with a similar attitude by which scriptures were studied in the past. This told us that we should not understand the critical spirit of the May 4th Movement from a metaphysical view.

Reporter: Any theoretical idea has its philosophical basis. The May 4th New Cultural Movement opposed tradition intensely, while it advocated the doctrine that the West was the center; what was its philosophical basis?

Pang: The philosophical basis of the May 4th New Cultural Movement was the doctrine of evolution, and socialized evolution, namely social Darwinism. The value criterion of such a theory is none other than the times. The law of natural selection and survival of the fittest, ranging from things simple to complicated, from a primary to advanced level does not involve the question of value in the biological world. The so-called simple or complicated, primary or advanced refer only to organic structure, whereas progressive or backward, superior or inferior refer to organic evolution, and the relationship between an organic body and its environment. They involve only the order of time, but not any appreciation or depreciation in value. Value came into being because of men living in society as well as human society, and there is also the order of time in this aspect. However, time and value have shaped into an extremely complicated relationship in society. Such a relationship cannot be put in a clear-cut definition such as the older the better, or the most updated the better, as did theorists of degeneration or evolution, but takes myriad forms that are complicated and confusing. Time in society, which is a material form, is different in a biological form. From the perspective of society, time is not the major criterion, and far from being the sole criterion. The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement criticized Eastern culture and Confucianism with Western culture and Europeanism as the yardsticks respectively, and their major criterion was none other than the time concept. In their view West European civilization had already entered the age of scientific demonstration, whereas Chinese civilization remained in an age of religion and mystery. The superiority and inferiority of the two civilizations marked by different times were self-evident.

Cultural unitarianism, which was connected with social Darwinism, was also the important theoretical basis of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement. Since Kant, the founder of Positivism, divided the evolution of human intelligence into the age of theology (with focus

on meditation,) the age of metaphysics (with focus on philosophical thinking), and the age of positivism (with focus on science), which gained the support of Morgan, Spencer, and Taylor. Kant believed that human society would inevitably march along similar and even the same path on the grounds of mankind's psychological unanimity and similar survival environment. As cultures of various countries would follow the same line, the order of the different phases in their development could not be varied, while their evolution must be gradual. The highest level of human culture was the golden Victorian Age. Such a doctrine of cultural evolution typified by monism said that Western commodities and civilization swept across the world in the latter half of the 19th century and the turn of the 20th century. In China, they became an ideological weapon of the contemporaries of the May 4th Movement in their fight against those who refused modernization under the pretext of China's particular national conditions and adhered to the principle of China being the center of the world.

The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement believed in the theory of evolution, and viewed human culture in the perspective of monism. That was the highest possible level in their understanding at that time. They fulfilled the mission prescribed and endowed to them by history. However, the mission beyond them is awaiting for us to complete it.

Reporter: It has been 70 years since the May 4th New Cultural Movement. Great changes have taken place during that period with lots of experiences and lessons. It is our task to sum up, in an all-around way, the success and failure, merits and shortcomings of the May 4th Movement, so that we may continue to make progress. What especially, do you think, should draw our attention to inheriting and bringing forward the May 4th spirit?

Pang: First, it is necessary to understand and handle the relationship between the spirit of the times and the national spirit, by no means should we copy Western things intact.

Culture is human creation, an expression of the survival of a specific group of people under specific conditions for their living, as well as the human nature of that particular group, which has become the object under study. Any culture has its own historical time and social space in its shaping and existence, and has its grounds and rationality for existence. A culture transcending time, space, and a group of people does not exist, nor is it imaginable. Therefore, the quality of the times of culture is defined. Because a culture that transcends space does not exist, and the national quality of culture is defined. Needless to say, the essence of the times in culture as displayed by the spirit of the times is always changing with the times. Sometimes, immediate diametrical changes may also take place resulting in two entirely different phases in an identical cultural type. Between different cultural types, their similarities and differences can also be discerned by comparison. The cultural,

national quality displayed in the essences of national spirit is relatively stable, but rich and colorful in expression. Such quality enables a culture to shape into its own peculiar way of thinking, way of expressing sentiments, behavioral code, and value orientation, along with the structural pattern of other cultural factors, its own peculiar type will take shape. In the changing essences of the times are permanent elements, which make the accumulation of culture possible, so that the culture of a latter phase may surpass its precedence. Contained in the essences of national quality with different characteristics is the element of universal human nature, that is why culture can be spread from one nation to another. In the essences of the quality of the times, those which represented the progressive direction in history would shape the spirit of the times. With regard to more advanced times, the spirit of that specific times can be a limitation. With regard to other nations, the national spirit can also be a national limitation, should that nation be conceited and arrogant.

The contemporaries of the May 4th Movement believed in the theory of the West being the world's center, and that its being a universal truth lay precisely in its focusing on the quality of the times and absoluteness, while they neglected the national qualities and relativity of culture. In fact, the truth in their perspective had never existed. History is a long process, and the world complicated. Both the Easterners and the Westerners have each shaped, over a long period of time, their own perspective in their relationship with the world. There are as many points for their mutual supplement as for their absorption, and neither of them are always inferior to the other. Facts over the past 70 years have demonstrated that the principle, the West as the center, failed to basically resolve China's problems, and a duplication of Western democracy in China would never work. It was precisely the Westerners that were the first to give up the theory that the West being the world's Center, and the Easterners began to shun that principle in the 1960s. Regretfully, some people in Chinese theoretical circles are still clinging to it. Japan has realized modernization, but they do not believe that modernization is equivalent to Westernization. We should establish a concept, namely, culture is pluralistic, and modernization is diversified, the more so are the ways for social development. The lack of proper research in, and planning for our modernization pattern, and the blindness in worshipping the West will only result in failure in everything.

Reporter: The refrainment from blindly worshipping Western culture involves a correct attitude toward China's traditional culture. Public opinion in criticizing traditional culture has been rather strong in recent years; could you say something about it?

Pang: Every nation has its own cultural tradition, and tradition is an objective existence. It is necessary to acknowledge the existence of tradition, to tell the difference between traditional culture and cultural tradition, and to study how to change tradition. Generally labelling

tradition with ten major charges did not help to eliminate tradition. Strictly speaking, the traditional concept we usually refer to may be divided into "traditional culture" and "cultural tradition." Traditional culture refers to all kinds of specific cultural phenomena surfacing in the past, but have passed down to the present; they can be material, like some object, or spiritual-material, like a constitution, or spiritual, like an idea. They may have some value only in appreciation or knowledge, or may still serve as some criteria for people's thinking and behavior today. Some of them must be dumped into the dustbin, others may be preserved, and still others are marginal. In whatever category, they all belong to the past, and are external to things today. Whereas cultural tradition includes things spiritual in traditional culture, which are invisible. They are the habits and custom with a fixed potential inherent in the life and psychology of our contemporaries, and dominate the collective unconsciousness of the entire nation. They embody in the way of thinking of millions of people, their ways of expressing their emotion and of actions and behavior, as well as their value orientation. More often than not, people are not aware of their existence. They took place in the past, but have been passed down to the present, and will affect the future. It has steady continuity, and has become the mother set of national culture. Therefore, only through education: What will be the consequences should one's own cultural tradition be neglected?

Pang: It will end in losing one's national pride and confidence. True, it is necessary to absorb the experiences of other countries and nations in the development of any country, and the prosperity of any nation, but the study in the experiences and lessons of one's own country and nation is basic, to find out the crux impeding China's progress. China's progress is possible only on its original basis and tradition. If we show no respect to our own history, and refuse to acknowledge that there are many fine things in the tradition of the Chinese nation, we are bound to lose our national pride and confidence. For example: A young couple are dating, if they should see only the shortcomings but not the merits in each other, they would not have fallen in love with each other. Should a nation have no pride in itself, and lose faith in its own development, but count on others to show it respect, that would certainly be a hopeless case. This issue was not handled well in the times of the May 4th Movement. In the course of reform and opening up in recent years, national pride and confidence have been hurt too much, and too deeply. Some people said that the Chinese nation has always been in a state of self-closure and arrogance. That view does not conform to historical facts. There were examples of self-closure, but viewing the entire Chinese history, we cannot find the phenomena of permanent self-closure. In fact, it was imperialism that first attacked China for its severing all international intercourse, while some of our own people joined in the chorus, and showed no pride for China's history. As to criticizing China for being arrogant, that might be true in the past, but now it is suffering from inferiority. Therefore, we must strengthen education in patriotism, so that

the whole people, especially young people, may reestablish their national pride and confidence. Hence, the need to earnestly understand and to study China, and to do the same with foreign countries. By so doing, one will not be bewildered by the contradictions in Chinese and foreign, ancient and modern cultures, and will be comparatively natural in absorbing Chinese and foreign cultures. Otherwise, if some complaints are vented superficially without touching upon the substance of the issue, it is not helpful in resolving problems in reality.

To mark the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, it is precisely to view the movement and the experiences and lessons over the past 70 years in the May 4th critical spirit, to continue the unfinished tasks of criticizing tradition, realizing democracy, showing respect for democracy, as proposed by the May 4th Movement, and to complete the new tasks to analyze tradition, and to study the pattern of modernization. To inherit the May 4th spirit, it is imperative to surpass it, and to surpass it is to inherit it. Long live the spirit of the May 4th Movement!

#### **Manage Party Affairs Strictly, Waste No Time in So Doing**

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[Article by He Yiting 0149 3015 0080]

[Text] Party affairs must be strictly and not casually managed. This policy is not decided by anyone's subjective desire but is due to the fact that the Communist Party is charged with the important task of leading the development of China's socialist modernization and faces rigorous tests in ruling the country and conducting the reform and open policies. There is a view that the aim of exercising strict management of party affairs is to maintain a clean administration and prevent corruption. This is not a comprehensive understanding. There should be two interpretations of the fact that the Communist Party faces rigorous tests in ruling the country and conducting the reform and open policies: First, whether or not the Communist Party can rule the country and exercise its powers properly and achieve the ultimate success in leading the reform and opening up to enable China to realize socialist modernization. Second, whether or not the Communist Party can maintain a clean administration and prevent corruption when it is ruling the country and conducting the reform and open policies. To maintain a clean administration and prevent corruption are the minimum requirements on the Communist Party itself and its party members. They are not the only requirements. The fundamental aim of setting such requirements is to guarantee the proper ruling of the country and the successful implementation of the reform and open policies. To maintain a clean administration and prevent corruption are indeed prominent and major problems facing the party in the new era but it seems to be too low an objective if we put it as the sole objective. Will the people be content if the Communist

Party can only prevent corruption but is unable to attain a faster development of the productive forces? Is it true that the people support the Communist Party only because it is not corrupt? On the contrary, if the government can only achieve a faster development of the productive forces but is unable to maintain a clean administration, the people will surely not be satisfied. The present historical mission and the leading responsibility of the Communist Party is to reduce corruption to the minimum level and strive for a faster development of the productive forces, so that the superiority of the socialist system can be vigorously manifested and displayed.

Therefore, to exercise strict management of party affairs does not only mean eliminating several corrupt elements and maintaining a clean administration and not discovering problems, putting extra blame on people, or adopting past methods in carrying out political movements. Instead, it means that the party should, following the requirements of the constitution, discipline, and the party's basic line, build up the party and handle existing internal party problems by means of establishing and perfecting the system through practices in the reform, open policy, and modernization. It also refers to the overall requirements on various aspects like political leadership, ideology, work style, discipline and establishment of systems. It will not therefore be an expedient measure at the present stage but the guiding policy that should be persisted with in building up the party during the entire period of socialist modernization. By strict management of party affairs the goals the party should achieve are: Party members can really function as pioneers and models; the basic Communist Party organizations can really play the role of a fighting force; and regional party organizations at various levels can improve in fulfilling the responsibilities of political leadership. Another goal is to enable the Communist Party to become one which is bold in carrying out the reform, full of vigor, good at harmonizing contradictions and gaining control of the situation, fair and clean, and highly democratic and centralized. It should also be able to appoint people according to their ability so that they may work effectively for the people and work better in taking up the heavy and historical burden of leading China's socialist modernization.

According to the above requirements and goals how is the strict management of party affairs currently?

#### **I. The Policy of Strictly Managing Party Affairs Has Not Been Thoroughly Implemented; Party Affairs Are Not Really Strictly Managed**

Since the 13th CPC National Congress, many measures have been adopted based on thorough implementation of the party's policy of strict management of party affairs. All places have been investigating and punishing important cases and corrupt elements. The party has been improved in many aspects. In particular, the party has discovered methods and channels and accumulated

experience in conducting strict management of party affairs through establishing systems and not by launching political movements. This is inseparable from the series of new victories obtained in the reform and opening up. We also have to admit that the policy of strict management of party affairs has not been thoroughly implemented in a number of places and units. The achievements are not obvious. In the party, some problems which must be solved through strict management have not been solved and some can still be further developed. For example, occurrences of manipulation of power, dereliction of duty, acquisition of personal gain through one's authority, corruption, bribery, blackmail, serious bureaucracy, and other such behavior have increased. Also, some phenomena are getting more serious, like orders not being followed. Things cannot be stopped by prohibition and organization discipline has become lax. There is not much improvement in the situation whereby some grass-roots party organizations do not function as fighting forces and some party members do not work as pioneering models. In this sense we can say that the management of party affairs has not actually become strict. The fact that party affairs are not strictly managed is mainly demonstrated in the following ways:

**First, ideological education of party members is not strictly conducted.** For various reasons there has appeared a growing tendency to stress material benefits, make light of idealism, care nothing about responsibility and devotion, and fuss about gains and loss of individuals or small groups. Some Communist Party members' concept of the party has been weakened, their consciousness of being party members reduced, and their spirit of struggle diminished. It is not strange for such an ideological condition to appear during a period of big historical change. Because of this we need to have strict education of party members but actually many party organizations have slackened their education. Some basic ideological and theoretical principles that must be upheld for the sake of Marxist political party construction are taught to party members without a clear-cut stand. These principles include the persistence of the Communist ideal, the goal of serving the people wholeheartedly, and carrying forward the excellent hardworking tradition and Communist essences like sacrifice and devotion. On the contrary, some mistaken theories have found a definite market in certain places. In such places the standard of clean administration is lowered. Clean administration may even be regarded as "conventional and conservative." People regard corrupt administration as a trifle and those cadres who perform a clean administration are isolated and ridiculed.

