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No 15, 1 August 1989

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Consolidate and Develop New-Type Socialist Relations Between the Army and the People

HK2908023589 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 89 pp 2-7

[Article by Mass Work Section of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army]

[Text] In the historical moment of winning a decisive victory in quelling counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital and of the successful end of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, we greet the glorious day of the 62d anniversary of the founding of the People's Liberation Army [PLA]. While celebrating this joyous festival, we feel particularly proud because the severe test of this disturbance has proved that our Army is a qualified army of the people, and that our Army has always been the army of the people. We must further carry forward the fine tradition of unity between the Army and the people, correctly understand and readjust Army-civilian relations in the new period, ensure a lengthy peaceful reign in our country, and make efforts to facilitate the smooth progress in our construction and reform.

I

The unity between the Army and the people is a glorious revolutionary tradition of our party and our Army, and our intrinsic political strong point. During the years of war, it was our important magic weapon for defeating the enemy. During the new historical period, it is our reliable guarantee for realizing socialist modernization. By relying on this political strong point, the PLA martial law enforcement troops, officers and men of the Armed Police Force, and public security cadres and policemen, under the wise leadership of the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission, and vigorously supported by the broad masses of workers and people in various strata, have won their decisive victory in quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital. Hard facts have told us that the tradition of the unity between the Army and the people must not be put aside. We must inherit and carry forward this tradition in light of the new situation. At present, what kind of new situation has occurred in our Army-civilian relations?

A. The principal contradictions in society have changed. Before the founding of New China, ours was a semicolonial and semifeudal society. The contradiction between the proletariat and the broad masses of people under its leadership on the one hand, and imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism on the other hand, was the principal contradiction in society. The central task of the party was to seize power through armed force. Under such circumstances, the troops, as the backbone of the war, naturally played a prominent role. In the period of peacetime construction, our historical conditions are different. The principal contradiction in our society has been reflected in the contradiction between the increasing material and cultural needs of the

people and backward production in society. The central tasks of the party and the state are to fully arouse the enthusiasm of various quarters, and to concentrate our efforts on carrying out economic construction so that our country can get rid of poverty and backwardness as early as possible. In this connection, we must uphold the four cardinal principles and persist in reform and opening up. This is the general situation facing our party and country under the new historical conditions. Our Army must submit itself and serve this general situation. If it cannot correctly understand and comprehend this problem, it will not be able to adapt itself to circumstances, or it will lack popular support. In the meantime, when people have shifted their attention to economic construction and the guiding thinking for national defense buildup has changed strategically, the position and role of the troops can be easily neglected. In recent years, world tension has been relaxed. In addition, the spread of the influence of bourgeois liberalization has blunted people's concept of national defense. Many people wrongly think that the Army is no longer important. Therefore, some incidents affecting Army-civilian relations have occurred.

B. The functions of the Army have changed. During the period of the new democratic revolution, our party mainly relied on the Army to fulfill the mission of overthrowing the "three big mountains," seizing political power in the whole country, and founding New China. At that time, various work of the Communist Party, which was the representative of the new political power, was very often completed by the Army. The Army had to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize, and arm them, so that a greater number of people would join the revolutionary ranks. The Army had to help the masses establish revolutionary state power, guard the gains of the revolution, and expand the influence and base areas of the party. This regular work demanded that the Army be not only a combat team, but also a working team and production team. After the founding of New China, our party became the ruling party, and the state established various kinds of functional organs. The government is the organizer of production and life in the whole society. The basic functions of the Army as the pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship are: On the one hand, it must consolidate national defense buildup, resist aggressors, and safeguard the security and territorial integrity of the state. On the other hand, it must protect the stability and unity of the state, suppress counterrevolutionaries and various criminal elements, maintain social order, and stop chaos, turmoil, and rebellion in order to ensure normal progress of the four modernizations. In accordance with the principle of division of labor in society, the work of carrying out propaganda among the masses and organizing them, formerly done by the Army, has now been transferred to the propaganda and educational departments and various mass organizations. Various work of the Army, including defense, training, the supply of food, clothing, and lodging for servicemen, job arrangements for family members of servicemen, schooling of

their children, and so on, are dependent on the support and help of local governments and the masses. The party and the state have demanded that local party committees and governments show concern for and support the construction of the Army and that, in the course of doing well in military training, national defense, and its own construction, the troops support the government and cherish the people, and actively support the construction of the state. During the peacetime period, due to the fact that the functions of our troops have changed and that the party and the state have put forward new demands, a new content has been injected into the work of the traditional "double supports."

C. Members of the "Army" and "people" as main contacting bodies (jiao wang zhu ti 0074 1766 0031 7555) have also changed. Over the past 40 years since the founding of New China, the characteristics of individual troops have changed frequently. Their occupations and experiences have also varied considerably. In the past, new troops came mainly from young peasants, workers, and students. Now, before joining the troops, they were workers, peasants, staff members, students, factory directors, individual laborers, members of specialized households, workers in private enterprises, Chinese-foreign joint ventures, and so on. Peasants in the 1980's are different from those in the 1950's, or those before liberation. They actively participate in the production of socialist commodity. Young workers and staff members who have received professional training and mastered specialized knowledge have become the main force and backbone of the working class and the constructors of the modernization undertakings. Now members of our "Army" and "people," and people of the younger generation in particular, are ideologically linked to socialist modernization and democracy. They generally attach importance to personal contacts, and demand higher standards of material and cultural life. Many of them lack perceptual and rational knowledge of the traditions of the party.

D. Contradictions between the Army and the people are more complicated than in the past. During the years of war, formidable enemies stood before us. It was easier to solve contradictions among the people, which were subordinated to contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Now contradictions among the people have become a main theme in our social life. Something that was not a problem during the years of war has now been put on the agenda in an incisive form. This includes contradictions between the construction of the Army and local economic construction; contradictions between local economic development and the protection of the safety of military facilities; contradictions between the training ground of the troops and the land shortage of local masses; contradictions between the troops engaged in production and business operations and local enterprises in the course of seeking raw materials, funds, market, and so on. Some people with a blunted concept of national defense have very often neglected the important position and role of the Army in protecting economic construction and the security of the state. Their

feelings, words, and deeds have shown that they fail to understand and respect servicemen. Therefore, correctly handling and coordinating the interests and contradictions between the Army and various social groups is an important task for promoting Army-civilian relations in the initial stage of socialism.

II

Army-civilian relations as a kind of social relations include political relations, economic relations, legal relations, moral relations, psychological relations, and so on. This has demanded that we must not understand the implication of Army-civilian relations only in a narrow sense. We must regard such relations as something that comprehensively concerns the security of the state as well as economic and social development.

Relations between the PLA and people of various nationalities in our country are, first of all, political relations based on equality, unity, fraternal love, and mutual assistance. The CPC has systematically solved the problem of turning a revolutionary Army consisting mainly of peasants into a new-type proletarian people's Army that strictly observes discipline and maintains close ties to the people. The party has stipulated that serving the people wholeheartedly is the sole purpose of the people's Army. It has also worked out the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention, and stressed the unity between the Army and the people. It has, therefore, developed a new kind of Army-people relationship that never occurred in all old-type armies. In various revolutionary wars, the Army maintained flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people, and were as inseparable as fish and water. They united as one to fight bloody battles. During the period of socialist construction, the Army and people throughout the country unite closely, learn from and support each other to jointly promote construction of the motherland and to defend it. History has proved that strengthening the unity between the Army and government on the one hand, and between the Army and the people on the other is an important guarantee for winning victory in both revolution and construction.

Army-civilian relations are inseparable from economic relations. Economic relations are relations of material interests connected with people's activities in production, distribution, and consumption. The fact that people establish ties to one another in their social production reflects their material relations, which are independent of their will. In social production, various contradictions such as contradictions between men, contradictions between men and society, and so on will occur. Very often, the most fundamental contradiction is reflected in economic interests. Such contradictions between the Army and the people have also widely and frequently occurred. In the past, we failed to fully understand this. Some comrades like to talk about what happened during the years of war in which the masses "presented their pigs, sheep, and so on to the PLA," and about other close relations between the Army and the

people. As far as money affairs are concerned, they believe that the Army and the people can "share everything," and that such friendship and generosity are as pure as crystal. However, what they neglect are exactly the changes in environment of different historical periods. During the years of war, we carried out armed struggle and pursued military communism. Now the highly concentrated product economy in our country is being changed into a socialist planned commodity economy. Under such circumstances, economic relations and contacts between the Army and the people have increased considerably. According to statistics, 60 percent of the disputes between the Army and the people involve economic interests. A host of facts have shown that constantly readjusting relations of interests between the Army and other social groups has become a key issue for closer Army-civilian relations.

Army-civilian relations also involve legal relations. Legal relations are relations between rights and duties that occur in the course of regulating people's actions within the scope of law. With the development of society, although material interests of different social groups are different, their members are citizens of a socialist society who carry the same duties and enjoy the same rights. For example, as far as national defense is concerned, all citizens must carry out the duty of serving in the Army, supporting construction of the people's Army, supporting development of people's militia and reserve forces, participating in war, supporting the front, supporting the Army, and giving preferential treatment to families of revolutionary armymen and martyrs, protecting national defense projects and military facilities, and so on. In the course of carrying out their duties in national defense, citizens also enjoy their due rights. For example, preferential treatment is given to families of compulsory servicemen. Allowances and compensation are given to families of compulsory servicemen who died a martyr's death or died of illness. Special arrangements are given to disabled armymen. Preferential treatment is given to people's militiamen who participate in war. Awards are given to those who render meritorious service. All these have been explicitly defined in the state laws, decrees, rules, and regulations. In addition, socialist laws also regulate Army-civilian relations involving legal problems. Some conflicts between the Army and the people originally involved legal problems. However, due to the fact that some comrades feared that Army-people relations would be harmed, they used to handle some problems involving law in a way unconnected with law with an aim of turning big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all, and glossing things over to stay on good terms. In so doing, they were unable to distinguish right from wrong or protect the legitimate rights and interests of victims or solve the problem completely. In the meantime, this also created opportunities that could be exploited by illegal elements. In the eyes of a small number of people, it is easy to occupy or steal military goods because the Army can be bullied easily. Some illegal elements deliberately try to exploit an advantage to make trouble and make

things difficult for the Army. When the legitimate rights and interests of our Army are being encroached upon, some of our cadres and soldiers are unable to use the weapons of law to protect themselves. They fail to solve problems that call for prompt and decisive settlement. This has adversely affected the improvement of Army-civilian relations.

Army-civilian relations also include moral relations. The PLA is the Army of the people. It learns from and inherits the fine moral tradition of the Chinese nation. In addition, it has been nurtured by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It is a contingent that is moral, that is better educated, and that has observed discipline. During the war of liberation, when our troops passed by a certain orchard, our soldiers never picked a single fruit from it. After we succeeded in liberating a city, our soldiers would rather sleep in the open than create inconvenience for residents of the city. They entered and left the city empty-handed. They went through fire and water and remained uncontaminated. The masses learned something about the Communist Party, the PLA, and serving the people through the advanced deeds of our soldiers. Shortly after the founding of New China, through their actions the broad masses of our commanders and fighters brought the fine revolutionary tradition nurtured by the Communist Party to those newly liberated cities, towns, and townships. While coming into contact with the PLA, the masses were imperceptibly influenced by what they constantly saw and heard about the PLA. Learning from the PLA, they developed a new work style, so that the 1950's were a period in which Army-civilian relations were the closest, and the general mood of society was the best. In the early 1960's, represented by Lei Feng, our commanders and soldiers played a positive role in promoting good general moods in society. In the 1980's, under the leadership of local party committees and governments, various PLA units and the masses have made concerted efforts to jointly carry out the activities of promoting socialist spiritual civilization. This has played a positive role in encouraging our troops to learn from the people, strengthening the unity between the Army and the government and between the Army and the people and promoting the construction of the Army. In the struggle to quell counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital, commanders and fighters of the martial law enforcement troops won the support, assistance, and respect of the broad masses of the people for their heroic spirit and noble quality of loving the country and the people. Moral relations between the Army and the people, which have been developing over the past several decades, have produced a very great influence over the moral consciousness and conduct of the people. They have played a very important role in regulating personal relations.

Army-people relations also include psychological relations. Army-civilian relations develop in the course of the Army establishing its ties to the people, in which the role of psychological factors must not be neglected. From

the angle of social psychology, the course of contacts between men means a process in which people get to know each other, exchange views, and influence each other. Giving full play to the role of psychological factors in personal contacts will enable us to effectively regulate Army-civilian relations. With the development of society, a new situation has occurred with both the Army and the people. Due to the fact that the Army and the people are in different positions, their views on certain problems are very often different. If they lack mutual exchange of views, their understanding of the problems might be different. For example, the masses welcome aid given gratis by the PLA and the "magnanimous attitude" of the troops. However, when the troops act in accordance with law, or argue strongly on just grounds, they feel a repugnance for it. Some people do not want the soldiers to "strike back even if they are attacked." They are angry when our soldiers carry out their proper self-defense. Sometimes, some of our commanders and soldiers also fail to understand the new situation. They want local government to arrange their work around military tasks. In the present situation, they think that they are belittled. They are fond of a mighty movement to bring greetings and gifts to army units and are dissatisfied with the present method of supporting the Army. Some servicemen want preferential treatment everywhere and complain about their present economic conditions. Under certain conditions, such differences in understanding will lead to less objective and practical demands. Therefore, exchanges of views between the Army and the people are needed to deepen their profound mutual understanding and support.

