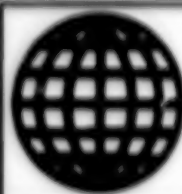


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6 FEBRUARY 1990



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **China**

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***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***  
***NO 23, 1 DECEMBER 1989***

**China**  
**QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]**  
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**Bring Current Inflation Under Control by Summing Up Historical Experiences and Lessons**

HK3012041185 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 89, pp 12-15

[Interview by unnamed QIUSHI reporter with unnamed responsible person of the State Council Development Research Center]

[Text] One of the most important tasks at present is to check the problem of inflation. This is perhaps a hot topic of interest to the masses. In order to thoroughly carry out the decision made in the 5th Plenary Session, which is to further improve the economic environment, to rectify the economic order, and to deepen the reform, we should learn not only from foreign experiences in improving the situation of inflation; the more effective way to check the problem of inflation is to learn from our own experiences and lessons in handling the inflation problem. For this reason, this reporter has interviewed a responsible person from the Development Research Center of the State Council.

Reporter: The 5th Plenary Session has closed, and the principle of continuing to improve the economic environment, to rectify the economic order and to deepen the reform was put forward in the meeting. Now, would you please summarize China's experiences in solving the problem of inflation since the establishment of the PRC and talk about how to thoroughly carry out the "decision" made by the central authorities.

Answer: In the 40 years since the establishment of the PRC, China has experienced price fluctuations several times, and there were four times where the fluctuation was very great.

The first great fluctuation in prices occurred in the period from April 1949 to March 1950. The national wholesale price index in February 1950 was double that of April 1949. The increase in the price of some commodities was even higher. For instance, the price of rice in Shanghai increased by 21 times. This great fluctuation in price was caused mainly by the awful situation left by the Kuomintang [KMT] government: A depressed

economy with financial difficulties and serious budget deficits, which had to be basically covered by issuing money.

In view of the above-mentioned situation, the central authorities adopted four great measures:

1. To centralize financial income and expenditure, to centralize the distribution of goods and materials, and to centralize the control on cash management.
2. To tighten money supply, to adjust the exchange rate, to enhance management of silver and gold, to launch the principal-preserving saving program with payment adjusted in accordance with the price index of commodities, and to issue people's victory government bonds with payment adjusted in accordance with the price index of commodities.
3. To increase output and to practice economy, and to cut expenditures.
4. To adjust price of some commodities and to sell goods and materials, which were mainly grains, cotton yarn and cloth, coal, oil, and so on, in the market at a suitable time and under guidance in order to check speculative activities and to stabilize commodity prices.

Since the centralized leadership took coordinated actions in various aspects, success was obtained in one stroke and commodity prices dropped. Assuming the general commodity price index in March 1950 to be 100 percent, it dropped to 75.1 percent in April 1950, 69.2 percent in May, and 68.3 percent in June. Commodity prices had decreased by about 30 percent in three months. After that, commodity prices in China were basically stable.

Reporter: What was the situation when the second price fluctuation occurred?

Answer: The second fluctuation in price occurred in the period from 1961 to 1962. This was caused mainly by the serious mistake made in the Great Leap Forward. In the period from 1958 to 1960, the number of staff and workers increased to some 50 million, and the aggregate amount of wages increased by some 10 billion yuan. Purchasing power thus increased rapidly, while agricultural output decreased. This situation resulted in a short supply of goods and materials in the market and a drastic increase in commodity prices. When comparing the retail price index in 1962 with that of 1957, which covered planned commodity price, the high price set for special commodities, and the county fair trading price, the retail price index increased by 25.8 percent; and when comparing 1961 with 1960, the retail price index increased by 16.1 percent.

At that time, the central authorities formulated the eight-character policy—the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising standards," had put forward the principle of grasping the production of food, cloth, and daily necessities, and had adhered to the

development priority of agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry, and adopted four great measures:

1. To vigorously cut basic construction investment. The investment in publicly owned basic construction was reduced from 38.8 billion yuan in 1960 to 12.7 billion yuan in 1961, and to 7.1 billion yuan in 1962. Moreover, a large number of investment projects had been cut.

2. To mobilize a number of 19.4 million of staff and workers recruited from rural areas to go back to and serve their home villages.

3. To launch the policy of selling specialized commodities at a high price, that is, to set a higher price for candies, snacks, and food served in restaurants, under the precondition of ensuring rationed supply of goods and stabilized commodity price. The implementation of this policy withdrew 5 billion yuan of money from circulation.

4. To implement the policy of "selling commodities at a high price if they are bought at a high price, and selling commodities at a low price if they are bought at a low price," that is, a policy of exchanging goods at equivalent commodity prices.

With the devoted and coordinated efforts of the whole party and the people in the whole country, commodity prices began to decrease in 1963. When comparing 1965 with 1962, the retail consumption price index decreased by 12 percent in 1965, the price of low-priced commodities decreased by 4.8 percent, and the price of the means of agricultural production decreased by 12.9 percent.

Reporter: The Great Leap Forward led to great fluctuations in commodity price. Has the "Foreign Leap Forward" also brought about price fluctuations?

Answer: Yes. The third great fluctuation in commodity price occurred in the period from 1979 to 1980. This was mainly the "sequelae" caused by the "Foreign Leap Forward." In the 10 years of disaster, huge debts accumulated, production development was slow, and the price system was not rational. These had to be improved. However, the step taken to improve these aspects was too large. In 1979, the purchase price of agricultural products was raised, and the general price level increased by 22.1 percent. The wages of some staff and workers were adjusted, and the aggregate amount of wages increased by 20 billion yuan. It was planned to subsidize such an increase in price and wages by cutting investment in basic construction. However, the result was that the general price level and wages did not decrease, but increased. The degree of expansion of consumer purchasing power had exceeded the planned degree, and a rapid increase in financial deficits resulted. In 1979, the amount of financial deficits was 17 billion yuan, and 12.7 billion yuan in 1980. In these 2 years, an amount of 13.4 billion yuan was issued, and the amount of money in circulation increased from 21.2 billion yuan in 1978

to 34.6 billion yuan in 1980. When comparing the retail price index in 1980 with that of 1978, it had increased 11 percent.

In view of this situation, the central authorities adopted further readjustment and reform measures:

1. To reform the agricultural production relationship, to comprehensively implement the output-related system of contracted household responsibility, and to develop the rural economy by developing a diversified economy.

2. To cut the scale of basic construction. The investment in whole-people basic construction was cut from 55.8 billion yuan in 1980 to 44.3 billion yuan in 1981. This alleviated the contradiction between the supply and demand of the means of production.

3. To control credits in a discriminating way by the state and to issue short- and medium-term loans to help units in light industry and the textile industry to buy equipment. Effective supply of daily consumption goods was thus increased.

4. To adjust the price of polyester fiber, tobacco, and spirits, and to increase the supply of these products. This improved the production and market situations.

With the efforts made in these aspects, commodity prices began to fall. The rate of increase in the retail price index fell from 6 percent in 1980 to 2.4 percent in 1981. In the first half of 1982, a buyers' market was formed in the market of some commodities.

Reporter: How about the situation of the fourth fluctuation in price?

Answer: The fourth fluctuation in price began to emerge in the fourth quarter of 1987. In 1988, panic buying occurred four times, and a trend of withdrawing money from saving accounts in banks emerged in August. In that year, the retail price index increased by 18.5 percent. This was the highest percentage since 1952, higher by 2.4 percent than the 16.1 percent in 1961. This fluctuation in price was mainly caused by the overheated economy, the expansion of investment and consumption, the increase in financial deficits, and the runaway of financial control in the several years before 1988. In 1988, 67.9 billion yuan of money was issued.

Since the policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening the reform was put forward at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the principle of tightening financial and monetary control, improving the economic environment, rectifying the circulation order, cutting investment scale, and increasing effective supply has been implemented. The degree of increase in commodity price began to fall in April 1989. By September 1989, the increase in commodity prices had decreased from 27 percent in the beginning of the year to 11.4 percent.

In view of the overall situation, and due to the fact that some measures for improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order have not been really implemented, the expected aggregate control target has not been fulfilled. Moreover, the task of structural readjustment is still very arduous, the situation where the price of the means of production and some consumption goods is still too high has not been improved, and prices have not been brought down to the level where they should be. It is hoped that the increase in price of new commodities to be covered by the retail price index in 1989 can be controlled at a level below 10 percent. However, due to the fact that people were cocky in 1988 when some results were achieved, the increase in the retail price index in 1989 may be as high as 20 percent. Therefore, great efforts still must be made to achieve the target put forward by the CPC and the State Council, which is to continue to stabilize commodity prices and to gradually bring down the increase in the retail price index to a level below 10 percent.

Reporter: History is a mirror of reality. What should we learn from the four fluctuations in commodity prices?

Answer: In order to avoid and check the problem of inflation, we should pay attention to four questions. They are lessons as well as experiences.

First, the guiding ideology of getting rid of the practice of achieving quick results should be upheld. This is the ideological foundation for avoiding inflation. In view of the factors leading to the four instances of the emergence of the inflation problem discussed above, and except for the first instance, which was a disaster brought on by the political and economic bankruptcy of the KMT government, the other three instances were caused by the mistakes of deviating from the national situation and strength and of being eager to achieve quick economic results. The fourth period of inflation was caused not only by being eager to achieve economic development, but also by being eager to achieve reform results. These have intensified the inflation problem. The policy of further improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening the reform should be resolutely and thoroughly implemented, and the tendency to deviate from the national situation and national strength and be eager to achieve quick results should be thoroughly eliminated. This tendency occurs frequently, and it has made us suffer before. We always want to achieve the target of socialism. However, this is only a nice hope. History has proved that people who have not observed objective economic laws will certainly be punished by economic laws. From now on, we should definitely follow objective economic laws, should uphold the principle of achieving long-term, sustained, stable, and coordinated economic development. This way is better than having the following cycle: An overheated economy—policies to improve the situation—an overheated economy reemerges—policies to improve the situation.

Second, when the problem of inflation emerges, common understanding of the problem should be reached as early as possible and effective measures should be adopted in time. History has proved that early understanding of the problem will enable people to take active steps; late understanding of the problem will bring late actions, and no understanding of the problem will result in no action. The reason the first emergence of the great fluctuation in price was successfully stopped was that common understanding of the problem was reached. The second fluctuation in price began to emerge in the winter of 1958. The central authorities had convened a series of meetings to put right the deviations. However, due to the fact that common understanding of the problem had not been reached, the problem was solved for two years. The third readjustment was put forward in the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee in the winter of 1978. Due to the same reason that common understanding of the problem had not been reached, the problem had not been solved for two years. The fourth fluctuation in price began to emerge in the fourth quarter of 1984. Although the principle of tightening financial and monetary control has been put forward, and the policy of a "soft landing" [ruan zhao lu 6516 4192 7120] has been implemented, control policies have been implemented only in a relaxed way. Consequently, problems have been accumulated.

Third, measures for bringing inflation under control should be adopted in an appropriate way and these policies should aim at solving the inflation problem. Expect for the first fluctuation in commodity prices, there were three common factors leading to the other three fluctuations: 1) The scale of construction was too large and investment was blindly expanded. 2) Rapid increase in financial deficits. 3) The issuance of money exceeded that required for normal economic development. These can be summarized into one reason: Aggregate demand exceeded aggregate supply. Therefore, in order to bring inflation under control, aggregate demand should first be put under control. In order to maintain sustained, steady, and coordinated development of the national economy, the phenomenon of excessive distribution of national income should be avoided and the scale of investment and consumption should be brought under control. Moreover, a balance should be maintained among supply of money, issuance of credits and loans, supply of materials and goods, and supply of foreign exchange, and a general balance between social aggregate demand and social aggregate supply should be achieved.

Fourth, we should be aware of setbacks that will emerge in the work of improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order. The emergence of setbacks will often bring a greater degree of difficulty. There was no setback in the work of improving the situation of the first and third price fluctuations. Therefore, commodity price was quickly stabilized in these two cases. In 1959, when the second price fluctuation occurred, the campaign against rash advance was launched, and then the



campaign against rightist tendencies was started in the Lushan meeting. The result was accumulation of contradictions. The fourth price fluctuation began to emerge in the fourth quarter of 1984. In 1985, policies were slightly tightened. However, it was feared that tight policies would cause a decrease in production. As a result, tight policies had not been implemented. In the autumn of 1987, tight policies had been implemented only for a while. Consequently, due to the reaction to the tight policies, a larger degree of expansion resulted, and the degree of difficulty in improving the situation thus increased.

Reporter: At present, some people hold the view that tight policies have achieved the targets, and policies should thus be relaxed. What do you think?

Answer: After a year's hard work, the policy of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order has achieved results in the first stage. However, the tasks of this policy have not been completed. The scale of investment in fixed assets has not been cut to the level desired; no specific result has been obtained in making the industrial structure rational; the problems of large financial deficits and excessive stock of money have not been solved; the rapid expansion of consumption funds has not been brought under control; and commodity prices are still high, although the increase in commodity prices has been small. In this situation, if the principle of implementing tight monetary and financial policies is renounced, the mistake that will lead to setbacks will be made again. Moreover, the economy will be overheated, success will not be obtained, and harmful periodic fluctuations in the economy will result. Therefore, in order to further improve the economic environment and rectify the economic order the principle of implementing tight financial and monetary policies should be upheld. Of course, it does not mean that these policies should be implemented in a unified way without giving consideration to special situations and circumstances. In view of the current situation, the economic structure has not improved over the past year. Due to the sharp decrease in income earned from the tourist industry, the drastic decrease in social group consumption, and diminished artificial purchasing power, market demand has obviously decreased. Moreover, because the enterprises have difficulty in obtaining sufficient funds, production has decreased, and commercial sales have become weak. Therefore, under the condition where the principle of implementing tight financial and monetary policies is being upheld in a continuous way and within the planned scope, new contradictions can be eliminated and the old structure can also be improved through the implementation of rational policies that are in favor of making more funds available and policy readjustment. Moreover, the implementation of the policy of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order can also be further promoted.

Reporter: Would you please give your specific ideas on how to improve the current situation where market sales are small and production is decreasing.

Answer: First, some of the funds fixed in this year's plan can be taken to ease the linked problem of funds shortage. In the realm of producing the means of production, such funds should be used mainly to support basic industries, medium-sized and large key enterprises, and key construction projects that should be continued to increase effective supply. In the realm of the production of consumption goods, such funds should be used mainly, through circulation channels, to expand the purchase scope of industrial products, which are for daily use, and agricultural and sideline products, and to purchase good-quality goods of these categories. In view of the present situation that the reserve stock of some important products is still small, we can specially allot some funds to expand the state's extraordinary commercial reserve, and to give play to the reservoir role of commerce.

Second, during this winter and the coming spring, a large amount of industrial products should be organized in rural areas and this activity should match the purchase plan of agricultural and sideline products. When the Tianjin "store on wheels" [da peng che shang dian 1129 4659 6508 0794 1648] moved to rural areas, all the commodities were sold. This has proved that there are strong purchasing desires and purchasing power in rural areas, and commerce should not be limited to urban areas. For commodities with a too-high price, and for some commodities whose quality is not very good, the price should be lowered. In this way, money can be withdrawn from circulation and the problem of slow sales can also be solved.

Third, great efforts should be made to continue to handle well the work of reducing the scale of investment in fixed assets. The success achieved in previous readjustments was obtained mainly by reducing investment scale. Under the current program of improving the economic environment, the annual investment scale cannot be greatly reduced. However, we should at least maintain a moderate investment scale during the next three years. At present and throughout the whole country, projects that are being carried out involve an investment of 130 million yuan. In fact, these projects require a total of at least 170 million yuan to complete. At present, although total investment has been reduced by several tens of million yuan, the problem has not been solved. The investment scale of current running projects should be further cut.