**Second, party organization activities are slack.** The quality of party organization meetings are generally low at present. Some party organization meetings have become mere formalities. Not a few party organizations lack the ability to solve their own problems. In some cases criticisms and self-criticisms cannot be conducted while

in others people blame each other, grumble, and complain. Cases where party discipline has been violated cannot be investigated through voluntary inspection by the party organizations themselves, or by reports to an upper level or self-supervision. Some party members do not take part in party organization activities for lengthy periods of time without being questioned in any way. Some party organizations are not being questioned even if they have not conducted organization activities in a long time. There is a county in which 80 percent of its rural party branches have not had a single party organization activity during the past 2 years and 42 percent of its village party branches have not recruited any new party members for the past decade.

**Third, the standards required of party members are low.** In the recruitment of party members the phenomenon exists that people are lowering the standards of party members and only pursuing quantity. Many party organizations do not conduct serious examinations of probationary party members or there may be no examination at all. According to certain regional investigations, about 1 to 2 percent of party members recruited in the past 2 years could not meet the requirements of being party members. About 8 percent of party members did not function as pioneers and models after they had joined the party.

Other regions have conducted investigations and discovered the real situation. In these regions, about 5 percent of party members are not qualified. However, in some grass-roots party organizations members are qualified as long as they have not made grave mistakes or violated the law and discipline when being evaluated. Those unqualified number much less than those qualified. The flexibility of "revising the time limit" is also expanded without any principle or limit. The number of those who are disqualified is below 1 percent.

**Fourth, party discipline is not strictly enforced.** The discipline is loosely enforced. Those with distant relations are punished but not those with close relations; those at lower levels are punished but not those at upper levels; and the people are punished but not the officials. These phenomena are not rare and some problems are not investigated properly. For example, many party organizations handle such problems as the existence of "policies above, and countermeasures below" and acts that infringe upon the overall interests of the country by the "just this once" policy. To those party members who publicly oppose the party's political views many party organizations do not give any criticism, education, or punishment in accordance with party discipline. The main problem in handling acts which violate the law and discipline and have to be placed on file for investigation lies in the fact that they are handled leniently. Some party organizations claim that they want to "strictly handle" party members who have violated the law and discipline but in fact they are trying to turn big problems into small ones and small problems into no problem at

all. They substitute punishments imposed according to party discipline with fine or substitute legal sanctions with party discipline. The way they handle cases is lax.

**Fifth, inspection and supervision over the enforcement of rules and regulations are not strict.** Quite a number of rules and regulations for exercising strict management of party affairs have been formulated in the past few years. However, they lack regular inspection and supervision. The necessary awards or punishments are also lacking no matter whether or not the rules and regulations have been properly enforced so that many rules and regulations look as if they exist only in form. This shows that party affairs are not strictly managed and this is also one of the reasons why party affairs are not strictly managed.

## II. Five Reasons Why Party Affairs Are Not Strictly Managed

Why cannot party affairs be strictly managed and why does the policy of strict management achieve little success despite the fact that documents are passed down from upper level organs concerning the strict management of party affairs, and leaders at various levels have spoken on this policy? I think there are five reasons:

**First, people do not feel that it is a pressing issue to exercise strict management of party affairs, nor do they have the sense of responsibility and determination to do so.** Why do party members think that they can strictly manage party affairs before they take up a ruling position? The reason is that if party members do not strictly manage party affairs they may risk their own lives and the party organization plus the entire party may be eliminated. The harsh environment and external pressure of the past no longer exist. The reform has obtained great achievements attracting worldwide attention. Existing problems in the party, like passivity, corruption, and slackness are actually of the same relationship as between one finger and the other nine. In short, the pressing feeling and sense of responsibility of some Communist Party members, especially some leading cadres, in exercising strict management of party affairs have been consciously or unconsciously weakened by the status of the ruling party and the peaceful environment, or may even have disappeared. They may have underestimated the importance and damaging effect of evil trends and corruption and slack phenomena. They may pay little attention to these phenomena thinking that if only the economy can be improved problems in other aspects will then be solved. They may speak in one way but act in another and be scared to take any action to solve a problem. Or they may only think of gaining profit for themselves and not care for the party or the country.

**Second, the problem whereby the party does not manage itself has not been completely solved.** Due to lopsided understanding, different levels of organizations are working busily in boosting development and rates, which is pressure brought by the overheated economy, and looking for reasons for the nonseparation of party and

government functions. Party organizations in some localities and departments for a long time have been effective in carrying out economic work but ineffective in fulfilling party construction when doing practical work. If strict management of party affairs is not exercised properly, or if it is not exercised at all, how can this policy be thoroughly implemented?

**Third, party organizations and leading cadres give weak performances.** Usually this is the reason leading to party problems and the inability to exercise strict management and investigation in most places. There are four things of which the leading cadres of these places are afraid: First, of giving offense, fearing they may lose votes if they offend party members and the masses; they are afraid of "retaliation" if they offend their superiors; they fear that they may lose help if they offend their colleagues; and they also fear that they may receive less support if they offend the old cadres. Thus, they usually abandon party principles and are scared to criticize others boldly. They also do not dare to exercise strict management on party members or to expose problems. Second, they are afraid of making the "Left" error. Particularly under situations where policies are not clearly defined they fear that the invigoration of the economy may be disturbed and the initiative of reformers may be frustrated if they boldly investigate and handle problems or strictly enforce discipline. They fear that the case will be redressed after it has been handled so they would rather be lenient. Third, they are afraid of affecting the reputation and economic benefits of their own units if they expose problems and enforce party discipline. Fourth, they are afraid of "pulling out the mud together with the radish." Some activities in violation of the law and discipline are carried out because of a decision by the leading body or by leading cadres. Even if they have not yet earned the money they will not strictly handle the problem because in so doing they will be involved.

**Fourth, there is truly a certain degree of difficulty in exercising strict management of party affairs under conditions whereby the reform and open policy are being implemented and the commodity economy is being developed. We lack experience. There are still not many methods.** For example, it is not a simple task to seriously conduct education of party members so that they can understand and remember what they have learned, especially some "difficult point" and "flash point" problems. It is not easy to get convincing answers that can really integrate theory with practice. In the stage when the new system replaces the old it is very difficult to vigorously develop the commodity economy and reduce corruption to the minimum level at the same time. There is also a certain degree of difficulty in enforcing party discipline and investigating and handling cases. First, regions, units and individuals can usually obtain certain advantages from illegal official profiteering of the means of production in short supply and high-grade consumer products. Thus there is a rather great hurdle placed by some leaders and masses during the investigation and handling of such cases. Second, some cases in violation

of party discipline involve cadres in party and government organs who hold real power over personnel and property. Usually these people have great power and a lot of connections and so the difficulty in investigating and handling such cases is greater. Third, the means of offense is well concealed. Most people violate discipline deliberately. They begin to look for all possible counter-measures against the investigation and handling work when they begin violating discipline. This makes it difficult to investigate and handle the cases. Fourth, there is usually a greater difficulty in investigating and handling those cases which involve leading cadres. In some cases the nature cannot be determined for a long time after they have been thoroughly investigated.

**Fifth, some policies do not have clear definitions and some party rules and regulations are imperfect.** This affects the strict management of party affairs. Take the anti-corruption work as an example. Though some regulations stipulate that "something is not permitted" there is no proper stipulations concerning the way of supervision, the handling of cases where prohibited acts are committed, the organ for reporting the offense, the way to deal with cases after investigation, and so on. Enforcement is thus difficult. For example, up till now there is no interpretation of the essence of the manifestation and influence of corrupt elements. Thus it is difficult to "eliminate as many corrupt elements as possible." Take another example, there is no unified stipulation on the policy limit of unqualified party members. Various places have conducted studies but the resulting standards are not consistent and some of them are quite different. This causes comparison and competition between different places regardless of their own conditions and progress in handling unqualified party members is affected. There is also no unified standard of penalty for party members who violate party discipline so it is inevitable that some punishments are too harsh while others are too lenient, depending on people's desire. Due to the lack of specific regulations protecting the democratic rights of party members the handling and rectification of acts in violation of party members' democratic rights and abuse of such democratic rights are affected. It seems that it is necessary for the relevant departments of the CPC Central Committee to work hard in studying and formulating the above policy limits and specific regulations. All places should conduct active studies in their practices to gradually form necessary standards for such regulations. We can wait no longer.

### III. Current Considerations for the Methods of Exercising Strict Management of Party Affairs

#### 1. Unify the different understandings, strengthen the people's pressing feeling and confidence

It is reported that the Press Institute of the China People's University recently conducted a questionnaire with 172 public figures in the capital. In answering the question "What are the current major problems in China that need to be urgently solved?" the problems on top of

the list were the strict management of party affairs and the handling of corrupt and slack phenomena. We can thus see that both the party and the people have the desire to manage party affairs strictly. The majority of the Chinese people rely on the Communist Party for the country's prosperity and strength and the well being and happiness of the people. They greatly hope that the Communist Party can further develop so that it may lead the people in making further progress. The determination, confidence, and sense of responsibility in exercising strict management of party affairs should be developed on this basis.

Some people are worried that if strict management of party affairs is really exercised party members and cadres must be involved. Will this increase the unstable factors in society? The answer is just the opposite. Evil trends, bureaucracy, and all types of corrupt phenomena are increasing in the party and seriously affecting, even damaging, social stability. Why has the abnormal phenomenon of "eating meat while taking up the rice bowl; swearing after putting down the chopsticks" appeared in society in recent years? One of the major reasons is that people are discontented with the various evil trends and corrupt phenomena. It is noteworthy that such discontent is spreading, and more and more people are losing their confidence in the effectiveness of eliminating corruption and rectifying evil trends. To maintain stability is more important than anything. Nothing can be done without stability. The tolerance and shielding of corruption and evil trends are damaging social stability to its roots. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that the problem concerning the style of the ruling party is a big problem that determines the party's fate. A 1,000-mile-long embankment may collapse because there are anthills in it. If we underestimate the existing problems and let them develop, or do not adopt any effective measure to solve them, then the situation where social stability holds the absolute dominant position may be endangered. This will be very dangerous. We should be prepared for possible future perils while enjoying peace and not forget the dangerous warnings in a prosperous age. To all those Communist Party members who treat the policy of strict management of party affairs lightly it is time for them to face the facts squarely. They should be alert if they really care for and love the party and hope that the party can continue to prosper forever. Every member who is faithful to the party, especially leading cadres, should be worried and closely tie their fate with the fate of the party and rise to protect and develop the party.

We must persist in the policy of "dual tactics" if we want to exercise strict management of party affairs so that we can really solve the problem of the party managing party affairs. We should also establish a responsibility system for achieving certain goals by party committees at all levels in order to exercise strict management of party affairs. The achievement in doing such work can be regarded as an important factor in evaluating the work of leading cadres of party committees, and to connect this

with the allocation, award, and punishment of cadres. This may be an effective method of fundamentally changing the situation where the party do not manage party affairs.

## **2. Four aspects should currently be emphasized in the strict management of party affairs.**

**First, management of party-member leading cadres should be strict.** This is a crucial point in the strict management of party affairs and also a policy that the CPC Central Committee always emphasize. It has been proved by practice that the effects of this policy in managing party affairs will be greatly different if it is implemented so we have to be really strict in managing party affairs. At present, the management of party-member leading cadres should be especially strict regarding two problems.

One is the anticorruption problem. This should be an important point in the strict management of party affairs for a long time to come. Party-member leading cadres should set an example in directing clean administration and being law-abiding, and act as models in safeguarding clean administration and working against corruption. Stricter demands should be made on them in these aspects. A cadre's ability to direct a clean administration and be law-abiding should be regarded as important conditions for recommending, checking, appointing, examining, and promoting cadres. Those cadres who do not direct clean administrations cannot be promoted or employed. Those who have committed serious offenses must be handled according to party discipline.

The other problem is the observance of discipline. Those party-member leading cadres who disregard orders issued by central authorities and infringe upon the overall interests of the country in order to seek personal, partial, and small-group interests must be seriously punished in accordance with party discipline. Actions must be taken against those party organizations and party-member leading cadres who are indifferent to acts in violation of party discipline and neglect their duties in safeguarding party discipline and conduct illegal activities through decisions made by leading groups or cliques.

**Second, a strict ideological education must be provided for party members and strict demands must be set on them.** To manage party affairs strictly we should focus our attention on the majority of our party members. We should constantly educate them with the aim of enhancing their quality. There is no denying the fact that the effects of our educational work for party members is limited. However, practice has proved that the results after providing education are completely different from those when no education has been provided and the result from providing one kind of education are greatly different from when another kind of education is provided. As long as we can truly understand the ideological conditions of the broad masses of party members, study them carefully, organize our educational work effectively, improve our teaching and work methods, and



have a definite view while providing the education, we can further enhance the effects of education for our party members. There are two points here which merit our attention. 1) Education for party members should comply with the new situation, answer new questions, and be based on the analysis of the new situation. In particular, efforts must be made to answer some "difficult" and "much discussed" questions in a fair and reasonable way. 2) While providing the education we should take a clear-cut stand to uphold those parts of the basic Marxist theories and principles on party building which are still suitable for the present-day conditions. We should stick to the nature of the party being a vanguard of the working class, to the purpose of the communist ideal and of serving the people wholeheartedly, to the democratic centralism and party discipline, to the standard of the Communist Party, and so on. Regard the principles to which we should adhere, we should elaborate them in light of the new situation and add the contents of the new times.