III

In the long revolutionary struggle, our Army has developed a whole set of principles for handling Army-civilian relations and a principle for maintaining unity between the Army and the people in particular. At present, although the situation has changed greatly, "the principle of unity between the Army and the people must not change." With the development of commodity economy, we must implement the general principle of unity between the Army and the people in light of the new situation and study the issues of specifically regulating Army-civilian relations and correctly handling relations between the Army and the government and between the Army and the people.

A. We must take the situation as a whole into consideration and correctly understand and handle relations between economic construction and national defense buildup. Relations between the Army and government and between the Army and the people in the new period specifically reflect the relations between economic construction and national defense buildup. Economic construction concerns the development of the state, whereas national defense buildup concerns the security of the state. They mutually rely on, condition, and promote each other. On the one hand, without strong economic power as a basis, national defense buildup will be like water without a source or a tree without roots. On the

other hand, without a powerful national defense buildup, it will be impossible to normally carry out economic construction of the state, and social production. To correctly understand the relation between economic construction and national defense buildup in peacetime, under the prerequisite of considering the general situation of the economic construction of the state, we must pay attention to both the development of our economic construction and the need for consolidating our national defense buildup. They must be beneficial to the development of our social productive forces and the enhancement of our combat forces. Just as Comrade Li Peng has pointed out in his government work report delivered at the 2d Session of the 7th NPC [National People's Congress], in the whole process of economic readjustment and modernization, we must attach importance to our national defense buildup, so that the power of our national defense will conform with the status of our country. The PLA must submit itself to the general situation of the construction of the state and do well in its self-development and reform. It must continuously strengthen its combat effectiveness. Governments at all levels must show concern for and support our troops, take the initiative to actively help them solve various practical problems, and do their best to create good conditions for the construction and reform of our troops.

B. We must regulate the interests of the Army and the people in the economic field in accordance with the principle of mutual benefit. Since the Army and local government need more and more cooperation and coordination in the economic field, they must pay more attention to mutual assistance and make more efforts to fulfill their obligations. Their practical interest must be taken into consideration. When the troops support local construction, they may charge local government for labor service, wear and tear on machinery, consumption of oil, and so on. However, all charges must be reasonable, reflecting the sincerity of the troops in supporting local construction. In production and business operations, the troops must compete with local units in accordance with the law of commodity economy. However, they must pay attention to mutual promotion. No illegal means are allowed to compete with local units. When disputes over real estate occur, they must respect history and persist in principle. While proceeding from practical conditions, we must show consideration for the interests of both sides within the scope permitted by law.

While implementing the principle governing material interests, we must pay attention to the unity between "interest" and "righteousness," to prevent vulgarism of Army-people relations. It is an unshirkable duty of the PLA to participate in the work of firefighting and providing disaster relief. It must do so irrespective of conditions and remuneration. When local governments and people are providing the PLA with certain services to help them solve problems, they must do so gratuitously. It is their duty to support national defense buildup in the interest of the state. While dealing with Army-civilian relations, the principle of exchange at

equal value must not be generally implemented irrespective of places and nature of the work. If too much attention is paid to mutual utilization, and if close or sparse relations between the Army and the people are determined by the mutual utilization, Army-civilian relations, which are described as inseparable as fish and water, will be turned into relations between "oil and water." This harms not only our fine tradition, but also the establishment and development of socialist new-type relations between the Army and government and between the Army and the people.

C. We must properly handle disputes between the Army and the people on the basis of equal consultation. When contradictions and conflicts between the Army and the people occur, both sides must find out the truth, distinguish right from wrong, and hold consultations calmly. They must solve problems in a rational way and bear responsibility in a practical way. In the course of consultation they must respect and understand each other. They must be good at seeking common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones and take the initiative to promote unity.

D. We must go about things in accordance with law to protect the legitimate interests of both the Army and the people. With the increasing improvement of the socialist legal system, the problem of using legal means to solve disputes between the Army and the people which must be dealt with within the scope of law has now been put on the agenda. With regard to such disputes, they must be handled in accordance with law, so that the legitimate interests of the Army and the people can be protected. When criminal disputes between servicemen and civilians occur, they must be handled in accordance with criminal law. When civil disputes occur, they must be handled in accordance with civil law. When economic disputes occur, they must be handled in accordance with economic law. This is beneficial not only to distinguishing right from wrong, but also to promoting unity between the Army and the people. To protect public interests, personal safety, and other rights of servicemen and other people from being illegally encroached upon, servicemen have the right to carry out self-defense in accordance with law.

IV

To consolidate and develop new-type socialist Army-government and Army-civilian relations, long-term efforts must be devoted to various aspects.

A. We must strengthen propaganda and educational work to enhance the concepts of the majority of servicemen and people on national defense, supporting the government and loving the people, and supporting the Army and giving preferential treatment to the Army and families of servicemen and revolutionary martyrs, so that they realize that the concepts on commodity and national defense are unified in terms of the interests of the state and nation. In such a way, they will show concern and have deep love for national defense and

safeguard it, and think it their responsibility and duty to do so. In accordance with the constant changing of Army personnel and the development of new situations and new tasks, the Army must vigorously promote education on the purpose of the Army and on supporting the government and loving the people. This education must run through the regular ideological and political work of the Army to develop a general feeling in the whole Army that the people's Army loves the people and does people more good turns.

B. We must constantly improve mechanisms for coordinating relations between the Army and civilians. The nature of the people's Army has decided that the interests between the Army and various social sectors are unified. However, with the development of economic and political structural reforms, the former forms of links and interest structure between the Army and civilians have changed. Therefore, immense coordination is needed. First, we need structural coordination. Through certain structural changes, we will ensure constant coordination. Provincial military regions serve as a bridge linking the troops and civilians. They are responsible for the work of coordinating the interests between local Army units, between the Army and government, and between the Army and civilians. A provincial military region will convey to local governments the opinions and demands of local troops. It is also responsible for conveying the work arrangements and demands of local governments to the troops. It participates in the work of handling important problems related to relations between the Army and government and between the Army and the people. This will promote mutual understanding between the Army and civilians and play an important role in improving and maintaining close ties between the Army and governments and between the Army and the people. Second, we must carry out legal coordination, with the main emphasis being placed on further perfecting relevant laws and regulations. At present, we have not yet enacted comparatively complete laws and regulations governing relations between the Army and the people. Certain disputes between the Army and the people are always handled in accordance with other relevant laws and regulations. This affects the work of handling the dispute in terms of its accuracy and effectiveness. In such a way, while solving some problems, it is difficult to ascertain where the responsibility lies, to impose punishments and sanctions, and to adopt measures for coordination. In the course of time, these problems will become problems left over from history. Therefore, we propose that special laws and regulations be enacted, such as "Rules and Regulations on Army-People Relations," "Law on Protecting the Property of the Army," "Law on Protecting Military Facilities," and "Law on Military Forbidden Zones," and so on. We must use standardized actions of the Army and the people to protect interests and improve relations between the Army and the people. Now relevant departments are doing this kind of work, and we hope that the laws and regulations concerned will be enacted as early

as possible. Third, we must carry out institutional coordination. We may consider establishing the following systems. The system of the government discussing military affairs must be established. In other words, the government must constantly study education in national defense, construction of the Army, and problems arising in Army-civilian relations. We must establish a system of reporting situations. Leading organs of the Army and government must regularly exchange information on the situation of their work and development. Measures must be taken to establish a dialogue system. While handling issues related to the Army and civilians, relevant sectors must mutually solicit each other's opinions to achieve an understanding. We must establish a system of jointly handling official business. When the Army and government are studying important problems, organizing important activities, or solving serious disputes, they should adopt the method of jointly handling official business. Fourth, we must carry out coordination in terms of policy. Constant and regular contacts between the Army and the people need coordination not only in terms of law and system, but also in terms of policy. For example, some local units raise funds, collect donations, or demand money from the troops. This puts the troops in an awkward position. This problem must be handled in accordance with policy. Otherwise, the support and understanding of local governments for the troops will be affected.

C. We must constantly enrich and develop the content and forms of the activities of "double support" in light of the characteristics of our times. Practice has proved that activities carried out in recent years, such as the Army and civilians jointly promoting spiritual civilization, "intellectual double support," "service center for families of servicemen," "earnest discussion between the Army and civilians," "Army-civilian federation," and so on, are effective. With the deepening and development of reform, while carrying out the activities of supporting the government and loving the people, and supporting the Army and giving preferential treatment to families of servicemen and revolutionary martyrs, we must devise more and better forms for activities in light of the characteristics of the new times on the basis of carrying forward our fine tradition. This will be beneficial to maintaining close ties between the Army and government and between the Army and the people.

We are glad to find out that after the suppression of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital, people believe more firmly the truth that without a people's Army, the people have nothing. The people have further understood and loved the people's Army. A groundswell of support for the Army and love for the people is surging in various parts throughout the country. The more the people love the Army, the more the Army cherishes the people. We firmly believe that as long as the unity between the Army and the government, and between the Army and the people, and solidarity between the Army and civilians can be strengthened, we can surely and continuously promote socialist modernization in our country.

Sum Up the Past, Take the Future Into Account, and Make a Good Job of Party Building in Earnest

HK2308080189 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 89 pp 8-12

[Article by Wang Qun 3769 5028, Secretary of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region CPC Committee]

[Text] The turmoil that broke out in Beijing and some other places between mid-April and early June, and the counterrevolutionary rebellion which developed in Beijing, made us realize that hostile forces at home and abroad were indeed frantically opposed to us and that these forces were working in collusion in a vain attempt to overthrow the CPC and subvert the socialist system. We must not forsake the concept of class struggle and think that we need worry no more and could "put our weapons away in the armory and put our horses out to pasture under the South Mountain." These events also enabled us to realize that the policy of former party leader Comrade Zhao Ziyang in "watering down" the role of the party, neglecting party building and the development of socialist spiritual civilization, and taking a negative attitude toward upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization had inflicted serious consequences on our party. The lessons are very profound. In accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction that we "think over the future as well as the past sober-mindedly," we must sum up experience, learn our lessons, strengthen party leadership in real earnest, do a good job of party building, and restore the party's prestige.

First, We Must Strengthen Party Leadership in Earnest and Must Not Weaken or Renounce Party Leadership

The CPC is the force at the core, leading the cause of socialism in China. This position was shaped by history and was the choice made by the Chinese people in the past. Practice has repeatedly proved that the leadership position of the CPC cannot be taken over by any political party or faction. This was as true during the democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and socialist construction as during the present period of reform, opening the country to the outside world, and development. In the meantime, people have also come to realize profoundly through past experience that it is only under the leadership of the CPC that China can develop and prosper. Without the CPC there will be no China of today or tomorrow. This conclusion has struck such deep roots in the minds of the Chinese people that no force can shake it.

Faced with the arduous task of leading 1.1 billion people in socialist modernization and implementing the reform and open policy, the party must become a solid bulwark and firmly maintain its position as the leadership core for the cause of socialism in China. For some time, however, the party's leadership has been weakened in various fields. Since Comrade Zhao Ziyang's appointment as party general secretary, party building and the

party's ideological and political work in particular have been seriously weakened. Some party members have a dim concept of party leadership and organizational discipline. The role of party organizations as a fighting bastion was weakened and the function of party members as vanguard models was no longer advocated. In fact, party leadership has been relaxed and even renounced, to some extent. This is particularly true in the ideological realm and accounts for the unbridled spread of bourgeois liberalization. Among members of the public there are also many muddled ideas regarding party leadership. Some people put party leadership and the development of democracy and the legal system against each other. Some even regarded the strengthening of party leadership and efforts to emancipate the mind and to implement the reform and open policy as opposites. All this not only confused people's minds, fostered erroneous sentiments, and seriously weakened the party's fighting power, but also encouraged and abetted the reactionary arrogance of hostile forces at home and abroad. The latter wantonly smeared the party's image, inveighed against party leadership, and even brazenly clamored: "Down with the CPC." These startling facts tell us that at no time and under no circumstances can the party's position as the ruling party be shaken, the party's strong leadership be weakened, or party building be slackened.

Second, We Must Steadfastly Uphold the Theoretical Basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought Which Guides Our Thinking, and Grasp It Firmly and Well as the Party's Basic Education

From its birth to its maturity as a ruling party with 47 million members, our party has always taken Marxism-Leninism as its powerful ideological weapon for vanquishing the enemy. Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. With the introduction of Marxism-Leninism into China we found the truth which guided the Chinese people of various nationalities toward emancipation, established the CPC, won victory in the new democratic revolution, and embarked on our socialist undertaking. Our motherland thus rose to its feet in the East as a giant. The history of China over the last century and more proves that only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can save China.

