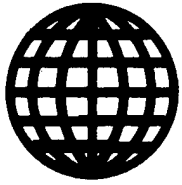


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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 1, 1 January 1990

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**Heighten Our Spirit, Strengthen Our Confidence,
Strive To Do Economic Work for 1990 Well**

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in
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A Crucial Year

HK0702134090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 90 pp 9-12

[Editorial]

[Text] History has entered the year 1990. For the People's Republic of China, a decade of great significance has elapsed, marking the dawn of another decade of even greater significance, the 1990's.

The departed 1980's saw fruitful progress under the guidance of the line set by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. During the past decade we have scored tremendous achievements in every field of endeavor by focusing our work on economic construction, upholding the four basic principles, and carrying forward the reform and opening up. We have fulfilled ahead of schedule the strategic target of doubling the GNP. This is a step forward on the road of socialist modernization which has attracted worldwide attention. Profound changes have taken place throughout the country as seen in the marked increase in national economic strength; the remarkable improvement in the livelihood of both the urban and rural populations; the further advancement in science, education, culture, and public health; and in the significant strengthening of building the socialist democracy and legal system. Special mention should be made of the decade's final year, when our party led the whole nation in a successful effort to repulse a savage onslaught by bourgeois liberalists and suppressing at one stroke the political turmoil and the counterrevolutionary rebellion provoked by a small handful of people. This was a historically significant victory of the 1980's to the credit of our party and the people. It brought to light the fact that the confidence and determination of the CPC and the Chinese people in adhering to the socialist road are unshakable. It has also pointed to another fact that the future and destiny of the socialist cause are in the hands of its initiators, the proletarian party and the general public under the party's leadership. So long as our stand remains firm we can withstand any anticommunist and antisocialist currents, and the imperialists' "peaceful evolution" strategy in China will be to no avail.

In the past decade we had both positive experiences of success and negative ones of frustration. We were over-anxious for quick results in economic construction, sought undue rapidity, encouraged excessive consumption, underestimated class struggle in the ideological field, and neglected the building of the spiritual civilization of socialism. All of these gave rise to some disorder and deviant phenomena in both the economic and social

spheres. Providentially, our party's historically significant 4th and 5th Plenary Sessions last year summed up past experiences, both positive and negative, in a scientific way, worked out correct policies and plans, and proposed practical targets and feasible measures for overcoming current difficulties and scoring even greater victories. In reviewing the past and looking forward to the future at the beginning of a new historical decade, we are highly confident of winning new successes.

This is the first year of the 1990's and also the first year after the 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee. This year, we should conscientiously study and act in keeping with the message of the 5th Plenary Session and actively step up improvement, rectification, and deepening the reform under the prerequisite of ensuring social stability. The 5th Plenary Session affirmed the correctness of the resolution of the 3d Plenary Session on improvement and rectification and the achievement that followed; set new targets for furthering improvement, rectification, and deepening the reform; and drew up guidelines and measures therefor. This is a crucial year for fulfilling these targets. The improvement and rectification, started more than a year ago, have been progressively touching deep-lying problems accumulated over many years, leaving the hardest nut to crack for this year. The quality of this year's accomplishments and whether the desired results can be achieved, especially if seen in a remarkable improvement or otherwise of the economic structure and a marked increase in economic returns, under the prerequisite of continuing to cut general demand, will have a profound impact on the fulfillment of the entire task of improvement and rectification and the development of the social economy. Leaders at all levels should repeatedly study the documents of the 5th Plenary Session, seek unity of thinking and action to a greater extent, rouse themselves, and win a crucial battle in this crucial year.

It must be made clear that implementing the resolution of the 5th Plenary Session is a political task demanding serious attention and an economic task of pressing importance. Not only does it concern whether or not our economy can be freed from its predicament and tide over the crisis, but it also has a bearing on the continued stable and well-coordinated development, or otherwise, of our economy throughout the 1990's and even into the first decades of the next century. Thus, it will affect the future and destiny of the socialist cause. If we do not work conscientiously on improvement and rectification and do nothing about the numerous chaotic phenomena in the economic sector now, problems will accumulate, the dimensions of the difficulties will increase, and even the fruits of the 10-year reform and opening up cannot be retained. How, then, could there be any chance of fulfilling the second and third strategic targets in the socialist modernization drive? Undoubtedly, successful improvement and rectification will also have a profound and far-reaching impact on our efforts to defeat our political enemies, safeguard the country's lasting order

and security, and propel the development of our socialist cause. All party comrades, especially leading cadres at all levels, must understand the necessity and importance of improvement and rectification with such an insight and become more conscientious and determined in implementing the resolution of the 5th Plenary Session.