With regard to current education for party members, apart from properly grasping education in the current situation and guiding the broad masses of party members to correctly appraise the situation, we should also provide proper education aimed at promoting clean and honest government. As far as the majority of party members and cadres are concerned we should help them maintain their clean and honest work style by mainly relying on providing them with more education. In the course of providing our party members with education aimed at promoting a clean and honest work style, we should pay attention to giving them positive guidance and propagating advanced typical examples. In the meantime we should also select some typical negative examples and adopt some proper methods of criticizing them so that a common practice of "regarding honesty as an honor and corruption as a disgrace" will prevail inside and outside the party. Through education we should enable every party member to increase their consciousness and to realize that as a party member they must keep themselves within the bounds of the party constitution and discipline. If they do something which mars the image of the party or insults it this also means that they actually insult themselves. Awakening all party members and increasing their consciousness so that they realize that they must go through thick and thin together with the party should be regarded as a content of the education for party members. The so-called consciousness of the party members of going through thick and thin together with the party means that Communist Party members must show profound concern for the interests of the party and the people, consider the future of the party from a long-term point of view, soberly realize certain unstable factors which are occurring or have occurred, and have a correct appraisal of the future situation. Such concern, consideration, understanding and appraisal should be manifested in the practical action of all party members in working hard, being honest in performing their official duties, observing discipline, subordinating themselves to the interests of

the whole, and fighting against various kinds of unhealthy tendencies. They must set a good example and make a fresh start right now. They should give full play to their exemplary role in all aspects. The practice of feeling dissatisfied with the corrupt and lax phenomenon, of refusing to set a strict demand on oneself, and of blaming everyone and everything but oneself does not manifest the consciousness of going through thick and thin together with the party and is not a good attitude. The CPC was born amid domestic trouble and foreign invasion and our party has flourished amid numerous difficulties. In the party's history, when it encountered difficulties and problems, and the broad masses of party members were willing to go through thick and thin together with the party, this was very often a good opportunity for the party to flourish. When the whole party united as one, was of one mind, advanced despite difficulties, conquered difficulties, and solved problems, the party and the party cause made further progress, and the party contingent could steel and improve itself. The party could become more mature and had a stronger combat effectiveness. Today, when our party members have their own consciousness of going through thick and thin together with the party they will face difficulties and problems squarely, clearly see their prospects and orientation, and increase their sense of urgency, responsibility, and confidence. The rallying power and appeal of the party will also be enhanced. In such a way our party members will defend the authority of the party of their own accord and no difficulty is unconquerable. We now need more party members who are willing to go through thick and thin together with the party and it is therefore necessary for us to increase the consciousness of the broad masses of party members in this regard through education.

We should also set strict demands on party members. When we implement important policies and measures for reform we set special demands on party members. With regard to the relaying of some matters inside the party and the implementation of party policy, we should stick to the principle of carrying them out first inside the party, before they are implemented outside the party. This will attract party members' attention to matters inside the party so that they can work for the masses more conveniently. If the existing policies permit we should set certain demands on party members. For example, some party members today run private enterprises today and have become owners of private enterprises. This is permitted by the existing policy. The party organizations must demand that these party members measure themselves by the standards of a communist and that they take the lead in running their business in accordance with the law, pay tax in accordance with rules and regulations, and correctly handle relations between surplus value and workers. Their personal incomes should correspond to their labor. They should mainly use the surplus value for expanded reproduction.



Those party members who are owners of private enterprises must keep their own conduct within the bounds of such demands. If they fail to do so they cannot be regarded as genuine Communist Party members.

Third, we should strictly adhere to the standards of communist party members. We should, first of all, correctly understand and handle relations between quantity and quality of party members. The quantity of party members determines to a certain extent whether a proletarian political party is a mass party and whether it is a party with broad social influence. Therefore the quantity of party members is not unimportant. However, the quality of party members should be regarded as a prerequisite of quantity. For a certain period of time past we arbitrarily recruited party members and increased the number at random out of the needs of political campaign. Practice has proved that act was harmful and has left us problems like ideological and organizational impurity, impure work style, and so on. These problems still harass us. The quantity of our party members must conform with the nature of our party. Actually, due to the fact that Communist Party members are the advanced elements with communist consciousness of the working class, this has objectively determined that only a small number of people in the population comply with the standards for Communist Party members. If we degrade the standards in an attempt to blindly increase the quantity the direct proportion between combat effectiveness and quantity will be changed to an inverse proportion. If the situation remains unchanged for a long time the party will degenerate into a mass organization. We have more than 47 million party members throughout the country today. This is a big number but what we lack is probably quality. Therefore, the emphasis on building the contingent of communist party members should be placed on enhancing the quality. We should set strict demands on membership "recruitment" and let those unqualified members "exit" to establish a normal metabolic system.

Setting a strict demand on membership "recruitment" does not mean that we should temporarily freeze the work of recruiting party members now and in the future. But we should exercise macroscopic control over our membership recruitment. We should absorb those advanced and qualified elements who come to the fore in the course of reform and opening up carefully and in a planned way. At present, our attention to party membership recruitment should be focused on the forefront of production and particularly on those units where the power of the party is comparatively weak, or places where there is no party member or organization. In certain rural areas where party members are too old we should consider integrating the work of recruiting party members with the establishment of the leading bodies of the rural party branches. However, wherever we recruit party members we must stick to unified standards must on no account follow a "special policy." To guarantee the quality of the new party members we should follow the procedure of strictly recruiting party members and

that of observing and examining probationary party members before they become full members. With regard to those probationary party members who fail to become full members, we should abrogate their status as probationary party members.

There are three items in letting unqualified party members "exit." 1) We should take firm action against those who bring disgrace to the party. We must mercilessly expel the following elements from the party: Those guilty of seriously manipulating power for personal ends, of graft and embezzlement, of asking for or taking bribes, of speculation and swindling, and of reaping staggering profits from reselling at a profit; those guilty of dereliction and negligence of duty due to serious bureaucracy causing heavy losses to the property and interests of the state and those guilty of seriously wasting state property; and those guilty of having a seriously corrupted moral character, of corruption and degeneration, of participating in gambling, and who refusing to mend their ways despite repeated admonition. To my mind party members who are guilty of the aforementioned crimes must at least be regarded as corrupt elements. They must be expelled from the party relentlessly because they have blackened the name of Communist Party members. Why must we not expel those party members who are guilty of corrupting the cause of the party and the people?

2) We must expel those party members who openly oppose the party's political views and still stubbornly stick to their erroneous stand despite the education provided by the party. The reasons for us to do so are very simple: the CPC is a political organization which follows an iron discipline and demands political and ideological unity. It cannot allow its members to openly oppose its political views, let alone tolerate so-called "constructive opposition" inside the party. Since some of its members do not want to be kept within the bounds of the party discipline they must leave the party but they can still become good citizens. This is closely connected with party policy. The mistake of opposing the party's political views means that someone opposes the basic political orientation of the party and the party's political line and major political principles. This does not refer to academic discussion or contention among people holding different views under the prerequisite of upholding the four cardinal principles. Neither does it refer to those party members who take exception to certain specific party policies but still comply with the party resolution and observe party discipline in their actions. Such a demarcation line must be clearly drawn. Otherwise we will repeat the "leftist" mistake, suffocate democratic atmosphere inside the party, and harm the development of Marxist theories under the new conditions.

3) We must seriously and properly deal with unqualified party members. This is a very difficult but we must do it well no matter how difficult it is. Dealing with unqualified party members on the basis of democratic appraisal through public discussion is a comparatively successful

method which has been proved by practice. By employing such a method we can achieve it smoothly. The CPC Central Committee has approved and transmitted the document of the central organization department "Opinions on Establishing a System of Democratic Appraisal of Party Members Through Public Discussion." As long as we employ a down-to-earth manner in implementing the document, and avoid formalism, we can not only provide education for our party members and enhance their quality but also properly handle unqualified party members. The key to enhancing the quality of democratic appraisal of party members through public discussion activities, and effectively handling unqualified party members, lies in whether or not: Party organizations at all levels can strengthen leadership, examination, and supervision; party-member leading cadres can participate in activities as ordinary party members; and whether or not party members in basic-level party organizations can conduct correct criticism and self-criticism without sparing anyone's sensibilities. Regarding party organizations which have failed to carry out democratic appraisals of party members through public discussion, or have made them a sham, party committees at the higher level must strengthen their leadership over them, criticize them, consolidate them, or urge them to make up the "missed lesson." Through democratic appraisal we should praise outstanding party members, or readjust the date for the completion of the probationary period of unqualified party members, persuade them to withdraw from the party, or remove their names from the list of party members. In such a way this can truly play a role in promoting healthy trends and checking unhealthy ones. Democratic appraisals should be held annually and gradually regularized. Every year, we handle some unqualified party members. This means we go about things little by little without let up. We can thus gradually develop a normal metabolic system in the contingent of party members.

**Fourth, discipline must be strictly enforced.** Severe provisions in law are needed in order to deal with the chaotic situation. Party discipline must be stricter than government discipline. Without an iron discipline it is impossible for us to smoothly improve the economic environment, rectify the economic order, and deepen the reform in an all-round way. Strict enforcement of discipline must, of course, serve reform and opening up. This does not mean that our efforts to enforce discipline can be "relaxed." When our discipline is enforced in a stricter way this actually means greater protection and support for the reform and opening up. As long as we go deep into the realities, make efforts to study the problems related to policy and the difficult problems arising in the course of handling cases, and go about things in accordance with the party discipline and rules and regulations governing discipline inspection, we will be able to master the policy accurately and enforce the discipline strictly. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: Once we have adopted our measures we must implement them resolutely. We must be strict in implementing these measures, and must on no account relax our efforts in

this regard. Being strict means that we should enable all party members, and especially those responsible comrades who are taking disciplinary action against those who violated discipline, to realize that party discipline must be enforced. The "practice" that the words are earnest but fall on deaf ears no longer works now. This demands that we uphold the principle that everyone is equal before discipline. We must hit both "fly" and "tiger" once they occur. The practice of hitting fly or tiger alone does not work. At present, we should seriously investigate and deal with a number of big and important cases to boost the confidence of the broad masses of party members and people in managing party affairs strictly. Therefore, with regard to cases in which clues have been found we should carry out the investigation thoroughly. Those guilty of violating law and discipline must be severely punished. Those party members and organizations obstructing the investigation of cases of violation of law and discipline must also be properly punished. Therefore, party organizations at all levels are specially requested to support and protect cadres in charge of discipline inspection who were retaliated against through handling cases impartially. Basically speaking, we should expand the supervisory power of discipline inspection organs and necessary reform must be carried out with regard to the existing leadership system.

The current leadership system pursued by discipline inspection organs determines that they are mainly led by party committees of the same level and that the leadership over them by discipline inspection commissions at the higher level is only subsidiary. In the initial stage, because reforms had just started and were mainly carried out in the rural areas, social and economic activities were comparatively simple, and the degree and nature of problems occurring inside the party were different from the current situation, such a leadership system was workable. Marked achievements were also made in pursuing such a system. However, with progress in urban economic structural reform, problems arising in the course of replacing the old system with the new one have been reflected in the life inside the party. More and more party-member leading cadres are involved in unhealthy trends and the contradiction between such a leadership system and the situation inside the party, and the contradiction between the leadership system with the task of the discipline inspection commissions, have occurred. This has shown that the discipline inspection commissions have lost their comparative independent nature and it is difficult for them to exercise effective supervision over party committees at the same level. Some leading cadres who engaged in unhealthy trends disrupt the work of cadres responsible for discipline inspection and dare to stick to principle. They even directly or indirectly retaliate against them or transfer them to other posts. This has worried cadres responsible for discipline inspection and affected progress. In view of the new situation we can consider the possibility of pursuing a

leadership system which relies mainly on the leadership of the party committees at a higher level while making the leadership of the party committees at the same level subsidiary.

### **A Collection of Articles on Revitalizing the Rural Economy**

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[A collection of articles on revitalizing the rural economy: "What Counts in Agricultural Invigoration Is Strengthening Leadership" by Xu Xingguan [6079 5887 6306]; "The Basic Way Out for Agriculture To Free Itself From Progressing Haltingly" by Guo Shutian [6753 2579 3944]; "Strengthen Agricultural Construction, Develop Agricultural Resources" by Tao Dinglai [7118 7844 0171]; "Improve the Policy Environment for Township and Town Enterprises While Carrying out the Improvement and Rectification Program" by Du Ying [2629 7751]; "Protect Rural Environment, Accelerate Rural Development" by Hou Xueyu [0186 1331 3558]]

[Text] **What Counts in Agricultural Invigoration is Strengthening Leadership**—Xu Xingguan (Vice provincial governor of Zhejiang Province, and member of the standing committee of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee)

The core of the agricultural problem is the grain problem. At present, grain production is encountering many difficulties and contradictions. First, the contradiction between the demand and supply of grain has been intensified. It is due to the fact that the area of cultivated land is decreasing year by year, the population is increasing, and the consumption level of the masses is increasing continuously. Since the establishment of the PRC, Zhejiang has developed a large area of cultivated land. However, due to the overwhelming increase in the area of nonagricultural land, the area of cultivated land has contrarily decreased by 13 percent when compared with that in 1952. During this period, population has increased by 86 percent, and the per capita area of cultivated land has also decreased from 1.38 mu to 0.64 mu. Although the grain output per mu has increased by 193 percent, the per capita amount of grain has only increased by 21.6 percent. At the same time, the consumption level of grain has been greatly increased, and in every year the province has to consume 1.2 billion jin of grain in producing wine. Second, due to distorted price and low comparative advantages of grain production, peasants' enthusiasm in growing grain has been seriously damaged. The scissor difference between agricultural and industrial products has been enlarged. Moreover, the price ratio among various types of agricultural products is also unreasonable: One dan of grain can only exchange for 3 to 4 jin of silkworm cocoons or some 10 jin of tangerine. Furthermore, since the magnitude of increase in the price of the agricultural means of production is too large and too fast, grain production has

become not profitable. Third, the agricultural infrastructure has become incapable because of aging, its capability of resisting against natural disasters has declined, and there is insufficient energy for development. Over the recent years, the amount of state agricultural investment has been decreasing, and the state has not been able to adopt effective measures to attract peasants to put their money in agriculture investment. Consequently, production conditions have become worse, and any type of natural disaster will result in decrease in agricultural output. Fourth, the thinking of taking agriculture as the foundation has been weakened, and the decisions made have been in favor of industry. People's general opinion is that the measures taken to grasp industry can bring instant results, and that taken to grasp agriculture cannot bring obvious effects. Some departments have been considering too much about their interests, and are not enthusiastic in supporting agriculture. As a result, grain production has been progressing haltingly. In addition, over the past several years the Zhejiang Province has suffered many serious disasters, the province's agricultural output has decreased in 4 subsequent years, and the situation has become a grim one.