During the period of socialist construction, whenever our party's guiding ideology was correct, that is, whenever we were able to correctly integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the realities in China, our cause progressed and developed. If the opposite was true our cause suffered setbacks. Over the last decade we have scored tremendous achievements in the reform and open policy. This is a universally acknowledged fact. Without restoration of the Marxist ideological line of seeking truth from facts, the basic line of "one focus and two basic points" could not have been formulated. Without the correct guidance of the socialist theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the reform and open policy could not have scored

such great successes. Without the four cardinal principles as our political and ideological base, the reform and open policy would have lost its correct orientation, political turmoil would have ensued, and China would even have degenerated into a dependency of international monopoly capital.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the lifeline of our party and the ideological and theoretical basis for the unity, solidarity, development, and progress of our country. This is the precise reason why our enemies are so hostile toward it and have always regarded it as the target for their slanders and attacks. It is not surprising that hostile elements and hostile forces at home and abroad hate and attack Marxism. What merits attention is that within our own ranks some comrades, including some party cadres and theoretical workers, have expressed doubts about and are wavering in their faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Some of them erroneously attributed our past mistakes in ideological guidance and actual work to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Dazzled, confused, and ideologically shaken by bourgeois liberal ideas, and trendy "modern ideas" of all hues and descriptions, some people even vilified Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought at various forums, dished out a variety of "new ideas" and "new concepts" to poison many a young mind, and incited discontent about the party and socialism. Some people erroneously maintained that anyone who talked about Marxism-Leninism and about the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism was conservative, ossified, and opposed to reform. There are many reasons for this, the principal one being that we have relaxed our ideological and theoretical education on Marxism and slackened our ideological-political work and the party's ideological development in recent years. After taking charge of the Central Committee, Comrade Zhao Ziyang showed no interest at all in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, but was eager to copy from the West. He even openly suggested that in the future we need only uphold party leadership and could neglect or pay less attention to the other three cardinal principles. The fact that he supported the recent antiparty and antisocialist turmoil shows that he did not really mean it when he said that we should uphold party leadership.

We learn from the facts that only by upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will we be able to effectively resist the onslaught of bourgeois liberalization and erroneous ideas of all hues and descriptions, maintain the nature of our party as the vanguard of the proletariat, and ensure the socialist orientation of the reform and open policy. Thus, we must take education on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the central task of our party's ideological education and grasp it with unremitting efforts. In particular, we must strengthen systematic learning and education in this respect among our leading cadres. This will enable our comrades to familiarize themselves with and grasp the basic tenets, stand, viewpoint, and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, enhance their ability to observe and analyze

problems and to work more scientifically, systematically, and with greater foresight, and strive to remold their subjective world while correctly remolding their objective world.

Third, We Must Steadfastly Uphold the Aim of Wholeheartedly Serving the People and Forever Maintain Close Ties Between the Party and the People

The CPC is the faithful representative of the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in China. It does not have any special interests of its own other than those of the masses. This is the distinguishing feature between the communist party and other political parties. Thus, wholeheartedly serving the people has been taken by our party as the starting point and point of return in all its activities since its founding. Our party regards the cause of liberation of the Chinese people as its sacred duty. Party members are required to sacrifice their personal interests and fight all their lives for the cause of communism, proceed from the interests of the people in everything and never divorce themselves from the masses, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, refrain from seeking personal gain and special privileges, forever serve as servants of the working people, and so on. For 68 years our party has always upheld the aim of wholeheartedly serving the people and has represented the interests of the masses of the people. By earnestly practicing what they advocate, and with their exemplary deeds and spirit of sacrifice, the vast numbers of party members have won the great trust and firm support of the masses, thus maintaining the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the masses and laying the foundation for the survival and triumph of our party. Practice proves that the strength of our party and the fundamental guarantee for the victory of our party lie in wholeheartedly serving the people and always maintaining close ties to the masses.

In the cruel years of war, had we practiced bureaucratism and special prerogatives and divorced ourselves from the masses, we would have been vanquished and wiped out by the enemy. During those years being a party member implied conscious suffering, even bloodshed and sacrifice, in the course of carrying out revolution and protecting the interests of the people. The situation is different now. Our party has become the ruling party and is leading the people in carrying out reform and opening the country to the outside world. Confronted with the rigorous double test of ruling the country and implementing the reform and open policy, the overwhelming majority of party members are sober-minded. They always keep in close touch with the masses, are honest and devoted in performing their official duties, and live up to the glorious title of being communist party members. However, there are some weak-willed party members who, unable to withstand the corrosive influence of the decadent ideas of the exploiting classes and the temptation of money, avail themselves of loopholes in the reform and open policy to practice corruption, take bribes, or engage in blackmail and extortion. Those who are avaricious barter their power for money and personal

gain; those imbued with bureaucratic ways eat three square meals a day and do no work; while those who hanker after pleasure indulge in extravagance and waste, oblivious to the weal and woe of the masses. Although they constitute only a small number, the fact that such behavior is seen in our ruling party, among our leading cadres, in fact, and even senior cadres, has a very bad effect. Our party has never evaded these undesirable tendencies and corrupt practices within its own ranks, but, rather, has always tried to tackle these problems. However, it is true that the measures taken have not been effective and the results achieved are not conspicuous enough. This has aroused discontent among the masses. In this regard, Comrade Zhao Ziyang has unshirkable responsibilities, for he has stressed on more than one occasion that the above-mentioned corrupt practices are unavoidable in the initial stage of the development of the commodity economy. This has bolstered and pepped up the decadent elements and seriously interfered with the intraparty struggle against corruption. We must learn our lessons and be strict in running the party. On the one hand, we must conduct extensive and in-depth education about serving the people and hard struggle among the vast numbers of party members and cadres. We must repeatedly exhort the whole party and the people that, in a vast and populous country like ours which had a poor foundation to start with and is economically and culturally backward, therefore, we must never give up the glorious tradition of hard struggle, the aim of wholeheartedly serving the people, and the task of continually remolding our world outlook. On the other hand, we must combat corruption in earnest and seriously deal with and punish those who have been found guilty, no matter how high their position. In our own Inner Mongolia we must grasp the cases that are of greatest concern to the masses, resolutely and seriously examine and handle those cases, and report the results to the masses. Only in this way can we win the trust of the people and enable the masses to truly feel that our communist party is wholehearted in serving the people, genuine in its efforts to fight corruption, consistent in its words and actions, and has the means and ability to tackle the problem of corruption.

Fourth, We Must Strictly Enforce the Party's Discipline and Safeguard the Party's Solidarity and Unity

Our party has great cohesive and fighting power not only because of its correct ideological and political line, but also because of its strict organizational discipline. The party constitution clearly stipulates that "individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations are subordinate to the higher party organizations, and all the constituent organizations and members are subordinate to the National Party Congress and Central Committee." These regulations not only embody the high degree of democracy and freedom enjoyed by the party, but also reflect the high degree of centralization and unity within the party. Without strict organizational discipline the party cannot

have unified will and actions. Neither will it have staunch solidarity and strong fighting power. The recent struggle to check the turmoil and quell the rebellion was a severe test of the organizational discipline of each and every one of our party members. Most of our party members are conscientious, or fairly conscientious, in observing party discipline. However, the behavior of former party General Secretary Comrade Zhao Ziyang cannot be tolerated by party discipline. From the struggle to check the turmoil and quell the rebellion we have gained enlightenment on at least three counts. First, we must quickly put rectification of party discipline in an important place in our agenda, strengthen education on discipline among all party members in earnest, and strive to enhance the awareness of the vast numbers of party members in enforcing party discipline. For some time, political liberalism, ideological individualism, and organizational decentralism existed to varying degrees among some party organizations and party members. Some people implemented only those policies party or decisions by the party organization that were to their liking. Not that they prohibited the implementation of these policies and decisions; they simply persisted in their old ways and did and said what they pleased while paying lip service to, even openly opposing, the decisions of the party organization and the policies of the Central Committee. This situation seriously weakened party organization and the party's fighting power and such a state of affairs simply cannot be tolerated by party discipline. Party organizations at all levels must strictly enforce disciplinary measures. Violators should be criticized, educated, and punished accordingly. In particular, party members who lost their political stand and violated party discipline in the recent turmoil and rebellion must be seriously dealt with in accordance with the requirements of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission on the basis of thorough investigation. Second, we must seriously implement the party's principle of democratic centralism and resolutely safeguard the party's solidarity and unity. Through the current struggle, particularly through the serious havoc wrought by Comrade Zhao Ziyang's mistake in splitting the party, we have come to realize more deeply than ever the immense harm of splittism and the immense importance of unity. Unity is what the overall situation requires; unity is strength; and only with unity will there be victory. To strengthen party unity the key lies in the leading bodies at various levels. Leading comrades at all levels must take the lead in studying the series of important speeches made recently by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of the party. With proletarian broad-mindedness, they must persist in uniting with people from "all corners of the country," refrain from forming small factions and small circles, uphold the party's democratic centralism, spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation with people in the same boat helping each other, and solidarity and militancy among leading members, and oppose unprincipled disputes within the leading bodies. Third, we must steadfastly safeguard the authority of the party Central Committee. Since the 3d

Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the line, principles, and policies of the party Central Committee have been correct and give concentrated expression to the fundamental interests of the whole party and the people of all nationalities in the whole country. Elected by the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the new central leadership core, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the party general secretary, is an important organizational guarantee for the continuity of the party's policies and the prolonged stability of our country. Party organizations at all levels and all party members must maintain a high degree of unity with the party Central Committee ideologically, politically, and organizationally, and steadfastly safeguard its leadership and authority. This is where the supreme interests of the party lie and no one inside the party can be vague on such an important matter of principle.

Fifth, We Must Guard Against and Prevent Interference From Erroneous Ideas and Actively Unfold an Ideological Struggle Inside the Party

Our CPC and we communists cannot live in a "land of peach blossoms." Erroneous ideas of all sorts and descriptions, particularly bourgeois liberal ideas, are bound to find reflection inside the party through various channels and in various ways. In recent years, some party organizations turned a deaf ear to ideas and sentiments that pandered to bourgeois liberal trends of thought in society and to erroneous remarks. Rather than criticizing and waging a tit-for-tat struggle against these, they took a laissez faire attitude and even showed indulgence and connivance. Some leading cadres adopted an attitude of playing safe regarding words and deeds that were harmful to the party and dared not fight boldly and with perfect assurance. This was their means of winning votes and wresting power. The presence of these problems made it impossible to rectify erroneous ideas and to resolve serious ideological differences inside the party. The party's solidarity and unity were thus undermined. Practice shows that doing away with positive ideological struggle inside the party in fact means automatically disarming the party ideologically.

To wage a positive ideological struggle inside the party the important thing is to take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, which is one of the party's three major styles of work. We must restore this fine tradition. Leading party cadres at all levels must set a good example in this respect. In waging a positive ideological struggle we must, as Comrade Mao Zedong constantly exhorted, uphold the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the disease to save the patient" and proceed from the desire for unity to achieve new unity through criticism and struggle. Provided that we are earnest and positive in our attitude, and correct and appropriate in our method, and provided that we can persevere in our efforts, our party will definitely be able to achieve a high degree of ideological unity.

The guideline of the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, and the important speeches of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, provide us with a powerful ideological weapon for summing up the past and pondering the future. They have further pointed out the way for us to uphold the founding principles of our country and take the road of making the country strong and powerful. Provided that we seriously sum up past experience, strengthen party building, closely rally round the party Central Committee, and work hard with one heart and one mind and with an enterprising spirit, no difficulty can keep us from pressing ahead victoriously. We have complete faith in the future of our socialist motherland.

Collection of Revelations Drawn From the Turmoil

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[Article by Chang Qing 1603 7230, Qinghua University]

[Text] Following the world-shocking political and counterrevolutionary turmoil, we should profoundly review and reassess the nation as a whole. Through the review and reassessment, we should gradually eliminate the influences of the bourgeois liberalization ideology, which has, over the years, corrupted the physical health of our nation, particularly the minds of the younger generation; and it should further light a fire of Marxist truth in the hearts of the masses. Under no circumstances should we pay the costs for nothing. We should draw a lesson from the outbreak, spread, and gradual intensification of this disturbance and turmoil, and should learn the truth and some useful things from it. It should be said that if one pays for what one learns, one will learn more profoundly and specifically than what would otherwise be.

I

As we paid less attention over the years to the thinking of class struggle, the cruel reality of class struggle sounded the alarm. We have been forced to re-examine a major political and theoretical issue: Does class struggle still exist in contemporary China? Has Marxist class thinking become outdated?