Fourth, conditions for opening up to the outside world should be further improved. At present, the "hard environment" in areas that are open to the outside world, and that for the development of the three kinds of partially or wholly foreign-owned enterprises are satisfactory. However, the "soft environment" is not so satisfactory. We can further improve the environment for the opening up to the outside world for the areas

which have been opened up to the outside world and have a better foundation by simplifying the procedures involved and by relaxing the controls on these areas. In addition, the state or the areas that have been opened up to the outside world can invite international tender for some large-scale projects. Apart from these, the supply of domestic inputs demanded by foreign investors should be handled in an appropriate way, and a good market environment for these inputs should be developed.

Fifth, opportunities to implement feasible reform measures should be grasped. At present, many economic problems are related to structure, and these problems should be solved by deepening reform. When success is obtained in the first stage of readjustment, the implementation of the policy of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order should be continued. On the other hand, opportunities should be caught in time, and the market situation should be used in implementing some measures that could not be implemented in the past, for instance, price reform and price readjustment. The nominal price of basic products is too low, while their real price is very high. In this situation, producers and users of these products and the state cannot get any benefit; the benefit has been taken by some middlemen. We should better take the initiative to implement reform to eliminate such exploitation and to enable producers, users, and the state to obtain the benefits. line 73-5: Please check this sentence for meaning.

**Adhering to the Principle of Combining the Planned Economy and Regulation by Market Mechanism—Studying Comrade Jiang Zemin's Speech at the Meeting To Mark the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC**

*HK2312024889 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 89 pp 16-21*

[Article by Shang Xiang (0794 5046)]

[Text] The combination of the planned economy with regulation by the market mechanism is the only correct principle that agrees with the situation of the productive forces at the present stage in our country and the ownership situation where diverse economic components coexist but where public ownership is the main form. In his "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC" Comrade Jiang Zemin provided a deep-going exposition on this principle. Below, I will detail what I have learned through studying this speech.

**1. An Anarchic Situation in Social Production Is Not in Accord With the Objective Demands of Socialized Large-Scale Production**

Socialized large-scale production developed under capitalist conditions. Adam Smith, who lived in the early period of capitalism, represented the interests of the newlyemerging bourgeoisie and, rejecting the fetters of feudalism, he demanded that there be free exploitation

of employed laborers and free exchange of commodities. He proposed reliance on "the invisible hand," that is on the law of value and spontaneous regulation by the market to promote social development. He opposed state intervention in the economy, saying that "guiding how private persons should use their capital" and state intervention and "control are necessarily, almost without exception, useless or harmful."<sup>1</sup> At that time, capitalism was at the stage of transition from workshop handicraft industry to mechanized large-scale industry and basic contradictions had not yet been fully developed. The adoption of a laissez-faire policy was in line with the demands of the development of capitalism.

After Adam Smith's death and the rapid development of the industrial revolution, the social division of labor further expanded in capitalist society and the links between producers became tighter. The various types of demand formed a natural system, the production of the various types of products formed a natural system, and the links between production and demand formed a natural system. In brief, overall socioeconomic activities formed a whole. That is to say, socialization had occurred. Socialized production required, within the scope of the whole society and in accordance with certain proportions, the distribution of social labor, including both live labor and materialized labor. However, capitalist possession of the means of production meant that any supervision or regulation of the course of social production would violate property rights, rights to freedom, and decisionmaking rights of private individual capitalists. Thus, overall capitalist production could only be carried out in an anarchic situation and the distribution of labor between the various sectors of production could only be blindly controlled through the market. Because of the dislocation between overall social production and demand, it was inevitable that when the market expanded there would be overheated production and subsequent flooding of the market by commodities. When the market shrank, production would also shrink. Capitalist production thereby continually follows a cyclical process of stages, summed up by Marx as "average vigor, prosperity, surplus production crisis, and stagnation." When the crisis occurs, the "surplus" commodities pile up in warehouses, hundreds of thousands of factories close down, the majority of the workers lose their jobs, commerce languishes, and trade is bankrupted. In a word, the productive forces of society suffer major damage.

In this stage of capitalist development, the role of the market is fully brought into play and it actually becomes an omnipotent god. The various independent, dispersed commodity producers are forced by it to work all-out and to constantly vie with each other. This certainly provides external pressure on the producers and provides a form of mutual linkage, so that social production and social demand move continually from imbalance to temporary balance. However, at the same time, it results in social wealth being subject to major damage. It also gives rise to serious polarization, which means that the

contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie becomes increasingly intense. Thus, if we say that spontaneous regulation by the market plays an important role in social progress, it does so only at a high price.

Traditional vulgar economics for a long time provided various sorts of explanations for the anarchic situation of production, economic crises, and such chronic problems of capitalism. It spared no effort in suggesting that it was only necessary to adopt a laissez-faire policy and the capitalist economy would have balanced development. However, the increasingly acute contradictions forced the bourgeoisie to continually strengthen state intervention in the economy. In particular, after the explosion of the great crisis that shocked the capitalist world in 1929-33, this process swiftly accelerated. Along with this, spokesmen of the bourgeoisie proposed that state intervention should be strengthened. This was the so-called "Keynesian revolution." Keynes tried to prove that, in a situation where capitalism faced the "question of how to continue to exist," only by implementing his proposed policies of state intervention in the economy could capitalist society remain an "ideal society." The emergence of Keynesianism provided a theoretical basis for state intervention in the economy. Today, some developed capitalist countries are promoting so-called "economic planning" and have adopted various sorts of measures to intervene in the economy in an effort to give a certain planned nature to social production and circulation. It should be said that this has played a definite role in readjusting the internal relationships of capitalism and in promoting capitalist economic development. In the last few years, although Keynesian economics has lost some of its force in the West, and many countries have adopted the ideas of supply-side schools and the monetarists, they have not basically given up Keynesian policies. The implementation in capitalist countries of planning through intervention in the economy shows that necessary macroeconomic regulation of production is an objective demand of the development of socialized production. Because, in accordance with the demands of the development of productive forces, in a capitalist system, the bourgeoisie still must implement various sorts of macroeconomic regulation, then how can we give up the planned economy and implement a so-called "complete" and "free" market economy today, while we are building a superior socialist system and in conditions where we are implementing a planned economy and society? Are not those persons who obstinately adhere to bourgeois liberalization and wildly promote the market economy going against the demands of socialized large-scale production?

## 2. The Socialist Economy Can and Must Develop in a Planned Way

Now, the bourgeois countries have strengthened intervention in the economy and have implemented so-called planning by which to intervene in the economy. This is done mainly through the provision of information to monopoly capital by market forecasting, through increasing and reducing taxes, through regulating

interest rates and credit and implementing subsidies in order to influence the decisionmaking of monopoly capital. This plays a definite role in alleviating the anarchic situation of social production, but it is very limited. An irrefutable fact is that, since World War II, the Western world's economic crises have continued to occur regularly, and in recent years the Western economy has long been stuck in a situation of "stagflation." Some bourgeois economists have had to confess that people have begun to waver in their conviction that "the governments of capitalist societies have the knowledge and the ability to eliminate economic fluctuations and realize sustained full employment." Why is it that capitalist countries, in implementing planning through economic intervention, cannot enable their capitalist economies to avoid fluctuations and crises? Let us examine the assessments by bourgeois economists. The U.S. economist Morris Bornstein has edited a book entitled *Economic Planning in East and West*. Within this book is an article by the Japanese economist Komiya Ryutaro, entitled "Planning Work in Japan." He writes that Japan's "national economic planning has no restraining power; nobody feels that they must observe the figures of the plan or that they have any responsibility to these figures." In his "Foreword" the editor writes, "Japan's 'planning work' should, to a large degree, be seen as being 'for show.' Its targets are intentionally overly optimistic and are too general or even useless. Thus, people believe that they have no restraining effect on those who formulate economic policy."<sup>2</sup> This sort of planning is completely different from the plans formulated by socialist countries in accordance with the demands of the patterns of planned proportional development of the socialist economy.

The implementation of conscious social regulation of the social economy, that is, the implementation of a planned economy, can be done only under socialist conditions. The planned nature of the socialist economy is determined by the nature of the socialist public ownership system. In socialist society, the establishment of a socialist economic base with whole-people ownership and collective ownership as its main parts and with control over state political power and the economic lifeblood in the hands of the laborers basically eliminates the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private ownership of the means of production. This then creates the precondition for implementation of unified planning by a social center and over social production through the whole scope of society. Of course, we are still in the primary stage of socialism and we do not yet have the conditions envisioned by the authors of the Marxist classics, whereby the entire means of production are owned by the entire society, where joint labor throughout the whole society is implemented, and where there is direct planning throughout the scope of the entire society, meaning that the entire laboring joint body becomes an economic entity which observes the joint plans, and where social production is carried out tightly centered on the needs of the whole body of laborers. However, it is beyond doubt that the nature



and leading position of the public ownership system enables arrangements to be made for our country's social economy throughout the scope of the whole society in accordance with predetermined plans, and allows a basic balance to be consciously maintained between the various sectors of the national economy, so that there is rational utilization of personnel, material, and funds resources. Therefore, it is possible to truly do things in accordance with time-saving principles, avoid the occurrence of anarchic situations, and no longer be blindly subject to the governing of the spontaneous market forces. As Comrade Jiang Zemin has pointed out, "In an overall sense, the ability to purposefully develop the national economy in a planned and proportionate way is a sign of the superiority of the socialist system and a basic feature of the socialist economy."<sup>3</sup>

The socialist economy not only must, but can, develop in a planned way. This is because, first, only in this way will it be possible to guarantee the correct proportional relationship between the various sectors of the national economy and the various links in social reproduction, and guarantee that the economy long develops in a sustained, stable, and coordinated way. Proportional development is an objective demand of socialized large-scale production. Marx long ago pointed out, "The amounts of production corresponding to the differing needs demand differing and quantitatively determined amounts of society's aggregate labor. It is self-evident that this necessity of the distribution of social labor in specific proportions is certainly not abolished by the specific form of social production; it can only change its form of manifestation."<sup>4</sup> Socialist production is socialized large-scale production. The production development situation affects the wealth of the state and the interests of the people, and, thus, proportional development is extremely important. The proportional distribution of labor throughout the scope of the whole society, the making of advance plans for the major proportional relationships of the national economy, and the supervising of the implementation of such plans can only be done through overall planning. Marx expressed it well when he said, "Only in places where production is subject to advance controls of social reality will society establish a relationship between the amount of social labor time used in producing a particular product and the scale of social need satisfied by this type of product."<sup>5</sup> Because, overall, our economy is one that develops in a planned and proportionate way, it can attain a development rate far higher than that of developed capitalist states. The reasons we made mistakes in our economic construction in the past is that we did not do things strictly in this way.

Second, only in this way will it be possible to use our limited resources where the national economy most needs them and in the most important places, so as to resolve major problems of economic development. National economic development has always been unbalanced. Some of the imbalance is left over by history and some has been newly formed through the roles of various

factors. However, only by maintaining a basic balance between the major proportions will the national economy be able to see smooth development. A major manifestation of the superiority of the socialist planned economy is that it can scientifically analyze imbalanced situations as well as restraining factors and formulate methods by which imbalance can be turned into a relative balance. It can also differentiate between major and minor measures, ordinary and urgent measures, major and minor aspects, factors that are playing only a temporary role and factors that will play long-term roles, and thereby make overall plans and overall arrangements. Proceeding from the overall situation, major strengths can be centralized and those things that have the conditions and need developing can be developed first, while those things that do not need to be developed or that do not have the conditions for development can be held down. This is a major material strength that can promote the speedy development of productive forces. For example, in the early period after the liberation of the whole country, we centralized our strengths to build the "156 projects." This allowed our country, in a quite short period, to establish an independent, quite complete industrial system and national economic system and increase national strengths. One of the major factors in this was that we used financial and material strengths in a planned way. Today, in accordance with the decision of the 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, we are carrying out economic improvement and rectification, putting economic relationships in order, readjusting the industrial structure, and strengthening weak links, such as agriculture, basic industry, energy, and transport. In this, we also need to take the planned economy as a major guarantee.

Third, only in this way will it be possible to realize a correct combination of the interests of the various sides in production and in distribution. Our country is a large country and there exist all sorts of relationships between the central authorities and the localities, the coastal areas and the hinterland, the economically quite developed areas and the backward border areas, and even between regions and between departments. They all have their own characteristics and needs, and all have their own interests. Proceeding from the overall situation, considering the characteristics of the various sides, and correctly handling the relationships among various interests are indispensable in motivating the enthusiasm of the various sides. Only through reliance on the correct policies of the party and through arrangements made by national planning will it be possible to achieve this. "If we persist in weakening or totally negate the planned economy and try to create a completely market-oriented economy, it will not work in China and will surely throw the economy and the entire society into confusion."<sup>6</sup>

For any country at any particular time, in deciding the scope and degree of planning, it is necessary to look at the scope and degree of public ownership. This, in turn, is determined by the degree of socialization of production. Thus, in the end this is determined by the level of

development of the productive forces. The implementation of a completely planned economy, with completely planned regulation, will be achieved only when there is a high degree of socialism. Our country is now at the primary stage of socialism and the level of the productive forces is still low. There is also major imbalance throughout the country, communications are not convenient, and information does not flow freely. The many levels of the productive forces determine the coexistence of diverse ownership systems, with whole-people ownership in the guiding position. In whole-people ownership enterprises there also exist diverse operational forms. This determines that our country's planning cannot be all-embracing. For the production and distribution of a small number of products that affect the national economy and the people's livelihood, we implement direct planning, that is, mandatory planning.<sup>7</sup> The majority of products are, however, subject to indirect planning, that is to guidance planning. The production and exchange of quite a proportion of dispersed and scattered products means that they need not and cannot be entered into the plans. In brief, at the present stage, we need to implement a planned economy, but not a completely planned economy. The reason we have carried out reform of the former excessively centralized and excessively tightly managed planning system lies in this fact.

### **3. Regulation Through Market Mechanism Will Be Indispensable in Socialist Society for a Long Time To Come**

As has been stated above, in the primary stage of socialism there exist diverse economic components, and whole-people enterprises are relatively independent commodity producers and operators. Thus commodity production must exist. If there is commodity production, there must be a market and it will be necessary to bring into play the various positive roles of the market. Because of the role of the law of value and because of the disparity between individual labor and average socially necessary labor time, this disparity will naturally be manifested in commodity exchange and be fed back to production. Thus, apart from being able to promote the rational organization of labor by the commodity producers, so that they pay attention to improving technology, reducing consumption, reducing costs, and raising quality, the market can also play a certain regulatory role in production. The supply-demand situation in the market has a very great influence on the realization of the value of commodities. If the supply of a commodity exceeds demand, the price will decline to below its value, and in some situations it will actually be impossible to realize any of the value of these commodities. This results in the commodity producers' paying attention to the supply-demand changes in the market and adjusting their production orientation in a timely way. Therefore, it is helpful in achieving the combination of supply and demand and between production and consumption and in achieving a balance between the various sectors of social production. However, as this regulation occurs after the symptoms have appeared and

is carried out blindly, if this method were relied on entirely, it would inevitably produce proportional imbalance and fluctuations in economic development. Only by combining this with the planned economy, that is, by implementing the policy of combining the planned economy with regulation through the market mechanism, will it be possible to ensure that it plays its due role in guaranteeing the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy. As Comrade Jiang Zemin has said, "In the past decade, while practicing guidance under the state plan, we also gave play to the positive role of market regulation and achieved marked success in developing the national economy, making the market prosperous, and improving the living standards of the people."<sup>8</sup>

The role of the market covers all activities of the commodity economy, but its role is different in different situations. For example, in the production and sale of products subject to mandatory planning, the role of the market is quite weak. Its role is quite strong in the production and sale of products subject to guidance planning, while the role of the market is extremely strong in the production and sale of products that are completely subject to regulation by the market.