Following the spirit of the party Central Committee's plan and carrying out its decisions must be integrated with local realities. This is the principle and practice that our party has always stressed, and it applies equally to implementation of the 5th Plenary Session's resolution. We should emphasize that such an "integration" is to explore measures and methods that suit local circumstances and ensure solid implementation of the resolution in the locality and not the contrary. Authorities in various localities should conscientiously deliberate on and draw up plans for implementing the 5th Plenary Session's resolution in the light of local realities. They should set targets for improvement and rectification in their specific localities or units according to the requirements of the resolution. The goals for this year and afterward, and the methods and measures to be adopted, should all be specified. Foreseeable problems and difficulties in the course of implementation should be fully estimated and countermeasures against them found. Solid implementation of the resolution should be ensured through good work in all fields. It is incorrect to constantly play up the particularity of one's locality and ask for special attention and "flexible" policies without managing to grasp the gist of the document and considering ways to implement it. During these years the overheated economy, excessively wide scope of fixed-asset investment, inflation, persistent high financial deficits, disrupted economic order, irrational economic structure, inadequate macroregulation and macrocontrol, including the imbalance of some economic policies, have all been quite common everywhere, varying only in degree. The resolution of the 5th Plenary Session was formulated after a comprehensive study and analysis had been made of the situation in various regions and fields throughout the country on the basis of investigations. Therefore, it is applicable and valid as guidance everywhere in the country. No region or department can justify ignoring it. Ours is a very large country with highly uneven development. For example, the situation in coastal areas is one thing and that in the midwest quite another and differences can be found between any two cities, villages, or enterprises. If each plays up its uniqueness and asks for special attention and "flexible" policies, how can the desired results of improvement and rectification be achieved?

The communique from the 5th Plenary Session once again put forward the notion of taking the whole country as a chessboard. This is vital to successful improvement and rectification. In the course of improvement and rectification there are unavoidable choices to make between protection and reduction, promotion and demotion, and advance and retreat. All this demands that leading cadres at all levels have a strong sense of the

overall situation and conscientiously base their considerations and work on the recognition of their respective localities or units as part of the big chessboard of the whole country. The overall situation should be given prior consideration before rational removals and demotions can be carried out and the extent and methods of such measures determined. The gains or losses of a specific locality or unit are marginal in such a selection. It is an indication of inadequate overall awareness if all keep calculating for their private gain, take for granted that reduction is for everyone but themselves and protection for no one but themselves, and hope to have an easy and comfortable time while leaving austerities to others. When we emphasize that leaders at all levels should have a sense of the overall situation, we do not mean that the leader of a unit, department, or locality should not pay attention to the interests of that unit, department, or locality and ignore their respective troubles. Consideration should be given to the general interests of the state and those of a locality or an enterprise and the difficulties for any of them should be duly regarded. In order to help the state, localities, and enterprises fare well in the course of improvement and rectification, we should first direct our attention to the state as well as to the departments or units that are important to the overall state situation. Under this prerequisite, we should cater to the interests of other sectors or parts as much as possible. Each part should arouse itself to maximize its contribution to the well-being of the overall situation. In the event of a conflict between the general interests of the state and those of the locality or unit, the principle that the part is subordinate to the whole should be firmly upheld. Ours is a unitary state with a unified economy. On the basis of cherishing the worthy initiative of localities and enterprises, it is necessary for us to restructure the current distribution pattern of national income and exercise appropriate centralization. Decentralism, departmentalism, cliquism, and extreme egotism all pose formidable barriers to implementation of the central resolution and must be pulled to pieces and repudiated in the course of improvement and rectification.

Discipline is the guarantee of policy implementation. Regarding the situation whereby lax discipline and self-affirmed practices have cropped up frequently in recent years, we must reiterate the uncompromising nature of discipline in the course of improvement and rectification. The unified policies, decrees, and plans of the central authorities should be carried out to the hilt. The improvement and rectification will put an end to all violations of discipline, such as disobedience, feigned compliance, passive resistance, and choosing to follow what is beneficial to themselves in the policies and ignoring the rest, as phrased in the slogan: "Each policy from above finds a counterplot at lower levels." Acting against orders and prohibitions and ignoring warnings and exhortations should be punished as breaches of discipline. The sense of discipline and resoluteness in implementing the 5th Plenary Session's resolution are a touchstone to test the quality of Communists and the

party spirit of party cadres. All party comrades, especially the leading ones at all levels, should be able to stand up to the test of the improvement and rectification.

Political stability should be maintained to facilitate improvement and rectification. Normal social development needs political and economic stability. But stability, in its true sense, is not to be maintained by dodging contradictions and covering up problems. It is only possible when maximum efforts are exerted to strengthen forces and factors that contribute to toeing the party basic line and to remove those that do not. Therefore, in the present improvement and rectification we should draw a lesson from our practice of the past few years, when we fully immersed ourselves in concrete undertakings and took no notice of political developments, give full play to our political advantages, and strengthen the party's political-ideological work with all our might. We should firmly and completely rely on the working class, bringing its role as the state's master into full play, further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and continue to act in the spirit of "respecting knowledge and men of knowledge" to promote the most extensive united front. We should continue education in upholding the four basic principles, carry forward the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, and give full substance to education in political developments and in patriotism, collectivism, and socialism, all centering on improvement, rectification, and deepening the reform. We should further strengthen the building of democracy and the legal system; bring out the best in the state political-legal organs; protect people's democratic rights, liberties, and righteous interests from any infringement; and take legal actions against violations of law to maintain public order. We should recognize problems in good time and seek prompt solutions, try every means to turn negative factors into positive ones, and nip in the bud all factors that may cause social instability before it is too late to do so when there are many problems and contradictions are intensified. Only through the above-mentioned efforts can we create a favorable social environment for completing the task of improvement and rectification and effect a continued, stable, and properly coordinated economic development.