We have taken a winding course in understanding this issue. As we remember the days of the Cultural Revolution, class struggle was stressed and carried out each day. People intensified the class struggle to such an extent that it simply reached the state of extreme nervousness. It seemed that every person was surrounded by hidden "class enemies," who were undertaking dreadful sabotage so that anyone who acted incautiously would be regarded as a "new move toward class struggle." If his case was taken lightly, he might be taken to the "trial stage"; otherwise, his life was at stake. Consequently, there were a large number of frame-ups and cases of miscarriage of justice, and many innocent people suffered. Recently, under the influences of bourgeois liberalization, some people moved toward the other extreme

in their thinking, and summarized all class struggles as unnatural acts. It seemed that the history of class struggle in China had long been over, and that class struggle should be a museum exhibit. Anyone who mentioned the Marxist thinking of class struggle would be likened to a stubborn and ridiculous surviving adherent of the Qing dynasty. As time went by, class thinking became apathetic in people's minds, and the attitude toward enemies faded away. It reached such a stage that good people, including innocent young students, simply did not know that the life-or-death class struggle was before their very eyes when facing counterparty and countersocialist political rumors, which blotted out the sky and the land, when facing counterrevolutionary howls of "strangling" the party and state leaders and "killing 47 million followers of the communist party," when facing the sinful fire that swallowed hundreds of military vehicles in a ten-li long motorcade down the street, and when facing the burnt and killed bodies of PLA fighters! They turned a blind eye to the class struggle that took place before their very eyes, and to the class enemies who explicitly took up arms. This has indicated that quite a large number of people among us have lost the spiritual arms of Marxism. This is also a very important part of the fact that a very small number of people were able to create the turmoil.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee assessed China's situation of class struggle at the present stage, and embodied its conclusion into the general program of the Charter of the CPC. The CPC Central Committee repeatedly pointed out: After the exploiting class was eliminated as a class, most of the contradictions in China's society do not have the nature of class struggle and class struggle is no longer a major contradiction in our society. However, class struggle will, to a certain extent, continue to exist in our society, and will become intensified under certain conditions. This is not only because the pernicious influences of the exploiting system and the exploiting class in various aspects cannot be completely eliminated within a short period of time, but also because our great cause of reunification has not been fully accomplished. A reason for this is that we are still in a complicated world environment in which influences of capitalism and certain forces that are hostile to our socialist cause will continue to corrode and sabotage China. As China's economics and culture are relatively backward, and its youthful socialist system is yet to be perfected in many areas, it is still impossible for us to completely prevent certain members of society, as well as certain members of our party, from practicing corruption; or to put an end to the emergence of a very small number of exploiting elements and various hostile elements. The recent disturbance and turmoil have shown that the assessment by the CPC Central Committee on China's class struggle at the present stage is correct. We must forcefully uphold the Marxist thinking of class struggle. Of course, we should not return to the old practice of "taking class struggle as the key link." Instead, we must make an apt assessment on the actual

situation of class struggle and think in a sober-minded manner. Under the circumstances where class struggle still exists and may be intensified, it will be a dangerous act if we eliminate the thinking of class struggle from our ideology, and we shall inevitably land ourselves in a passive position in the class struggle.

The recent disturbance and turmoil revealed to us certain new characteristics of the current class struggle that are worth paying attention to: First, the counterreactionary forces in China and abroad took advantage of the mistakes made and difficulties encountered by us. They instigated people who knew nothing about the truth to create counterparty and countersocialist turmoil in a planned, organized, and premeditated manner in order to seize power amidst disturbance, force the communist party to step down, and achieve their evil aims of subverting the socialist republic. Second, the counterreactionary forces in China and abroad supported each other by coordinated actions and close coordination, so that a very small number of stubborn people who upheld the standpoint of bourgeois liberalization and who practiced acts of political conspiracy, openly threw themselves into the embrace of the Western countries, and acted as their planted agents in a strategy of "peaceful evolution." Likewise, some Western countries openly supported the turmoil in China, and became rear bases of turmoil planners and organizers. Third, in order to create disturbance, the counterreactionary forces in China and abroad brewed public opinion on a large scale, used the thinking of bourgeois liberalization to poison the masses, and used confused rumors to instigate the masses. They grasped the means of propaganda by all means and occupied the ideological fronts. Therefore, the realm of ideology became an important battlefield of class struggle. Fourth, one of the prominent features of the current class struggle is that they tried to win over the younger generation, particularly the "young elites" of university students. Therefore, it is not unusual that institutes of higher learning were the fiercest battlefields. Fifth, two contradictions of different natures mixed together, and the good people mixed with the bad ones. A very small number of people attempted to mix with the good people through deception, so that the situation of class struggle was very complicated. Under these circumstances, we had to hold back from taking action against evildoers for fear of involving good people, which was a very difficult job.

We must be sober-minded and realize that those class enemies, including counter-reactionary elements, enemy spies, criminal elements, and other bad elements, who launched a crazy offensive against us did not form, and could not form, an open and complete class. It was as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: We are experiencing "a class struggle in a special form, or, in other words, a special issue left over from class struggle in history under socialist conditions."¹ We should seriously study the actual situation of China's class struggle at the present stage; master the characteristics and pattern of this special form of class struggle; adopt correct policies

and struggle strategies; strictly distinguish the two contradictions that are of a different nature; unite the masses, isolate, disintegrate, and crack down on a handful of class enemies; and make the best use of the situation and guide the struggle to victory.

II

An analysis of the "general atmosphere" leading to the outbreak of this disturbance and turmoil makes us understand that today, the peaceful coexistence of the socialist system and capitalist system in the world is not without class struggle in the international perspective. Certain Western countries are incessantly carrying out the strategy of "peaceful evolution," with the aim of changing the nature of socialist countries, and winning victory without fighting. It is not impossible for there to be a "peaceful evolution" if the proletariat ruling party of a socialist country gives up its leading role and allows the thinking of bourgeois liberalization to spread wide. Under no circumstances should we lose our vigilance in this respect.

Since the socialist system was born in this world, it has stood the tests of many invasions and wars launched by imperialism, has grown and become stronger during wartime, and achieved a great leap from victory in one country to victory in many countries. Following successive failure in the wars of invasion against Korea and Vietnam, imperialism stopped launching new wars of invasion against socialist countries. Instead, it strengthened its infiltration into the politics, ideology, and culture of socialist countries by taking military power as its support. It was not land, but the ideological front of a socialist country, that was first occupied by imperialism. To put this in a way taken by politicians of the West, this was a peaceful war. Facts have shown that compared to wartime in the past, this peaceful environment poses a more serious test for the vitality of the socialist system.

A basic way of carrying out the current "peaceful evolution" by Western countries is an attempt to influence and change the orientation of reforms adopted by socialist countries and to achieve fundamental changes in reforms of the economic and political system in socialist countries, that is, to politically eliminate the leadership of the communist party and replace it with a multiparty system and to economically eliminate the prominent role of public ownership and replace it on a large scale with private ownership. Socialist countries will, therefore, be subject to the rule of international monopoly capital and become part of the so-called capitalist "free world." In order to achieve this aim, they, on the one hand, started working in the ideological realm, made a fanfare of public opinion about "peaceful evolution," and struggled to win supporters. They spread odd rumors in all directions about the advantages of capitalism and disadvantages of socialism, defamed practical socialism as "utopia," and stated with certainty that the experiment of socialism had failed and that capitalism (that is, to become a vassal state of capitalist countries) was the only way out. On the other hand,

through their organizations they expressed great support for establishment of opposition parties in a socialist country and then supported the seizure of power from the proletariat ruling party. Like us, they understood clearly: Whoever has the political power in hand determines everything. The proletariat of socialist countries realize the leadership of their political power through their own pioneers—the communist party. If a communist party loses its power of leadership, it indicates that the door to “peaceful evolution” from socialism to capitalism has been opened.

Today, everyone says that our nation should have a “sense of crisis” and an “understanding of hardship.” We should make this issue contain two aspects: We must improve the vigilance of our nation against the “peaceful evolution” from socialism to capitalism, as well as encourage our nation to do all we can to catch up with others in economic and cultural affairs, and to promptly put an end to the backward situation. These two aspects are interrelated. A country will be unable to show the advantages of socialism over capitalism without undertaking economic and cultural construction. Likewise, it will simply be hopeless for a country to achieve prosperity if it forsakes the socialist system and becomes a vassal state of capitalism.

III

This disturbance and turmoil fully revealed the weakness of our work. Under the circumstances of reforming and opening up to the outside, we must not weaken the ideological and political work; rather, we should further strengthen it. The biggest mistake we made over the past decade was in education. In particular, we took a slackened attitude toward ideological and political work, did not earnestly attach great importance to the propaganda of, and education in Marxism, and did not uphold the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. Many of our ideological fronts were occupied by the thinking of bourgeois liberalization. The disturbance and turmoil was our punishment for taking a slackened attitude toward ideological and political work.

What inspires one's thinking is: When we took a slackened attitude toward ideological and political work, those who made a fanfare of bourgeois liberalization ardently carried out their counterparty and countersocialist “ideological and political work.” They made public, one after another, articles and works opposing the four basic principles, made speeches here and there to confuse people, turned socialist journals and newspapers into their tools for propagating bourgeois liberalization, and turned the forums of the socialist university into “free forums” for opposing Marxism. They regarded the truth achieved by the Chinese people through decades of hard struggle under the leadership of the CPC as an “outdated old concept,” and took the old tune of “freedom,” “democracy,” and “human rights” played by the bourgeoisie in the Western world as the so-called “new thinking.” Like revolutionary thinking, which would lead to revolutionary acts, counterrevolutionary

thinking also led to counterrevolutionary ones. It was because of the propagation and spread of bourgeois liberalization thinking that this political disturbance and counterrevolutionary turmoil, which is the most serious one since the founding of the state, took place.

Some young students felt puzzled: As they joined the student strikes in good faith, why did they move toward the opposite side? Why did the development of the student strikes become a political disturbance and counterrevolutionary turmoil? It seemed that history had played games with man. “When one wants to go into this room, he will end up entering another.” In fact, the most important reason that young students were deceived was because they were influenced by the thinking of bourgeois liberalization and had lost their Marxist sense of direction amid the political upheaval. They could not analyze the class nature of various kinds of thinking in society, so they were unable to distinguish good from evil or right from wrong. It was just as Lenin said: “When people cannot bring to light this or that class nature of moral, religious, political, and social remarks, statements, and promises, they would, no matter whether in the past or in the future, become a foolish sacrifice subject to political deception by others and by themselves.”² This is a painful truth.

Of course, we cannot implement a closed-door policy toward thinking and culture under the circumstances of reforming and opening up. It is inevitable that young students will have contacts with various kinds of Western thinking. The key to the issue rests with guidance. We should let them make a correct conclusion from a comparison between Marxist thinking and capitalist thinking, let them know how to use the Marxist viewpoint about class to bring to light the essence of various kinds of thinking in society. Marx spent all his life in a capitalist society, and was surrounded by all kinds of bourgeois thinking in all directions. Why was it that he was not affected by that thinking and struggled against erroneous thinking from start to finish without making any compromise? An important reason was that he understood thoroughly the false science of the bourgeoisie. Having similar experiences, he was once a follower of such things. After his own comparison, studies, and criticism, he discarded such things and his thinking entered a new realm. Marxism is the truth, which can stand comparison. We must guide students to make comparisons. The more comparisons one makes, the closer one will be to the truth. What we are afraid of is that they will not make comparisons, will blindly follow the fashion, will pursue the so-called “new thinking,” and reject Marxism out of their minds. Therefore, we must strive to strengthen ideological and theoretical education in Marxism and make students gradually master the scientific world outlook and the scientific way of thinking.

Facts have shown that principles which must be “imbued” with Marxism have not become outdated. This is because it was impossible for people in our society to spontaneously form their ideology about

socialism because of domestic and overseas factors as well as historical and practical ones. If they do not receive education in socialism, it is inevitable that they will continue to be subject to the influence and support of the bourgeois liberalization system. Therefore, "any contempt of and deviation from the socialist ideological system indicates the strengthening of the bourgeois ideological system."³ Today, when the thinking of bourgeois liberalization has brought us serious consequences, we must earnestly strengthen the work of imbuing the masses, particularly the youth, with the socialist ideological system, so as to eradicate the influences of bourgeois liberalization. We must help the youth clearly understand the historical mission entrusted to them by the times, as well as the required conditions for fulfilling this historical mission, and guide them to study Marxism hard and to draw a clear line of demarcation against bourgeois liberalization. The work of education is one that has an important bearing on the following generations, to which we must pay attention. If we fail to cultivate a younger generation of Marxists, who shall we depend on to uphold the socialist cause?