If we are to have the market play a beneficial regulatory role, the market needs to be quite developed. At present, our country's social division of labor and specialization are insufficiently developed and there is quite a bit of production for self-sufficiency purposes. Thus, the market is still very much undeveloped. Our task is to promote rather than restrict its development. In the past we learned a bitter lesson from not paying attention to bringing the role of the market into play. In the future, we must draw from this lesson. A developed market should be one that can guarantee the smooth realization and operation of social reproduction. It must not allow circulation links to become too tight or too chaotic and must not consider that the more people participating in circulation the better. If there are too many people participating in circulation, it will not benefit the development of social production. Exchange of commodities has production of commodities as its base. If production is developed, circulation will have corresponding development. We have affirmed the major reaction that circulation has on production, but we must not simply stress circulation divorced from production. Some comrades have said that circulation is more important than production, but this is a one-sided opinion.

We need not only a quite developed market, but also a quite stable market. Whether or not a market is stable depends to a great extent on whether there is a balance between overall supply and demand. The experiences of many years have proved that if there is serious imbalance between these two figures the market will be chaotic. In the past there existed the following idea: Under a socialist system, social purchasing power should and must be greater than the volume of commodity supply. They even said that this was a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. Actually, the level of

productive forces in our country is low, while the volume of social demand is great, and a regular occurrence during economic construction has been that supply has not been able to meet demand. This has been caused mainly by the capital construction front being too long and the growth in consumption funds being too swift. In bringing into play the superiorities of the planned economy, we must overcome the tendency to be over-anxious to attain results, must hold down excessive demand, and consciously maintain a basic balance between overall supply and demand.

#### **4. Organically Combine the Planned Economy With Regulation Through the Market Mechanism**

How we are to realize the organic combination of the planned economy and regulation through the market mechanism is a major question, which requires serious exploration. On the basis of many years of experience, below are a few points we need to study.

1. Our economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership, but is not a market economy. A market economy is established on the basis of the private ownership system and is entirely self-regulating through the market. The socialist economy is, overall, an economy that purposely engages in planned proportional development. It cannot be subject to the market's blind control. There exist the following ideas: "The commodity economy is a market economy" and "a market economy and a commodity economy are the same thing and in essence are the same concept." Such ideas cannot be substantiated. The commodity economy exists in many societies. The different socioeconomic forms of the commodity economy have a commonality, but also have their individuality. The capitalist commodity economy is different from the simple commodity economy, and there is even more of an essential difference between the socialist commodity economy and the capitalist commodity economy. The market economy is not like this. It not only has the private ownership system as its base, but production and exchange are also completely subject to spontaneous regulation through the market. This sort of economy can only be a capitalist economy.

In our country's economy, the planned economy and regulation through the market mechanism play their roles together. The two are mutually linked and mutually supplementing, rather than mutually exclusive or mutually antagonistic. Both of them cover the entire activities of the economy, but their positions and roles are different. Regulation through planning occupies the leading role. Regulation through the market mechanism is but one type of regulatory form in the socialist economic operational mechanism, not the entirety. Some people say, "The commodity economy produces for the market and commodities are realized through the market. The commodity economy and the market economy coexist." If here we change "market economy" to "regulation through the market mechanism" this claim is correct. Otherwise, it is wrong. This is because in a commodity

economy, regulation through market mechanisms does play a role. However, this does not mean that it is a market economy. Put another way, the commodity economy does coexist with regulation through the market mechanism, but does not necessarily coexist with a market economy.

2. With respect to economies of different natures and the production and circulation of different products in the same economy, regulation through planning and regulation through the market mechanism play very different roles, both in form and degree. In the individual economy, private-operation economy, and the "three types of fully or partially foreign-funded enterprises," regulation is effected mainly through the market; in the whole-people ownership economy regulation is carried out mainly through planning; and in the collective economy regulation involves both of these aspects. In the whole-people ownership economy the production and circulation of products that are not included in the state plans is regulated mainly through the market, but, at the same time, are also subject to the influence of planning. The production and circulation of products that are subject to mandatory planning are regulated mainly through the plans, while the market plays a supplementary regulatory role. As to the production and circulation of products subject to guidance planning, on the one hand they are subject to regulation through the market mechanism, and, on the other hand, planning also plays a guiding role. On this issue are two questions that deserve further study. The first is how we are to correctly delineate the scope of mandatory planning, guidance planning, and regulation through the market mechanism and to set down the proportion that each should constitute in the national economy. The second is how we are to formulate realistic and feasible measures for implementing the guidance planning. In the division between these three aspects, the most important thing is that mandatory planning should constitute the major share. In the last few years, we have gradually reduced the scope of mandatory planning through reform. If we take industrial production as an example, at present, only about 60 types of products are subject to mandatory planning under the management of the State Planning Commission, and the output of such products has fallen to about 17 percent of total national industrial output value. In terms of distribution of goods and materials, only 17 types of goods and materials are now subject to unified distribution by the State Planning Commission. In terms of capital construction investment, at present, investment under mandatory planning is only about one-third of the total capital construction investment of whole-people ownership units. Whether these proportions are appropriate is something that we can further discuss and study. However, the principle must be made clear: In deciding whether a proportion is appropriate, it is necessary to look at whether it will motivate the enthusiasm of the localities, enterprises, and so on. It is also necessary to look at whether or not it will weaken the state's capacity to exercise macroeconomic regulation and control and whether it will affect the goods and



materials needed by backbone enterprises and key construction. As to formulating measures for implementing guidance planning, because this involves reforms in the areas of finance, taxation, banking, pricing, and other areas, it is more complex. However, regardless of the complexity, we need to forge ahead with formulating such measures, otherwise, guidance planning will be nothing more than a name and there will be no way to implement it.

3. In different situations at different times, different stress should be placed on either the planned economy or regulation through the market mechanism. For example, at present, we are engaged in improvement and rectification, which require appropriate strengthening of planning, strengthening of necessary centralized unity, and strengthening of macroeconomic regulation and control capacities.

Realizing the combination of the planned economy and regulation through the market mechanism is not only a theoretical problem, but also, and more important, it is a practical problem. In socialist construction, we have already gained some experience. In the future we must conform to the ideas that Comrade Jiang Zemin put forward in his speech: "Through practice we must make constant explorations and endeavor to create a mechanism of the socialist commodity economy suited to China's conditions and capable of organically combining the planning economy with regulation through the market. The extent, method, and scope of combination between the planned economy and regulation through the market mechanism should be constantly adjusted and perfected in accordance with actual situations."

#### Footnotes

1. *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, last volume, Commercial Press, 1974, p 28.
2. Commercial Press, 1980 edition, pp 243, 5.
3. "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC."
4. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p 368.
5. *Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 25, p 209.
6. "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC."
7. Mandatory planning quotas should be reduced gradually, but they cannot be completely abolished. This is because these products are needed to guarantee balanced development of the national economy. Actually, in capitalist countries there are also some products that are subject to government stipulations. For example, in the United States, the production volume of many agricultural products is regulated by government-stipulated areas to be sown and government-supported prices. In

the last few years, there has been a tendency to completely negate mandatory planning and even to say that mandatory planning can lead to stagnation. This is incorrect.

8. "Speech at the Meeting in Celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the PRC."

#### A Survey of the Process by Which Decisionmaking by the Tianjin Municipal Leadership Is Being Made More Democratic and Scientific

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[Text] Over the last few years, Tianjin Municipality has realized obvious achievements in terms of stability and unity on the political level, in coordinated development on the economic level, in construction of the municipal administration, in the areas of urban management, market prices, and social order, and in the building of an honest administration. The people are quite agreeable to the changes, the prestige of the municipal leaders is quite high, and the capacity to control the situation is quite strong. The reason Tianjin Municipality has, in its work, been able to pass the tests is inseparable from the process by which the decisionmaking of the municipal leadership is being made more democratic and scientific.

#### I. The Decisionmaking Goal of Stressing Popular Feeling and Being in Harmony With the Will of the People

The leaders of Tianjin Municipality hold that the process of making decisionmaking more democratic and scientific is not only a methodological question, but also a question of world view. Only by truly and sincerely doing concrete things for the people is it possible to talk about making decisionmaking more democratic and scientific. They hold that decisionmaking must stress popular feeling and harmonize with the will of the people, and must make those things about which the masses are most concerned the focus of decisionmaking, and take the sentiment of the masses as the first signal for decisionmaking.

Since 1983, the Tianjin Municipality People's Government has persisted in doing 10 concrete things each year to improve the lives of the urban population. In 1984, they further decided to do 10 concrete things to improve the lives of the rural population. The municipal government decides on these 20 concrete things every year and promulgates them to the whole city. These things include: Speeding the work of diverting the Luan River, handling well construction of residential accommodations and associated urban construction, doing well in urban beautification, alleviating the tight situation that exists in hospital beds and maternity beds, increasing the



places available at nurseries, improving water and electricity supply, making piped water widely available in villages, improving education conditions, arranging collective welfare undertakings, and so on. Before the municipal government decided to undertake these things, it canvassed ideas widely from the masses through various channels. For example, it held dialogues with the People's Congress representatives, developed heart-to-heart talks and service activities, carried out a survey of 1,000 households, listened to the ideas of the advisory committee and paid great attention to ideas reflected through the news media. Thereby, the demands of a large number of the masses were taken as a major basis for decisionmaking.

Since 1984, the leading members of the municipal government have continually engaged in dialogue with the NPC [National People's Congress] representatives and members of the CPPCC [Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference]. Last year, this was expanded to heart-to-heart talks and service activities throughout the city. Heart-to-heart talks involve conversations with people to assess their feelings so that the wishes of the people can be known. Service activities involve dispelling worries and explaining difficulties to the masses and doing well in concrete work for them. Heart-to-heart talks and service activities generally have as their starting point dialogues between the city leaders and the NPC representatives and CPPCC members. Reports of such dialogues are then carried on television, on radio, and in newspapers. Afterwards, the leading cadres of the municipality, the districts, counties, departments, committees, offices, and bureaus go deep among the grassroots, having heart-to-heart talks with the masses and serving the masses. In the heart-to-heart talks and service activities prior to National Day last year, of the 8,396 problems put to the urban construction department by the masses, 5,895 were solved on the spot and 1,404 were resolved within a short time. The municipal leaders believe that heart-to-heart talks and service not only benefit the municipal government in its decisionmaking, but can also make the links between the cadres and the masses more intimate. Thereby the cadres can put their views to the masses and can also be subject to the scrutiny of the masses. This encourages the cadres to establish the ideology of doing concrete things for the people and to raise work efficiency.

Another method by which the Tianjin Municipality government gets to understand the people's wishes and the people's sentiments is that in the fourth quarter of every year a questionnaire survey of 1,000 households is conducted. This work has been going on for six years. The questionnaire survey of households plays a role in two aspects of government decisionmaking. First, it allows the government to see which aspects of its work are satisfactory to the masses and which aspects the masses find unsatisfactory. This facilitates the summing up of experiences. Second, it shows the government what the masses want the government to do in the next year. Many of the things the municipal government does to

improve the lives of the urban people are decided on the basis of the questionnaire survey of households. For example, "difficulty in getting around on the roads" has been a problem in Tianjin for many years. In the survey of households in 1983, 416 households wanted the transport problem resolved. In 1984, a further 528 households hoped that the tight transport situation would be resolved. Thus, the government included the building of a new central ring road and the widening of trunk roads in its 10 things to do in 1985. Also, Tianjin Municipality's decisions by which it resolved the "difficulties in buying food" and the "difficulties in obtaining accommodations" and by which it speeded work on the coal gas project were all taken on the basis of the most prominent problems indicated in the questionnaire survey of households. The surveys indicate that the masses are satisfied with the work of the Tianjin Municipality government. Since 1983, the proportion of households who were satisfied or quite satisfied with the work of the municipal government has been over 92 percent of those surveyed. When the 1988 household survey was being conducted, it was thought that, as panic purchasing had just erupted, the proportion of households registering dissatisfaction might rise. The survey results were surprising, the proportion of the masses indicating satisfaction or great satisfaction with the municipal government's work reached 99.4 percent. This was the highest figure ever recorded. The masses said, "They have given every ounce of their energy" and "Do not pressure them any more. They have given all their efforts." In response to this, TIANJIN RIBAO published an editorial entitled "Justice Lies in the Hearts of the People." The questionnaire survey of households is a good form of democratization in decisionmaking by the government of Tianjin Municipality. It has opened a new road by which the people can participate in and discuss government, resulting in a closer linkage between decisionmaking by the leadership and the aspirations of the masses.

The Tianjin Municipality leaders have also stressed the use of discussion in newspapers and periodicals to collect public opinion. For example, last year when deliberating on the question of raising the prices of breakfasts, a special column was run in the newspaper for discussion by people throughout the city. The majority thought that it would be best not to raise the prices of breakfasts and the municipal government accepted the masses' suggestion. Instead, it stressed improving the supply, service, and hygiene of breakfasts. Before deliberating on changing the membership of the six leading groups within the municipality, the municipality decided to open a major discussion in TIANJIN RIBAO entitled "The Image of a Municipal Leader in Your Mind." From this, 10 standards for assessing municipal leaders were summed up and this increased the openness in the selection of cadres.

Over the last few years there has appeared in Tianjin Municipality a lively and harmonious situation where "the leaders do things for the masses and the masses

make an effort for the leaders.<sup>9</sup> This has formed a fine work style where everyone works together, government orders are smoothly implemented, and there is unanimity between the upper and the lower levels. In the words of the municipal leaders, the masses' trust in the municipal leaders is not something that can be bestowed from above, is not something that can be enforced through power, is not something one can obtain by boasting, and is not something one can get deceitfully by little tricks. Rather, only by doing concrete deeds for the masses in a sincere, devoted, and unwavering way can such trust be gradually established.

## II. Taking the Whole Situation Into Account as the Starting Point in Decisionmaking

The level of leaders' decisionmaking is determined, to a large extent, by their ability to master the overall situation. Mastering the whole situation refers to having strategic insight, proceeding from a long-term view, considering questions in an overall way, correctly assessing advantages and disadvantages, not stressing one thing at the expense of another, and being good at making overall arrangements. At the same time, a political outlook and maintaining a political sensitivity are also necessary.

Tianjin acts firmly in accordance with the various major principles set down by the Central Committee and the State Council. On quite difficult questions, such as controlling the scale of capital construction, consumption funds, and price indices, it has done quite well. For example, the scale of capital construction in 1988 in Tianjin Municipality was up only 26.3 percent from the 1985 figure, much lower than the growth in other major cities. One of the characteristics of capital construction in Tianjin Municipality is that work does not begin if there are insufficient funds. When a project is begun, the work is carried out quickly. It does not give up on projects halfway through or does not engage in high-risk projects. The growth index and actual level of consumption funds in Tianjin over the last few years have been the lowest for any similar major city through the country. In 1988, the overall price index for staff and workers livelihood expenditures was the lowest of the 30 provinces, autonomous regions, and directly administered cities throughout the country. In its ranking among 30 large and medium-sized cities, it was second lowest, beaten only by Yinchuan.

In overall development strategies, the municipal leadership has paid attention to handling well the relationship between urban construction and economic construction. For several years prior to 1980, the ratio between production investment and urban construction investment in Tianjin was 77:23, and production development was slow, while the economic growth rate was declining. During the Sixth 5-Year Plan, there was a major readjustment in the ratio between production investment and urban construction investment. Specifically, there was a major increase in the proportion constituted by urban construction investment. The result was that the

rate of increase in industrial output value was gradually raised. The municipal leaders hold that the city is a multilevel, multifunction, highly comprehensive organic entity, involving many mutual links and mutual restrictions. Thus, it is necessary to strengthen the building of basic facilities and improve the city's carrier capacity. To this end, Tianjin has successively completed the diversion of the Luan River, the upgrading of the new port, the building of the central and outer ring roads, and the work of converting the whole city to gas power; it has tackled the urban water pollution problem and completed the work of transforming the Tianjin railway hub. These construction projects have laid a base for the development of various industries and trades. According to a survey, 70 to 80 percent of the water, electricity, and roads used in Tianjin is for the benefit of industrial production and only 20-30 percent serves the people in their daily lives. The municipal leaders hold that the capital construction of facilities should have a lead over economic construction, otherwise all sorts of other problems will appear sooner or later and great fluctuations will inevitably occur in industrial production. Urban planning, construction, and management are the keys to urban work. In the work of the municipal leaders, their eyes should be on the future, but their efforts should be in the present. They believe that state and foreign investment will be drawn in only if there is a fine investment environment, complete basic urban facilities, and high work efficiency.