Giving full substance to the building of government work style and party conduct is a determinant and a guarantee of successful improvement and rectification. Since the 4th Plenary Session, the new generation of leadership in the CPC Central Committee has taken the lead to redress party conduct and eliminate corruption, winning credit from the public all over the country. But thoroughgoing solutions require painstaking efforts by party members at all levels and currently most important in this regard are practical and substantial actions. Careful investigations must be conducted and firm legal actions taken to handle those party members or cadres who violate the law by turning the power they are vested with to their own advantage, who are corrupt and take bribes, engage in business illegally, resell goods at a

profit, and become morally degenerate. Showing them mercy will undermine the confidence of the general public, whose support determines the success of improvement and rectification and the prosperity of the socialist cause. In strict accordance with the cardinal principle of serving the people wholeheartedly, party organizations at all levels must maintain close links with the masses, listen attentively to their views, show concern for their weal and woe, and by every possible means help them solve practical problems. They can never be too prudent in matters concerning the immediate interests of the masses and should resort mainly to persuasion, explanation, and discussion with them instead of following a simple and unthinking approach. Personnel who are out of work because of reductions in investment and industrial restructuring should be taken special care of and new avenues of employment should be opened up through various channels to make appropriate arrangements for them. Party members, especially leading cadres, should be the first to live in austerity and genuinely share hardships with the masses. In the early 1960's, our country survived a great crisis. An important reason was that party and government organs at that time were sound in work style and party members and cadres were devoted to public duty and were incorruptible. They were, therefore, able to appeal to the masses and win their trust. In the 1990's, during the present improvement and rectification, we should resolve to redress party conduct and government work style to the satisfaction of the people and restore and improve the flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people.

Opening to the rest of the world is one of our basic national policies and will hold good for a long time. We should continue to seek opportunities to extend our friendly contacts with the rest of the world in different ways and make efforts to safeguard world peace and stability to secure a favorable international environment for the construction of our country. We will keep clear of the internal affairs of other countries and never yield to the forces who believe in power politics and interfere in ours. We will remain clear-headed and keep a close watch on new developments in the international arena.

In this new year we should prepare ourselves for new tasks with refreshed spirits and strive for further improvement of work in all fields. While we are attending to the improvement, rectification, and deepening of reform, we should also pay due attention to the education, scientific research, literature and art, public health, and political-legal domains and carry on building the material and spiritual civilizations simultaneously. In this way we can make further contributions to fulfilling the goal of redoubling our GNP by the end of the 1990's and bringing our country to the level of medium developed countries by the mid-21st century. We strongly believe that the road taken by the 1.1 billion Chinese people is absolutely right. So long as we rally closely round the party Central Committee, with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the central figure, consistently uphold the four basic principles, carry forward the

reform and opening up, work hard for the prosperity of our country with concerted efforts from all quarters and on the basis of self-reliance, and forge ahead despite frustrations, there will be no insurmountable difficulties for us and our socialist cause will surely have new and broad prospects and remain permanently in an invincible position.

**Correctly Understand the Market Situation,
Actively Do a Good Job in Commodity Circulation**

*HK0202123190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 90 pp 13-16*

[Article by Hu Ping, minister of commerce]

[Text] After the second half of 1989, there emerged a phenomenon in which the retail market was temporarily sluggish. Brisk sales of some industrial and commercial enterprises soon slackened. Products were overstocked. The turnover of capital was difficult. The economic results of enterprises were affected. It became a hot topic to discuss the proper way for us to correctly analyze the market situation, adopt the necessary measures, organize the circulation, and promote a healthy market development.

The situation and trend of the market are determined by a variety of factors. Among them, the aggregate volume and composition of commodities in circulation, the market order and circulation organizations, and the exchange relations in the market are the most important.

Aggregate Volume and Composition of Commodities in Circulation

Over the past decade, the aggregate volume of China's circulation market expanded; total retail sales of commodities in society in 1988 had increased by 3.77 times, or 16.9 percent a year compared to 1987. It was 2.48 times more than the average annual growth rate (6.8 percent) of the previous 26 years (1953 to 1978). During this decade of reform and opening up, the development of production and construction was rapid, and the people's livelihood improved sharply. The average annual growth rate during the first five years of these 10 years (1979 to 1983) was 12.8 percent. Although the growth rate for each year rose and fell, it was relatively stable. In the latter half of these 10 years (1984 to 1988), the aggregate volume of circulation increased sharply at an average annual growth rate of 21.2 percent, an increase of 27.8 percent compared to 1988. It was so serious that the balance between aggregate volume of supply and that of demand was upset, the composition of commodities became irrational, and prices soared.