IV

To a certain extent, this disturbance also revealed the relationship between the party and the masses. The broad masses, including many young students, supported the leadership of the communist party. They would disagree with the counterreactionary political proposal of urging the communist party to step down. When they loudly chanted the slogan of "anticorruption," it indicated both their discontentment about corruption and their basic faith in the party. They cherished a belief: They believed that the party would listen to the cry of the people and would take resolute measures to eliminate corruption, because corruption conflicted with the goals of the communist party. The masses took this correctly: "It is just because of the communist party that we feel intolerable about corruption in the party!" Some other people lost their faith in the party. This was not only because of corruption in the party, but because they were disappointed about the ineffective punishment measures against corruption adopted by the party, which was more important. All of the above-mentioned circumstances should be separated from the crime of subverting the socialist republic by a very small number of people who took "anticorruption" as an excuse to overthrow the leadership of the communist party.

This disturbance let us understand the extent of perils brought about by corruption in the party. To the party, corruption is a mighty destructive force. Our party has a glorious tradition, that is, it shares weal, woe, and destiny with the people. One reason why we could overcome numerous difficulties and could win over our powerful enemies under the extremely harsh conditions in the past was because we gained support from the masses. In the past, our party was not a ruling party. Furthermore, it was branded as an illegal one. But the masses disregarded their personal safety and gave us support. Today, the party has become a ruling party, but

why did the masses act in a different manner and keep a distance from the party? Why were so many people involved in this disturbance and turmoil? A major reason was that the masses were discontented about corruption among a few party members, cadres, and particularly leading cadres. If we do not seriously punish some corrupt party members, our party will lose its attraction. This disturbance has made us profoundly understand that the issue of party style has really reached a critical moment which has a great bearing on the existence of the ruling party. People will have faith in the party if our party members and cadres wholeheartedly work for the interests of the people. Otherwise, the people will lose their faith in the party if the party members and cadres use their power for personal gain.

In the struggle between Marxism and capitalist bourgeois liberalization, the existence of corruption in the party has seriously undermined the reputation of Marxism, weakened the fighting capacity of Marxism, and added fuel to the development of bourgeois liberalization. When the masses feel discontented about corruption among a few party members and cadres, our political and ideological workers, as well as personnel in charge of theoretical education, will find it very difficult to forcefully propagate Marxism, the spirit of Lei Feng, the struggle against hardship, and the communist ideals. The people will sharply criticize: "What you say is not what you do, and your remarks do not correspond to your acts!" On the contrary, those who preach bourgeois liberalization will take this opportunity to make a fanfare about corruption in the party, will exaggerate, defame, and attack the communist party, and will exploit the relations between the masses and the party. Therefore, we must combine the struggle against bourgeois liberalization with that against corruption in the party. So long as we have done well in these struggles, our party will win faith and support from the masses and will not land us in an unfavorable position.

Many profound revelations can be drawn from this political disturbance. We should use them to educate the party members, cadres and the masses, so as to let everyone draw lessons from this incident and turn a bad event into many good ones.

Engels pointed out: "No great historical catastrophes go without the compensation of advancement in history."⁴ Will this disturbance be remembered as a new starting point in China's socialist reforms and construction toward further prosperity? It certainly will be, provided that we work hard and strive for it!

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, p 155.
2. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol 2, p 446.
3. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol 1, p 256.
4. *Collected Letters of Marx and Engels*, p 515.

The Nature, Origin, and Lessons of the Turmoil and Rebellion

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[Article by Hua Ming 5478 2494]

[Text] A Serious Political Struggle Involving the Life and Death of the Party and the State

How should we view the fiery and bloody storm that involved so many people and such a mixed chorus of slogans, continuing for nearly 2 months, that developed from turmoil into a counterrevolutionary rebellion? When Comrade Deng Xiaoping met with major commanders from the martial law enforcement troops, he made an important speech in which, with his high sense of political awareness as a proletarian revolutionary, he incisively pointed out that "the crux of the current incident is basically the confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization." He noted that the purpose of the tiny handful of proponents of bourgeois liberalization in plotting the turmoil and rebellion was to "overthrow the CPC, topple the socialist system, and establish a bourgeois republic dependent entirely on the West." This judgment highlights the crux of the problem and clearly points out the nature of the incident as a serious political struggle involving the life and death of the party and the state. From the "Report on Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counterrevolutionary Rebellion," delivered by Comrade Chen Xitong at an NPC [National People's Congress] Standing Committee session, we can clearly see the complexity, grim nature, and shocking realities of the struggle. All you good and decent people, the sinister plots enshrouded behind layers of miasma have been laid bare. Now is the time to come to your senses.

The grim facts tell us that the recent turmoil was premeditated by a tiny handful of people both inside and outside the party who clung stubbornly to their position of bourgeois liberalization and engaged in political conspiracy. In order to stir up political turmoil in China, overthrow the leadership of the CPC, and subvert the socialist people's republic, they colluded with political forces in the West and made ideological, public opinion, and organizational preparations for years. The student unrest was exploited by turmoil organizers from the very beginning. They had at first planned a large-scale move on the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement. The sudden death of Comrade Hu Yaobang merely gave them an excuse to move earlier than planned. To them, "mourning" was but a pretext. The student unrest bore the imprint of political turmoil from the outset. Although their slogans had seen many changes in the course of the outbreak and development of the disturbance, these were but tactical changes. Their strategic objective remained the same throughout and that was to fundamentally destroy "the founding principles of our country," namely the four cardinal principles. They made their political program very clear in "democratic

salons" and various meetings very early on, and in big- and small-character posters, placards, slogans, leaflets, and elegiac couplets at the beginning of the student unrest. What they wanted was to subvert the "autocratic rule" of the CPC, "adopt the multiparty system," "invite the Kuomintang back to the mainland and establish two-party politics," and to "sound the death knell of public ownership at an early date." This was the "tomorrow" they craved. In a state of anxiety after their conspiracy was laid bare, that is, after the publication of the April 26 RENMIN RIBAO editorial, they found spiritual support and encouragement in Comrade Zhao Ziyang's openly splittist activities within the party. The situation turned from bad to worse and the turmoil was pushed to a new height. Faced with the further aggravation of the situation, the party Central Committee, the State Council, and the Central Military Commission resolutely decided on 20 May to declare martial law in parts of Beijing. The announcement of martial law made them aware that their doom was imminent and prompted them to make their last desperate move. They attempted to fan the flames of rebellion by instigating more people to take to the streets and by mobilizing on a large scale beating, smashing, looting, burning, and killing in order to fish in troubled waters, overthrow the government, and seize power amid chaos. At this critical juncture the party Central Committee, State Council, and the Central Military Commission had no alternative but to order the martial law troops to force through the barricades to quell this counterrevolutionary rebellion, which directly endangered the destiny of our motherland and our socialist cause.

The above constitutes the internal law and logic of the outbreak and development of the incident. It is quite obvious that the struggle we waged from mid-April to early June against the handful of evil forces stubbornly clinging to bourgeois liberalization and plotting the student unrest, turmoil, and eventual counterrevolutionary rebellion was a life-and-death one involving the future and destiny of our party and state. If their plot had succeeded, the fruits of reform over the last decade would have gone down the drain and the socialist New China, paid for by the blood of millions, would also have been lost.

In recent years, confused by bourgeois liberalization, some people did think that socialism had nothing to recommend it and that capitalism was the only way out. What would the picture be like if China were indeed "turned" into a capitalist country? There is precious little doubt that even if those who stubbornly engaged in bourgeois liberalization had "triumphed" they could not have established a Western-style bourgeois republic that could keep pace with countries like the United States and Britain. At best they could only establish a republic dependent on international monopoly capital, that is, a colony or semi-colony. This is not only an historical inevitability, but also an objective fact of the contemporary world. In the past, aggression by the Western powers reduced China to a colony and semi-colony for more

than a century. Could we expect them to "turn" China into an independent and prosperous rival with the ability to compete with them in the capitalist world? No. What they are interested in is plundering and exploiting China. In fact, the goal envisaged by those who stubbornly engaged in bourgeois liberalization for the Chinese people was a colony or semi-colony. Liu Xiaobo [0491 2556 3134] minced no words about this. He said: "Hong Kong has become what it is today after it had been a colony for 100 years. China being such a huge country will naturally have to be a colony for 300 years..." So, "a colony for 300 years" was the road and future Liu Xiaobo had charted for New China. Further, Mr and Mrs Fang Lizhi, who all along flaunted the banner of "independence," had the nerve to seek asylum in the U.S. Embassy in China after the turmoil and rebellion, in which they had actively participated and perpetrated, ended in failure. Does not this self-exposure clearly point to their political inclination had their plot succeeded? Without the leadership of the communist party and without the socialist system China would not have been able to stand among the world of nations as truly independent. This fact has been fully borne out by the course of history in old and New China. New China has never taken its cue from the United States or from any other country for that matter. Rather, it has always maintained its independence and kept the initiative in its own hands. This is the fundamental reason why we have won the respect of the whole world and played such a decisive role in international affairs. It can thus be seen that the "confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization" is embodied in and runs through the life-and-death struggle of the Chinese nation. This is a major issue of principle that requires our sober understanding.

The International Climate and China's Own Climate

Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out: "This storm was bound to happen sooner or later. As determined by the international climate and China's own climate, it was bound to happen and was independent of man's will." From the high plane of the Marxist concept of history, Comrade Deng Xiaoping revealed to us the inevitability of this shocking turmoil and rebellion.

China is not isolated and is a member of the international community. China's major problems, particularly political problems, always have something to do with the international situation and climate. This has always been the case. Today, with communications and telecommunications technology so highly developed, this relationship has become all the more conspicuous and evident. As far as the current turmoil and rebellion are concerned, the so-called "international climate" mainly refers to the fact that the international bourgeoisie, headed by the United States, has never given up its strategy of subverting the state power of socialist countries under the leadership of communist parties. On 5 August 1949, just before the founding of the PRC, the U.S. State Department published a white paper entitled *U.S. Relations With China*. In this white paper, the

United States had no alternative but to concede the failure and bankruptcy of its policies toward China and also disclosed its vain attempt to stage a comeback. In his letter to President Truman regarding publication of the white paper, Secretary of State Acheson wrote: "China's age-old civilization and democratic individualism will triumph again one day and China will finally be able to overthrow the foreign system. It is my view that we should encourage all developments in China that can further the above-mentioned objective at this stage and in the future." This was the general policy toward New China formulated by the U.S. Government on the eve of the founding of New China. Despite the fact U.S. policy toward China has seen many changes over the last 4 decades, one thing has remained unchanged, and that is that the U.S. Government, regardless of which administration, has never given up its attempt to change the socialist nature of China. It is always trying by all and every means to encourage and support activities taking place in China conducive to this end.

In the 1950's, after policies of resorting to force had proved unsuccessful, U.S. Secretary of State Dulles clearly put forward the policy of "peaceful evolution," pinning hopes of dissolving the socialist system on the liberal forces within socialism itself. On 28 June 1957 he noted in his discussion on "Our Policy Toward Chinese Communism": "In China, as in other places, the enforced unanimity that characterizes the rule of international communism is a passing rather than permanent phenomenon. We believe that it is our responsibility, and the responsibility of our allies and the Chinese people, to do everything possible to remove this phenomenon." His successor and numerous other American bourgeois politicians have all pursued this policy and engaged in activities aimed at subverting the communist party and undermining the socialist system. Under the slogans of "democracy," "freedom," and "human rights," they mobilized and organized political dissidents and roped in and divided the unsteady elements within the communist party. They fantasized that evolution within the communist party would lead to or force changes in the nature of the socialist state regime. In recent years they saw in our temporary difficulties and reform and open policy a golden opportunity for them to push their "peaceful evolution." In 1981, the U.S. administration had this to say in a document: "This (referring to China's open-door policy) presents an excellent opportunity, one which has not been presented since 1949, for the country to truly come into contact with Western ideological influences, values, and concepts.... Efforts must be made to seize all available opportunities and single out those areas of promise that are most likely to generate long-term results and produce the greatest response as key areas of exchange." They energetically supported political dissidents like Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598], and Liu Bingyan, and backed the "China Democratic League" established by Wang Bingzhang [3769 3521 4545], Hu Ping [5170 1627], and others in the United States. Wang Bingzhang spoke the truth when he said that "the United States has

now become the headquarters for Chinese dissidents." The United States also gave all-out support to anticommunist forces in Taiwan and Hong Kong and tried by all and every means to bring pressure to bear on our country through the International Human Rights Organization and Amnesty International. What is particularly worthy of attention is that in the United States some people regarded the responsible persons of the "three institutes and one association" (namely, the Economic Structural Reform Institute, the Development Institute of the China Rural Development Research Center under the State Council, the Institute of International Studies of the China International Trust and Investment Corporation, and the Beijing Association of Young Economists) as the think-tank of a certain Chinese leader and kept working on these people. What was it they were after? Their intention was laid bare in the recent turmoil and rebellion.