In concrete work, the municipal leaders also stress proceeding from the overall situation, making overall arrangements, combining urban construction with economic development, combining individual projects with comprehensive development, combining new construction with transformation, and combining the changing of the appearance of the urban areas with the building of spiritual culture. Their starting point in improving the people's lives is "bringing benefit to all." They thus do things from which everyone benefits and that are of long-term benefit, so that people's lives are more convenient, comfortable, and clean. They do not just raise wages and issue bonuses. All major projects that will greatly affect the people's lives are made known to the masses by the government, so that they receive attention from the whole society and so that the various industries and trades can guarantee their key work. Construction units feel that they have the great trust of the people and, thus, they make extra efforts and dare not become lax. Coordinating units provide convenience and active support and nobody dares to take improper profits. Thus, during the project "Tianjin speed" appears. For example, it was planned that the project to divert the Luan River would need three years to complete, but the work was actually completed in one and a half years. A reasonable time for the project to transform the Tianjin railway hub was four years, but plans called for it to be completed within two years. In the end, the work was completed within 17 and 5/8 months. Tianjin proposed three years for the conversion of the city to gas, but 93.9 percent of the city had been converted within a year.

The Tianjin leadership has also stressed the examination, study, and handling of various economic problems and social problems from the political angle. The municipal government has chosen 5 March of every year as the "Study Lei Feng" Commemoration Day and Premier Zhou Enlai Birthday Anniversary Day and, through the decision to do 20 concrete things for the urban and rural populations, they have raised the consciousness of the cadres for doing concrete things for the people. The municipal leaders see prices not only as an economic problem, but also as a political problem. They have thus firmly stabilized the prices of 15 staple and nonstaple foodstuffs most urgently needed by the people, including grain, pork, milk, and eggs, as well as 19 daily-use industrial products, including soap, cotton cloth, and student work books and some service charges. Today, matches are two fen (penny) a box like before, a wash costs five mao (dime), and a haircut costs six mao. They hold that if matches rose in price by one or two fen, it would not be a big deal, but it would not be worth it in terms of the fluctuations it would cause in public feeling. Public feeling affects the overall situation and in order to keep public feeling stable, one must not begrudge paying the price. When the panic purchasing occurred throughout the country in August and September last year, the municipal leaders decided to engage in heart-to-heart talks and service activities. Twenty-seven municipal leaders and 3,000 committee and government cadres went down to the grassroots, coming in contact with 30,000 people. This was carried out over 20-plus days, during which a number of the masses' actual problems were resolved. Thereby, the mood of the masses was soothed. Furthermore, the municipal government required that the work of transforming the Tianjin railway hub be completed ahead of time, and consequently it was put into use on National Day. This project was thereby used to hearten the masses. Thus, when the sentiments of the masses were at their lowest ebb, the leadership did things that would keep the people happy, thereby using major satisfactions to eliminate minor dissatisfactions.

### III. Proceeding From Reality and Adhering to the Principle of Decisionmaking That Stresses Both Reform and Stability

Decisionmaking by the Tianjin municipal leaders stresses proceeding from reality and setting to work on the basis of what the masses want done and what it is possible to do through great efforts, so as to enable reform and the various undertakings to advance in a stable environment.

Every major reform in Tianjin Municipality must conform to the realities of the municipality, must be comprehensively coordinated, and must be implemented in a stable manner. With respect to measures the results of which cannot be clearly estimated, they consider it best to wait a while before implementing them. For example, in the readjustment of the prices of nonstaple food products last year, Tianjin waited two months before implementing the changes. For those measures that have

clear and obvious results, they actively implement them and speed the pace of implementation. For example, Tianjin took the lead in handing down power to districts and counties and in implementing overall contracts (that is, financial contracts, urban area management contracts, individual task contracts, housing construction and development contracts). Thereby, it speeded the construction and transformation of urban areas, and both commerce and service trades saw very great development. Also, in reforming the urban construction management system, the municipal planning committee only controls the major category of the overall scale of capital construction investment. The urban construction program, annual plans, designs, implementation work, and materials are all arranged by the municipal construction commission. This has changed the previous undesirable situation where there was dislocation between the program and the plans, where there was mutual impediment, and there were disputes over trifles, and has guaranteed the coordinated and overall development of urban construction. In reforming the management system of Tianjin's port, the implementation was carried out mainly by local leaders. At the port, government and enterprise have been separated, it operates basically independently, and, on the principle of having the port support itself, good results have been gained. This has provided experiences for the reform of port systems throughout the country. The diversion of the Luan River and the project to transform the railway hub were both major projects under state control. However, a new construction method was adopted by which investment came from both the state and the locality, but under which Tianjin Municipality organized and carried out the construction. Practice has proved that doing things in this way is beneficial to motivating the enthusiasm of the localities, greatly economizing on funds and materials, and, under the precondition of guaranteeing quality, of speeding the pace of work. For example, in the work of transforming the station in the center of Tianjin, it took only 20 days to complete the removal. The state then requisitioned this prime piece of land at the low price of 10,000 yuan per mu.

The municipal leaders hold that reform is a complex, systematic project and that it is necessary in the institution of various reform measures to stress that they are synchronized, gradual, and implemented from the flanks. They do not want to have an isolated force penetrating deep into unfriendly territory and they do not demand that reforms be implemented in one step. They adhere to the idea of "ten thousand small steps without stopping, thereby reducing twists, turns, and backtracking." In 1983, when the focus of reform was switched from the rural areas to the cities, Tianjin's municipal leaders, through deep investigation and study, put forward the eight characteristics by which urban reform differs from rural reform, and strove to have urban reform implemented in stages and in a gradual manner. They studied and resolved in a timely way problems that arose during the reforms and through regular "microregulation" avoided the "major repairs"



necessarily occasioned by serious dislocation. In the last two years Tianjin's municipal leaders have put forward the policy of "stability, steady progress, and safety." Stability stresses putting the various relationships in order and, in particular, stabilizing the sentiments of the masses and striving to create a peaceful and harmonious social environment. Steady progress stresses that reform must be positively developed, but must not be blindly rushed into. It must be an ordered, step-by-step, stable advance. Safety stresses that in the implementation of reform measures there must be all-round planning. The right moment must be grasped, there must be careful implementation, and shocks must be kept to a minimum. Also, contingency measures must be drawn up in case there are unexpected occurrences. Recently, in response to the market and livelihood problems which the masses have been most concerned about, the Tianjin municipal leaders have put forward the work policy of stabilizing the market, stabilizing prices, stabilizing the sentiments of the masses, and thereby stabilizing the situation. In brief, in the last few years, the reasons the reforms and construction in Tianjin municipality have obtained such success are tightly tied to the implementation of stable policies, and are the result of the Tianjin municipal leaders proceeding from reality in their decisionmaking.

#### IV. Fully Developing Democracy and Expanding the Decisionmaking Base

The Tianjin municipal party committee is in the central leading position in the city and makes decisions on major issues concerning the whole city, or else puts decisionmaking proposals to the People's Congress or government. In decisionmaking, the municipal party committee, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, adheres to the idea of unifying ideas, and pays attention to running well three types of meetings. The first are the plenary sessions of the municipal party committee, which are held twice a year. All decisionmaking on major issues affecting the whole city are made through discussion by the plenary session of the municipal party committee. The second are the meetings of the municipal party Standing Committee. These are held every two weeks and important decisionmaking suggestions are put forward at these meetings. In accordance with needs, enlarged sessions of the Standing Committee are held and senior responsible party member comrades from the municipal advisory committee, the municipal discipline inspection committee, the municipal People's Congress, the municipal government, and the municipal CPPCC are called to participate. This helps to draw in and centralize more knowledge during the decisionmaking process, to unify the ideas of high-level cadres within the party, to coordinate the activities of the six major municipal-level organizations, and to facilitate the timely implementation of the municipal party committee's decisions. Third are the brief meetings of party secretaries. These are held once a week and are mainly for passing on information, exchanging ideas, and discussing major problems.

In the last few years, the relationships between the Tianjin municipal party committee, the municipal government and the municipal People's Congress and municipal CPPCC have been coordinated and, in terms of guiding ideology, a concept of "performing on the same stage, but playing different roles" has been established. The municipal party committee leaders hold that in the political life of our country, the People's Congress and the CPPCC play an irreplaceable role. The key to whether or not their roles can be fully brought into play lies in whether the party committee pays attention to their work. The head of the Tianjin municipality People's Congress Standing Committee participates in a nonvoting capacity in meetings of the secretaries of the municipal party committee, while other party-member deputy heads of the People's Congress Standing Committee participate in a nonvoting capacity in enlarged sessions of the municipal party Standing Committee. In this way, in making major decisions affecting the whole city, including personnel arrangements, the responsible persons of the People's Congress participate in advance research, gain an understanding of the situation, and coordinate in the activities.

In the relationship between the government and the People's Congress, the government respects the People's Congress, safeguards the authority of the People's Congress, and consciously accepts the supervision of the People's Congress. The People's Congress also does its best to assist and support the various aspects of government work. Apart from making a work report to the People's Congress every year, the Tianjin municipal government also makes a twice-yearly report on the implementation of planning and financial policies to the Standing Committee. Whenever it is necessary to readjust planning or financial policies, the government must clearly state the reasons and these changes must be examined and approved by the People's Congress Standing Committee. Whenever there is a Standing Committee meeting, they listen to one or two work reports from government departments, and there is always a responsible deputy mayor connected with the subject under discussion participating in a nonvoting capacity. Every year during the People's Congress session, the mayor calls an on-the-spot government work meeting to listen to the idea of delegates who put forward proposals and to implement measures on the spot. The leading comrades of the municipal government also often seek out representatives to have heart-to-heart talks, and also call dialogue meetings with the people's representatives. The city government organizes some work inspection activities and regularly invites municipal People's Congress representatives to participate. The representatives can also, with their representatives credentials, carry out investigations of the market and pricing situations. The government asks all departments to assist representatives and not to obstruct them. The masses say that the Tianjin People's Congress representatives "truly bring their role into play."



The municipal party leaders have strongly brought into play the role of the municipal CPPCC and paid attention to handling well relations with people outside the party. A deputy secretary of the Tianjin municipal party Standing Committee is concurrently the chairman of the CPPCC, and the enlarged sessions of the Standing Committee ask responsible party-member CPPCC delegates to participate as nonvoting members. Whenever the municipal party committee makes major decisions and institutes reform measures, it makes a report to people outside the party in a timely way, solicits their ideas and opinions, and asks them to help in the work. During the several occasions of student unrest, people outside the party engaged actively in student work and obtained good results. This played a very big role in stabilizing the situation in Tianjin.

The roles of the municipal advisory committee and veteran cadres have also been brought into play. The municipal party committee leaders have paid special attention to handling well the relationship with veteran cadres. Not only have they arranged things well in terms of livelihood, but they have continued to bring their roles into play. When municipal party committee leaders are making decisions, they pay attention to the ideas of the veteran cadres of the municipal advisory committee and ask them to assist in doing things. For example, when Tianjin Municipality engaged in the clearing out and reorganization of the offices of government organs, it was the comrades of the municipal advisory committee who personally took on the tasks. Also, in 1984, Tianjin Municipality established a government consultative committee. This was formed of some retired leaders from the committees, offices, districts, and bureaus, as well as some veteran experts and professors. The membership now totals 162 persons. These veteran cadres have rich experiences and have prestige among the masses. They examine some of the problems faced by the government and provide consultancy. This is beneficial in terms of correct decisionmaking by the leaders. The Tianjin urban transport plan was put forward by the municipal consultative committee. The main aspects of this plan have already been realized and this has alleviated the tight transport situation. Furthermore, with respect to difficult problems like those the citizens have on buying vegetables and fish and the storage rearrangements in the city, the municipal government asked the consultative committee to put forward ideas and propose plans.

#### **V. Energetically Encouraging Surveys and Research, and Stressing a Scientific Decisionmaking Method**

Tianjin's municipal leaders fully understand that the precondition for making decisionmaking more democratic and scientific is doing well in surveys and research. It is not correct to rely on just a small number of people and one or two departments in making major decisions. It is necessary to mobilize wider forces and to draw in a greater number of people to participate in the process of decisionmaking. The Tianjin municipal party committee and the municipal government stress the bringing into

play of group superiorities and the bringing into play of the roles of advisers and experts, so that all decisions are taken on the basis of full surveys and research. Their experiences are:

**1. The leaders personally set to work, engage in surveys, and stress verification.** The leading comrades at all levels in Tianjin Municipality take the lead in going deep into reality, developing surveys and research, and mastering first-hand materials. Many leading comrades are used to personally draw up major survey and research topics and to arrange survey and research plans. Some even personally lead the group in conducting the surveys and research and in writing the survey and research reports. Last year, 2,500 of the municipality's leading cadres at the county level and above participated in surveys and research. Cadres at the bureau level and above participated in this work on over 500 occasions. The leaders of the Tianjin Municipality party committee and government have also organized and participated in investigation, design, and verification work for various major construction projects throughout the city. No decisions are made without surveys and research, and if plans are not verified, no decisions are made. This has become the established practice in the work of Tianjin's municipal leaders.

**2. Bringing into play the roles of the research organs of the municipal party committee and municipal government in terms of providing advice and assistance and in organizing surveys and research.** The two offices and two research departments of the Tianjin Municipality party committee and government are the major advisory organs of the municipal committee and the municipal government. Centered on their key work, they conduct specialized surveys and research and take on quite comprehensive research projects. The research department of the municipal party committee acts as the leader for the municipality-wide survey and research network and is responsible for deciding on the key survey and research projects and for organizing coordination. They also coordinate closely with the the municipal People's Congress, the CPPCC, and the research organs of the various government departments. The research departments of the municipal party committee and the municipal government respect the results of specialized research personnel and are skilled at transforming these results into leadership decisions. Last year, more than 90 research reports were transmitted in the form of municipal party committee or government documents and other forms. For example, in seeking avenues to resolve the problem of surplus labor in enterprises, in accordance with the line of thought put forward by the municipal leaders that "channels should be dug first, and later the water should be diverted," a joint investigation group comprising participants from the municipal economics commission, financial administration bureau, labor bureau, tax bureau, industrial and commercial bureaus, banks, and other comprehensive departments and industrial bureaus. This group put forward a research result involving "one main activity and many

secondary activities, combined in comprehensive development." On this basis, a municipal government policy paper, entitled "Various Stipulations on Industrial Enterprises Having One Major Activity and Diverse Types of Operation," was issued. On the basis of this document, within a year arrangements were made for over 30,000 surplus enterprise personnel in Tianjin Municipality.

**3. Bringing into play the research and consultancy roles of experts and scholars.** The municipal leaders have repeatedly stressed that experts and scholars engaged in theory work need to study major practical problems and practical workers need to involve themselves in the study of theory. The theory departments and the practical departments each have their own superiorities and each should take from the other's strong points to make up its own weak points. Their methods include the system of researchers specially engaged by the municipal committee research department, the system of dual direction, concurrent employment in theory departments and practical research departments and exchange of personnel between such departments, the system of commissioned or cooperative research tasks or projects, the system of joint survey and research meetings, and so on. With a particular task as the link, they organize some theory workers and practical workers to carry out cooperative research, and bring into play both sides' superiorities, so as to raise the quality and feasibility of research achievements. The municipal government sought employed legal specialists and scholars to organize the government legal consultative committee, and most documents passed by the municipal government have to be vetted by the legal consultative committee. The active participation and assistance in decision-making by experts and scholars has strengthened their sense of mission and sense of responsibility and meant that in theoretical work there has appeared a vigorous situation of "orienting toward reality, proceeding from Tianjin's situation, and stressing application."