To change the situation where grain output is decreasing, and to vigorously develop agriculture is vital to stabilizing the economy, the market, and the overall situation. In order to develop grain production, price should be smoothed in accordance with the law of value, and peasants should be enabled to obtain average social profit. However, due to the limited financial strength of the state and the limited bearing capacity of enterprises, the price of agricultural products cannot be smoothed instantly, but the price of agricultural products can be slightly adjusted in a gradual way. Under these circumstance, we have to give play to political strong points, and should thoroughly strengthen the party's and the government's leadership on agricultural development. In view of the present situation, the main possible methods will be:

1. We should try every possible way to increase agricultural investment. If we want to increase grain output, we have to ensure that corresponding amount of investment will be input into agriculture. Only when the enthusiasm of peasants in production is combined with necessary material input can sustained and stable agricultural development be obtained. In increasing agricultural investment, the functions of the state, the community, and the market should be effectively brought into play, and the state, collectives, and individuals should be mobilized to work together toward this target. Due to the financial difficulty of the state, it is impossible for the state to increase its investment in agriculture in the near future. Therefore, the mainbody of agricultural investment should be rural collectives and the masses of peasants. Moreover, corresponding measures should be adopted and a suitable environment should be developed to gradually establish a new mechanism of agricultural investment and accumulation. We have adopted some experimental measures on this aspect. For

instance, we have established a three level—county, township, and village—agricultural development fund system, a cooperative fund system, and a labor accumulative work system. At present, four-fifth of the counties, one third of the townships and one fourth of the villages of the province have established the agricultural development fund system, and they can raise about 0.3 billion yuan of funds a year. Besides, one fourth of the villages of the province have established the cooperative fund system, and have obtained an amount of funds of some 0.2 billion yuan. Apart from these, 40 percent of the villages of the province have reestablished the labor accumulation system. In 1988, some 30 million accumulative labors [jilei gong 4480 4797 1562] were employed in the area of basic agricultural construction, and to develop agriculture, and an amount of some 0.1 billion yuan of investment were input in these aspects. The establishment of these investment systems has developed new channels for accumulation of funds, and has played an important role in increasing agricultural investment, in improving conditions for agricultural production, and in increasing the reserve energy for agricultural development. The increase in agricultural investment also includes the increase in materials and goods input. At present, we should handle well the production and supply of the goods and materials required by agricultural production. In particular the work on the supply of chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemical, and agricultural sheeting should be handled well, and we should try our best to obtain substantial improvement in the quantity, quality, price, and the supplying methods of agricultural materials.

2. Science and technology, and measures for increasing output should be promoted. In the past, and in developing grain production, the zhejiang Province has only relied on two aspects—to expand of the area of cultivated land, and to increase the per unit area output. However, due to the fact that the reserve land resources of the province is limited, the area of cultivated land cannot be increased in a substantial way. Therefore, the main possible way to increase grain output is to maintain the present area of cultivated land and to increase the per unit area output. Over recent years, we have been promoting five measures for increasing grain output: The measure of increasing the multiple-crop index of grain, the measure of renovating fields which have low and medium rate of output, the measure of increasing the proportion of area of cultivated land where fine varieties are planted, the measure of growing grains in accordance with high-output model, and applying fertilizers in accordance with the fertility of the land, and the measure of growing more dry grains in a coordinated scale. These measures have obtained remarkable results. In 1988, the multiple cropping area of the province, which had adopted a high-output grain growing model has increased to 6,621,700 mu, and this increase has brought an increase of 201 million jin of grain output, and peasants have thus increased their income by some 80 million yuan. To readjust the product mix of grain crops, and to develop agriculture which will consume

less water is also a practical way. In mountain areas and hilly areas, some 5 million mu of dry land and 6 million mu of slope areas can be cultivated, and a large proportion of these lands can be used to grow dry grains in a reasonable and coordinated way. We have also specially established a key task breeding team. We have decided to obtain fruitful results and are preparing to spend several years, and to gather substantial scientific and technical strength and funds to achieve this aim.

3. Rural reform should be further deepened, and agricultural management mainbody should be developed and perfected. In solving agricultural problems, the enthusiasm of the masses of peasants on production should be fully aroused, and the vigor of agriculture should be continuously enhanced. Over the past 2 years, we have done some work on developing and perfecting the management mainbody of agriculture. In order to make perfect the dual-level management system, which is a combination of centralization and decentralization, to enhance the role of cooperatives in providing production services and in accumulating funds, and their functions of management coordination, and to provide agricultural households unified services in a better way, we have focused on and have grasped the development of the economy of villages. The province, and the cities and counties of the province have allocated some 60 million yuan of loans, which have to pay discounted interest, for helping and supporting poor villages to develop their economy. Besides, the province has launched some 7,000 collective agricultural development projects, has cultivated some 500,000 mu of land for growing fruits, tea, and bamboo, and has also developed some 6,300 new industrial and service items. These have increased the real economic strength of villages; the situation of some poor villages has been improved; and one quarter of the villages in the province have established social service organizations for providing mechanical cultivation, irrigation and drainage services, for providing agricultural chemicals, and others. At the same time when the output-related system of contracted responsibilities is being stabilized and made perfect, some areas which have a developed economy and suitable conditions have gradually adopted an appropriate land scale management system. This system has played a positive role in increasing the land output rate and the labor productivity, and in stabilizing grain production.

4. The construction of basic level organizations should be thoroughly enhanced. Villages and groups are the basic units for organizing peasants' production and livelihood, and are the bridge for linking between the government and the masses of peasants. Over the past several years, the province has been grasping the work on organization construction at the village level. As a result, the organization of party branch and village people committee at the village level has been further consolidated, and 60 percent of the villages have reestablished agricultural cooperatives. For villages that have very poor capability, the province and various cities and counties have allocated 4 million yuan of special funds

for solving the problem concerning the remuneration of the cadres of these villages. This have played a role in arousing the enthusiasm of basic level cadres on work.

Apart from these, we suggest the central authorities adopt an inclined [qingxie 0282 2438] policy on the production and supply of the agricultural means of production, to allocate raw materials and to arrange special coal supply for ensuring production of industrial goods required by agriculture, and to try to produce more chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, agricultural sheeting, and other materials and supplies required by agricultural production to effectively supporting agricultural production. In increasing agricultural investment, we have to further study on and have to formulate some practical measures to strengthen the reserve energy for agricultural development.

**The Basic Way Out for Agriculture To Free Itself From Progressing Haltingly**—Guo Shutian (Officer of the Policy and Regulation Department, the Ministry of Agriculture)

In reviewing the Chinese history of agricultural development, and in reviewing the experience of developed countries, the fundamental way out for China's agriculture to rapidly free itself from progressing haltingly is to readjust its policy and to carry out reform.

First, agriculture should be really taken as the foundation of the national economy, and policies that will give preference to agriculture should be adopted to enable coordinated agricultural development. Over the past years, the financial, investment, and credit policies have been giving preference to industry, and industry (in particular manufacturing industry) has grown rapidly. However, this kind of growth has very much exceeded the bearing capacity of agriculture (the industrial growth rate in 1988 was 20.7 percent, and that for agriculture was only 3.2 percent; and the proportion of growth rate is 6.5 : 1). Consequently, there has been serious imbalance between agriculture and industry, and structural contradictions have become more acute. This is an abnormal situation. In order to enable coordinated development between industry and agriculture, the financial, investment, and credit policies at all levels should give preference to agriculture. Moreover, investment in agriculture should be increased through various means, farmland capital construction, industries for helping agriculture, the construction of basic agricultural facilities, and the building up of a system for providing agricultural, scientific and technological education and services should be enhanced, the conditions for agricultural production and the ecological environment should be improved, and the reserve energy for agricultural production should be enhanced to transform agriculture from a poor-quality industry into a good-quality industry, and to lay a solid and reliable foundation for the development of the whole national economy and the smooth implementation of economic reform.

Within the rural economy and in areas where township and town enterprises have been developed, the practice of using industry to help agriculture should be adopted, and it is essential for these areas to use industry to build agriculture. This can avoid the emergence of a "small dual structure" where industry is developed while agriculture is shrinking. However, coordinated development between industry and agriculture in rural areas cannot improve the macroscopic imbalanced relationship between industry and agriculture. Moreover, excessive emphasis on the practice of using industry to help agriculture, and the practice of using industry to build agriculture will be disadvantageous to enhancing the competitive capability of township and town enterprises, will intensify the inclination toward industry on the macroscopic aspect, and will also worsen the imbalanced relationship between industry and agriculture.

Second, the purchase and supply system of agricultural products should be reformed, the comparative price between industrial and agricultural products should be adjusted step by step, and the scissors gap should be reduced. On the basis of these measures, the internal comparative price of agricultural products should be adjusted and price relations should be smoothed to mobilize the enthusiasm of the peasants. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the scissors gap between agricultural and industrial products has been reduced. However, this scissors gap has been increasing again since 1985. This is one of the important factors leading to the decline in the enthusiasm of peasants, and the situation where the production of staple agricultural products, such as cotton and grain, has become a halting one.

The system of contracted purchase, which is now being adopted, not only cannot arouse the enthusiasm of peasants, but has also brought new contradictions between the state and the peasants. It is because the purchase price is too low, and to sell their agricultural products to the state at this price is their duty as well as their task; and selling agricultural products to the state at this price has to a certain extent become mandatory, and does not conform to the requirements of the contract. It is impossible to continue to adopt this contracted purchase system, and we have to explore ways for implementing synchronous reform on the supply and purchase systems of staple agricultural products, and ways that will be acceptable to producers, managers, and consumers and will not excessively increase the amount of state subsidies. The production of some agricultural products which price control has been relaxed, such as aquatic products and fruits, has developed rapidly, the supply of these products is stable, and the magnitude of increase in their price is not great. This result has illustrated that when matters are handled in accordance with the law of value, it will be completely possible to maintain stable agricultural growth. Of course, relaxing price control does not mean that state interference is unnecessary. The question is on the methods and ways by which the state will interfere. In order to meet the requirements of the

development of the commodity economy, government functions should be separated from enterprise functions, the function of market regulation should be separated from the management function, effective and sufficient power should be given to regulatory departments in the course of state organizational reform, and a situation where the state regulates [tiao jie 6148 4634] the market and the market guide the peasants should be achieved. Otherwise, a situation where more supply of agricultural products will make peasants difficult to sell them, and a situation where less supply will bring disorder will emerge and will not be improved, and finally the peasants will suffer and difficulties will be brought to the state.

Third, internal rural reform should be further perfected, property right relations should be adjusted, and the mainbody position of peasants should be really defined to enhance the driving force for developing agriculture. First, the land contracting system should be stabilized and perfected, social services should be strengthened, and the target of managing agriculture in an enterprise way should be achieved. Under the prerequisite that the management power will not be changed, the practice of transferring land with compensation should be adopted, and the practice of land leasing should also be adopted. The aim of these two practices is to encourage appropriate concentration of land, and to make large scale management possible. However, this is a course of economic development which cannot be launched by administrative order in a mandatory way, and the interests of the peasants should not be damaged. To have large scale management is not contradictory to family management as family management can accommodate different levels of productive forces. The course where large scale management is being achieved is also a course where agricultural modernization is being promoted, and it will require some conditions: (1) Agricultural labor force should be separated from the land and should be transferred to other areas. (2) Funds will be required to install and innovate irrigation facilities, and to install modern agricultural machines. Therefore, the scale management system should be promoted in areas that have the conditions to implement this system and in areas where peasants are demanding for the implementation of such a system. Second, diversification of ownership system focusing on public ownership should be launched, and national standardization of ownership systems should not be carried out. It is because the development of the national economy is not balance, and it is natural that there are diversified levels and forms of economic organizations. We should not neglect this characteristic in guiding our work. In areas that have sufficient conditions, rural collective enterprises should adopt the practice where government functions should be separated from that of enterprises, and the shareholding system should be promoted. However, we should not advance too quickly and should not adopt the practice of rigid uniformity.

China has great agricultural potential, and the current difficulties are caused by many factors. In this time of

readjustment, if the government and related departments at various levels can thoroughly enhance the fundamental position of agriculture and can implement correct policy in accordance with the plan of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, the difficulties can be overcome.

**Strengthen Agricultural Construction, Develop Agricultural Resources—Tao Dinglai (Former Director of the Chinese Research Institute of Agricultural Engineering and Design)**

At present, we can say that there is a national understanding that apart from relying on policy and science, agriculture should also rely on investment. The state has decided to increase agricultural investment, and has also made concrete plans accordingly. This is a great matter for people, who feel concerned about agriculture, to rejoice.

What will agriculture investment bring us? Apart from increasing the means of production, promoting production in the current year when the investment is input, for buying chemical fertilizers, agricultural chemicals, agricultural sheeting, and agricultural machines and for building up industries which will support agricultural production, agricultural investment will enable us to carry out farmland and rural constructions, will provide a strong foundation for China's agriculture, and will ensure stable development of the national economy. The quantity of the per capita agricultural resources in China is low, in particular the area of cultivated land is very limited. However, there are large area of dry land, land affected by drought, saline-alkaline land, and land affected by soil erosion which have to be improved. Over the past long period of time, the masses have accumulated rich experience in these aspects, and scientific research departments have also carried out fruitful work on these aspects, and they have worked out methods for improving these land. The problem is lack of funds. Now, the state has decided to increase agricultural investment, and has also put the proposal of developing large areas of agricultural land, such as the Huanghe, Huaihe, and Haihe region, the Sanjiang plain and other regions, on agenda. We should work out a plan of how to use well these funds, and how to ensure returns on the development plan.