During the recent turmoil and rebellion the United States has, through many avenues—from government organs to the mass media (such as the Voice of America), from government officials to journalists and even tourists—done its best to hatch plots and spread rumors, going so far as to blatantly and directly interfere in China's internal affairs. All this shows clearly and unmistakably that what the United States (and some other Western countries) wanted was to force us to abandon the socialist road and come within their orbit. This was the "international climate" that Comrade Deng Xiaoping said had caused the recent turmoil and rebellion. No doubt international relations have relaxed somewhat and confrontation between East and West is gradually giving way to dialogue. This situation is what we have hoped and fought for because it is advantageous to our socialist construction. We do not want to miss any chance or opportunity of turning this situation to good account. However, we must also soberly realize that the relaxation of international tension does not necessarily mean that all is peaceful and well. The struggle between the two systems, that is, between capitalism and socialism, remains acute and complicated. We must not lower our guard on this point.

"China's own climate" mainly refers to the fact that we have not been resolute in upholding the four cardinal principles and consistent in our efforts to oppose bourgeois liberalization, with the result that bourgeois liberalization was able to spread unchecked. After the downfall of the gang of four a bourgeois liberal trend of thought emerged. Its proponents vigorously preached the idea that "socialism is inferior to capitalism," blindly worshipped the "democracy" and "freedom" of Western bourgeois countries, negated the leadership of the communist party, vilified the dictatorship of the proletariat, and attacked socialism. When this trend first emerged in early 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made his stand very clear in an important speech entitled "Uphold the Four Cardinal Principles." In this speech he pointed out sharply that upholding the four cardinal principles was "the basic prerequisite for achieving modernization"

and that to undermine any of the four cardinal principles was "to undermine the whole cause of socialism, the whole cause of modernization." After this, he clearly put forward the tasks of opposing spiritual pollution and bourgeois liberalization. However, the policies of upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization have not been implemented in real earnest these past years. Not only has there been very little actual work done, but very little has been said on the subject. In 1983, the campaign against spiritual pollution died a premature death after a few dozen days. In 1987, the campaign against bourgeois liberalization did not last even 6 months before it ran out of steam. Under the circumstances, all kinds of irregular and absurd phenomena appeared. Anti-Marxist and antisocialist views and arguments filled the pages of our newspapers and books, while articles and writings upholding Marxism and preaching socialism were often denied publication. Western ideas of all hues and descriptions were seen as fashionable by many people and those who criticized and denounced Marxism and socialism were often lauded as the vanguards of ideological emancipation and "elite of the times." On the other hand, many of those who upheld Marxism and publicized socialism were seen as ossified and conservative and ridiculed as "people condemned by history." Why was it that "the yellow bells were destroyed and abandoned and the earthen pot came to sound like thunder"? The reason was that, in our party, in fact within our party leadership, someone was conniving, encouraging, and supporting bourgeois liberalization. For instance, Comrade Zhao Ziyang, our former party general secretary, did all he could to protect, shield, and promote to important positions people who stubbornly clung to bourgeois liberalization. On the other hand, he regarded those who upheld the four cardinal principles and opposed bourgeois liberalization as "thorns in the side," and was eager to see them removed. It is not surprising that, as the representative figure of intraparty supporters of the turmoil, he had unshirkable responsibility for the formation and development of the recent turmoil. It is also not surprising that he engaged in activities aimed at splitting the party. There are profound ideological reasons for this. In the recent turmoil and rebellion Fang Lizhi, Yan Jiaqi, Bao Zunxin [0545 6690 0207], Liu Xiaobo, and their like, who stubbornly clung to their position of bourgeois liberalization and engaged in conspiracies, plotted behind the scenes and controlled things from offstage. They brazenly declared that they were "not afraid of being evil backstage managers" and even took pride in what they did. An important reason for their behavior was that they felt they had their backstage boss and protector within the party.

In short, there were people inside and outside our country and party who disliked our socialist system and the leadership of the communist party. This was the international climate and China's own climate. These two climates, which have so much in common, naturally found their way together. All those who stubbornly clung to their position of bourgeois liberalization saw that they

had a social foundation constituted by dregs of all descriptions in China, that they had the backing of reactionary forces bent on subverting our country abroad, and that they had partners and high-level supporters within the party. Thus, they dared and were able to exploit particular opportunities or incidents to stir up trouble. This is a situation over which we must never lower our guard. Further, we cannot but see the fact that bourgeois liberalization championed by the tiny handful of people painting a rosy picture of capitalism, denouncing the four cardinal principles, advocating absolute "freedom" and "democracy," and preaching national nihilism, had blurred people's vision, shaken their ideals and convictions, distorted their minds, changed their values and concepts, battered their sense of national pride and confidence, reversed the relations between giving and taking, and weakened people's spirit to build an enterprise through arduous effort. This was also the soil, condition, and atmosphere that enabled the tiny handful of people who persevered in bourgeois liberalization and the political schemers to achieve their treacherous purpose. Of course these were the evil consequences of their premeditation. We must fully reckon the pressing and arduous nature of efforts to do away with these evil consequences.

Profound Experience and Bitter Lessons

After quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically warned the whole party: "This incident has impelled us to think over the future and the past sober-mindedly." This instruction was very meaningful indeed.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "Class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction after the exploiters have been eliminated as classes. However, owing to certain domestic and international conditions, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and many even grow acute under certain conditions. It is necessary to oppose both the view that the scope of class struggle must be enlarged and the view that it has died out." This serious political struggle between us and Comrade Zhao Ziyang and the recent antiparty and antisocialist turmoil and rebellion fully bear out the correctness of this statement. While it is wrong to "take class struggle as the key link," forgetting class struggle completely will also cost us our cause. Under new historical conditions, "the confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization" is the salient manifestation of the class struggle within certain limits. Thus, we must resolutely carry out the struggle to uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization throughout the entire course of socialist modernization. We must not just go through the motions as we did in the past or abandon the struggle halfway through. The reform and open policy is the fundamental policy of our country and is our road to becoming a strong and powerful country.

We must steadfastly adhere to this policy as we did in the past. On no account must we return to the beaten track of closing the country to international intercourse. However, in the course of reform and opening the country to the outside world we must not lose our bearings. Rather, we must maintain a firm stand and a sober head. Comrade Jiang Zemin recently pointed out: "The reform and open policy put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and upheld by us is a reform and open policy that upholds the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the leadership of the communist party, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought." "An important mistake by Comrade Zhao Ziyang was that he separated the reform and open policy from the four cardinal principles and set them against each other. In doing this he actually betrayed and renounced the four cardinal principles and encouraged and abetted the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization. This led to the recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion and brought great disaster to the party and the country. We are awakened by this negative deed. We must forever bear in mind this profound lesson paid for in blood." In the course of reform and opening the country to the outside world we must strengthen party building. In this regard, the most important task at present is to resolutely combat corruption and win the trust and support of the people. The saying that "he who has the support of the people rules" is as true now as in the past, in China as in other countries. The ideas of "watered down party style" and "corruption being unavoidable" in the course of development of the commodity economy, put forward by Comrade Zhao Ziyang, had a serious effect in dissipating, disintegrating, and corrupting the party. The party is the force at the core of leading our cause forward. Comrade Chen Yun once said: "The question of the work style of the ruling party has a bearing on the life and death of the party." All party members, particularly leading cadres at various levels, should take this statement as their motto. The hope of the Chinese nation lies in "the restoration of the party's work style and prestige."

The laws of materialist dialectics reveal to us that bad things can turn into good things. The recent soul-stirring struggle that we have just experienced no doubt will, and indeed has, become a new historical turning point in the development of our party. We are convinced that under the leadership of the party Central Committee established at the 4th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and headed by Comrade Jiang Zemin, our party and state will be able to advance in the direction charted by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, overcome difficulties and obstacles, and achieve the four modernizations.

A Talk on the Question of Political Education Among the Young

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[Article by Che Mingzhou 6508 6900 3166, professor and head of Nankai University Political Department]

[Text] The initial stage of socialism in our country is an era of continuous changes and reforms in economic and

political life. In this kind of social environment the question of political education among the young becomes an outstanding one which must be given a high degree of attention and earnestly solved. Adopting all effective measures to help the young form a relatively stable socialist political stand, attitude, beliefs, and political feelings to make their political demands and acts harmonize with socialism's basic political standards constitute the principal tasks in fostering ideological and political education among the young.

Carrying out political education among the younger generation is a task that has been given exceedingly important attention by the various countries of the world. During the more than 40 years since the end of World War II, many new changes have occurred in both socialist and capitalist countries in the various sectors of politics, economics, ideology, and culture. These changes have been directly or indirectly manifested in the changes in man, particularly in the current generation of youth. Their life ideals, concepts of political value, and behavior models have all manifested new special features or tendencies. In any society the young are always a social force rich in vitality. The political stature of the youth of a country has deep-going effects on the development of the country and society. People have frequently taken youth as the future and hope of the country. This undoubtedly is correct and to truly understand this point is, naturally, very important. Because all countries are experiencing deep-going changes under the conditions of peace, reform, and opening to the outside world, they all highly regard the study of this question of carrying out political education among the younger generation. The question of the political education of the younger generation is an important international problem.

After World War II, in a certain context the development strategies of the world's principal capitalist countries have all been readjusted. Before the war their development strategy comprised mainly of expanding their armed strength and using this to carve up and carve up anew the colonies and commodity markets on a worldwide basis. They tried in this way to solve their domestic and external contradictions. The result was the eruption of World War II. The war fully revealed the reactionary character and corrupt nature of imperialism and drew violent opposition from people throughout the world. Capitalism subsequently suffered a defeat. After the war, capitalist countries could not but readjust their development strategies. That is, they took development of science, technology, and the productive forces as the core to solve the contradictions and conflicts met by capitalism in the course of development. As a result, in the principal capitalist countries after the 1950's, the so-called "five big revolutions," namely in science and technology, industry, agriculture, consumption, and employment, erupted. The world peace situation was also greatly developed. The development in social economy and in the situation of world peace caused continuous changes in the lifestyle and ideology of the younger generation.

Through the various antigovernment movements that erupted in the 1960's in capitalist countries, youths unsuited to the new social changes gradually acquired a new attitude and civilization in conducting oneself in society. At present, certain scholars in the West believe that the general special feature of the ideological changes in modern Western youth is the so-called "crisis of belief." This is manifested in the following:

1. The great majority of youths have lost their enthusiasm for religion. Politics, economics, ideology, and culture in Western society are intimately related to the Christian faith. Hence, for youths to lose their religious enthusiasm is looked upon as a change of a great magnitude. The evolutionary character of a capitalist society and the many stances in customs and life have challenged the stable and unified character of religious belief. This generation highly regards this life and this world and no longer heavily values the future life and future world presented by religion. They are no longer willing to go to church on fixed days to read and listen to tasteless Bible teachings. They believe that the Bible contains nothing but certain antiquated and historical stories or commandments, far removed from actual life and devoid of any actual value. The mechanical religious rites and activities have lost their attraction for the vast masses of youths.

2. The great majority of youths believe that the objective of man's life is not the realization of God's wishes, not ordinary people's ideas, but the manifestation of man's self, and that life is the full realization of the concrete individual's hidden potential. Youths believe in pragmatism and utilitarianism. They regard themselves highly, but not ideals; they highly regard the individual's activities and like to participate in the fellowship activities of their own groups, unconcerned about social and public enterprises; they are cold to politics and are not concerned with the nation's political objectives and activities. Thus, in the minds of youths, there exists a weak concept of society and the state and the sense of individual responsibility to society and to the state is blurred or even lacking.

As a result of the disintegration of the traditional social structure and lifestyle, the vast lashing forces of the commodity market, and the dissemination of public ideas and practices penetrating every corner, the continuity in lifestyle for the younger generation has been disrupted. At the same time, due to the increasing complexity of society, the traditional leadership model of the state and the wisdom and ability of the leaders have found difficulty in handling such a complex society. For this reason the state and society have frequently manifested the phenomenon of "loss of control." Society's loss of control and its unstable state of affairs have affected the stability of the youths' value concept of culture and politics. Youths have become lacking in guidance, ever-changing people, and people without any definite faith.

Under such conditions, in what way can we make youths into lofty personages in the political sphere who are concerned with the future of society and mankind? Western ideologists believe that the key lies in education, particularly in school education. The year 1986 was the 350th anniversary of the establishment of Harvard University in the United States. The university president invited the U.S. secretary of education to the university to give a lecture. The secretary severely attacked Harvard in his speech. He complained that the authorities in U.S. institutions of higher learning visited him principally for money and expenses but entirely neglected the purpose of education and the quality of the courses in the university curricula. The professors did research work for the sake of fame and benefits and would not spend their time on the students themselves. The market has wielded too great an influence on the institutions of learning. In classes, ancient and modern cultural and classical writings, which have an important educational significance on the lives of the young, were no longer used as texts, whereas mainly professional training was stressed and the youths' education on life's purpose was neglected. This made the students become concerned only with obtaining their degree or diploma and finding a good job and not in the acquisition of lofty morals, life's ideals, and a sense of responsibility to the human race. He said that the morals and wisdom of Harvard University students had become problems. It may be said that the scathing remarks hit the right spot in U.S. higher education. The purpose of his criticism was to stress that institutions of learning must carry out socialized education and reflect the social demands of the United States.