**4. Using modern scientific methods to make decisions.** The municipal leaders hold that, in managing a multi-function, modern city, the problems faced are extremely complex. In deciding how to handle energy, transport, water conservancy, urban environment, population, and other problems, it is necessary to have not only qualitative analysis, but also quantitative analysis, and not only analysis from the angle of economic and social development, but also analysis from the technological angle. Thus, the municipal leaders have required that the social science and natural science contingents combine forces, wage a joint attack on the problems, and jointly propose countermeasures. To this end, the Tianjin natural science circles and social science circles have, through signing a coalition agreement, jointly developed comprehensive topic research and realized many research achievements that a single side would have been unable to achieve. In this they have received close attention from the leading comrades of Tianjin Municipality and the government departments.

The municipal leaders have also paid great attention to the role of information, and see this as a supplementary system in scientific decisionmaking and as a precondition for guaranteeing the correctness of decisionmaking. The establishment of the municipal party committee information system began in 1985. Through several years of efforts, many levels of information networks which have the municipal party committee office as the information processing center, the party committee information system as the major channels, and which link up with state organs, social groups, and research organs, have been formed. Thereby, an information mechanism which serves the municipality party committee decisionmaking center has been established. The municipal government office and the various departments of government have also established information networks at various levels, fostered stable information contingents, and formed information channels through which information passes quite freely. Now, a sensitive and highly effective information system provides the municipal party committee and municipal government with a large volume of correct, suitable, and effective information, and this has already become a major nervous system in decisionmaking by the leadership. For example, in the last part of August last year, unusual phenomena occurred in the Tianjin market. However, because the information feedback was timely, and the municipal committee immediately convened a meeting and adopted urgent measures, and the panic-purchasing craze was very quickly extinguished.

In brief, in the last few years, Tianjin Municipality has gradually realized the switch from empirical decisionmaking to scientific decisionmaking and a change from where a few people made decisions to where decisionmaking depends on the majority of people.

#### **VI. Bringing Into Play Political Superiorities and Guaranteeing the Effective Implementation of Decisions**

The Tianjin municipal leaders hold that the political superiorities, that is to say, the four cardinal principles, are a strong point, an advantage, and a characteristic formed through a long period of revolution and construction, which distinguish our society from capitalist society. They are a political tradition gradually formed under our country's specific historical tradition and are also a reality of China. The basic methods used by Tianjin Municipality to bring these "political superiorities" into play are:

**1. Using politics to motivate and organize voluntary labor and to bring into play the masses' enthusiasm and creativity.** The Tianjin municipal leaders have pursued the policy of "the people's city should be built by the people and we should rely on the people in carrying out things for the people." The decisions on every project are explained to the people and the projects' realization relies on the people. When the municipal leaders make decisions, it is necessary to consider "the masses' production, the masses' interests, the masses' experiences, and the masses' sentiments," to take into consideration

the capacity of the people to bear the changes, and to fully assess the strengths of the people. The municipal party committee leaders feel that, because our country is vast and the population is huge, many small problems will become major problems if not properly handled. If we are to resolve these problems, it is necessary to take measures to handle the huge population and to rely on everyone in handling matters together. When the municipal government handles matters, it does not rely entirely on the state or put out its hand to the upper levels for everything. Rather, it relies on the masses, motivates social strengths, and taps potential. Because Tianjin's municipal leaders not only listen to the views of the masses on what they should do, but also listen to opinions of the masses on how they should do it, it makes the masses truly feel that the leaders are serving them and that the people are the masters. Thus, they put all their efforts into building their own home. For example, in speeding the work of diverting the Luan River, and in resolving the problem of insufficient labor, the municipal leaders resolved to organized voluntary labor. At that time, many people were worried that the masses would not respect the calls. In fact, under the calls of the municipal party committee and government, the masses responded positively and every day more than 100,000 people provided voluntary labor at the work sites. Therefore, within 50 days, 64 kilometers of river course were excavated. When rebuilding the Tianjin railway station, 50,000 people also participated in voluntary labor. Young Pioneer members took water and red scarfs to the work site. Women's Federation members sent appreciation gifts to the site, and literature and art workers presented programs at the site. Many moving and touching scenes were seen. The municipal leaders hold that, no matter what the project, as long as there is support from the masses and participation by the masses, no difficulty is insurmountable. Much work that appears extremely difficult can be completed as long as the people put their efforts into it. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has affirmed the experiences of Tianjin Municipality in "relying on the people in projects that are for the people." He said, "If the masses are happy, matters can be handled well and will be easy to complete."

**2. Fully bringing into play the fighting force role of the party organization and the vanguard model role of Communist Party members.** The Tianjin Municipality party committee, when implementing policies and decisions of the central authorities, first pays attention to unifying ideas within the party. The process goes from top to bottom, from leading cadres to ordinary party members, with the ideas being passed down and being implemented level by level. Thereby, the central principles and policies become the conscious actions of the broad masses of party members. All levels of party organizations explain the logic, clearly set down the demands, and put forward the tasks to party members in a timely way and require every party member to look at the overall situation, stress policies, make a contribution, and play a model role. Last year, before the readjustment of the prices of nonstaple foodstuffs was implemented in

Tianjin Municipality, the municipal party committee called two meetings of the leading party-member cadres from throughout the municipality, requiring that they put forward requirements and impose strict discipline on the 580,000 party members and 700,000-plus CYL [Communist Youth League] members of the municipality. Not only did the broad number of party and CYL members not engage in panic buying, but they also encouraged their family members not to panic buy. In this way, management was imposed on 2.3 million people and the price readjustment of nonstaple foodstuffs was implemented smoothly. The municipal party committee also regularly conducts "activities by which party members make a contribution and bring warmth to the masses" and mobilizes party members to use their spare time to fit stove-pipes, remove sewage, deliver autumn vegetables, and provide other such services to the masses. Thus, party members throughout the municipality enjoy a quite high reputation among the citizens and they have become a backbone force for the municipality to rely on in realizing its decisions.

The Tianjin municipal leadership, when arranging various work tasks, always stresses that party organizations must take the lead in doing ideological and political work well, and take ideological and political work as an honored tradition by which to give play to political superiorities. When completing each major project, they sum up ideological and political work experiences, exciting the party members' sense of responsibility, sense of mission, sense of glory, and sense of duty. In response to the ideological confusion that has occurred in social life in recent years, the Tianjin municipal leadership has stressed that there is a need to provide guidance, in a clear-cut way, for people's ideological concepts and moral activities. In this way, efforts are being made to foster socialist citizens who have ideals, morals, culture, and discipline. When summing up the experiences of ideological and political work in the new period, they have established the guiding ideology of respecting people, understanding people, being concerned with people, and protecting the people. Respecting people means respecting the position of the masses as masters and respecting their rights. Understanding people means increasing understanding and friendship between the leaders and the masses, party members and nonparty members, and between cadres and the people at various levels of society. Being concerned with people and protecting the people means being considerate toward staff and workers, and "doing concrete work to warm the hearts of the masses." This effective ideological and political work provides powerful guarantees for the implementation of decisions.

**3. Handling well the relationship with the armed forces and motivating the enthusiasm of the armed forces for building the localities.** Because of the influence of the Great Cultural Revolution, the relationship between the localities and the armed forces was tense for a time. In order to change this situation, Tianjin's municipal leaders have done well in military-civilian relations and



have intentionally requested army units to help in some welfare projects for the masses. For example, in the project to divert the Luan River to Tianjin, the engineering work by which the water tunnel was pushed through the mountain was completed by the armed forces. In this project to divert the Luan River, the armed forces realized major successes and, although they lost some of their troops, they brought happiness to the people. The people of Tianjin Municipality have erected monuments to commemorate the armed forces' contribution, so as to foster the feeling of "not forgetting who sank the wells when one drinks the water." In recent years, in major projects such as the construction of urban roads and residential accommodations, the gas conversion work, and the repair of the Great Wall, the municipal government has handed the most difficult and most arduous tasks over to the armed forces. Not long ago, due to false rumors, there was panic buying of flour in Tanggu District, and the municipal government immediately asked the Army to use its trucks to deliver 200 sacks of flour to each grain store in Tanggu District. This resulted in the rumor collapsing by itself and the situation quickly returned to normal. At the same time, Tianjin's municipal leaders place special stress on the annual work to support the Army and give preferential treatment to the families of army men, make arrangements for armed forces cadres who have switched occupations, and encourage the people of the municipality to do good things for the armed forces. In the last few years, Tianjin Municipality has made arrangements for 127 households of armed forces cadres at the army level and above. Thus, the work of the Tianjin municipal leaders has not only won the hearts of the people, but also won the hearts of the Army. The bringing of harmony to Army-civilian and Army-government relationships has meant that the armed forces have become a major force in achieving the smooth implementation of the decisions made by the Tianjin municipal leaders.

### **Mao Zedong and His Secretary Tian Jiaying, Part II**

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[Part II of article by Feng Xianzhi (6646 0341 4249) of the CPC Party Literature Research Center]

#### **[Text] V. Involvement in the Drafting of the First Constitution of New China**

On 24 December 1953, Mao Zedong led a constitution drafting group to Hangzhou. Tian Jiaying was a member of the group. The other members were Chen Boda and Hu Qiaomu. This group worked under the direct leadership of Mao. They started work on 7 January and finished it on 9 March 1954. During this time period, Dong Biwu, Peng Zhen, Zhang Jichun, and others, formed a research group and invited Zhou Gengsheng and Qian Duansheng to be its legal consultants, and Ye Shengtao and Lu Shuxiang to be its language consultants. The group worked for a period of time. Meanwhile the

party Central Committee discussed the draft three times and each time a lot of revisions were made. On 23 March 1954, the first draft of the constitution was presented to the first meeting of PRC Constitution Drafting Committee for discussion. The Drafting Committee discussed it many times. At the same time, in Beijing and other major Chinese cities discussion sessions were organized for all democratic parties, mass organizations, and more than 8,000 delegates from all walks of life. Finally, the draft was presented to the first meeting of the National People's Congress. It was discussed and passed. From beginning to end, Mao led and participated in the work of constitution drafting. He provided the guiding thought for the formulation of the Constitution and many concrete suggestions regarding the content. He also revised the language over and over again. At that time some people suggested that the Constitution be entitled "Mao Zedong's Constitution," but Mao rejected it.

As Mao's secretary, Tian took part in the whole drafting process. During the process there was often disagreement between Hu Qiaomu and Tian Jiaying on the one hand, and Chen Boda on the other. Chen was overhearing. Hu had proposed ideas for revision of Chen's draft at a meeting of the drafting group summoned by Mao. After that meeting Chen was furious. Because Hu and Tian were considerate, from then on whenever they had opinions they would inform Chen in advance. Hu and Tian often shared the same or similar views. When Chen could not convince them, he became vexed. He would go slowly and grumble and he said that he would go back to his native place to teach primary school. Therefore, the draft provided by the Hangzhou drafting group had actually been produced by Hu and Tian. Besides taking part in drafting and discussion, Tian was also responsible for collecting and organizing data for Mao's and the group's reference.

Mao and the drafting group returned to Beijing on 17 March 1954. Tian became even busier. (At this time Hu suffered from retinitis in the right eye and was hospitalized. Later, he followed the doctor's advice and went to Moscow for treatment. He was unable to take part in revision of the Constitution.) During the day Tian organized and participated in the discussion of the Beijing region and was responsible for liaison with regions outside Beijing. In the evening he made a report of nationwide discussions to Mao. Sometimes he participated in the discussion and the revision at the same time. He would work until the small hours without rest. Consequently, he was coughing up blood due to over work. He was then 32 years old.

Because of his participation in constitution drafting, Tian had collected many books on constitution and law (including those on constitutions of different countries). He had brought two cases of books with him to Hangzhou. He maintained that to draft a Chinese Constitution we must study the constitutions of other nations, including capitalist and particularly socialist nations. In the course of drafting, Tian had studied many books on



law and even recommended a few to Mao. After returning to Beijing, he continued to study literature on constitutions and legal theories. He also chaired a group to compile and translate literature on constitutions. With Mao's consent he brought several teachers from the law department of the Chinese People's University and a few other comrades to Beidaihe in June 1954 to write *Explanation of the PRC Constitution*. The first draft of the book was passed to Mao for checking and approval. Later, he was occupied with other work and the manuscript was never finalized. Tian was exceptionally intelligent. Whatever he did, he went deep into it and became familiar with it. Because of his involvement in constitution drafting, he accumulated new knowledge of law and broadened his vision. He raised some unique views and posited theories. After this, law became one of his favorite disciplines. A whole bookcase of books on law was in his study.

#### VI. "The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside"

1955 was one of the most important years since the founding of the PRC. Mao summed up the situation in that year as follows: "1955 was a year when we had to decide whether socialism or capitalism had won in China. This decisive battle emerged from the three meetings in March, July, and October summoned by the party Central Committee. The first half of 1955 was bleak and chaotic, but the second half changed completely. It was dominated by another climate. Hundreds of thousands of peasant households took action to respond to the party Central Committee's call for cooperative transformation of agriculture." The July meeting here refers to the meeting summoned by the party Central Committee of party committee secretaries from the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. The October meeting refers to the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CPC Central Committee. Both meetings criticized the so-called rightist opportunism in cooperative transformation of agriculture. After these two meetings the agricultural situation changed drastically and the cooperative movement reached a climax. To promote this development, Mao edited the book *The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside* (in three volumes and more than 900,000 characters) Mao had written 104 comments. Tian and I assisted Mao in editorial work.

Mao attached great importance to this book. During that period he devoted most of his energy to editing this book. Later, recalling this incident at the Guangzhou meeting in January 1961, he said, "In the 11 years since liberation, I have conducted two investigations. One was on the cooperative transformation of agriculture. For that I had read between 100-200 documents, several for each province, and produced a book entitled *The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside*. I read each and every one of the documents, sometimes I read a document several times to study why a certain province had done it so well. For example, the piece on Jianming Commune in Hebei Province was an investigation. The other investigation I did was on the 10 major relations. It

went on for two and a half months and after discussions by 34 departments. Every day or every other day I listened to the report of a department and discussed it with them. Then I arrived at a conclusion on the 10 major relations."

What Mao said was true. We were witnesses. Mao was so serious in compiling *The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside*. He made the best selection and carefully revised the language. Some of the pieces were poorly written. Mao made a lot of changes to them, just like a teacher correcting a student's composition. Mao also retitled most of the pieces. He changed some long and repetitive titles into sharp, vivid, and powerful ones in which the theme stood out. For example, one of the pieces was originally entitled "How the Minsheng and Minqiang Agricultural Production Cooperatives of Zhanzhuangzi Township, Dongguao District, Tianjin, Mobilized Women To Take Part in Field Production." This title contained 33 Chinese characters. Mao changed it to "Women Join the Labor Battle Front." This title had only nine Chinese characters. It was concise and told the reader what the piece was all about. Another example is a piece, originally entitled "How Did Mount Daquan Change From Desolate Land to Land Covered With Shady Trees, Flowers, and Fruits?" Mao changed it to "Look! Mount Daquan Has Changed." What an attractive title! There were many such cases. I mention only two here. When you read those vivid and catchy titles and lyrical comments with strong political content, the image of a victor and a revolutionary who has realized his goal seems to be alive on paper.

Mao especially emphasized writing style. He wrote some notes specifically on this question. They merit the readers' attention here. Mao stated, "Here, I request the readers' attention to a question. Many of our comrades love to write party cliches. Their writing is rigid, boring, and gives the readers a headache. These comrades ignore grammar and rhetoric. They love to employ a half-classical, half-vernacular style. Sometimes they are too long-winded, at other times they are too brief. They seem to be determined to give the readers a bad time.... When will we not have to read so many party cliches? It depends on whether our newspaper and journal editors take heed of this matter. They should ask the authors to produce vivid and coherent writing and they should help them with the revisions."<sup>1</sup>

Mao was used to working at night. Early every morning he would return a bunch of manuscripts with his corrections and comments for us to do some additional work on the language.