Since 1982, China has obtained an amount of \$85 million of foreign funds lent by the World bank and the Agricultural Development Fund of the United Nations. Together with the coordinated funds raised in China and the amount of labor investment of peasants, these funds have been used in carrying out comprehensive work on improving a total area of 3.50 million mu of dry land, land affected by drought, and saline-alkaline land in the 4 provinces and 11 counties in the Huanghe, Huaihe, Haihe region. This is the first large-scale agricultural project in China whereby foreign funds are used, and all construction work was completed before the end of 1987. The results obtained by this renovation project has

become apparent: The level of agricultural production and the income level of the peasants in the areas covered by this renovation project, which had been seriously affected by drought and other problems mentioned above, have basically exceeded the agricultural and income level of neighboring areas that are not covered by the project. Last year, the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations has sent experts to the areas covered by the renovation project to carry out comprehensive investigation, and the organization has compiled a report on the completion of the project. Besides, the assessment office of the World Bank has also sent people to assess the results obtained by the areas covered by the project, and it considers that the project is a successful one and many experience obtained by this project can be promoted in other countries. Therefore, China has already obtained practical experience in carrying out agricultural construction projects. In order to handle well the work on developing agricultural areas in the future, I think, related leading departments of the state should seriously study and use these experiences, should proceed from this starting point, and should avoid unnecessary tortuous paths. I put forward the following suggestions:

1. Unified regulations for developing agricultural development areas should be formulated well after serious exploration and consideration. Agricultural development should match the natural law of renovation, and appropriate allocation of human power, funds, materials and goods should be made.

2. The limited amount of domestic investment should be used to draw in foreign funds, to attract investment from the masses of peasants, and to increase the returns on funds. Domestic funds, foreign funds, and the investment of the peasants are related to each other. When we can handle them in an effective way, we can use the limited amount of domestic funds to attract more usable funds. Of course, these funds should be unified and should be allocated in accordance with the plan of a project, and should not be used in other areas. Moreover, the returns on funds should be strictly assessed.

3. Organizations for coordinating projects should be established. Agricultural construction in general is a comprehensive task. However, the work to be done by the current departments in China is divided into too many parts, and it is difficult for them to manage this type of project. Therefore, capable and overall-responsible organizations should be established to manage development projects and the funds involved. These organizations can allocate tasks to other departments through the form of making contracts with these departments, and they can inspect the work done by these departments.

4. Essential coordinated measures should be formulated. Agricultural development is one of the state's capital constructions, and it needs the state to support. Now, the state has decided to set up an agricultural developmental

fund. It is hope that methods for using the fund and coordinated measures can be formulated as soon as possible. For instance, the potential of the development of agricultural resources is very great. If the resources are only used in producing primary agricultural products, the economic returns will be very small. In this way, the units in charge of the development work will get only small amount of income, and it will be difficult for them to support themselves. Therefore, they should be allow to undertake manufacturing and selling businesses, so as to enable unified management on agriculture, industry, and commerce. Further, foreign funds have to be repaid. In order to reduce the risk of exchange rate fluctuation, agricultural undertakings which can earn foreign exchange should be established in areas covered by developmental projects, and favorable treatments should be provided to them in the aspect of product export. Besides, the use of funds should of course focus on economic returns. However, we should stress that the returns on agricultural construction should mainly be in the form social benefits—for instance, the rural economy has become prosperous, peasants' income has been increased, the amount of tax collected by the state has been increased, and so on. Therefore, reasonable methods should be formulated to govern the repaying of funds, and some of these methods should be passed and confirmed by state or local legislation process, so that the methods can be used effectively.

**Improve the Policy Environment for Township and Town Enterprises While Carrying Out the Improvement and Rectification Program—Du Ying (Assistant researcher of the development research institute of the Agricultural Research Center, the State Council)**

After subsequent years' rapid growth, township and town enterprises have become the most dynamic department in the national economy, and has attracted most people's attention. This has formed a striking contrast to the situation over the past several years where the production of major agricultural products has become halted. However, since last September when the central authorities put forward the principle of improvement and rectification, the situation has been changed. Since a series of policies and measures, which are aiming at checking inflation and at readjusting the structure of the national economy, have been adopted, the energetic developmental trend of township and town enterprises has been affected. Due to shortage of funds, discontinued supply of raw materials and electricity, and abandonment of projects, a number of township and town enterprises have to stop production or even have to close down. However, a larger number of township and town enterprises are trying all possible means to survive and to develop, and to get rid of the difficult situation. The changes in the situation have put forward these questions: How to understand the current economic contraction and the current economic readjustment? How will they affect the development of township and town enterprises? In order to understand these questions, it is



essential to study the problems concerning the development of township and town enterprises over the past several years, to think them over, and to analyze them.

Nobody can deny the remarkable achievement and deep implication brought about by the development of township and town enterprises on transforming the traditional rural economic structure, on alleviating the employment pressure on the national economy, on fully using resources to increase effective supply, on increasing the labor productivity of society, and so on. At the present and in the future, it is and it will be certain that the development of township and town enterprises will bring about industrialization in China. However, we should have seen that in the course of the remarkable development of township and town enterprises over the past several years, some contradictions and problems that may suppress future growth have been accumulated, and with the rapid development of nonagricultural industries in rural areas, the structural contradiction in the national economy and the fluctuation of the economy has been intensified. Some of the reasons leading to these contradictions and problems are related to the uncoordinated macroscopic policy environment, and some are related to some structural defects that cannot be avoided in the initial stage of undisciplined development.

First, viewing from a macroscopic point of view, the distortion of price is a fundamental factor leading to the development of township and town enterprises and the intensification of the structural contradiction of the national economy. The price we mentioned here includes the price of products and the price of some means of production. Among the price of products, the price of agricultural products and basic industrial products, and labor price is low and the price of industrial products is high; and for the price of the means of production, interest rate, exchange rate, and rent have been suppressed to a low level for a long period of time. These are the basic structural characteristics of the current price system in China. This type of price system was formed in the past when the traditional development strategy focusing on heavy industrialization was being upheld. In order to make resource allocation advantageous to accumulation and the priority development of heavy industry on the basis of a low economic development level, it was inevitable to have distorted price. Distorted price could manage to achieve this aim because there was a coordinated highly centralized planning and management system. The establishment of this system was to ensure that under the situation of distorted price, the main proportions and relations in the national economy will not be affected. At present, no matter how will we evaluate the traditional development strategy, we have to face and to acknowledge such a contradiction: On one hand, under the strong influence of rural and urban reform, the highly centralized planning and management system has become loose, and new management mainbody, such as agricultural households and township and town enterprises, which will be motivated by the

principle of profit maximization, have emerged. Their investment and management activities are completely guided by market price signals. On another hand, the price system, which is responsible for guiding resource allocation, is still a distorted one, and this price system has not been changed in accordance with the changes in system, environment and mainbody. The inevitable results that will be brought about by this pattern are: When enterprises are more eager to develop, it will be more difficult to maintain aggregate equilibrium and structural balance of the national economy. Finally, when the national economy can no longer accommodate the imbalances and inequilibria, it is inevitable that administrative means will be employed to restore balance and equilibrium. Over the recent years, township and town enterprises have poured into the manufacturing sector which is already too large. This has made the problem where agriculture is relatively weaker than basic industry more acute. This is the reflection of the above-mentioned contradictions.

Second, viewing from a microscopic foundation, some structural defects of township and town enterprises have also brought some disadvantageous factors. This is mainly shown in the following aspects. (1) The rent of the land used by township and town enterprises and the interest they have to pay for the funds they have obtained are low. This has on one hand aroused the investment enthusiasm of enterprises, and has on another hand increased the opportunity cost of agriculture. (2) The newly combined constraints on the mobilization of funds, money, and labor force put by administrative social communities have intensified the tendency of diversified distribution of township and town enterprises, and the tendency where the scale of township and town enterprises is becoming smaller. These have in turn intensified the excessive competition, which is at a low level, in the realm of nonagricultural industry in rural areas. (3) Township and town enterprises, which have adopted different forms of ownership system, have in general had the problem that their property right is not clearly defined. This not only has weakened enterprises' inherent mechanism for motivating accumulation, but has brought false expansion of the development of the credit relations of enterprises. Due to the existence of these problems, and also due to the administrative pressure brought by the criterion of maximum output value, and the criterion requiring all villages to achieve high output, some abnormal factors leading to excessive rapid development of township and town enterprises have emerged. In view of the long-term stable development of township and town enterprises, the two categories of problems mentioned above cannot and should not be avoided. If these problems cannot be solved, the development of township and town enterprises can never get rid of the vicious cycle: Expansion—contraction—reexpansion—recontraction. The contractionary policy implemented in 1986 and the recontractionary and readjustment policy that have been implemented since last year have clearly explained this point. In view of these, the current question is not on



whether it is essential to adopt contractionary and readjustment policies or not, and is also not on why should township and town enterprises pay a cost for this, but on what problems should be solved by the contractionary and readjustment policies, and what policy targets should these policies achieve. In our views, an important criterion for judging whether the specific measures of the contractionary and readjustment policy are successful or not is on whether the measures can fundamentally solve the above-mentioned two categories of problems and contradictions, and whether they can create better policy environment for the development of township and town enterprises in the future. Speaking on the meaning of this criterion, the current contraction and readjustment is a challenge to and an opportunity for township and town enterprises, and is also an opportunity to improve macroeconomic management.

We consider that in the current work of improvement and rectification, the focus of the policy on township and town enterprises should not be still constrained to the using of administrative means to suppress the rate of growth and to constrain the development of township and town enterprises, but should be on making great efforts in improving the policy environment of township and town enterprises. In the long term future, the solving of the above-mentioned problems in a fundamental manner depends on the deepening of rural reform, in particular on the reform of the price system, and on the formulation of effective rural industrial policy. In view of the current situation, we should pay attention to and handle well the following relations and problems. First, the credit policy on township and town enterprises. The practice of having zero growth and the practice of rigid uniformity, which are now being adopted, are disadvantageous to enabling good enterprises to survive and to kicking out poor ones, and are also disadvantageous to the achieving of optimal combination. Moreover, for the banking system itself, due to the emergence of an outside-industry cycle in realm of the circulation of funds, the banking system has also lost its pivot in regulating and controlling [tiao kong 6148 2235] township and town enterprises through the use of the means of credits. Therefore, it is better to increase the interest rate of bank deposit and the loan interest rate at the same time than to strictly control the quota for issuing loans. This method can check credits, can regulate rural funds, and can increase the efficiency of the use of funds. Second, at the same time when a planning system or a special management system is adopted to manage some important means of production, a wholesale trade market of the means of production can be established, and the wholesale-right for selling the means of production can be granted to qualified industrial and commercial enterprises in townships and towns. This is advantageous to eliminating the confusion emerged in the realm of circulation, and is also advantageous to enable organized competition, which can avoid the emergence of monopoly. Third, the current readjustment of township and town enterprises should be grasped, and great importance should be attached to the fundamental task of

building up small industrial zones in rural areas. This not only will be advantageous to improving the distribution and the scale structure of township and town enterprises, but will also be advantageous to strengthening the control on enterprises' utilization of land, in particular the control on transforming agricultural land into nonagricultural land. This will positively affect the development of township and town enterprises in the future. Finally, the current trend of adopting the shareholding system by township and town enterprises should be recognized. In implementing the shareholding system, enterprises should be guided to mainly focus on the clear definition of the rights and duties of the people who are in charge of the enterprises that have adopted the shareholding system, and they should not focus only on the funds-raising function of the system. In this way, enterprises' construction of their system focusing on property right relations can be strengthened, and a more solid system foundation for the future development of township and town enterprises can also be laid.

**Protect Rural Environment, Accelerate Rural Development—Hou Xueyu (Researcher of the Botany Office of the China Academy of Social Sciences)**

Agricultural problems can be solved by policy, investment, science, and technology. Apart from these, the protection of rural environment can also play an important role in solving agricultural problems. At present, the damage to the rural environment is caused by the pollution produced by township and town enterprises, and by natural environmental damage. We should pay attention to both causes.

To develop township and town enterprises is the only way to invigorate China's rural economy. However, we should not neglect the problem of environmental pollution brought about by township and town enterprises. In 1985, I conducted a survey in southern Suzhou. It is the first area where township and town enterprises are established. The waste water produced by the factories there is discharged directly into the canal without being treated by any process. The canal flows over an area of 6 million mu of cultivated land. The polluted water has not only polluted farmland and vegetable field, but has also affected the aquatic products industry. It is often that large number of fishes and pearl clams died because of polluted water, and the number of people suffering from liver cancer and stomach cancer has increased year by year.

In 1986, I conducted a survey on several villages which are located along several small rivers north to the Jiaozhou—Jinan railway in Shandong Province. The Yudongbu Village of the Changyi County, Weifang City, which is located at the bank of the Yu River, is one of these. Due to the fact that waste water is discharged by the industrial factories in Weifang City and the dyeing, electroplating, leather, and paper factories, and other factories in the county into the Yu River, which was still a clear river in the 1970's, has now become a stinking

puddle. Yudongbu was originally a fertile land in the Shandong Province, and was famous for its abundant output of fish, shrimp, and lotus root. However, at present, no fish, shrimp, nor lotus root can be found, it also has difficulty in growing grain. Since the surface water is polluted, it has to dig wells, which are 30 to 40 meters below ground, to get water for irrigation. However, underground water at shallow level is also polluted, and the grain produced carries strange smell. The peasants there are dare not to eat the grain, and they will hand the grain over to the state, will exchange the grain for food in counties of cities, or will sell them. When the problem concerning the supply of drinkable water to people there for daily uses has become acute, the case was reported to the State Council. Then, several motor-pumped wells, each of which is several hundred meter below ground, were dug. However, and only one of these well can supply drinkable water.

From these we know that the pollution problem caused by township and town enterprises is very serious.

I suggest the following ways to handle the pollution problem created by township and town enterprises. (1) People should understand the problem more, and we should spread propaganda among the masses and leaders on the dangers of pollution. (2) Coordinated and planned macroscopic methods should be adopted, and they should be used in reasonable manner. (3) The situation where the equipment and technology used by factories are backward should be improved, the problem of "three wastes" [san fei 0005 1683] should be solved in the manufacturing process, and waste water can only be discharged after being treated by special process. (4) Industries which will pollute the environment, such as electroplating industry, smelting industry, oil refining industry, chemical industry, printing and dyeing industry, bitumen manufacturing factory, paper making industry, and so on, should not be moved from urban areas to townships and towns. (5) The management of township and town enterprises should be enhanced, and the procedures for evaluating and approving establishment of enterprises should be strictly followed. (6) Apart from strengthening the function of provincial and city environmental protection departments, environmental protection departments should be set up in counties and townships and towns to form a township and town environmental protection and management network.