Our country's social system is different from that of Western countries. We also differ from the West in social development and cultural background. The problem facing us of political education among the young is different in many respects from that in the West, although in certain respects similarities do exist. During the period of the Great Cultural Revolution, our country's social and political development experienced deformed changes and traditional political education was a victim of attacks from many sides. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee our country entered a new era of reform, opening to the outside world, economic development, and carrying out modernization construction. A comparison of the three periods of before, during, and after the Cultural Revolution reveals three great social appearances of enormous disparity. Such great changes in social realities, particularly the reform, opening to the outside world, and development of the commodity economy, have caused a series of changes in lifestyle and concepts of value on the part of the young. The special features of instability in political value concepts and political behavior by this generation is frequently manifested as conflict, wavering, vibrations, and suddenly blowing hot and cold. In their analysis of China's political and economic progress in the new era, certain Western political and economic analysts have paid great attention to analyzing

the complex conditions that China will meet in ideology. These conditions are all directly or indirectly related to the development of youth. These complex conditions are manifested as follows:

- China has stressed taking economic construction as the center. By so doing people may possibly highly regard actual problems, fail to pay high regard to theories and doctrines, become disinterested in the ideology and political principles of the state, and the status of Marxism, the party's political line, and socialist morals in society may be lowered. This will affect the formation of a unified political belief or faith among the young.
- The central work in China's economic and political reform is democratization, that is, changing the overly centralized state control of the economy and politics. Thus, the prestigious character of the state, party, and government may be weakened, and liberalism, individualism, and anarchism may develop. Social life will have an increasing number of types and forms and, on the other hand, society will lose control of certain aspects. This kind of multiform society, which manifests contradictions of many kinds, definitely makes it difficult for the formation of united and stable socio-political ideas among the young.
- In China, democracy in ideas and in politics is becoming increasingly liberated, but liberty and democracy must take as their basis the highly socialized state of the citizens. They demand that citizens possess a high degree of social public virtue and a high degree of sense of responsibility to the state. How to coordinate these two sides is also a problem that will be met in the course of political education of the young.
- In the course of China's reform and opening to the outside world, the modern Western way of life, values, ideas, and culture exercise a rather great attraction for the young. However, China's cultural environment may not be consistent with all Western things. The Western way of life, ideas, and culture may produce harmful effects on the formation of the socialist political stand, attitude, beliefs, and feelings of China's youths.

All these conditions will increase the complex nature and degree of difficulty of political education among the young. This is a new challenge to China and makes the youth problem an exceedingly important one in China's social development. If the political education problem among the young can be properly solved it will greatly facilitate China's social development. Hence, we should put the political education problem among the youth under systematic research and attach a high degree of strategic significance to it.

As we study the problem, it is necessary to give high regard to the study of China's actual conditions, because these are the foundation of political education among the country's youth. At the same time, it is also necessary

to study the problem of the influence of modern Western political ideas on the youth of our country.

Since the mid-19th century, Western political ideas, whether from the capitalist or proletarian class, have exercised great influence on China. In our study of the influences of Western political ideas it is necessary to suitably differentiate between the influences of traditional and modern Western political ideas, paying more attention to the influences of modern Western political ideas. Naturally, in today's China the influences of these ideas are frequently locked together.

Traditional Western political ideas refer mainly to the Western political ideas before the 20th century, or before the 1950's. During that period, Western political ideas consisted principally of "political individualism." That is, taking the value of the individual as the center to interpret liberty, equality, democracy, legislation, division of powers, elections, and so forth, and opposing state control over the individual as well as state intervention in the economic activities of the private individual. These ideas were originally employed to oppose the feudal class system and autocratic despotism. Today, in the political phenomena of our society, remnants of feudalism may still be found and people have also employed traditional Western "political individualism" to oppose feudalist things. But if we use "traditional individualism" to treat all the political phenomena in China it may play a passive role on the political tendency of youth. A concrete analysis should be made regarding these two sides.

Modern Western political ideas have a close relationship with traditional Western political ideas, but there are changes in form and content:

The idea of economy and politics being united. Modern Western political theorists believe that, due to developments in modern economics, politics and economics have increasingly infiltrated each other. Politics have become politics of an economic nature, while economics have become economics of a political nature. "The old order of separation of economics and politics has gone forever." Because today science, technology, production, and economics hold the key to the solution of all social problems, a political society has gradually become a citizens' society, political rule has become economic rule, and the state's political functions have become economic and production functions, engaged increasingly in the management of economic activities and in coordination of social development and organization of public welfare facilities. Since the economic functions of the state and government have been strengthened, they must bear responsibility for the state's economic development. This produces a new political value concept. People now stress viewing politics from the standpoint of economics and from the conditions of the state's economic development, society's standard of living, quality of life, and other economic factors like the distribution of social material interests and so forth, in order to gauge

the character, capability, and level of the state, government, and political party. The results of the state's economic development have become major political problems and the economic conditions of the state have become the state's political standard. Under the influence of such ideology, people frequently treat the economic conditions of a country as a manifestation of the country's political nature and consider the degree of the country's economic development as indicative of its political level.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, dialectic relations exist between politics and economics and the nature or essence of politics should be analyzed from two sides. Apart from analyzing the relationship between politics and economics it is still necessary to analyze the actual nature of politics. The economic and political standards of politics are not one and the same thing. Viewing only the economic form of politics to refute the true innate quality of politics is one-sided and cannot correctly ascertain the differences in innate quality between different categories or types of politics. It can thus be seen that deepening the study of the relations between politics and economics is of extreme importance in establishing a correct political value concept among the youth of China and in forming their socialist political stand, attitudes, beliefs, feelings, and so forth.

Looking at politics from the quality of government officials. Modern Western political thinkers have used viewpoints of humanism in analyzing the political phenomena. They believe that, in the final analysis, a system manifests the man-to-man behavior relations and that the political system plays its role through man and takes man as the object. Hence, when people talk about the state and the government, in reality they are referring to the government's employees and officials. The quality, caliber, and capability of the state and government lie in the quality, caliber, and capability of their officials. They believe that, on the one hand, between the state and the citizens the relationship of being officials or citizens, and to rule or to be ruled, must be determined by elections. At the same time, they shift the main point in political analysis from government organs to government officials and from emphasis on the functions and reform of government organs to the quality and caliber of government officials. The quality of officials thus becomes the important criterion in evaluation of the government. They believe that the legal system is important, but that execution of the legal system depends on man and on the officials implementing the legal system. Based on this principle of political evaluation, the influence of state and government officials on the nation's social and political order becomes increasingly greater and the question of the quality of officials becomes an important factor affecting the whole situation. Under the influence of these kinds of ideas, people's demands of the officials become more stern and rigid. Misbehavior and corruption on the part of officials can grow into a state political crisis. The stature, air, behavior, and performance of

officials have also become important factors affecting the political attitudes of the youth.

Supervision by public opinion is the basic condition for political stability in modern times. The political and democratic views of modern Western people, aside from stressing the multiparty system, universal suffrage, equal opportunity for all, the inviolability of the rights of the individual, and today's high development of intelligence and technology, are increasingly important to the freedom of public opinion and public opinion's supervisory role over government. They believe that political and democratic freedom is, first of all, the democratic freedom of public opinion—that newspapers and magazines, television, and broadcasting are all markets for expression of the people's views, and that the public has the right to express any views. The criterion of the social and government system is not whether it is a one-party or multiparty system, but whether the political party and government are subject to the public's supervision and whether the laws can guarantee that government and officials are subject to various kinds of criticism from the public. This way, officials are encircled by public opinion and their stature becomes the stature of public opinion. The public has the right to understand and know and also the right to freedom of public opinion. Public opinion is a form of the public giving forth their political energy and, hence, a thriving public opinion is a manifestation of the state's and society's political stability. The function of public opinion is the expression of views, not the compulsion of government to accept these views. On the part of the government, it should, after listening to these views, evaluate and select the good ones for adoption, but not by following blindly the opinions of the public and breaking the stable character of its policies. Thus, thriving public opinion becomes the fundamental condition for stable social and political development. The emphasis on public opinion is a rather prevalent political thought in present Western countries and commands extensive influence on the younger generation.

The political ideas or concepts in the West at present all bear the stamp of a capitalist society, but they also possess the special features of the era. In a worldwide scope they are frequently linked together with the common social and political problems that various countries of the world are facing in the course of their social development. They generate influences of a prevalent character. In the course of our country's reform, opening up to the outside world, and the realization of modernization, they can also play a role in varying forms, making the problems of political education among the youth of China more complex.

Any society must resort to various forms to carve out or build up its own citizens to make the citizens form a stable political attitude and belief in their own society, and to form a political culture with a character of continuity. Hence, the viewpoints that capitalist countries are not concerned with political education of the young are not correct. The formation and development

of the political outlook of youth require stretched conditions and capitalist countries heavily stress the importance of creating such conditions. For example, they are extremely concerned with stable political and economic development of society, attach great importance to the correctness and stability of the political output of policies and national policies, and continuously strengthen the various national organizations' functions of political socialization of the citizens. Furthermore, they start man's political socialization work with children's education, beginning with the parents' exemplary role and with good family education and particularly stressing the prominent position of school education in political ideological education among the young. It should be said that capitalist countries attend to political education among the younger generation very earnestly, carefully, and in detail, and that their study of the problems of political education among the young is very penetrating. All this deserves our careful attention.

Our socialist countries should be performing an even better job. This is because we have a good tradition, rich experiences, and also a relatively specialized working corps, while the party and government have always paid special attention to this work and, all in all, we have a good foundation for doing a good job of political education of the young. However, in the course of our modernization program, following our country's social development and due to the influences of various kinds of foreign ideas and culture on this younger generation, the content and form of ideological and political education for our youth have necessarily seen changes. We should, under the guidance of Marxism, absorb the new fruits of such academic sectors as political science, education, sociology, cultural science, anthropology, behavioral science, propagation science, and public relations studies, and make an intensive study of the content, path, and methods of carrying out political education among the young. We should help the young to establish a Marxist political stand and political belief and to consciously make contributions to our socialist modernization and construction. This is a type of fundamental construction in the initial stage of socialism.

Students in institutions of higher learning are relatively sensitive to social and political phenomena. They have the conditions to come into contact with the various kinds and types of thought and culture in the world and possess relatively more knowledge and a relatively high cultural level. But, because they have more book knowledge than knowledge through actual social practice, they frequently exhibit more political idealism than political pragmatism. Hence, in political education among the young students in institutions of higher learning, we may adopt the method of having the students participate directly in the study of problems under the tutor's guidance. That is, the students, under the tutor's guidance, study the actual problems facing the state. As to important problems with which the people are universally concerned, we should encourage the students to discuss, contend with each other, and plan their solution

so that, through personally participating in discussion activities, they may become insiders, not outsiders, in the country's social development and may become actual participants and not mere onlookers in the state's social development. This not only can improve their knowledge and train and steel their capability, but also can help them acquire more actual understanding of the strategy, guidelines, path, and policy of the country's development and gain a more practical understanding of the state's strong points and difficulties in its development. Through the students' active participation in the lively discussion activities of actual problems it is possible to develop in the students a high sense of responsibility to the state and society and to teach them the democratic way of life. All this is very important in making young students form and develop a relatively stable sociopolitical concept and a correct mode of political behavior.

To organize the students in a planned manner to participate in the studies of the country's actual problems, guidance by teachers is essential. This will require that the teachers give high regard to the study of China's actual problems. In the institutions of higher learning it is necessary to gradually build a high-caliber teaching contingent that can guide the students in the study of actual problems, so that through research and study activities students and society can be more intimately related and society can understand the students and vice versa. Thus, a kind of objective guarantee can be obtained for the enhancement of the students' political consciousness.

In actual political life, government officials' introductory role among the youth is of great importance. Government officials should utilize every opportunity to get out of their office buildings and into places where youths are concentrated and to the institutions of higher learning to make friends with the youths, to become persons understood and trusted by them, and make their stature constitute the government's stature and thereby effectively make the youths form a sense of trust in the government. For example, during government officials' periodic or unscheduled visits to institutions of higher learning to make political reports and reports on political affairs, the answers to questions of concern made by the young students form a sort of lively political education, beneficial in arousing the students' political attitude, beliefs, feelings, political demands, and political behavior to develop in the proper direction. This has been an effective measure of political education of the young that we have carried out for a long time. Under the new conditions we should all the more firmly insist on it and improve it.

Today, the crux of the problem in ideological and political education of the young is political education. These days, institutions of higher learning have organized activities on moral, beauty, and psychological education. This has enhanced to a certain extent the cultural quality of the college students. However, facts

not only show that these activities cannot replace political education among college students, but also that we must insist on firmly grasping political education as the center of all ideological and political education. The central problem in ideological and political education is to help the students to definitely set up the political stand, attitude, and ideas of the proletariat. Only when this problem is solved can college students become the successors to our socialist enterprise and make contributions to the socialist modernization program. Facts teach us that we should, through deep and detailed investigation and study, discover a set of definitely effective measures in the new era to truly solve the problem of political education among the young. This is a basic strategic task in our party and state development. It should be said that political education among the young is a sort of systematic engineering project. The state's and society's stable economic and political development provide the foundation for this engineering project. If only all the structures, organizations, and units possessing the functions in political education can join their efforts to form a benign political environment and continuously open up many rich political educational activities, it will be possible to enable the young to gradually attain maturity in politics and thereby create a generation of youths with a high degree of political consciousness. This will be a sure guarantee for the victorious development of our socialist modernization.