Mao was pleased with the investigation on the cooperative transformation of agriculture, but to me it was hardly a success. Mao always held that he would conduct the investigation in person and set a model for the entire party. However, what he did was only to read written materials submitted to him, most of which were written after the criticism on 'women with bound feet'. Most of

Mao's acute comments that attacked 'rightist conservatism' were written on the materials submitted to him after the July meeting of party committee secretaries from provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. When read alone, these comments made good sense. However, taken as a whole, they tried repeatedly to speed up a process that originally was in line with the peasants' demand (but should have been developed step by step, based on the peasants' own will and mutual interests). The result was pushing the process by force. It was commandism. I should also point out that a small number of the comments are still valid today. The quotation above is an example.

*The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside* took little time to publish. It was published in January 1956. At first, Mao had decided to announce publication. However, when Tian submitted the draft of the announcement to him, he laughed out loud and said, "This news is already outdated." (The cooperative transformation of agriculture had already started across the nation by then.) He told Tian that he was very pleased and that he had never been so pleased, not even when the nation was liberated in 1949. These words were a true reflection of Mao's state of mind then. Mao had expected and prepared for the liberation, whereas the victory of the cooperative transformation of agriculture came sooner and more smoothly than expected. He had always thought that it was a most difficult thing to transform 500 million peasants and that it required a long time and much meticulous work to do so. Who would have known that it took only one or two meetings and a report to smoothly resolve this tough problem? So, what problems could not be resolved? The victory of agricultural cooperativization came too quickly and was too superficial. Mao began to lose his senses. He immediately demanded that criticism of 'rightist conservatism' be launched in the spheres of production, science, culture, and so forth. The victory of agricultural cooperativization had boosted Mao's confidence in individual will. He was convinced that his ideas were correct and would produce results immediately. This brought the transition period to a premature close and the emergence of the 'Three Red Banners' and their consequences.

Of course, I am not saying that the peak of the cooperative transformation of agriculture was purely a product of individual will. This was impossible. Its emergence hinged on an objective basis as well. The small-scale peasant economy was weak, but it spread across the vast land of China. It required mutual help and cooperation in production. Since party resolutions were made in December 1951 on agricultural mutual help and cooperation, it had generally been developing steadily and healthily. The advantages of mutual help and cooperation were felt gradually and held considerable attraction. (This was true of many places in the nation.) They promoted the development of agricultural production. It was precisely because mutual help and cooperation had

taken place for a few years and had been successful that the peak of cooperative transformation in agriculture was possible.

Mao asked Tian what he thought the next step should be after the cooperativization. Tian was not prepared for this question and did not have the answer at once. He felt only that he lagged behind in thinking. When the agricultural cooperativization was about to be completed, Mao was thinking of the next step. He was certainly not seized by a whim. Neither did he just mention it casually. He was seriously contemplating the question. This illustrated his philosophy of "incessant revolution" and "proposing new tasks once a battle has been fought."

Of course, Mao did not mean that at that time there was no problem at all in the work on agricultural cooperativization and that he could rest assured. No. Immediately after *The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside* was published, he sent Tian to investigate the state of agricultural cooperativization in each place. Tian and several comrades visited four provinces, namely, Shanxi, Sichuan, Hubei, and Hebei. At that time we called it "observing the peak." During the visits Tian came to be aware of an important issue, which was the excessively large scale of cooperatives. At that time Mao was enthusiastically promoting the further merging of cooperatives. He maintained that small-scale, low-level cooperatives still limited the development of productive forces and could not stay for long. Besides, cadres at all ranks were a bit blind in their thinking. They were all after large-scale and high-level cooperatives. Tian did not just follow Mao's thought or the prevalent view among cadres. He presented his view to Mao based on firsthand information from the investigation. Although he could not convince Mao, that he had the courage to voice opposition to Mao impressed me a great deal. This courage became even more valuable in the political life that became more complex later. I must add that at this point Mao did not distrust Tian because he had raised a different view. Rather, he trusted Tian more and thought more highly of him.

#### VII. Opening Speech to the 8th Party Congress

Strong evidence indicating that Mao thought more highly of Tian was that Mao had Tian draft the opening speech to the 8th Party Congress.

We all know that Mao never had someone else write his reports, speeches, or articles. This was so whether in the war years of the revolution or peaceful construction after liberation. The opening speech to the 8th Party Congress was perhaps the only exception.

At a meeting of the Central Committee in 1964, Mao said, "Some people always have their secretaries as their ghost writers. I never do so. If sickness prevents me from writing, I can say it out aloud. When writing 'The Current Situation and Our Task' in 1947, I fell ill. So I narrated and somebody put it down on paper. I revised it and passed the draft around to collect comments and

then revised it again. Now ministers and bureau directors in Beijing have their secretaries write for them; they themselves do not write. Secretaries can only assist in looking for data. If they can do everything for their superiors, we can cancel the posts of ministers and bureau directors. Writing is labor and we should do it ourselves." Of course, we do not have to write everything ourselves. When Premier Zhou was on a tour abroad for three months, he issued a communique in each country he visited. He could not write each and every one of the communiqués. He gave the ideas and had someone put them in writing. People still remember that the internal instructions of 7 January 1948 for the party on establishing a reporting system that was drafted by Mao for the Central Committee of the CPC stipulated that all bureaus and branch bureaus under the Central Committee regularly write comprehensive reports to the Central Committee. It specifically requested that "the report be written by the bureau secretary himself (not his secretary)."

Mao had been writing two drafts for the opening speech to the 8th Party Congress. For some reason they were never completed. Later he had Chen Boda draft it for him, but he was not happy with what Chen had written. He found it too long-winded and off the point. So he tried Tian. Mao told Tian, "Don't make it too long. With a draft in my pocket I will rest assured." This was just a few days before the party congress. Tian was pressed for time. He spent a whole night getting the first draft out. Mao was quite pleased with it and passed it around to Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Chen Yun, and other comrades concerned at the Secretariat of the Central Committee. After several revisions it was finalized.

Mao did his own writing. When he occasionally had someone do it for him, he gave the latter credit for it. The 8th Party Congress was held at the auditorium of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Mao's head bodyguard, Li Yinqiao, was present. He remembered that after giving the opening speech Mao went to the lounge. Many commended him on the speech. Mao's reply was, "Do you know who wrote that speech? A young scholar did. It was Tian Jiaying."

People may still remember a line in that speech: "Modesty brings one forward and arrogance backward." It has long since become a popular motto. It was among the best of Tian Jiaying and one that Mao was very pleased with.

### VIII. During the Great Leap Forward

Once the people's communes emerged in the summer of 1958, they attracted Mao's deep interest and concern. This was because the people's commune had been a rural utopia in Mao's imagination. He had not expected Chen Boda to speak about it at Beijing University or Chen's words to be published in HONGQI, a theoretical journal of the party Central Committee, with Chen as editor in chief.<sup>2</sup> (It was Mao who suggested publishing HONGQI. HONGQI made its first appearance after repeated

urging by Mao.) Having been mentioned in HONGQI, the people's commune became a new thing in the Chinese countryside that year. In the second half of October Mao sent Tian and Wu Lengxi, respectively, to conduct investigation in Qiliying in Xin Township (the first township in the nation that adopted the name "people's commune") and Xiuwu County (a prototype for "a commune county"). That was from 28 October to 4 November. The comrades who went, including Tian, did not and could not possibly have had any fundamental doubts about the people's commune. However, after the investigation they became aware of many problems, some of which were very worrisome. For example, the strategy of imitating "large-unit warfare" was implemented. Commune members had only three hours of sleep a day. After ten to twenty days of work members were all exhausted and their efficiency dropped. All wished to report it to Mao, the sooner the better. Tian also found out from cadres who had been transferred to the grassroots level about reports that exaggerated production figures. At that time, the nature of people's communes was a major issue for cadres at all levels, from the the central government to the localities. It was also a paramount subject of investigation for Tian. Many cadres at the grassroots level believed the people's commune was under ownership by the whole people. At first Tian did not express his view, but the words of the party committee secretary of Xiuwu County enlightened him. That comrade secretary said, "If the people's commune is under ownership by the whole people, will the peasants of Xiuwu County willingly donate grain to other places when they have a good year? And will the state donate grain to them when they have a bad year?" It made sense to Tian, who thought it was an important point.

One evening we also saw how people made steel. It was at a steelmaking place. It was packed with people. The fire was burning bright and people worked through the night. The leader was busy encouraging the people. His voice was almost husky when he said they would send a "satellite" up that evening. Although we as observers had doubts about such a way of motivating the people, we applauded the people's vigor.

Not only did the steelmaking movement cause serious financial waste, more important was it delayed the agricultural harvest. We saw with our own eyes that the grains that would make a good harvest became rotten in the fields because there were no hands to harvest them.

It has been almost 30 years since the Great Leap Forward of 1958. There is no question about holding a negative view of the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune movement. However, the people's spirit at that time of relying on our own efforts and arduous struggle for a prosperous China deserved our applause. Encouraged by this spiritual force, China made new achievements in irrigation and water works and some aspects of industry, science, and technology. This should not be ignored.



On the night of 5 November, Mao went south to Zhengzhou and passed through Xin Township. Tian Jiaying and Wu Lengxi reported to him the problems they saw in the investigation, including the opinion of the party committee secretary at Xiuwu County. The next day Tian and Wu left Xin Township to attend the first Zhengzhou conference. Based on Tian's and Wu's investigation and other people's reports, Mao emphasized at the conference that the peasants should have sufficient rest and there should be good living arrangements. Talking about ownership by the commune, Mao quoted the words of the party committee secretary of Xiuwu County in order to convince those who believed communes were under ownership by the whole people. Mao praised that secretary for having plenty of brains.

Before sending Tian and Wu to investigate Xiuwu County and Qiliying, Mao had already sent Chen Boda and Zhang Chunqiao to conduct an investigation in Suiping County, Henan Province. Chen and Zhang worked out "Regulations of Weixing People's Commune, Suiping County," which advocated the "communist wind." While the investigation by Tian and Wu gave Mao actual help in correcting errors, Chen and the like raised the erroneous suggestions of abolishing commodity production and introducing product allocation and transfer. They were harshly criticized by Mao at the Zhengzhou conference.

After the Wuchang conference, which took place from November to December 1958, Mao returned to Beijing. He maintained that the resolutions of the 6th Plenary Session had already resolved in principle a series of problems. However, in reality more problems and difficulties were exposed. Mao was at heart most anxious about two issues. The first was about the four major production indicators (grain, cotton, steel, and coal) for 1959 which had been unanimously agreed on at the Wuchang conference and announced. After the conference Chen Yun suggested to Hu Qiaomu that they be not announced. Hu dared not report this to Mao. He managed to announce it in the communique. This incident was harshly criticized by Mao at the Shanghai conference in April 1959. The second issue was agriculture. To find out more about the countryside, Mao sent Tian to Sichuan in the second half of January for an investigation.

#### IX. From the Sichuan Investigation to the Lushan Conference

The investigation team arrived in Sichuan in the early spring of 1959. Their subject was Chungyiqiao Production Brigade in Xinfan County. (Situated to the north of Chengdu, it was merged into Xindu County in 1965.) At that time Xinfan County was a commune and Chungyiqiao Township was a production brigade under it. After the second Zhengzhou conference, they became county and commune, respectively. Chungyiqiao was Tian's mother's birthplace. At that time a maternal aunt was still living there. Tian chose this place because this relationship would help him find out about the actual

conditions. Feeling that the name "Chungyiqiao" sounded feudalistic, Tian suggested changing it to "Dafeng Commune." To commemorate Tian, the people here still keep the name "Dafeng" today.

Xinfan County is one of the most affluent counties on the Chengdu plain. When Tian and I went to "observe the peak (of socialism)" in the spring of 1956, we came to the environs of Chengdu. What we saw this time, however, was far worse than before. It appeared quiet and lifeless. Of the dense bamboo woods that surrounded the houses, only a few lone bamboo stems remained. Members of the commune were still following instructions from above to clear bamboo for land to grow grain crops. The fields that had looked like beautiful brocade before looked deserted now. Gone also was the busy market fair. There was still an occasional fair, but there were few goods. Commune members were all in groups in the fields, doing deep plowing and moving soil.<sup>1</sup> At meal times members of households went to the mess hall to get their share of food. There was usually a long line outside the mess hall. In the evening one could at times see smoke from the chimneys of a few commune members' houses, indicating these commune members were better off and could cook something at home to supplement the diet. Most members, however, did not have food at home to cook. This was what we saw. On the other hand, we had heard that in Xinfan County the yield was 1,000 jin per acre and that in Dafeng Commune it was 800 jin per acre. If the yield was so high, why was there a shortage of grains among commune members? This was a puzzle and no matter how you analyzed it you would not find the answer. The answer was soon clear to Tian who was so good at conducting investigations: The figures were fakes. Reporting fake figures was a nationwide problem, not one unique to Xinfan and Chungyiqiao Counties. However, in Sichuan this was perhaps the first time it was unveiled.

At this time Mao was putting all his effort to continue correcting mistakes in work and curbing the spread of leftism characterized by the "communist wind." After the Wuchang conference, he summoned the second Zhengzhou conference. Tian did not attend it, but he supported its spirit. He applauded especially Mao's guiding principle of rectifying the people's communes: "Unify the leadership with production brigades as the foundation; administration should be based on the same level as the unit; decisionmaking power should be decentralized; accounting should operate on three levels, with each level responsible for its own profits and losses; distribution and planning should be decided by the commune; there should be a suitable amount of accumulation and reasonable adjustment; material resources and labor should be exchanged at the same rate; distribution should be according to labor and differentiation should be recognized." Tian said, with deep feeling, "After all, Chairman Mao is the wisest. We have conducted investigations for so long but have never been so perceptive." Mao's concise lines did not and could not possibly fundamentally change the system of people's



communes. However, under the historical conditions then, it was a wise and effective policy to correct the extreme leftist policy, regulate the internal system of the people's commune (which involved the form of ownership), and further curb the "communist wind."

In early April, 1959, Tian left the Sichuan countryside to participate in a Central Working Meeting held in Shanghai and the 7th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee that followed immediately. The people's commune was a major topic on the agenda. Under Mao's guidance, Tian drafted "18 Questions on People's Communes." This document was a step forward from the resolutions of the second Zhengzhou conference. Mao was pleased with it. After the meeting Tian returned to the Sichuan countryside and thoroughly implemented the stipulations of the document. Not long afterward, Mao's letter to grade-six cadres, the internal party communication of 29 April, was distributed to the lower levels. Tian was overjoyed when he read it. He endorsed, in particular, the two points about rational close planting and telling the truth. It was about time to transplant rice seedlings and there was heated argument on whether very close planting or rational close planting should be employed. Some cadres (who faithfully implemented orders from above) and some young peasants were for very close planting, while experienced old peasants advocated rational close planting. The former had the upper hand. As Tian said, some people seemed to have lost their senses and blindly advocated very close planting regardless of conditions and no one could change their minds. Fortunately, Chairman Mao's instructions served as a weapon for them to resolve the problem. However, some of those who maintained an extreme leftist view did not make this letter known to the lower levels. Mao was the absolute authority, yet the opinions that he personally addressed to the lower levels were blocked out. This shows how powerful was the obstacle formed by extreme leftist thinking. Tian was convinced that Mao's letter was in agreement with reality and spoke to the peasants. Therefore, he broke through the blockade and arranged for the letter to be broadcast to the whole commune. This letter created a stir among the peasants and cadres at the grassroots level. Most of those in Dafeng Commune did not transplant the rice seedlings in the degree of closeness their superiors had instructed. Once the peasants had initiative, they completed the job in a short time. Tian was praised for his boldness and resolution. No coward would even dream of doing what he did. In this respect he resembled Mao to some degree.