The natural environment in rural areas is also seriously damaged. This is mainly shown in the following aspects:

1. Soil erosion. Due to the fact that the vegetation on the loess plateau has been damaged by cutting of trees, destroying of grass, cutting trees for wood, animal grazing, reclaiming of land, and so on, the area of land affected by soil erosion amounts to more than 80 percent of the total area of land there. Consequently, each cubic meter of the water flows in the Huanghe River carries more than 37 kg of sand, and 40 percent of the capacity of the 7 large reservoirs along the Yellow River is filled

up with sand, and in the most serious case the sand has filled up 70 percent of the capacity of a reservoir. One third of the area of land in the Changjiang River valley is affected by soil erosion; and in every year, 2.24 billion tons of soil has been washed away. Such a damage is equivalent to a loss of 8.3 million mu of cultivated land, which is 30 cm thick. Over the past years, due to the fact that the trees in the upper reaches of the Changjiang River have been cut wantonly, the function of the trees in conserving water, in reducing the damages done by flood, and in blocking flood has diminished. The fundamental measure for preventing soil erosion is to protect natural vegetation, and to ban cutting trees wantonly.

2. The danger of the occurrence of sandstorm. As being affected by typhoon, the grain output of the cultivated land on the southeastern coastal areas will decrease by several billion jin every year. In the Qing Dynasty, once there was a serious disaster happened in the Pingtan County of the Fujian Province whereby 18 villages were ruined by sandstorm overnight. Therefore, we should accelerate the pace in building up a coastal protective forest network to protect the farmland there. Due to the fact that natural vegetation in the dry areas in the northeastern part of China has been damaged, the consequence where farmland is turned into desert has been brought about, farmland and villages have been ruined by sandstorm, and the animal breeding industry there has been affected. The measure for preventing these results is to protect well vegetation, which can endure dry climate, and to build farmland protective forest network, which is formed by small and narrow forest belts. Moreover, grassland should not be opened up into cultivated land, and animals should be grazed in a reasonable manner.

3. Secondary salinization of soil. The soil of the northeastern plain, the HuangHe, Huaihe, and Haihe plain, and that of the northwestern areas are being affected by the phenomenon of secondary salinization. The situation in the northwestern areas is the most serious one, and the output of agricultural production has been very much affected. This situation should be improved by eliminating the factor of excessive consumption of water, by repairing the leakage on the reservoirs on the plains, by stopping growing rice and plating flowers on dry land, and so on.

4. Chemicalization of agriculture. At present, in applying fertilizers, rural areas will only focus on applying chemical fertilizers and will neglect the application of organic fertilizers. The result is that agricultural products do not have sufficient nutriment, the soil has become hard, the fertility of land has declined, the number of plant diseases and insect pests has increased, and the effectiveness of chemical fertilizers has declined. Many areas are still using agricultural chemicals such as Six-Six-Six, DDT, and others, which are banned by the state and contain organic chloride, and have thus polluted the farmland and agricultural products. Moreover, since the food is polluted, people's health is also affected. The

method to avoid these consequences is to combine chemical measures with biological measures, and to use both chemical and organic fertilizers. At the same time when highly effective agricultural chemicals, which contain low percentage of poison, are used, natural enemy should be protected, and plant diseases and insect pests, and damages done by rats on crops should be prevented.

In short, the rural environment is a type of agricultural resource, and is also the material foundation and condition for agricultural production. The mainbody of agricultural production is the planting industry and the animal breeding industry. These two types of industry are within the realm of biological reproduction, and they are closely related to the fundamental factors of the natural environment such as water, air, and soil. When there are good environmental conditions, living things will grow well, and stable and high agricultural output will be obtained. On the contrary, if the environmental conditions are not good, the growth and development of living things will be affected and output will decrease or will become zero. Moreover, once when the environment is damaged, it will be difficult to repair it, and in some cases environmental damages can never be repaired. Therefore, we should pay attention to protecting rural environment. Only in this way can the target of agricultural output growth be achieved.

#### **Joint Development: A New Way for Support-the-Poor Work**

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[Article by Yang Yongzhe 2799 7167 0772, office of leading group under the State Council for Economic Development in Poverty-Stricken Areas]

[Text] In order to solve the long-standing issue that the economic results of capital investment in poverty-stricken areas has been low, the return of such investment has been very difficult, and the work of putting an end to such situation has been ineffective, the State Council proposed in the "Circular on Strengthening the Work of Developing the Economy of Poverty-Stricken Areas" in October 1987 that we must allocate a sum of funds to support the poor by directly handing it over to the developed areas and large- and medium-sized cities, as well as to poverty-stricken areas to undertake development projects and probe ways of investment. For the sake of implementing this reform, a leading group for the economic development of poverty-stricken areas under the State Council solicited support from the People's Bank of China and the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China. Starting in 1988, these banks increased special and preferential loans worth more than 700 million yuan to help poverty-stricken counties develop industries. A portion of the loans was granted to transregional joint development projects between the developed areas in eastern China, and large- and medium-sized cities on the one side, and poverty-stricken regions in central and western China on the other. Another portion was granted

to small-scale transregional joint development projects between developed cities and counties in provinces and autonomous regions on the one side, and poverty-stricken counties in the same provinces and autonomous regions on the other. This is a new development of the lateral combination between the poverty-stricken areas and developed areas. Therefore, it is welcome and draws support from all directions.

#### **I. Inevitability, Historical Opportunity of Joint Development**

To practice joint development between the poverty-stricken areas and developed areas is a joint requirement of economic development on both sides. Proceeding from the viewpoint of poverty-stricken areas, most areas are endowed with rich natural resources and have an abundant supply of cheap labor, in addition to a sum of funds for supporting the poor. What they lack, however, is qualified personnel and technology. Therefore, two commonly abnormal phenomena have developed: First, though the natural resources are rich, they are not rationally developed and utilized, so that people likened this situation to beggars "begging for food with a golden bowl." Second, though funds and materials have been allocated to these areas year after year, this did not bring about the expected results. People called this situation that these areas have remained poor despite repeated allocation of funds. In the developed areas, though there are qualified personnel and technology, and they are able to spend and manage the funds in a better way, they lack raw materials, funds and manpower, and the energy situation has been tense, so that, to a certain extent, their economic development is limited. If the two sides join together and make up for each others shortcomings, the factors of production will be optimized, and the economies of the two sides will be jointly developed. To the financial departments, the economic results of utilization of loans granted to poverty-stricken areas were poor, and it was difficult to recover the invested capital. However, they are now willing to grant such loans since it is the developed areas and advanced enterprises which are responsible for the application and repayment of loans, and which take the risks. Therefore, this is favorable to the return of revolving funds, and to ensure that poverty-stricken areas benefit from the move. Precedents of such an approach may be found in other places in the world.

Such change in support-the-poor work broke through the traditional approach of solely emphasizing poverty-stricken areas and poor households, mobilized enthusiasm in two aspects, and gave play to the overall functions of society, so that both the developed and poverty-stricken areas jointly made progress in realizing prosperity on the basis of mutual benefit, and that those who have got rich first help others to do the same. This is of great significance to the economic development of poverty-stricken areas.

Joint development between poverty-stricken areas and developed areas is also necessary for an overall development of the national economy. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there has been rapid development in the economies of poverty-stricken areas. However, it was still far behind that of the developed areas. Furthermore, such differences are growing in many of these areas. According to surveys conducted in these areas, the difference between eastern and western China in per capita gross industrial and agricultural output value was 669 yuan in 1981, and was 1,098 yuan in 1985, with an absolute increase of 64.11 percent. Their difference in rural income per person was increased from 72 yuan to 171 yuan, with an absolute increase of 136.81 percent. It was inevitable that there was uneven development among areas. However, an unlimited growth of differences between the regions has brought about a tilting economic development structure, which makes it difficult to ensure a long-term coordinated and stable development of the national economy. Many of the natural resources in the poverty-stricken areas are significant to and are badly needed by the state's economic construction. In fact, the development of poverty-stricken areas means the development of central and western China. Proceeding from the strategic plan of China's economic development, we should emphasize on the functions played by the relatively developed eastern China, while gradually speeding up the pace of development in central and western China, so that both eastern and western China will open to each other, display their endowed talents, act in a coordinated manner and make comprehensive development on the basis of lateral combination. This thus helps poverty-stricken areas link the striving for prosperity through development to making contributions to the state.

Last year, the Central Committee proposed the strategy of speeding up the economic development of coastal areas. Not only will it promote development in the coast areas, but will also stimulate development in inland China, thereby providing a good opportunity to establish an East-West lateral combination. Basically, those relatively developed areas along China's coast have completed the first stage of moving urban industries to the rural areas in all directions. They now need to export products made of imported materials, enter the international market, and develop products to generate foreign exchange. This inevitably requires these areas to move part of their industries that are labor-intensive, use simple technology, yield relatively low profits and consume relatively more energy. The direction of the moving is, of course, the central and western China where the labor cost is comparatively low. At the same time, the practice of exporting products made of imported materials does not mean that raw materials of all products to be export to generate foreign exchange must be supplied overseas. A considerable portion of the supply comes from China's domestic economy. Much of such portion comes from western China. These are the conditions for developing the East-West lateral combination.

## II. Vast Territory of Joint Development

How do we and where shall we start the transregional lateral combination between poverty-stricken areas and developed areas? Generally speaking, we must first full utilize the advantages of poverty-stricken areas in central and western China, place emphasis on industries that develop resources, and make them become bases of the outward-looking economy in coastal areas. Second, we must give priority to raw materials development projects and primary products processing projects that require a small investment sum, yield quick results, benefit many poverty-stricken areas, and help tens of thousands of poor households to develop the commodity economy. Third, the developed areas must use their best technology to produce highly competitive products, and run a number model enterprises in poverty-stricken areas in order to promote local industrial development. Proceeding from the above-mentioned general requirements, we should organize and develop a diversified and multi-mode lateral combination.

**1. Joint development of raw materials production bases.** Shortage of raw materials is a common and prominent problem in the current industrial development. According to the statistics of the authorities, China annually consumes 600,000 tons of pure wool at its present production capacity of wool. But its output is less than 60,000 tons, and even by adding its import of 170,000 tons of wool, it still cannot reach 40 percent of its production capacity. China needs 8 million dan of silkworm cocoon for the production of filature, though its actual output of silkworm cocoon can only meet 70 percent of the demand. While peasants of many old silkworm cocoon bases in the coastal areas chose not to produce it because it yielded small profits, peasants in central and western China did not know how to start the business though they were willing to undertake it. Consequently, the production was not developed. In addition, there were acute contradictions between the supply of nonferrous metals such as copper, aluminum, and nickel, and the demand of them by the processing sector. Various types of "wars" have been going on year after year due to the shortage of raw materials, such as the "war of woolen," "war of cotton," "war of silkworm cocoon," "war of tea," and so on. While people came from all directions to purchase these limited raw materials in the wake of continuous growth of processing capacity, it was impossible to make room for industries for development. The only way out is to develop new production bases for new raw materials. An integration of raw materials bases with processing enterprises, as well as the abolition of some intermediate processes, are beneficial to balancing the production and sales and avoiding great fluctuations in supply and demand, and conform to the requirement of developing the socialist economy in a planned way. Now, some farsighted entrepreneurs in the coastal developed areas have took the lead in utilizing the rich resources in and the cheap labor of poverty-stricken areas to build some raw materials bases. Between 1986 and 1987, Jiangsu Province entered

into agreements with Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Xinjiang, and Guangxi provinces and regions on more than 1,000 cooperative projects in varied modes of combination.

### **2. Joint development of nonstaple food production bases.**

At present, the supply of food, particularly meat, poultry, eggs, milk, vegetables, and so on, are insufficient, which has brought about market fluctuations and price increases. This is an acute problem of the national economy concerning people's livelihood. The situation is particularly more prominent in the developed areas and large- and medium-sized cities. China is a populous country with little cultivated land. It can only be capable to maintain its amount of grain at 400 kg per person by the turn of this century, and it is impossible to ease the tension of nonstaple food supply by relying on the transformation of a large amount of grain (mainly meats). The only way out is to fully utilize the vast grassland in northern China, grassy hills and slopes in southern China, as well as numerous barren hills, wastewater surfaces and beaches, to greatly develop production of products from plant-eating livestock and poultry, such as cattle, sheep, rabbit, goose, and aquatic products, and to greatly develop production of tea, vegetables, and dried and fresh fruits. These resources are mostly found in underdeveloped "old, new, remote, and mountainous" areas, and they are our future production bases for agricultural and animal husbandry commodities. At the present stage, it is better for us to select poverty-stricken areas along waterways and highways, those whose location is not too far from large- and medium-sized cities, and those whose development conditions are better; to develop production bases for nonstaple food, establish links with cities, set up agriculture-industry-commerce combines, on-the-spot packaging and processing sites, and directly supply products to wholesale markets in cities.

### **3. The transfer or proliferation of labor-intensive processing projects from the coastal areas to poverty-stricken areas.**

Production of products such as carpet, embroidery, drawnworks, knitted clothes, and textiles, which generate foreign exchange through export, and of the second-rate grades garments, and petty commodities are both required by the foreign trade sector and domestic market. However, nobody living in the coastal areas was willing to engage in the production. Thus, we should make the best use of the situation, and organize the poverty-stricken areas to start their production. In particular, we may popularize on a large scale certain handicraft industries which "consume no petroleum, no electricity and can be done by everyone." The transfer of export product processing should be done by stages. We should initially transfer part of the processing process to poverty-stricken areas, while the brand names and sales outlets of such products remain unchanged, and the enterprises in question remain located in the developed coastal areas. Otherwise, they will disconnect their links to the coastal areas.