A balance between the purchasing power and the supply of commodities is a condition for having a normal development of the market. If purchasing power is greater than the supply of commodities, there will be a shortage of commodities, people's livelihoods will be affected, and there will be tension in every aspect of our

economic life. On the contrary, if the supply of commodities is constantly greater than purchasing power, the market will become stagnant, products will be overstocked, and the healthy economic cycle of circulation will suffer. In the past five years, China's economic development was overheated, so there was inflation in the demand for investment and consumption. In 1988, social investment in fixed assets was 214 percent over that of 1983, while the monetary income received by urban and rural residents increased by 200 percent. This exceeded the growth rate in national income by a large margin, so that the national income was excessively distributed. Since as much as 40 percent of the investment in fixed assets and 90 percent of the residents' monetary income, was turned into purchasing power, there was a sharp growth in the purchasing power. On the supply of commodities, the people's basic means of livelihood, the raw materials of light and textile industries, and the supply of export goods were affected because of a dislocation in distribution between industry and agriculture, and between basic industries and processing ones. This was particularly true when agricultural production such as grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops became stagnant after 1984. The gap between purchasing power and the supply of commodities widened with each passing year. In 1988, the difference increased by more than 100 percent when compared to 1984. Meanwhile, the excessive distribution of national income brought about an excessive issuance of currency. The inflation rate increased from a single digit to double digits. While this increased the nominal retail price of commodities in society, it provoked a buying spree among the masses, who hoarded goods. This intensified market shortages, and stimulated an unhealthy expansion in the development and circulation of the processing industries.

Following our rectification and consolidation in the past year and more, the demand for investment in fixed assets and the consumption demand, in particular, the purchasing power of social groups, had been preliminarily checked and suppressed. The situation of withdrawing currency from circulation was quite good. The price rise was eased, and the excessively rapid industrial development slowed down. Agriculture reaped a good harvest and the psychological status of residents became stable, so that the amount of deposit savings increased rapidly. This thus suppressed the excessively inflated purchasing power and then reduced the growth rate of total retail sales of commodities in society. This is the major reason that the sales market in the second half of 1989 was more sluggish when compared to the same period in 1988. Nevertheless, the upset balance between the purchasing power and the supply of goods remained unsettled. It was estimated that the volume of such purchasing power, which included savings and had not been realized for years, totaled more than 700 billion yuan, or about the sum of total retail sales of commodities for 10 months. Therefore, taking the overall situation into consideration, the effective demand in the last two or three years was still greater than effective supply, and the market supply will remain to be tense. If we do not further

suppress demand, live a thrifty life for several years, and actively increase supply, gradually achieving an overall balance between purchasing power and the supply of goods, the market will remain intensified, and it will be very difficult for us to develop in the national economy a healthy circulation.

While the balance between purchasing power and the supply of goods was upset, the composition of commodities supplied was irrational. According to a list of 581 categories of commodities prepared by the Ministry of Commerce in September 1989, among the 488 categories of major industrial goods, 30 percent were in short supply and 15.5 percent were oversupplied. Of the 93 categories of major agricultural and sideline products, 47 percent were in short supply and 11 percent were oversupplied. Such irrationality in the composition of commodity supplies further intensified the imbalanced market.

The irrationality in the composition of commodities supplied was closely related to China's distorted production and consumption structures. Such a distortion in the production structure was manifested by the agricultural basis that was so weak that it could not afford rapid industrial development; and by the failure of energy resources, transportation, and raw materials industries to catch up with the development of processing industries, which were plagued by problems such as duplicate production, one-sided pursuance of growth in output value so that production exceeded the possible social needs or supply of raw materials, unmarketable products, and so forth. In the consumption structure, as we blindly advocated consumption in recent years, the switch of consumption by residents from grain to animal protein, spirits, and beverages was so large in scale that it was impossible for suppliers to meet demand. Also, the demand for high-quality clothes and articles was great. There was a leading purchase of durable goods. The proportion of noncommodity expenses, such as housing and labor expenses, was small, but purchasing power was very large. Social groups indulged in consumption of luxurious and extravagant goods. Such phenomenon of leading purchases on the market was very prominent in 1988. Such irrationality in the production structure further promoted irrationality in the that structure and the supply of commodities was adversely affected. This abnormal phenomenon in the consumption structure has been checked in our rectification and consolidation. According to a typical survey conducted by the Statistics Bureau, in 1988 family expenses of urban residents were greater than their income; and in 1989 the family income of urban residents was greater than their expenses. In 1988, the proportion of expenses for clothes and articles for daily use to family expenses was large; and in 1989, the proportion became smaller, although the proportion of their expenses for food rose. Also, the growth in the possession of durable consumer goods slackened. Meanwhile, consumer attitudes changed. Some did not buy these commodities until prices dropped. Some business operators were worried that their sales might suffer losses as a result of increased interest rates by banks, so they hesitated to place orders. This was also a reason for the sluggish sales of certain products.