When the investigation team was about to leave Dafeng Commune on 6 August, we paid a visit to the old party committee secretary of the county to say goodbye to him as well as to get the county's feedback on our team. That secretary was more than 50 years old. He had been transferred to the south. He was very loyal to the party and wholeheartedly served the people. He often rode a bicycle to the villages to find out about the peasants' situation and to help them resolve problems. He had some thoughts on the Great Leap Forward, including

reporting fake and exaggerated production figures and very close planting, but dared not voice them. That day he spoke his innermost thoughts, showing that he trusted Tian and the investigation team.

He said, "You are right in doing this (being against exaggeration and very close planting). If you keep the truth from the central government, as local cadres do, the nation will be in danger. If you were local cadres and told the truth, you would be criticized. When you first came here, I thought what you did was a bit rightist. Then I realized your position was different. You have been sent by the central government. Therefore, what you did was right, not a shortcoming. Other than that, I can't find any other shortcoming in you. You worked according to the Chairman's instructions and you did the right thing. Cadres of Chungyiqiao cannot do the same. Above them are party committees at the provincial, prefectural, and county levels. You have been able to stick to your principles."

"The masses at Dafeng Commune had great initiative because they were willing to do close planting. With us here it is different. Our masses do not do very close planting of their own will. If the party committee secretary of the county were like you, would he succeed? No, rather he would have committed a mistake. If planting is very close, even if the seedlings are blown down by the wind and harvest is damaged, he still can get away from it. But if planting is not as close as instructed, it may be all right when the harvest is good. When it is not, he will be blamed. To tell you the truth, I agree with what you did. However, during the transplanting of the rice seedlings, we got several phone calls a day, urging us to make sure the planting is very close."

The above quotes came from my notes. At that time the party committee secretary made it clear to us time and again that these words were only between him and us and must not be revealed to others. He had reason to do so. However, it has been 30 years since then. Making his words known to the public may help us to learn from that part of history.

In the second half of June 1959, Tian left Sichuan to take part in the Lushan conference. I accompanied him from Chengdu to Chongqing, then I returned to Xinfan by myself. I was overtaken by sentiment: I missed him and felt I was alone. This sentiment lasted a few days.

During his investigation in Dafeng Commune for almost four months, Tian developed an affection for the cadres and masses there. He was approachable and sincerely cared about the production and lives of the masses there. He also loved and helped the local cadres. During rice seedling transplanting season there was a shortage of manure. Tian took the initiative and went with the cadres and masses to Chengdu to fetch night soil. It was 15 li away and a round trip of 30 li. One evening they made two trips. People loved to hear Tian talk, not only because he was articulate and had a strong Sichuan accent which brought him closer to them, but more

because he had ideas and reasoning and touched the people's hearts. He was good at presenting profound ideas in a form that the people could understand and identify with. Once, at a cadres' meeting, he talked about carrying forward the revolutionary spirit. He said that six members of Chairman Mao's family had been sacrificed for the revolution.<sup>4</sup> At this point all became quiet. Some people burst into tears. Tian left a deep impression on the people and cadres of Dafeng Township. When I revisited this place in 1983, those who had been cadres during Tian's investigation there mentioned Tian and some wept for him for his having died uncleared of a false charge. I remember that news of my visit spread around immediately when I reached Dafeng Commune. Someone said, "Director Tian is back." Others were puzzled, "Isn't Director Tian dead?" A woman said to me, "Director Tian was such a good person!" What I saw at Dafeng this time was totally different. The yield was more than 1,000 jin per acre, far exceeding the false figure of 1958. What was high yield in people's imaginations in 1958 had become a reality 20 years later. The market fair was busy and crowded. Large quantities of agricultural products, clothing, and goods for daily use were available. It was a picture of prosperity. You could not help feeling the tremendous change taking place in the countryside after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Tian collected a lot of firsthand information during his investigation in Sichuan. We often discussed the situation of the nation and came to the conclusion that in launching the Great Leap Forward and people's commune movement, Mao had divorced himself from reality, advanced rashly, and had committed a leftist error. Tian brought with him this view and much information to Lushan. The investigation team stayed in Sichuan and was ready to provide him with more data.

In Lushan Tian made a report to Mao on how the commune he studied exaggerated the amount of grain produced and other problems. He also gave Mao a document from the investigation team about labor model Luo Shifa's discontent with false production figures and excessively close planting. The head of the Sichuan provincial party committee then was upset about this and quarreled with Tian. Later Mao said some words in fairness to Tian, the gist of which was: Do not fear others' reporting. If something does not exist, it will not appear just because someone says it exists. If something exists, it will not disappear just because someone says it does not exist.

Tian was a person who could not hide his thoughts. At the beginning of the conference, when the atmosphere was more democratic and relaxed, he told the others what he thought about the situation and especially about Mao. These words soon spread around a handful of people. When the conference turned "antirightist," he became an object of criticism. It was only with Mao's protection that he was exempted from inclusion in the "military club." What merits mention here is that when the struggle was tense, Tian tried to protect Hu Qiaomu,

who had spoken some words with him. In spite of the danger, he went to Li Rui and asked him not to reveal what Hu had said. It was a time when right and wrong were all mixed up and Tian did the right thing. It was different from protective liberalism and avoiding revealing and criticizing others' errors in normal internal party struggle. We must be clear about this difference. Later, Tian told me that his idea was that Hu was more important to the party and that he would rather sacrifice himself in order to save Hu. One's courage is demonstrated only in a crisis. Tian was respectable for putting the party's interest before his own.

Tian's situation in Lushan determined ours. On 6 August I received a sudden telephone call from Beijing saying that Tian had important work to do and that we should return to Beijing at once. On 9 August we reached Beijing. Not knowing what had happened, we telephoned Tian's family. Tian said that he had had a heated argument with the leader of Sichuan on the questions of close planting and false figures, but that most people were in sympathy with him. He had us come back mainly because he feared we might be in a difficult situation.

The struggle at the Lushan conference was the first major political storm Tian had encountered in his whole life. In this internal party struggle which had gone the wrong direction, Tian did not "expose" others, rather, he protected his comrade. He found disgusting those who were good at speculating the political climate and found opportunities to show how "revolutionary" they were, or those who appeared to be extremely leftist during the Great Leap Forward, but exposed and criticized others irresponsibly. Of course, limited by subjective conditions, Tian could not have been as perceptive about the Lushan conference as he was later able to be. Nor could he have negated the Three Red Banners during that political storm. He made a self-criticism to Mao in person and Mao excused him. Mao told him to "continue your work as a secretary."

Tian made his self-criticism at the Lushan conference under heavy pressure from extreme leftism. Afterward, he told some people that what he said in the self-criticism was not what he thought. At that time he was more and more convinced that Mao had divorced himself from the principle of seeking truth from fact, and that Mao, not as sober as before, refused to listen to different opinions. Many times Tian told me about how he felt at the second half of the conference and how helpless he was.

Obviously, what Tian encountered in Lushan was not unique. In the first half of the conference most participants held similar views. In the second half they were obliged to conduct this kind and that kind of criticism, the form was not the same as before.

With Mao's protection Tian survived the Lushan conference. After the conference, Mao let Tian take part in the study group that Mao chaired on the Soviet textbooks for political economy. It took place from 10

December 1959 to 9 February 1960. This showed that Mao still trusted Tian. However, it was also true that a political breach had emerged between the two of them.

#### Footnotes

1. See *The Peak of Socialism in the Chinese Countryside*, Volume 2, pp 1134-35.

2. See HONGQI, No. 4, 1958.

3. The method of deep plowing was first to plow a layer of soil and pile it up alongside. Then the second layer of soil was plowed. Afterward, the soil that had been piled up was put back and leveled on the original spot. We all had done this kind of work.

4. The six members were: Mao's wife, Yang Kaihui, brothers, Mao Zemin and Mao Zetan, female cousin, Mao Zepan, son, Mao Anying, and nephew, Mao Chuxiong. Mao once said, "No one in my family betrayed the revolution." (See Mao's conversation on 30 August, 1964.)

(To be continued.)

#### Important Way To Develop Spiritual Forces

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in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 89, pp 43-44

[Article by Chen Qingta (7115 3237 3141), director of Automobile Plant No 2]

[Text] To do a good job in managing an enterprise, we need to mobilize both material and spiritual forces. At present, more and more enterprise leaders have come to realize that socialist enterprise culture is not only a kind of new management science, but is also a useful form of exploration for improving ideological and political work in enterprises. Enterprise culture is gradually becoming a major way to tap spiritual forces.

#### I

Automobile Plant No. 2 is located in a mountainous area in the northwest of Hubei Province. In the early period, workers in this factory had to face tremendous hardships in their material life, and their cultural life was also rather bleak. However, the lofty aspirations for "thoroughly changing the backward condition of the automobile industry in China" inspired several tens of thousands of workers, most of whom were young people who voluntarily gave up their much better living conditions in cities, to come to this remote mountainous area to build our country's largest automobile plant through hard work. Recently, the state approved the plan for Automobile Plant No. 2 to build our country's first large-scale car manufacturing base. The entire staff and workers in Automobile Plant No. 2 are determined to dedicate all their energy and efforts to the development of our country's automobile industry. We deeply felt in practice that the pursuit of a lofty goal will arouse a high sense of responsibility as masters among the working masses and will strengthen the enterprise's rallying force

among the working masses. This is precisely the correct orientation of the enterprise culture that we should build.

In the economic structure that combines planning with market regulation, what goal should an enterprise pursue? Since the practice of paying attention only to "political results" and neglecting economic results was criticized, some people tend to move to the other extreme and hold that, as an economic organization, the ultimate goal of the enterprise should be the largest possible profits. This muddled idea has weakened and attenuated ideological and political work in the enterprises to varying degrees, and it also contradicts the socialist nature of our enterprises.

As a creator of material wealth, an enterprise should and must continuously lower its production costs and try to achieve the greatest possible economic results through making the smallest possible input. However, enterprises, especially large and medium-sized state enterprises, also shoulder important social responsibilities and should thus pursue a higher goal. If they just pursue the largest possible profits and take this as their ultimate goal, then abnormal behavior will appear in the enterprises and will eventually ruin their future and ruin the social significance of their existence. If the enterprises pursue a higher goal of promoting social progress and take into account the interests of the whole society, the customers, the enterprises themselves, and their workers, then they will not only reap legitimate profits but will also adhere to the correct orientation.

In fact, people not only have material needs but also have spiritual needs. In a certain sense, people's spiritual needs will provide them with a more sustained motive force at a higher level. Only by properly combining people's material needs with their spiritual needs can we make them promote each other and achieve the integrity of the contents of enterprise culture.

The building of socialist enterprise culture will not only promote the creation of material civilization in the enterprises, but will also promote the development of spiritual civilization in the enterprises, thus guaranteeing that construction and reform in our country advance along the socialist course. Enterprise culture includes the ideals and aspirations of all workers and also provides a huge arena for them to give full play to their talent and ability.

#### II

The spiritual force is invisible. However, once it is attached to people, as the creative factor among other factors of production, it will be turned into a strong material force and will create higher productivity. The building of enterprise culture is, in fact, a process of developing the enterprise's spirit and of tapping the spiritual force.

The means of material production in an enterprise must be continuously upgraded and improved; similarly, the



spiritual force among the working masses should also be continuously boosted. Generally speaking, all people have the urge for improvement and hope to be respected by other people and hope that their work will be valued by society. Enterprise culture, which shows the lofty goal pursued by the enterprise, can precisely play a role in prompting the workers to deepen their understanding of the value of their own work and arousing their mental needs. Then, the process of satisfying such mental needs will bring about a strong rallying force in the enterprise and arouse the initiative and creativity of the workers in their work.

What forces do Automobile Plant No. 2 rely on to rally more than 100,000 workers and their families mostly from various big cities and make them willing to settle down in a mountainous area to build a large, modern enterprise? From our production practice in the past many years, we have realized that we need to rely on both material and spiritual forces. Therefore, we have always attached importance to the cultivation of the enterprise spirit, and have consistently carried out ideological and political work in a vivid and interesting way through the building of enterprise culture. We have made unremitting efforts to strengthen the workers' aspirations to contribute to the development of the automobile industry and to start a new undertaking for the second time. We have also inculcated in their minds the sense of competition so that they are courageous in making innovations and upgrading their work in order to meet market needs. We have constantly advocated the idea of "quality first, users first, and good will first" and have advocated that, "in order to make continuous innovations we should regard the present conditions as backward." Our workers are guided to think that "the factory's development will bring honor to us and the factory's decline will bring shame to us," and are encouraged to carry forward a hard-working spirit in developing the enterprise, an innovative spirit in carrying out reforms, an aggressive spirit in creating new records, and a master spirit in taking the interests of the whole into account. Now, all these notions have struck deep roots in the minds of the working masses and have been turned into their concrete actions. This has thus rather effectively overcome the phenomenon of the separation of ideological and political work from production management.

### III

The forces of an enterprises come from the workers' initiative, creativity, and work enthusiasm. One of the functions of enterprise culture is to establish a positive encouragement mechanism for guiding the workers to adopt correct values, moral standards, and integrated beliefs, and for arousing among them a strong centripetal force, a strong rallying force, and a high sense of responsibility as masters of the enterprise.

In the initial stage of socialism it is quite natural that people are concerned about their wages and bonuses. As enterprise leaders, we should ensure improvement in the

workers' living standards corresponding to the continuous development of enterprise production and the continuous improvement of economic results. It is unrealistic and incorrect to negate the role of material rewards in arousing people's work enthusiasm and initiative. However, if the role of material rewards is exaggerated, they will cause negative consequences. In a certain period, after criticizing the guideline of "taking class struggle as the key link" and the practice of "eating from the same big pot," some people tended to believe in the effectiveness of "material incentive" and the "destructive role of bonuses." They thus paid more attention to the "real benefit" and neglected people's consciousness, and, with "attractive bonuses" and "frightening fines," tried to prompt the workers to work hard. Practice showed that such a mechanism, which relied too much on material incentive, was ineffective and unfeasible. On the one hand, our existing economic conditions could hardly satisfy people's highly stimulated material desires, which in turn just added huge pressure and heavy burdens to the enterprise. On the other hand, although the workers gained more "real benefit" than before, their complaints still increased and their work enthusiasm was not really aroused as expected because the ideological and political work was not done effectively.

In our country, the goal of the enterprise is identical to the goal of the entire society and also highly conforms to the long-term interests of the working masses. This provides a favorable condition for us to build enterprise culture and to mobilize the workers' spiritual forces. However, in order to arouse worker enthusiasm for socialist construction and turn such a passion in the minds of the workers into a force in reality, we still need to build an encouragement mechanism, which is a mechanism to be brought about by enterprise culture and is a major function of enterprise culture. It will give rise to a rallying force, create an environment of consensus, unify the workers' norms of behavior, and ensure the correct handling of the relationship between the state, the collective, and the individual.

In recent years, Automobile Plant No. 2 has been building a management mechanism that combines material rewards with mental encouragement. In the aspect of material rewards, we do not attract the workers' attention merely to the amount of wages and bonuses. Instead, under the guidance of the policies, we enable workers to feel the results of their own work and the enterprise's contributions to society so that they are proud of their work and are more enthusiastic about making greater contributions. In the aspect of mental encouragement, we keep advocating the enterprise spirit and call on all the workers to "love the motherland, love their own factory, and love their own work posts." At present, all the workers in this factory are conscious of doing their own jobs well, having the whole world in view, and making efforts to boost our country's automobile industry, and this is also their common goal.