### **4. Joint development of export products.**

Much coastal land and many plains in the "old, new, remote, and mountainous" areas lack unique resources such as precious herbs for Chinese medicine, unpolluted vegetable, fruits, timber, and bamboo goods. Some of them are engaging in traditional export products. The present focus is that the processing technology of these areas is not high, and they have neither an access to market information nor an export channel. Therefore, they cannot form mass production bases providing a steady supply of export commodities. This thus needs these areas to develop lateral combination with coastal areas and port cities, to establish complete economic entities linking the production, processing, and export processes. At the same time, in the wake of opening up frontier ports in inland China, there are favorable conditions for the development of border trade. However, we do not have those commodities needed by the trade. No high-class commodities are needed in the border trade. Rather, what it demands are flashlights, rubber shoes, thermoflasks, knitted clothes, textiles, and light industry products for daily use. The poverty-stricken areas may ask entrepreneurs in the coastal areas to open outlets there and to jointly produce and sell commodities needed by the border trade.

### **5. Joint production of high-energy consumption products.**

Central and western China are rich in both resources and energy resources. Many of the areas have abundant coal and resources for hydropower generation, while there is a short supply of energy resources in the coastal areas; many enterprises such as those using ferrosilicon, calcium carbide, and electrolyzed aluminum, which consume high amounts of energy, cannot continue their business, though they are badly needed for industrial production. What should we do about this? The best solution is to move the production sites from eastern China to western China.

### **6. Export labor services to the developed areas.**

At present, it is very difficult to recruit personnel in large- and medium-sized cities of the developed areas to take up jobs such as those concerning textile production, paper-making, environmental protection, road maintenance, river dredging, construction, loading and unloading, tile production, vegetable cultivation, pig raising, and so on, which are dirty and hard work consuming much labor. But the labor of poverty-stricken areas may make use of the situation and fill the gap. The key to doing this is to get rid of their outdated thinking of "being persistent on one side and in one trade." Export of labor services is another solution that requires little investment and yields quick results. The general practice is to have a person earn a living for his whole family. It helps these people make money, widen their field of vision, and have an access to technology. In the long run, it may help the local people expand their amount of cultivated land per person, be favorable to the economics of scale in agriculture, and speed up the growth rate of per capita income. In addition, remittance of funds to their families by these laborers helps expand the local

market and is favorable to the commodity economic development; and these laborers boost the competitiveness of enterprises by taking up low-paid jobs in the developed areas.

**7. Training of qualified personnel for poverty-stricken areas.** The focal point is on two aspects: First, we should start by focusing on new projects and transforming the needs of old enterprises, and send a whole group of manager, workshop directors, team leaders and key technicians, to receive systematic on-the-job training in contractors or corresponding factories in the developed areas. Second, we should select a number of intellectuals with a brighter mind to do part-time work and part-time study in small household industries and small enterprises of the coastal areas, so that they may learn the technology through labor and later start their own production. Last year, Gansu and Ningxia gained experience in this respect by selecting 1,000 youths and sending them to study and learn in the coastal areas.

**8. Recruitment of scientific and technological personnel, and capable persons, in the developed areas to contract projects and run enterprises in poverty-stricken areas.** Experience gained by many localities has shown that when a right person was chosen, he would run a factory well and bring prosperity to the surrounding areas. In connection with this, the poverty-stricken areas must be bold in offering attractive remunerations and conditions to recruit qualified personnel.

### III. Conditions of Joint Development, Solutions Yet To Be Solved

There must be mutual benefit policies concerning the lateral combination between the developed areas and poverty-stricken areas. Only thus can we mobilize the enthusiasm of the two and form a lasting and lively mechanism of cooperation and development.

The main reason that the developed areas currently take part in the development of poverty-stricken areas is that they are worried that they have no autonomy in running contracted enterprises, and that they will be unable to get the raw materials as reward of development if the poverty-stricken areas are blocked. Therefore, poverty-stricken areas must provide a better investment environment and conditions to enterprises and individuals undertaking development projects in poverty-stricken areas. They should also act according to policies on tax reduction and exemption. They should guarantee the autonomy of contractors in such areas as recruitment and employment. They must execute agreements and contracts and protect the proper interests of investors by allowing them to go with their proper share of raw materials.

Furthermore, the developed areas must formulate corresponding preferential measures for attracting poverty-stricken areas to cooperate with them. The main purpose of the developed areas in poverty-stricken areas is to

develop and construct raw materials production bases. In poverty-stricken areas, they must focus on mutual benefit and give play to the spirit of supporting the poor. This is because historically, the "old, new, remote, and mountainous" areas contributed significant efforts to the founding of the Republic, the unification and development of the Chinese nation, and the safety of the motherland's frontier. It is therefore a glorious task for all social sectors to help them put an end to the poverty-stricken situation.

The mode of combination is flexible and may be determined through negotiations by the two sides. The developed areas may undertake contracts for development, or make joint efforts with local areas to participate in such development. Most of the development projects contracted by the developed areas in poverty-stricken areas are raw materials production. It has long been a controversial issue: the developed areas wish to maintain a steady supply of raw materials after the development, while the poverty-stricken areas wish to handle with their own efforts the whole process from raw materials production to processing. Some areas did not succeed their goals through combination because they did not handle well this controversy. According to the experience gained by various localities, the best solution for this issue is to establish complete and integrated combines to undertake processes from raw materials production to processing, sales and export, or to have poverty-stricken areas joining in enterprise groups in the coastal areas for the purpose of the division of labor and sharing profits. For example, the coastal areas went to the western China to develop bases for silkworm cocoon production. They helped local producers grow mulberry, cultivate silkworm, and produce filature, while the coastal areas handled silk production and the dyeing and exporting of goods, and returned part of the profits and foreign exchange to the local producers. In the wake of production development, the coastal areas may also gradually move the silk production to the production base, concentrate their efforts on intensive processing such as dyeing and development of new products, and develop an outward-looking economy. One of the reasons that China's economic results were poor in the past is that it lacked the division of labor among regions. Though the coastal areas possess capability of intensive processing, they have insufficient supply of raw materials; and though the poverty-stricken areas have rich raw materials, they lack the technology of intensive processing. Therefore, neither of them can give full play to these advantages. Inland China must give play to these advantages, and use raw materials to establish cooperative relations with the coastal areas. The above-mentioned is an intensive processing of raw materials in the coastal areas on the basis of profit sharing. The other mode is to have the coastal areas developing the processing industry in inland China also on the basis of profit sharing. To put it in a nutshell, provided that they handle well the division of labor and the distribution of profits, they can

avoid taking acts for the sake of immediate interests in economic cooperation, and establish a long-term and stable economic combination.

It is not necessary that all lateral combination projects must be new. They should pay attention to the technological transformation of existing enterprises. Most poverty-stricken counties have established some enterprises, but they generally lack qualified personnel, are poor in management, are not run well, and the economic results are poor. Some of them have turned into economic burdens as a result of losses in successive years. These localities should start their work by transforming their existing enterprises, which require small investment sum and yield quick results. Some of them can quickly yield good economic results without investment following little improvement in management, a transfer of few technology items, development of a new product, an assignment of a spare and component part to someone else, and the sale of their products through commissioning. The most important point is that both the masses and cadres will have confidence in these enterprises after they are run well.

One cannot help but emphasize conditions if he runs an industry. Most of the poverty-stricken areas are difficult to access and lack water and power supplies as well as other necessary conditions. Furthermore, this cannot be solved overnight. Therefore, we cannot advocate "all villages to turn their industries." Proceeding from industry itself, it needs to be relatively concentrated. Thus, we may unify the construction of basic facilities, save our investment, and use less cultivated land, and this is favorable to the circulation of commodities, exchange of technology, economic cooperation, dissemination of information, and business management. These advantages will be undermined, the cost will not be reduced, and the quality and competitiveness of products will be affected if the locations of industries are scattered. Those endowed with a better investment environment and conditions are more attractive to the qualified personnel and technology of the developed areas. Therefore, the poverty-stricken areas must utilize their rules of uneven internal development to support localities with better resources and development conditions to develop first, so as to rapidly form a situation of new development. This was the experience gained by other countries. For example, when Italy developed its southern mountainous areas after the end of World War II, it selected places which were on the plain, were of easy access, had certain basic and banking conditions, and had potential sources of power. It designated 16 places with a population over 200,000 as industrial development areas, and 20 localities with a population less than 200,000 as industrial development spots, and did not distribute power in an even manner. When developing industries in China's poverty-stricken areas, we must proceed from reality, work out overall plans, and choose towns which have water and power supplies and are located along transport routes as development areas and spots. Thus, nearby villages with conditions for industrial development will

run industries in these areas, workers and peasants will live in the villages and work in these towns. Or, factories carry out assembly and sales activities in towns, and carry out processing trades in villages. Therefore, the development of rural industries is integrated with the construction of small towns, forming centers for industrial production, commodity circulation, and cultural, education and social services. At the same time, the rise of industrial areas and spots may gradually attract peasants living in mountainous areas, where they lack conditions for making a living, to earn their living in these towns, thereby paving the way for transforming and developing the mountainous areas and saving investment for the state in such costly projects as highway construction, power and water supply.

On recruitment and training of qualified personnel, we should not limit ourselves to "inviting qualified personnel from other places, and sending people to other places" to receive training. We must pay attention to giving full play to those capable people who come to the poverty-stricken areas on their own accord. We must let them lead the local masses to study technology, and play their role in production development. In recent years, many salespersons and capable people from the coastal areas flocked to western China. They can easily be found in many places in northwestern and southwestern China. Many farsighted and intelligent cadres realized that these people were skillful and capable. They provided sites and accommodations to these people and allowed them to run shops, factories, and farms. They helped them run and expand their business, so that the local people had opportunities to study skills and take up jobs while these people got rich. This promoted the development of commodity production while opening sources of taxation for the local tax authorities.

The poverty-stricken areas need to develop links with other cities, factories, enterprises, and research units of the same province while establishing lateral combination with the coastal areas. A point that is worth paying attention to is that following the founding of the state, some 200 billion yuan of investment has been invested in the third line areas. Twenty-nine thousand, or one-third, of China's enterprises owned by the whole people were built, employing 16 million workers and 160,000 engineers and technicians. Most of these enterprises are located in the "old, new, remote, and mountainous" areas. The poverty-stricken areas should take initiative and contact them, and fully utilize their advantages in terms of qualified personnel, technology, equipment, and leftover pieces of industrial materials, so as to develop lateral combination with them.

It is necessary for leading organs to act as a middleman in the development of East-West lateral combination. However, it mainly depends on economic organizations and enterprises on the two sides which should meet and discuss directly. This is an aspect of the experience that we have gained in recent years. In the past, it was leading cadres who carried out investigations, negotiations on



cooperation, and executions of agreements without any direct participation by economic organizations and enterprises. Therefore, most of those projects were often placed on the shelf though a number of letters of intent on these projects were signed. This is because the economic work involves the interest of both sides, feasibility studies, and other complicated matters in regard to these projects, and no decisions can be made by the administrative organs. Similarly, it will be difficult to create suitable conditions or environments for lateral cooperation if there are only economic organizations and enterprise activities and the administrative leading organs do not provide preferential support in terms of policy, credit, and taxation, or create conditions and environments for lateral associations, then the lateral associations will meet with all kinds of difficulties. Therefore, in our economic activities, it is necessary to stress separating government work from enterprise work, instead of substituting government work for enterprise work. In promoting association, we should also strengthen leadership and satisfactorily carry out the necessary organization work.

**Feelings on Hearing Monkeys Calling**  
*HK3005131189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 pp 45-46*

[Article by Liu Zheng 0491 1767]

[Text] I remember reading two lines of a poem by Li Bai when I was a child: "While the monkeys cry incessantly on both banks, my light boat has already passed many mountains." I did not know what a monkeys' call was like. We do not have monkeys in the north. We only hear wolves howl.

It was only when my hair had turned grey that I first took a trip that passed by the Three Gorges. I had long before heard there were no longer monkeys in that area. As expected, on the way I only heard the sounds of wind and water. Occasionally I heard the chirping of a bird that flew past our ship. Li Bai's lines came from the line "three cries of the monkey saddened me and my tears dropped on to my clothes" from the *Shuijingzhu*. When Li wrote his lines he might have heard the monkeys cry, or perhaps only imagined it. Poems are not necessarily realistic. However, *Shuijingzhu* was compiled from fishermen's songs. Fishermen do not create things out of nothing as literary people do, so their songs must be realistic. I guess that at least in times more ancient than Li Bai's, one could actually hear monkeys crying in the Three Gorges area. I was born at a time much later than Li Bai's and so have never had that experience.

However, once I did hear a monkey crying. It was during the first day of my visit to Zunyi. I woke up in the middle of the night and heard the howling of many animals, the lower pitch from lions and tigers, and the higher what have been monkeys. The howling was powerful like the gusty winds and pouring rain that shake houses and windows. It was frightening. Although Zunyi is a hilly

area, it is a nice city, but it wouldn't be frequented by animals. How come? I found out only the next day. Next to where I was staying was a zoo. Perhaps the animals were gazing at the moon and thinking of home in the silence of the night. However, the monkey was caged and its cry was a sad one. It must be quite different from the magnificent cry of monkeys that roam the mountains.

One seldom has the opportunity of hearing monkeys cry in the mountains. I heard it once on a broadcast. I cannot recall what program it was. It played the cry of monkeys for as long as four or five minutes. On the air it must have been a bit distorted, but it sounded like a magnificent cry from another world. The sounds were distant at one time and near at another. They seemed to be questions and answers or weeping and songs, they vibrated like lightning and resounded like high winds. They were light as clouds, excited like fast running water, fierce like an avalanche, and sorrowful like the night rain. The howling shook the forests and the mountains echoed. This melody of freedom was born of nature. It is more beautiful than any music created by the most talented human being.

Monkeys' crying reminds me of monkeys and the latter reminds me of our ancient ancestors. My thoughts were like a monster bird that flew back swiftly to the age of apemen hundreds of thousands of years ago.

Since our ancient ancestors were quasi-apemen, they must have possessed a beautiful voice like monkeys today do. Although their unfilial descendants have learned to articulate all kinds of strange sounds of civilization, their voices have actually regressed because they no longer have to cry out loud. In addition, liquor and tobacco have encroached upon their voices which have become weak. The quasi-apemen must have possessed incredible skills like the monkeys today. They must have been able to jump between mountains and valleys as if they were walking on flat land. Their unfilial descendants, even the best sportsmen in the Olympics, pale in comparison with them. The quasi-apemen had no need for houses and blankets for residence, nor knives to cut nor fire to cook food. Their unfilial descendants cannot return to the forest naked, even for a short period of time.