In order to put an end to the upset balance in the supply of commodities, we must readjust both the production structure and the consumption structure. We must devote major efforts to developing agriculture and increasing the production of basic means of livelihood, as well as industrial raw materials. Light and textile industries must first readjust their composition of products, make them meet market demand, and increase their effective supply. At the same time, we should suppress the consumption of social groups, check the growth of consumption funds, and give correct guidance to consumption through such means as pricing, taxation, and publicity. Demand and supply of a commodity are affected by pricing. Therefore, our readjustment of the pricing structure is favorable to the readjustment of production and consumption structures. At present, products with excessively low prices are mainly primary products such as grain, cotton, and oil-bearing crops. As the price readjustment of these products has influence over the whole territory, this can be done only subject to our overall pricing control. Therefore, we need to adopt a variety of nonpricing measures to coordinate the comparative advantages in the rural areas and encourage peasants to increase their output.

Judging from the foregoing analysis on the aggregate volume of circulation and the supply of commodities, we can see that the currently sluggish market is not caused by a shortage of effective demand or excessive production. Rather, it is a result of rectifying and consolidating the inflation in consumption and circulation, which started several years ago. Furthermore, the so-called "sluggishness" is a structural and local one, rather than a universal one affecting the sales of all commodities. Generally speaking, consumption demand is still very large. It is not the case as it was proposed by some people that the sluggish market was brought about by shrinking consumption demand. Also, it simply will not be their pessimistic conclusion that this would inevitably bring about stagnant production. From now on, the market development trend will be determined by the control of the aggregate amount of currency, our process of readjusting the national income distribution, and the composition of industries. In the wake of reducing the rate of inflation, as well as changes in the distribution of national income, the general market trend will be a stable one. We can guarantee that the market will remain steady if agriculture can do well in successive years in the work of increasing its investment, emphasizing science, and maintaining stability in policies, and if industry attaches great importance to the readjustment of composition of industries and products, improving their economic results, and increasing their effective supply.

To Consolidate Market Order and Rationalize Organization and Circulation

The market situation is determined by market order and the status of circulation and organization. By market order we means the order under which products made by various enterprises, departments, and localities start circulation and compete with each other. In our reform

in recent years, we placed excessive emphasis on decentralization and open pricing, while paying less attention to or taking ineffective measures for guidance over planning and macroeconomic control. Although market competition was developed, order was chaotic. As the proportion of planned commodities were excessively cut, the importance of planned supply was neglected. There was no strict control governing the purchase and sale of certain commodities with respect to which raw materials were in short supply. Therefore, prices rose sharply, and speculation on these commodities was popular. Many agricultural products were purchased through many departments and from many localities, so there were frequent outbreaks of "battles." As some hoarded and speculated on some industrial goods that were in short supply, selling them by hiking prices was very popular. This intensified the tense supply of some of these commodities as well as the price rise, thereby disturbing the market. In the course of market competition, cases of violating price controls, hiking prices, or doing so in a disguised manner took place repeatedly. This was also true for unhealthy practices such as extorting rebates, selling a commodity with another unmarketable one by force, asking for a share of profits, asking for additional charges, as well as counterfeiting, selling inferior goods, and so on. This undermined the interests of the producers, business operators, and consumers. It was inevitable that we must consolidate the market order. Through the punishment of officials who practiced speculation, we hit at economic criminals; launched a large-scale inspection on pricing, taxation, and finance; rectified and consolidated companies; and strengthened supervision over planning and price control. Such work has yielded good results in the elimination of speculative spurious circulation, checking prices, and plugging economic loopholes.

From now on, when we consolidate the market order, we must first appropriately expand the scope of mandatory planning and strengthen the administration of the purchase of planned commodities. We should continue to carry out contracted purchase and planned supply of grain, cotton, and oils that have an important bearing on people's livelihood and the national economy. Only after fulfillment of the contracted purchase can such grain, cotton, and oils be put on the market. We should carry out guidance planning for important industrial raw materials, major export agricultural products, and products whose resources are subject to protection. In addition, we should purchase these items at key production areas in a centralized, joint manner or on a quota or regional basis. We should also determine a proportion for planned operation of major nonstaple food such as meat, poultry, eggs, and vegetables. Other necessities that are closely related to people's livelihood should be subject to the purchase and supply plans of provincial (regional) and city authorities, which should be worked out in accordance with the market situation. Except for the monopolized tobacco and spirits, and except for the supply of petroleum, which is subject to centralized distribution, certain special commodities (such

as color televisions, certain means of agricultural production, Chinese herbal medicine and pharmaceuticals, dangerous goods, articles for labor protection, and so on) must also be subject to monopolization. Second, we should put an end to the current situation in which the wholesale business is excessively decentralized. The wholesale of planned commodities should be monopolized by the designated wholesale companies, and no other units should be allowed to run it. Those industrial wholesale companies run by production enterprises should be allowed to engage in the sale of their own products only, provided that they have fulfilled the purchase quota assigned by the state. These companies should not be allowed to engage in the wholesaling of products not made by their respective production enterprises. No individuals should be allowed to engage in cross-country wholesale business. Third, we should work out laws and regulations governing transactions, strengthen supervision and control, promote open and standard transactions and transactions of bills, and oppose acts of improper competition.