### Roundup of Discussions at the National Symposium on the Study of Marxist Philosophy and Philosophical Education for Cadres

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[Article by Zhang Limin (1728 0448 3046) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] To uphold the spirit of the national conference of Propaganda Department heads and to stimulate education in Marxist philosophy and its study and research, the Society [for Study] of Philosophical History of Marxism, the Society for Study of Mao Zedong's Philosophical Thinking, and the Group of Lecturers on Theoretical Education for Cadres of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee jointly called "a National Symposium on Study of Marxist Philosophy and Philosophical Education for Cadres" from 11 to 13 October 1989. The meeting was held at the party school of the CPC Central Committee, with the participation of more than 60 comrades involved in philosophical research, education, and propaganda work. During the period of the conference, Li Ruihuan, Deng Guangren, and responsible comrades of the relevant departments Wang Renzhi, Gao Di, Zhu Muzhi, Zhou Keyu, and so forth, held at Zhongnanhai a forum with all delegates of the conference. At the forum, Comrade Li Ruihuan gave an important speech on the great significance of starting a partywide study of Marxist philosophy and on how to properly study Marxist philosophy.

At the 3-day conference, the delegates held keen discussions on the following several problems.

#### 1. How To Understand the Significance of the Study of Marxist Philosophy by the Whole Party and Especially Party Leadership Cadres?

As early as a few years ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun called for the study of Marxist philosophy. But this proposal has not been thoroughly carried out. Recently, the party Central Committee stressed on many occasions that we must properly organize the study of the fundamental principles of Marxism, with an emphasis on the study of Marxist philosophy. From the angle of the current domestic and international situations, the delegates seriously discussed this problem. They pointed out that the study of Marxist philosophy plays a great role in our party's upholding and developing the ideological line of seeking truth from facts defined since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and in better leading the people of the whole country to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Strengthening training in Marxist philosophy is a strategic measure to improve the ideological quality of the whole ranks of cadres. The study of Marxist philosophy helps in studying, grasping, and developing other components of Marxism. Historical experience also shows that a higher level of Marxist philosophy in the whole party will give a hefty boost to the socialist cause of construction. In sum, everyone held that organizing the whole party

and especially midlevel and high-ranking cadres to study philosophy is a major move bearing on the prosperity or decline of the party and the state.

The delegates also said that mistakes in the work of reform and openness and modernization, the phenomenon of corruption within the party, and especially the political storm that happened not long ago, tell us by negative example that a partywide study of Marxist philosophy is a matter of importance and urgency. They unanimously pointed out that without a grounding in Marxist philosophy there would be no unequivocal and firm communist stand.

#### 2. How To Properly Study and Use Marxist Philosophy?

From different angles, the delegates talked freely on their views and exchanged experiences. Recalling the study of philosophy on many occasions since the founding of the PRC, some delegates considered that there are both favorable and unfavorable conditions for the study of Marxist philosophy at present. Favorable conditions are: Socialist modernization badly needs the guidance of Marxist philosophy. The masses of people also need philosophy as a weapon to understand the complicated world outlook. The party Central Committee, attaching great importance to the study of Marxist philosophy, has put it on the agenda as an important item. Unfavorable conditions are: Due to certain mistakes in our work, there has been a decline in the party's prestige. The economic situation is grim. There is also the need to put cadres' mix of knowledge on a technical basis.

The comrades pointed out that, in studying Marxist philosophy at present, we must avoid and guard against deviations that appeared before—Formalism, a short-lived spell of enthusiasm, lack of persistence, departure from reality, and so forth. Therefore, in studying Marxist philosophy, we must first properly solve the problem of study. We must insist on linking theory with practice, and combine things with current trends and tasks and with the transformation of the world outlook and an improvement in ways of thinking and work methods. Leadership cadres in particular must take the lead in making studies and in practice. Persistence in study must be taken as an important indicator in choosing cadres. Everyone held that only in this way can the study of philosophy be made a common practice and a habit in the whole party. Linking theory with practice is not only a problem of study attitude and study methods but also a driving force behind study, a criterion for testing results of study and a main indication of persistence or the absence of it in study. Everyone pointed out that practice shows that given persistence in linking theory with practice, it is easy to understand philosophy, to remember it, to make study a lively affair, to find a teacher, and to solve the problem of lack of time. It also helps toward persistence that lasts.

Some delegates suggested that in studying Marxist philosophy we must emphasize studying philosophical

works by Comrade Mao Zedong and works by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation who are rich in philosophical thinking. This is to say that we must put the study of Mao Zedong Thought in a primary position and thoroughly alter the situation in the past few years marked by the neglect and downgrading of the study effort. Everyone said that in studying Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, we must, on the one hand, do away with and overcome the one-sidedness of the past. On the other hand, we must restore ideas that have been erroneously criticized and even negated in the past few years but that have been proved through practice to be correct. Everyone held that we must correctly understand that Mao Zedong Thought, especially Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking, is our party's cherished spiritual wealth. On how to conduct education in Marxist philosophy among general leadership cadres involved in actual work, some delegates, in light of experiences in recent years, suggested that the study of original works, the study of principles, and the study of special topics be combined, with an emphasis on the study of the fundamental viewpoints of Marxist philosophy. The delegates also said in an appeal that to promote the healthy, penetrating, and lasting development of the study of Marxist philosophy, we must create some conditions, including the formation of public opinion, to arouse the attention of the leadership at various levels. In line with the needs of readers at different levels, we must edit and publish in a planned manner some popular philosophical works. We must, in a systematic manner, provide leadership cadres with time for study. We must also take training in Marxist philosophy as a standard for the selection and promotion of cadres.

### 3. We Must Sort Out the Manifestations of Bourgeois Liberalization in the Philosophical Area in the Past Few Years and Clarify Some Major Issues of Right and Wrong

The comrades attending the meeting unanimously pointed out that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee the masses of philosophical workers have emancipated the mind and upheld the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. Based on the historical experiences summed up since the founding of the PRC and the new experiences since the introduction of reform and openness, and with an eye to the theme of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, they have done a large amount of creative and research work in various areas of philosophical research. They have made contributions to upholding and developing Marxist philosophy. This should be righteously affirmed. Meanwhile, we must see clearly that, in this process and especially in the past few years, a small number of people bent on practicing bourgeois liberalization have raised the banner of "creating the new"—preaching the idea of Marxist philosophy being "outdated," fundamentally negating the scientific nature of Marxist philosophy and its guiding role in our socialist modernization, and negating the leading position of Marxist philosophy in China and downgrading it as a general school of thought.

We must take full account of the serious evil consequences likely to arise from these fallacies.

Participants in the conference fully affirmed the importance of Marxist philosophy. They pointed out that Marxist philosophy is the theoretical basis for all Marxist theory. The proper study of Marxist philosophy aids the proper study of political economy and scientific socialism. Some people pointed out that some leadership cadres, in formulating and carrying out policies, lean to the "left" as suddenly as they lean to the right, showing indecisiveness and failing to get hold of the essence, given a welter of complicated phenomena. As far as the theory of knowledge is concerned, a basic reason is that they have failed to make themselves understand philosophy. Some delegates also pointed out that a very important reason for the decline in the prestige of Marxist philosophy in the past few years is that many mistakes have existed in our actual work. Those people practicing bourgeois liberalization have tried every means to use these mistakes to downgrade and attack Marxist philosophy. Therefore, without doing a good job of socialist modernization, we cannot effectively oppose and ultimately triumph over liberalized bourgeois thinking.

The delegates attending the conference suggested that we must assume a down-to-earth scientific attitude in the struggle to oppose bourgeois liberalization, making a concrete analysis of different conditions, realistically guarding against covering another erroneous trend in correcting an erroneous trend, and avoiding in any way going to extremes. Philosophical workers must propagate materialist dialectics and especially practice materialist dialectics. They must enable the practice of acting according to materialist dialectics to gradually become the prevailing trend in the whole party and throughout the country. This is an important ideological factor guaranteeing the healthy development of reform and openness and the socialist cause of socialist construction.

### Do Not Take the Mountains and Rivers Lightly

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in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 89 pp 46-47

[Article by Xiong Yufan (3574 1342 1581), Propaganda Department, Songhuajiang Forestry Management Bureau Party Committee, Heilongjiang Province]

[Text] In my essay "Love for Green Hills," published in 1980, I suggested "letting those living on a mountain live off the mountain by developing the mountain, and letting those protecting the forests benefit from their work." Ten years have passed and I have discovered that only the first part of my suggestion has been "put into practice." Those living on a mountain really have lived off the mountain, just like gourmets tranquilly enjoying their food at home, and there is no doubt about this. Regrettably, however, the protection of forests and development of mountains have already been neglected by many people who are eager for quick success and instant benefit. The misdeeds of indiscriminately felling trees in the forest zone is often criticized as "eating the



food prepared by the ancestors, but causing harm to the descendants." It is a pity that the "harm" of ruining the natural resources and upsetting the ecological balance is still being "caused."

Understandably, when some people have made gains by "felling more trees to get rich," protection of forest and other natural resources has become empty talk. Now, with some cadres holding that "we should fix our eyes on the mountain if we want to double farm output," development of forestry can only be a lie. As a result, in many places the hills are bare, the stream water is muddy, and the rivers are dirty. The "Forest Law" has become "pale and feeble," so that, as a provincial governor once said, it is now time to protect the forest and, still more important, to "protect the law." Our country's forest area is diminishing by 20 million mu a year, and the annual deficit in timber amounts to 100 million cubic meters. During the past decade, an average of 470 million mu of land all over the country has been hit by flood or drought each year. This is 65 percent greater than during the initial period after the founding of the PRC. If this situation is allowed to continue, what will our country be like!

What is the root cause of the trouble? Qian Xuesen, a noted Chinese scientist, pointed out, "Due to our ignorance and shortsightedness we have been ruining this lovely land for nearly 2,000 years." His comment hit the nail on the head. Shortsightedness leads to eagerness for quick success and instant benefit. Ignorance gives rise to unscrupulous behavior. Marx said that in forestry it probably would take 100 years to turn seeds into finished products after the seeds were sown and the necessary preparatory labor was done. Who can afford to wait! Engels said, "We should not be overjoyed at our triumph over nature. Nature has made reprisals against us after such a triumph." Who cares! For this reason, everyone joins in recklessly felling trees, so much so that even the mountains shed tears and the rivers are filled with grief.

Friends, if you believe the truth, that without greenery there cannot be life, then love the forest as you love your lives! In Finland, where 71 percent of the land is covered with forest, people say proudly that "the Finnish people love the forest more than they love their lives." Should we not follow their example? Elders and country folk, if you love your land so deeply then let your hometowns be clad in green! Should we allow our hometown to get into a state like Ningxiang County, Hunan Province, where there were only three big trees in the whole county during the 1960's? This gave Comrade Xie Juezai, who had been away from his hometown for a long time, feelings of loss and pain and moved him to write the lines: "Gone are the big trees and clear springs and the beautiful scene exists only in my mind!"

Citizens of the republic allow me, a resident in a mountain area, to stand in a corner in the green wilderness and cry aloud: Do not sit idle and delay our efforts to harness rivers and develop mountains, otherwise we will be in a deplorable state!

### For the Sake of China's 'Youth'—Reading the Full-Length Biographical Novel *Li Dazhao*

HK1912053789 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 89 pp 47-48

[Article by Lei Da (7191 6671)]

[Text] Our knowledge of the history of modern revolution comes from textbooks. When reviewing history, most of us rely on "concepts" rather than "images," which makes it difficult to achieve "a sense of history," or a feeling that we are participating. This is precisely why historical and biographical literature is so popular. So great is the appeal and influence of historical and biographical literature that images of historical persons, once cast in the minds of the people, cannot be changed no matter how many academic theses are written on them. However, if we look at history since the turn of this century, although the period was one of momentous and epic events, and although people want to obtain, through rich and lively images, a concrete feeling for what the founders of the Communist Party were like and a feeling for their convictions, temperament, and breadth of vision, want to understand how the flame of Marxism was brought into China, and so on, there is still far too little biographical literature of any scale on this period. This is something very regrettable indeed. *Li Dazhao*, a 600,000-character biographical novel with a vast structure and abundance of historical facts, has just been published. How can we not feel excited about this?

It is obvious that the author, Wang Zhaozhu [3769 2600 2691], was deeply moved by the great aspirations demonstrated by the likes of Li Dazhao in fighting ceaselessly for the young Chinese nation and was writing with compassion for the past and for the present. Otherwise, he would not have shown such perseverance in plowing through the library of original historical sources and would not have spent eight whole years writing this novel. Having seized the inherent spiritual link between the "beginning of the century" and the "end of the century," he discovered in the Chinese history of the first half of this century a rich source of Chinese literature. In this period was condensed the process of the spiritual transformation of our nation and many fundamental problems concerning national emancipation and the prosperity of our motherland. It was also the grand stage where important figures of modern history played their spectacular roles. Digging into this period will be of great help to us in trying to understand reality through the link between the past, the present, and the future. In those years when China was greatly troubled by foreign aggressors from without and by warlords from within, what people like Li Dazhao explored was the question of whither goes China. Today, despite fundamental changes in historical conditions, our quest to find ways of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the same old question of whither goes China. While the question of how to keep our motherland from becoming a "country of old age" and how to truly make it a "country of youth" was a question that Li Dazhao and

the like deeply pondered, is it not a question that requires us to maintain sharp vigilance and think deeply about? In this sense, the novel *Li Dazhao* is shining with realistic value.

The greatest achievement of this novel is that it truthfully and artistically recreates the lifelike character and special quality and temperament of Li Dazhao against the backdrop of a turbulent time. The novel has overcome the difficulty of how to portray the mentality of an intellectual like Li Dazhao in a given era while at the same time depicting his independent image as a vanguard of the communist movement that transcends time. The son of a peasant, Li Dazhao saw with his own eyes how workers of the Tangshan Coal Mine suffered humiliation under the foreigners and how peasants who took part in the "Boxer Uprising" were killed. These tragedies prompted him to renounce the imperial examination and to search high and low for an answer to revitalizing the nation. Despite repeated setbacks, he never regretted his choice. In the end, he not only outdid Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] and Sun Yat-sen, but beat Chen Duxiu in accepting Marxism. We should point out that he accepted Marxism before it had achieved any success (the Paris Commune Movement ended in failure and the October Revolution had not yet started). This was what made him so admirable. A major characteristic of this novel is the spirit of tenaciously searching for and exploring the truth, which runs through the entire work. The novel further stresses that, while ordinary revolutionaries may be willing to explore the truth, it is something very rare to be willing to sacrifice for the sake of the truth. It is precisely with a view to conveying this high moral principle of living only for the truth and slighting physical existence that the novel devoted such length to writing about Li Dazhao's sacrifice. Li Dazhao was so noble in his moral integrity that "even his opponents never attacked his personal morals." In order to portray a real and true-to-life Li Dazhao, the novel

penetrates into the contradictions of his innermost moral quality; that is, the contradictions between the most advanced Marxist world outlook and life outlook on the one hand and oriental moral ethics and traditional culture and morality on the other. The relationship between him and his wife, Zhao Renlan [6392 4771 5695], was a case in point. This kind of contradiction makes Li Dazhao's image that much lovelier and greater.

*Li Dazhao*, as a full-length biographical novel, has a panoramic structure of intertwined facts rather than a straightforward story line. With the ups and downs of Li Dazhao as the main theme, the story is enriched by weaving in important characters and events. The story touches on over 100 characters and myriad events. It is by no means easy trying to organize so many characters and events truthfully and systematically into an organic body. How to choose, what to highlight, and how to enrich the color without undermining the main theme all require great skill. In the use of language and the refinement of the plot, the author has, in keeping with the stormy era about which he is writing, abandoned the supple, delicate, and unhurried tempo for a more masculine and broad stroke and has made appropriate use of the device of "dramatized" conflicts. However, it must be pointed out that the novel is not without blemish. The changing back and forth between classical and colloquial Chinese, faulty wording, and over-exaggeration in the treatment of certain scenes are cases in point.

In spite of these blemishes, *Li Dazhao* remains a masterpiece of biographical literature. While many incidents and characters are still open to interpretation and are being covered up or distorted, the author has made a penetrating study of historical records, carried out independent thinking, and made every effort to be faithful to historical facts while artistically recreating these facts. This requires tenacity as well as courage. We hope to see more rich fruits of biographical literature in the realm of modern history.

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