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[Article by Liang Heng 2733 5899; not translated]

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[Article by Anshan Iron and Steel Company; not translated]

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[Article by Wang Xiufang 3769 4423 5364; not translated]

Theoretical and Practical Problems Concerning Socialist Property Rights Which Merit Attention

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[Article by Wei Zhiyong 7614 1807 0516 of the Capital Steel Research and Development Corporation]

[Text] Is it true that, due to the confusion in property rights, the system of ownership by the whole people and the contract system have reached the end of the road and fallen into a dilemma? This is an important theoretical and practical problem that urgently needs clarification. For this reason, the economics department of the Qiushi Magazine Publishing House and the Capital Steel Research and Development Corporation have invited over 20 specialists to hold discussions on the theoretical and practical problems concerning socialist property rights.

I. To Smooth Out the Relations of Property Rights We Must Lay Stress on Developing the Socialist Commodity Economy

Everybody believes that there are many defects in the pattern of property rights under the traditional structure of planned economy. They are prominently manifested in that in government departments the government is not separated from enterprise functions, so there is an overconcentration of power; the power of enterprises serving as economic entities is too small and is not stable enough. This causes enterprises to find it difficult to independently develop economic activities and makes for a lack of the motive power mechanism and restriction by risks. Hence, there must be a reform. The direction of the reform is not to go the road of privatization but is, rather, a firm insistence, on the precondition of the socialist public ownership system occupying the leadership position, on the creation of a new property right system that can display the strong points of the public ownership system and also can abide by the demands of the laws of commodity economy.

Those viewpoints are erroneous that hold that only under the system of private ownership can commodity economy be developed and only through privatization can property right be demarcated. The socialist public ownership system and, particularly, the system of ownership by the whole people have enormously strong and superior points. They eliminate exploitation, make the workers masters of the house, coordinate the economic activities of the whole society and rationally allocate and distribute resources; they can correctly handle relations between the state, the enterprise, and the individual; and they develop production in accordance with the demands of commodity economy, and so on and so forth. Since the reform, we have, by means of the contract system, hiring and leasing, developing various kinds of economy constituencies and lateral economic combinations, initially formed a pattern for the coexistence of various kinds of property right structures. Between the enterprises under the system of ownership

by the whole people and between the enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people and other economic constituents, they have, to a definite degree and in the capacity of commodity producers, engaged in commodity transactions. Thus, the belief that the public ownership system cannot work in combination with commodity economy lacks actual basis. According to a survey of the history of the development of the system of enterprise rights, it is found that only in a petty commodity era, when the enterprise belongs to the individual's property and when the private ownership system of the means of production and private labor are combined, can the enterprise and ownership rights adopt a unified form and the property right be demarcated according to the nature of the ownership of the property. In today's socialized large-scale production, the enterprise's properties cannot be solely owned by an individual, and the motive power pushing the enterprise's operations has shifted from only the "enterprise owner" to an interest colony of many constituents including the owner, entrepreneur, and workers. There is thus a decentralization or separation of enterprise property rights, and the formation of the property rights system is shifted more to the consideration of coordinating common interests. The viewpoint holding that property rights can be demarcated only under the private ownership system does not conform with the reality of this evolution of the property right system. The public ownership system basically eliminates the standing in opposition to each other between the property owner and the worker. It provides a good foundation for the formation of a property rights system based on the unanimity of interests between the three parties of the state, the enterprise, and the staff members and workers, and in conformity with the demands of economic development and public interest. Only by holding tightly to the line of the combination of benefit restriction with responsibility power and interest is it possible to establish a property rights system of a socialist commodity economy that possesses Chinese characteristics.

The majority of comrades believe that the current problem does not arise from the ownership system itself but from the form of the realization of the ownership system. In the past, we considered the system of ownership by the whole people as one with the system of ownership by the state and that state ownership, ipso facto, implied that the state wholly grasped the whole power. This is a historical misinterpretation. Certain comrades pointed out: The system of ownership by the whole people refers to common ownership by the workers who have joined together. Each and every one of those taking part in joint labor possesses a dual status, that is, that of a post worker and that of a joint owner. As the former, the post of each and every worker is different and thus has different responsibilities, power, and interest; as the latter, everybody is the same and enjoys the definite and concrete power and interest of the joint owner. However, at no time can the individual worker solely bear the burden of the responsibility, power, and interest of the joint owners. He must correspondingly

entrust a portion to the various categories of organizations (such as the state, enterprise, and so forth) and, as a result, multilevel entrusting of the property right comes into existence. The state and the enterprise are by no means the end and sole owner. They are only the agents exercising a portion of the property right as entrusted by the whole people according to legal provisions. Treating the state as the sole owner and powerholder of properties of the whole people in actual fact downgrades the position, power, and interest of the workers in their capacity as joint owners and causes the overcentralization of power in government departments. It gives the impression that the power and benefit belonging to the enterprise and workers have been delegated or endowed by the state. At present, we have no intention of abolishing the whole-people ownership system except to wish that the system of ownership by the whole people returns to its original appearance, carries out separation of the two powers according to the demands of the development of the socialist commodity economy, returns power to the enterprise, and reforms the irrational system of separation of responsibility and power. Only by so doing can the power and interest of the workers in their capacity as joint owners be better realized.

The majority of comrades believe that the solution to the problem of property right is not confined merely to the demarcation of property right and the clear earmarking of the boundaries of property right, but that, more important, we must carry out reform of coordination of the macroeconomic structure revolving around the theme of invigorating enterprises. Speaking from the major principle, it is reform of the old planning, financial, foreign trade, and currency structures and return to the enterprise of investment power, foreign trade power, and even the power of transfer of the assets, particularly to large enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people. The major function of the state is the macroeconomic adjustment and control of economic operations and, vis-a-vis the enterprises, the state retains a portion of the benefit right and property restriction right. By means of legal statutes, we should fix the responsibility, power, and interest relations of the power and interest principal bodies and truly open up the enterprises. Only by so doing can enterprises be invigorated and the economy be relieved of its dilemma and progress forward briskly.

A minority of comrades believe that carrying out reform of the operation form within the framework of the original system of ownership can only be a failure. Result: Expansion of state power and interest, enterprises lacking the restriction of assets, and, before the end ownership right is reached, the legal person's ownership right cannot be fully realized. Still other comrades believe that the foundation of property right is the ownership status of the property right. The legal person's property right demands that the enterprise possess independent properties. That an enterprise has no independent property and is called a legal person cannot be

legally conceived. Hence, resort must be made to denationalizing state-owned assets to form a new property right system. Only by so doing can the enterprises be invigorated.

II. The Contract System Helps To Smooth Out the Property Right in Enterprises Under the System of Ownership by the Whole People

The majority of comrades believe that in the future, which envisages the mutual infiltration of various kinds of economies and the coexistence of many operation forms, the stock and share system can serve as a form clearly earmarking an enterprise's property right, but that it is not necessarily the only direction of development for large and medium-sized enterprises owned by the whole people. At present, conditions are still not yet mature for forcefully pushing the stock and share system. We must observe a wait-and-see policy and must not do any forceful pushing.

The consensus does not favor making application of the stock and share system to state-owned large and medium-sized enterprises as the target pattern in enterprise reform. Marx talked about the share and stock system as a measure "converting the parts to become the whole," whereas at present certain comrades advocate using the stock and share system as a measure "to convert the whole into parts." If not done properly this may result in converting publicly owned into privately owned, aggravate the injustice in social distribution, and lead to social disorder.

Seen from the actual conditions, it would be better to put in order the property right relations of enterprises under the system of ownership by the whole people on the basis of the contract system. The basic demand of the contract system is that, under the precondition of the system of ownership by the whole people remaining unchanged and by means of the interest mechanism, the power and interest relations between the three parties of the state, the enterprise, and the staff members and workers should be smoothed out and that by means of a set of systems we make the responsibility, power, and interest of the various power and interest main bodies be clearly fixed, link responsibility to power and interest, and enable enterprises to become independent commodity producers who have to bear the pressure, but have the necessary motive power and can self-develop and self-restrain. All this is compatible with the original intent and target of smoothing out the property right. The contract system has prepared a good mechanism for enterprise behavior: "all-staff contracting" and "level-by-level contracting and guarantee," conform to the demand of the workers acting as masters of the house, are beneficial to the affirmation of responsibility, power, and interest, and rectify the state of no one taking responsibility in enterprises owned by the whole people. Both progressive increases according to a fixed ratio in the enterprises' upward delivery of profits and growth of production development funds larger than that of welfare, award, and encouragement funds in the profit

retentions of enterprises can ensure an increase in state revenue collection and also guarantee the stamina of enterprises, both of which can enable the enterprise to avoid turning to short-term acts. Facts have proved that enterprises that have enforced relatively standardized contract systems, such as Capital Steel Plant, Second Motor Vehicles Plant, and Beijing's "Bahu" machine-building industry, have all adhered to standardized practices and have made sustained increases in their enterprise benefits and upward delivery of taxes and profits to the state. At the same time, the contract system is accredited with such special features as possessing a large containing capacity, simple and convenient operational procedure, and suitability to different levels of management. All this has given the contract system much stronger points than other measures of smoothing out the problem of property right. Precisely because of enforcement of the contract system, the property right of enterprises owned by the whole people can gradually become clarified. If only we can take a step further and expand the intensity of autonomous right of the enterprises and, as demanded by the contract system, macro-economically establish the economic responsibility system, which puts responsibility, power, and interest each in its right place, and make the various government departments fulfill their responsibilities and operate according to law, then it would be entirely possible to accomplish the target of smoothing out the problem of property right of enterprises owned by the whole people.

Some comrades are of the opinion that a good property right system, aside from being capable of encouraging effective competition, must also possess the character of inviolability and the ability to circulate and that only this can realize the rational allocation of resources. The contract system is unable to solve all these problems. At present, if government wants to infringe on the power of the enterprise it can readily do so and the enterprises themselves have no power to independently dispose of assets. All this reflects the partial and limited character of the contract system and illustrates that the contract system cannot basically solve the problems.

Some comrades made certain rebuttals to this, pointing out that the current acts infringing on enterprise rights originated from the government's reform of the macro-economic functions not having been forceful enough and from the legal system not being perfect or complete, resulting in the power-infringing acts of the offender not being restricted by law. If indeed government truly transforms the old functions of controlling the economy, improves the legal system, and acts according to law, then this problem can be readily solved. As for the circulation and movement of property rights, this does not conflict with the contract system. After an enterprise's contracting, in order to ensure the upward delivery of profits and value-increment of the assets, it will naturally go after the effects of the allocation of resources and thereby lead to division among the enterprises. Strong enterprises will naturally generate a demand for expansion, whereas weak enterprises will

want to find a way out to seek some strong backing. This produces the innate force for ameliorating the allocation of the resources. If the contract system can clarify the interests of the contracting-out party and the contracting party, then conditions will be provided for the transfer of property rights. If only the interests of the contracting-out party can be maintained, an enterprise can entirely realize the reorganization of the resources through transfer of contracting and amalgamation (including both compensatory and noncompensatory). The instance in 1988 of the Capital Steel Plant amalgamating 13 enterprises of the war industry illustrates that, under the conditions of the contract system, an enterprise can bring about the ameliorated allocation of resources. Besides, small transaction fees are involved in this type of transfer of property rights, which precisely denotes the strong points of the socialist whole-people ownership system.

III. Starting From Actual Practices To Create a Socialist Property Right System and Theories of Property Rights

Reviewing the successful experiences and lessons gained since the reform, it is found that it is exceedingly important to stress adherence to the Marxist theory of knowledge and methodology in studying problems. At present, we must specially oppose the trend in economic work of theory departing from reality. We must on the one hand oppose the trend of doctrinarism in Marxism and also, on the other hand, the method of dogmatism in taking over Western theories. Now, some people are taking over en masse Western theories on property right to "guide" China's practices in reform, in the belief that if only we can transplant certain Western property right forms such as the stock and share system in China, then we can simultaneously complete the tasks of reform in China. This is pure fantasy. China has its Chinese national conditions. First, it must firmly insist on socialism; and second, the unbalanced nature of economic development must be noted. This will require that China's reform must go its own road. China's property right system and property right theory are no exception. Only by starting from reality and combining theory and practice, can we establish a property right system that is truly beneficial to our country's economic development and produce a property right theory with Chinese characteristics.

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[Article by Hong Po 1347 0980; not translated]

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[Article by Wu Huiying 0702 1979 4481; not translated]

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[Article by Liu Baiyu 0492 4101 5038; not translated]

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