Commercial organizations are the major force in our organization of circulation, and in our competition. As we implemented the principle of establishing "multiple channels with fewer links" in our 10-year reforms, commercial organizations flourished. Compared to 1980, the number of retail and catering organizations in 1988 had increased by 5.27 times. Their staff had increased by 2.7 times. This included individual commercial organizations, which increased by 14.6 times; and their staff, which increased by 16.8 times. Of the 1988 gross retail sales volume of commodities in society, state-run commerce accounted for 39.4 percent, supply and marketing cooperatives accounted for 16.1 percent, other collective commerce accounted for 18.3 percent, commercial joint ventures accounted for 0.4 percent, individual commerce accounted for 17.8 percent, and sales by peasants to the nonpeasant population accounted for 8 percent. In wholesale business, the state-run sector and supply and marketing cooperatives accounted for 77 percent, their number of staff accounted for 90 percent, and their purchase volume totaled more than 60 percent.

The diversified development of commercial sectors was favorable to creating more job opportunities, making people's living standards more convenient, invigorating circulation, and making the market brisk. However, the division of labor in this respect must be rational. We must pay attention to strengthening and giving play to the role of state-run commerce and supply and marketing cooperatives as the major channels. They must really master wholesale circulation. In retail sales, they must carry out policies, run their business in a civilized manner, and play an exemplary role in the adoption of advanced management methods and technical facilities. State-run commerce and supply and marketing cooperatives must strive to open rural markets, expand their purchase and sales network, and maintain the necessary stock so as to act as a "reservoir." They must do well in the provision of services before, in process, and after production; and promote production by overcoming difficulties in "purchasing" and "selling." By using purchases to promote sales and determining output on the basis of sales

of industrial goods, they must uphold the selective purchase and expand diversified sales in accordance with market demand and industrial policies. They must further perfect the practice of monopolization, clearly define the limits of the "two-tier system," and implement relevant plans and policies, as well as regulations on pricing. The state-run commerce and supply and marketing cooperatives must intensify their internal reform, strengthen their accounting, and improve their economic results in order to function as major channels. The state must give priority to and guarantee the supply of capital for expanding its purchase and stabilizing the market, and the availability of raw materials, storage facilities, transportation, and so on.

As a collective, individual and private commercial sectors run their businesses on a small scale, in a flexible way, and in the vicinity of the consumers, they have certain advantages when running retail and catering business. Under the prerequisite of upholding public ownership, we must, in accordance with market demand, encourage them to continue to develop within the boundaries permitted by the state. At the same time, we should strengthen administration and control over them and help them overcome their blind acts and negative factors, make good the omissions and deficiencies, expand their services, make things more convenient for the people, and create more job opportunities.

In order to improve the efficiency of circulation, the composition of commerce must match the demand of the production structure and consumption structure. In their development, they should pay attention to developing shops and facilities that serve agriculture, develop wholesale and retail shops that serve newly developed industries, strive to increase the supply of petty commodities, increase the number of standard and economical food shops, and develop services that help people do their housework, beautify the living environment, and enrich people's leisure activities. Commercial activities must be an integration of large, medium-sized and small, with the medium-sized and small ones dominant. At the same time, they should actively develop combinations to improve the extent of organization in the market. Combines run jointly by urban areas and the rural ones, those by purchase and sales units, and those by wholesalers and retailers can help us produce more marketable products, improve circulation plans, reduce links between the process of production and that of sales, and reduce the time required for circulation. Thus, these practices should be popularized among enterprises that have the necessary conditions. In order to do well in circulation organization, we must continue to hold exhibitions and trade fairs, set up more agricultural products markets and wholesale and retail markets, so as to save time, reduce transaction links, and carry out transactions in open, centralized channels.

To Strengthen Macroeconomic Control and Rationalize Exchange Relations

In order to maintain steady development in the market, we must strengthen macroeconomic readjustment and control. In addition to stabilizing prices, we should pay

special attention to readjusting the accumulation-consumption proportion, as well as the agriculture-light industry and heavy industry proportion, through coordination, so that the supply of commodities is larger than the purchasing power of such commodities in the market. Under these circumstances, we must also readjust and control at the national and provincial (regional) levels the supply and demand of commodities which are closely related to the national economy and people's livelihood, so as to maintain a stable market and its healthy development. For the sake of realizing such readjustment and control, we must pool together certain amount of capital, foreign exchange, and raw materials as our means, in addition to taking administrative and legal means. At present, we must handle well the following relations.

1. Relations between urban markets and rural markets. The rural markets are China's largest market. In the wake of development of the commodity economy, more and more agricultural products have become commodities. As agricultural production gradually expands, the extent of self-reliance in peasants' life has been reduced, while their expenses on commodities have gradually increased. This, together with the rapid development in town and township industries, have made the rural markets more important. We must attach great importance to the rural market. We must actively do well in the supply of agricultural machinery, farm tools, and the means of agricultural production. We must purchase agricultural products at a rational price and in timely way, allocate more industrial goods to rural areas, supply more articles for daily use, and join the science and technology departments to offer a range of services.