In addition to what I said above, excessive lumbering and serious pollution have caused much damage and dirt on our only home, earth. The development of science and technology has led to more empty gaps in the ozone layer and the strengthening of the greenhouse effect which are seriously threatening all life on earth, including the very survival of mankind. This Noah's Ark of ours in the solar system is breaking up.

The civilization created by mankind has improved our health as well as weakened our bodies, brought us happiness as well as calamities, improved our environment—as well as digging graves for us. How wise and yet foolish human beings are!



However, I do not curse civilization. I believe fishermen will use their wisdom to overcome the demons that they have released from the bottle. If human beings wish to avoid global suicide, it is time to give up all slaughtering, encroachment, bullying, fighting, and suspicion, and to use our rational brains to arrange all affairs on the earth with reason.

Great leaders of the world that possess great wisdom and control the fate of mankind, I would like to give you some advice: when you feel dizzy with the whirlpool of wit and power in competition, you might as well relax a bit and listen to the calling of monkeys.

**'Hoping the Nation's Blood Pulse Will Be a State of Superconduction'—Commenting on Zhong Daoxin's Novelette 'Superconduction'**  
*HK3005144989 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 pp 46-47*

[Article by Su Hua 5685 5478—'Superconduction' was published in SHOUHOU No 5, 1988]

[Text] Zhong Daoxin is a young writer from Shanxi province. He is familiar with life in the area of science and technology, and excels in writing about advanced intellectuals. Having published a good novel entitled *Thoughts on the Educated* in 1987, which is about the elites in Chinese electronic technology, he has published a novelette, "Superconduction." The latter is about several physicists who differ in age, experience, and personality. In the spirit of pioneering, exploration, investigation, and dedication, they eventually free themselves from the fetters of obstacles to the development of science and technology, and elevate China to a rank among the advanced nations in the world. This work is a passionate homage to the Chinese intellectuals in science and technology for their dedication to the nation.

To most people, works on science and technology must be related to uniform policies and meticulous planning, and scenes of people in white robes working hard in the laboratory. What the reader sees in "Superconduction" is different. Several scientists try to work on microthermal superconduction, but they are a mixed batch. Lin Yamian, a researcher with the Center for Physics Research, Academy of Sciences of China, graduated from Yale University many years before. Bei Xiaozhi is a young scholar from the Institute of Electrical Design of Shaanxi. Xiong Wuji is a lecturer of physics at a certain university. They meet at an unexpected place—on a train during a trip. What is more surprising is that their research was also born out of uncertain factors—a research project not included in the formal plans on scientific research, insufficient research funds, and even the absence of a tiny room for their work. Due to problems of the old system and especially of traditional concepts, a pioneering spirit without a precedent is often perceived to be a revolt. Therefore, one can imagine the difficulty that the microthermal club headed by Bei Xiaozhi faced.

The hero of the novelette, Bei Xiaozhi, has a strong bonding force. Deep in his heart he has lofty pursuits. To realize his ideal, he makes good use of the experience acquired during the age of upheaval and balances refusal to yield to the world and adaptation to it. He founded a microthermal club. For this research to survive and develop, he ignored what others suggested, and recommended Lin Yamian, who had not had any achievements for more than forty years, to be in charge of the club. This is where Bei Xiaozhi excels. He is persistent in his pursuit for truth and his ideal. He does so by working in a down-to-earth manner.

Lin Yamian is an intellectual of the older generation. He thought that he would not be able to achieve anything anymore. At the time he was attracted by Bei Xiaozhi, whom he met by chance on a train, his heart rekindled. Like a rational literati, he endured humiliation in order to carry out an important mission and put all his energy on superconduction research. When the research fund was exhausted, Lin Yamian gave all his savings of 16,000 yuan to Bei Xiaozhi without any intention of making a profit. After Bei had written a loan receipt for him, his hands were trembling for a long while before he finally took it. Lin had sublimated from the aim of making a name and expressed a strong sentiment of using science to revitalize the nation. Here the moral character of an old intellectual has reached sublimation with the restoration of his ideas.

After much difficulty and hard work, they finally found a superconductor that made the incessant recurrence of transmission of electricity in a substance, without wear and tear, a possibility. However, the transmission without wear and tear in physics does not mean our nation advances without wear and tear on the road of reform.

Due to problems in the system and society's short-sighted pragmatism on economic results, Bei and his friend did not have funds to import a high-precision magnet testing machine to test their results, even though they had found the superconductor. Even if they did, the machine would take at least half a year to import. What they would lose during a waiting period of half a year in the keen competition on superconductor research among the nations is clear to anyone. Since they could not test their semiconductor, they turned to writing research papers. However, to get a paper published you have to submit a sponsorship fee. When Bei could do nothing but to pawn a precious work of a Chinese painter, papers of the same nature by Americans and Japanese had already been published in a German journal. And so, Bei and his friends, who should have been on the stage receiving the 1987 Nobel prize for physics, could only sigh in front of the television. The author prayed thoughtfully through the hero in the novelette: "I wish that the nation's blood pulse could be a state of superconduction." What a thought-provoking line! If our nation's blood pulse were a state of superconduction, our

research on advanced sciences would not have been deterred by the wear and tear caused by history, reality, and the people. Our reforms would have been much more smooth.

The superconduction in physics is extended to that in the blood pulse of the people. In literature, the world of the true, the good, and the beautiful, the author faces his times and expresses his insights on scientific progress, history, and reality. These insights stimulate us to contemplate the relations between man and society in the commodity economy, the conflict between productive forces and quality of culture, the status reversal between scientific invention and money worship, and the clash between the spirit of innovation and the outdated system. They also reinforce our patriotism and sense of hardship. We taste the fascination of literature which is a mixture of happiness and sorrow, suffering and hope.

### **A Broad Yellow-Earth Road**

*HK3005150189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 pp 47-48*

["Jinshitan Cup" solicited article by Zhou Tao 0719 3447 of the creative writing group, political department, Urumqi Military Area]

[Text] On that day, a man got off the long distance train and walked through the dirty and ugly county town of Jimsar. He looked around and seemed to be depressed. His eyes were listless. Then he went up to a stranger and asked the way, and headed toward the broad yellow-earth road leading to a village.

That was me 16 years ago. I still remember the brief conversation at that time. "Excuse me, which is the way to the Guoqing Commune?" I asked. The stranger, a Jimsar person, took a look at me and pointed at the broad yellow-earth road, "Go straight ahead, like a buffalo drinking water." I thanked him and, like an old buffalo drinking water, I went straight ahead without lifting my head.

To me now, 16 years after, there was a magnificent artistic sentiment to that scene of me hobbling on the broad yellow-earth road in the early spring. It resembled what a kind of modern painting in vogue tries hard to convey: a lone sojourner walking with his head down in the boundless wilderness, carrying with him his own twisted soul. The yellow-earth road took a zig-zag course, the hazy sunshine was warm and had a pale yellow color ... This could be a black and white wood block print. The sun was a dark hole, a mysterious eye. The wilderness extended itself in wild, primitive lines. The lone man was lost in it.

Yet the me of 16 years ago did not liken the scene to a painting. He saw only traces of wheels and footprints of various sizes and depth. They were frozen in the chilly air under the seemingly warm sun, and looked like photocopies of automobile tires and soles. He walked

forward, one step after another. His feet were so cold that they were sore, but he did not feel lonely. The field had been plowed. The black soil was partially clad with snow. It was getting warm but the ground was still cold. All around it was very empty and solitary.

I was just 26 then. I had lost a suitcase full of invaluable treasures. I was on my way empty-handed to visit my parents. They had been expelled from the party and sent to that part of China to be peasants for 2 years. I wondered how they had gone through those 2 years. I proceeded with questions in my mind. A heavy feeling accompanied my thoughts of my parents and a sense of sorrow. I failed to cheer myself up.

How long the road was! There was no sign of vegetation and life on this winding wound of yellow tendon and flesh on mother earth, other than footprints. They was an indication of human behavior. The earth road, damaged by wheel prints, extended in coldness toward the grey, distant trees without an end.

I have returned to this broad yellow-earth road. Good.

"Good." Sixteen years ago I sneered as if I was angry with some huge being. My heart was filled with a substantive tough strength. I walked along the yellow earth in search of a home strange to myself. This was the last tree branch the world had left for me and the last fortress from which I could confront life. Therefore I understood why only those treading the broad yellow-earth road with difficulty so treasured blood ties and the strength of clanship. Only they fully realized the wilderness and hardships of the human world.

The me of 16 years ago walked for hour after hour and thought about myself, my mother, and this magnificent earth road which stood for struggle in life. The earth road was truly magnificent, especially this one in early spring in Jimsar. This earth road was hard like pure copper, fine, simple, reddish, and without dust. It was edged with snow and looked a little cold and sad. With the grey sunshine on it the hardened earth road seemed to be about to twist itself ... It gave birth to you and was carrying you. When all roads on earth had forsaken you, it received you.

I was a bit touched and a bit sad. It was on such an earth road that I had once been a little being weighing eight jin that had to be fed with milk. The I had grown into a little boy with a little clothing on my body but no pants. The little boy had big eyes and looked intelligent. Yet I could not utter even something unclear. Then I became a troublesome and unpopular person. Like a half grown rooster, I was bony and listless. Finally I had grown up into a seven-chi tall man. I felt like a hero without rival. Unfortunately I met hardship and came to realize the taste of bitterness. I met cold eyes around. It seemed that in spite of all the roads in the world none was for me, and in spite of many buildings there was no home for me. I

realized that the world was hostile to me and I was frustrated and oppressed, but found no emotional outlet. I had no choice but to come back to this road to look for my home.

The earth road was very affectionate. Because it was affectionate it was magnificent and carried a sense of history. It aroused my primitive feeling for the earth which had long been buried in my heart. No guidance was more substantive than its and nothing was more affectionate than being led along its earth to one's home. Treading on the earth one felt an intoxicatingly lazy strength which transmitted from beneath the earth. It rose through my feet, my shoes and socks, and up along the tendons in my legs. It rose like a fog and spread like a gas. It made one relaxed, comfortable, enchanted, and then brave and open. There was no fear whatsoever anymore....

By twilight I had already reached a stone roller at the entrance to a village. I felt extremely hot and sat down and was about to smoke a cigarette.

And so, the I of 16 years ago had not totally vanished from this world. I was still part of myself. Each of my thoughts, gestures, smiles, dreams...had not been swept away by the winds of time. Rather, they stay in my memory and are carved in my brain. I will remain in the great and mysterious valley of memory forever and become a piano key, a painting, the title of a poem, or a catchy line in a book. I will remain my company. I will survive even after my disappearance. No matter how cruel the reality, I still refuse to believe that I will disappear.

Oh, yellow earth, you should be my witness. My terminal is not a tomb.

### **Is Work in the Communist System Still a Way To Make a Living?**

*HK3005140989 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 9, 1 May 89 p 49*

[“Letter from Readers”: Wei Xinghua 5898 5281 5478]

[Text] For many years there has been the view that in a communist society work is no longer a means of making a living. Not long ago this view came up again in a television program.

In actual fact there has never been an assumption in the works of Marx that in a communist society work will no longer be a means of making a living. On the contrary, to Marx, work—primarily productive work—is the basis for the existence and development of human society and a means for the realization of people's living. He pointed out that “As a creator of use value and useful work, work is a condition of human existence that cannot be changed by any social form. It is an eternal and natural inevitability for the material change between man and nature, or the realization of human existence.”<sup>1</sup> Here the

emphasis is on work as a “condition of human existence”; and the eternal and natural inevitability of “the realization of human existence,” which basically means the same thing as work as “a means of making a living.” “Means of making a living” refers to the means of existence and living. Without work mankind cannot exist, live, and develop, even in a communist society.

Marx's conception about communist society mentioned in the narrative of the television program *He Shang* evidently came from “Critique of the Gotha Program.” The original reads, “at the advanced stage of communism...when work is not merely a means of making a living but has itself become a primary need in life; when all aspects of the development of an individual's productive forces and all sources of collective wealth have fully surged...”<sup>2</sup> We should note that this book divides communism into two stages: the first stage and the advanced stage. What is discussed here is the conditions at the advanced stage of communism. A highly developed productive force, a full surge of sources of wealth, and work as the primary necessity of living, which are linked to the development of an individual in all aspects, still cannot possibly become a reality in a socialist society which is still at the first stage of communism. Meanwhile, we must note that the point here is that at the advanced stage of communism work is “not merely a means of making a living.” “Not merely” does not mean it is not. What it means: at the advanced stage of communism, work is the primary need of people's lives while it continues to be a means of making a living. Productive work changes from a burden to a joy. There is a difference in nature between the two. However, the use of work as a means of making a living basically remains the same.

Since only at the advanced stage of communism will work not merely be a means of making a living, it means that in a socialist society work is still a major means of making a living. However, at the socialist stage, work as a means of making a living contains two meanings. First, as at the advanced stage of communism, work is the basis of the existence and development of the entire society, and an essential condition for the continuous improvement of the living of all members of society. Second, work is also a means for each member of society to obtain an income. work must also be linked to reward. It guarantees an individual's living.

Contrary to the views in some writings in the past, the reason why in a socialist society work remains chiefly a means of making a living, and not at the same time the primary need of life, is not because the level of consciousness of the mass workers is not high enough, or that the exploitative class takes advantage of what others have done but refuse to work. In the final analysis it is a problem of level of productive forces and a problem of economic conditions. Without a very high level of development of productive forces, expansion and highly developed scientific, technological, and cultural education, the disappearance of the old division of work, the

development in all aspects of the worker as an individual, and considerable reduction in work time, the so-called work as a first need of life can only be a thought.

From the above account it is clear that it is a misunderstanding to conclude that Marx assumed "work will no longer be a means of making a living" in a communist

society. It is neither an objective requirement for the advanced stage of a communist society, nor does it fit the realistic need of the socialist society which is at the first stage of communist society.

**Footnotes**

1. *Collected works of Marx and Engels*, Vol 23, p 56.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol 3, p 12.