2. Relations between a centralized market and a regional one. China's domestic market is a centralized one, while it is also formed by many regional ones. Because its territory is very vast, its economic development is not balanced, and its financial contracts and open-door policies favor certain regions, there have long been contradictions in economic interests between the coastal areas and inland areas, between eastern China and central and western China, between raw materials production areas and processing areas, and between areas from which commodities are shipped out and areas to which commodities are shipped. We must properly handle these contradictions so as to maintain smooth circulation and avoid any division of the market or regional blockade. Under the conditions of financial contracts, areas to which commodities are shipped should pay the necessary compensation to areas from which such commodities are shipped if such commodities embody subsidies from the local authorities. Furthermore, they should make their best effort to transfer commodities through contracts and to determine a rational proportion of such transfer so as to coordinate the relations between the central and local authorities, and between production areas and sales areas. All localities should strengthen control over the purchase price of agricultural and sideline products. They should pay

attention to the pricing of their neighboring regions and prohibit price increases and hoarding. They must first set up a local market for products that are in short supply in the market and that can be produced locally. They must dovetail plans and arrange regional trade for products that are made at a particular place and that are needed by many localities. They must support economic development in "old, newly developing, border, and poverty-stricken" areas; and continue to implement policies that offer preferential treatment to trading among minority nationalities. They need to organize small-scale foreign trade business in the border areas.

3. Relations between the domestic market and the international one. China's domestic market is an independent one. The consumption of its 1 billion and more population determines that China must depend on its domestic market. However, the utilization of foreign investment, the import of advanced technology, the use of international division of labor, and the use of comparative advantages play an important part in China's economic construction. Therefore, we must insist on opening up to the outside, devote major efforts to developing international trade, and strive to generate more foreign exchange income. In imports, we should limit the scope of imports to primary products that are in short supply in China. We should reduce the import of products that can be made in China. We should adopt the policy of import substitution toward finished products that must be imported by China, and localize such production as soon as possible. We should appropriately control the import of ordinary consumer goods that are available on China's market, and promptly put an end to the present situation in which the market is full of foreign goods. In exports, we must adhere to the principle of serving the domestic and overseas markets. When there are contradictions between these two markets, we should generally give preference to the domestic market in the case of daily necessities and give preference to the overseas market in the case of other goods. We must control and reduce the export of products and roughly processed goods with respect to the resources that are in short supply, while expanding the export of finely processed products. We should encourage the coastal areas to continue to develop outward-looking enterprises and exchange-earning agriculture in order to generate more foreign exchange.

Tentative Discussion on Changing and Building the Agricultural Input Mechanism

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[Article by Jin Fushou (6855 4395 1108) of the Research Office on Rural Policies, Zhejiang Province]

[Text] Realizing the stable development of agriculture is the foundation for economic, political, and social stability and is a problem affecting the security and stability of the country. It is here that the key for readjustment of the economic structure lies. Various quarters should increase

their input in agriculture. This article purports to discuss the problems with the agricultural input mechanism.

I. Contradictions in the Course of Change and Reform

The agricultural input mechanism, as an organic constituent part of the operational mechanism of the national economy, will necessarily need change and reform following the changes in the economic structure. In the old economic pattern the principal bodies in agricultural input consisted of the state and the collective. Ten years of economic structure reform have caused large changes in the old agricultural input mechanism. A new mechanism suited to the needs of commodity agriculture and modernized agriculture is being fostered and developed, but still faces many contradictions. These contradictions may be analyzed from the internal and external aspects of the rural villages.

Within the rural areas, aside from the original collective economic structures, reform of the management and control structure, centered on the system of contracted responsibility based on the household and remuneration linked to output, has engendered a large number of new principal operating bodies, such as peasant household, family enterprise, shareholding enterprise, private enterprise, and so forth. This has produced a deep influence on the agricultural input mechanism. On the one hand, many of the collective organs in the localities have had their agriculture input functions weakened or even taken away. On the other hand, the investment activities of the new operational principal bodies have displayed many new features: 1) The operational principal bodies have relatively full autonomous power in making investments. Exercising effective control over such a large number of dispersed operational principal bodies through Administrative measures has been difficult. 2) The investment selection available to the operational principal bodies has expanded and increased the opportunity cost of production of agricultural inputs. As a result of eliminating the bondage over the free circulation of essential elements of production, such as labor force and capital funds, the allocation area of rural resources has broken through the restrictions of the industries, departments and localities. Due to the relatively low level of benefits from agriculture, allocation of resources has continuously been slanted toward nonagricultural pursuits. 3) Since the investor must shoulder all the risks and responsibilities of the input, his concept of effects is greatly increased. In particular, the average peasant pays extra attention to spending each and every cent of input. He would rather spend his investment funds on production projects that carry few risks, achieve high benefits, and provide quick returns. It must be affirmed that this change in the investment behavior of the peasants conforms to the general laws of the development of commodity economy. However, it also brings along new contradictions that are centrally manifested in investment ventures becoming of short-term duration. Despite the fact that economic strength and investment capability have increased greatly in the rural areas during these years, no one has shown any interest

in basic facilities of a public nature or that take a prolonged period to yield any concrete returns. Input in these facilities has thus sharply declined, the enthusiasm for input into those agricultural production projects of relatively low returns has become low, and production is on the downturn.

Seen from the outside, certain measures in the rural areas taken in economic structure reform have become impediments to the structural character of agricultural input.

First, the financial structure of contracting for fulfillment of tasks at various levels strengthens the interests of the localities and stimulates the short-term acts of local governments. Although financial contracting does play an important role in arousing the enthusiasm of local governments for economic development, organizing revenues, and raising the utilization benefits of funds, because agricultural input produces thin profits, yields late returns, and must contend with the risks of the market and nature, local governments, following careful considerations, have frequently preferred to invest their capital funds and credit and loan funds into industrial and commercial projects that can produce higher profits and quicker returns. Thus, agricultural input finds itself in a position of being edged out and steadily reduced.

Second, enterprise structure reform augments the interests of enterprises and departments and, in the course of the contradictions between the enterprises' own interests and aid to agriculture, agricultural production's material protective structure and technological service structure are seriously weakened. Agriculture is an industry or estate with low benefits and the price of capital funds, materials, and services it finds acceptable can only be low and cheap. If the state cannot provide sufficient subsidies to enterprises and units that provide materials, funds, and services to agricultural production, these agricultural aid units will find themselves in a dilemma. They have difficulty choosing whether, for the sake of protecting their own interests and those of their own staff and workers, to choose to forsake the interests of the peasants and raise the prices of their agricultural aid materials, funds, and services, perhaps in a disguised manner; or to elect to accept administrative intervention and maintain prices at a low level, thus putting themselves in a dilemma of no profit or small profit. This may not seriously disrupt agricultural production in the near future, but the results will be the same in the long run because an industry or trade that operates at a small profit, or no profit, will sooner or later collapse because of the lack of competitiveness. This will reduce supplies to agriculture. Thus, regardless of what choice they make, the ultimate result will be insufficient agricultural aid supplies, exceedingly high prices, and a weakening of aid to agriculture. The current state of agricultural loan funds being edged out or used for other purposes, the shortages and high prices of products for agricultural use, and the distorted state of servicing for agriculture are all associated with the above-mentioned contradictions and conflicts.

Third, in recent years the crux of the agricultural problem has been that the prices of agricultural products could not be stabilized, despite efforts made to put them in order. The comparative benefits of agriculture further fell into the bottom of the pit and also constituted a functional impediment to the nurturing and growth of the new agricultural input mechanism. The problem in agricultural input was manifested not only in the insufficient quantity and reduction in the amount of input, but also in the serious losses or drifting away of the limited input through outward transfer of agricultural aid credits, loans, and materials; through legitimate as well as illegitimate encroachment on expense funds in agricultural enterprises; through the use by peasants and agricultural operational units of agricultural subsidies obtained from the state or collective bodies for nonagricultural pursuits and for consumption; and so on. Under the conditions of the inability of agriculture to obtain social average profits, such a state of affairs is difficult to rectify basically.

II. Framework of the New Structure

With establishment of the new mechanism for agricultural input it is intended that, in the course of economic structure reform, the above-mentioned contradictions and conflicts will be readjusted and solved, ways and measures will be probed to increase agricultural input and raise investment benefits, and that all this can gradually be systematized.

Who should shoulder investment in agriculture? The peasant households and other operators in agriculture should logically be the principal bodies making agricultural investment. However, because agriculture occupies the basic position in the national economy, and because of the current low benefits or returns, with returns taking a protracted period, and the many risks incurred, agriculture cannot rely solely on agriculture operators to make the input. It must rely on input from the state, society, and localities.

That the state should undertake making the input presumably cannot be contested. The problem lies in the rules and standards covering state input. The current rules and standards determining government investments are: Economy in investment, high profit, and quick returns. If these are taken as the rules for investment by enterprises, they would not be subject to dispute, but if they form the guidelines for state investment, then they need further study. For government investment practice and enterprise investment behavior to proceed in the same direction and at the same pace is precisely the important cause leading to the distortion in the industrial structure. Profits and the direct economic benefits of the projects should not be the supreme targets of investment by the state. Government investments should be principally for the purpose of promoting and facilitating the stable and coordinated development of the national economy. Government should first of all undertake those projects that are indispensable to socioeconomic development and that the peasants and collective organs are unwilling or

unable to take up. That is, projects that society needs urgently, but that incur large investment, involve protracted periods, earn low profits, and are susceptible to many risks. For example, we can mention cases such as large water-conservancy construction intimately related to agriculture, large chemical fertilizer plants, large-scale treatment and opening up of land, agricultural research and training, and training agricultural personnel. Hence, we must resolve to rectify the direction of the government's investments and readjust the investment structure.

Quite a large number of comrades believe that, following implementation of the system of contracted responsibility on a household basis, there is no need for the continued existence of collective economic cooperative organs in the localities, and they advocate that these organs be replaced by specialized cooperative organs. However, specialized cooperative organs cannot, within a short period of time, cover the whole range of work of the societies in the localities. Neither can they take charge of all the economic functions of society and the localities. Agricultural capital construction enjoyed by all and of a long-term nature in the localities, such as water-conservancy construction in farmland, development of agricultural resources, building and maintenance of roads and highways, construction of service facilities and structures, and so forth, can hardly be undertaken solely by individual peasant households, or other small-scale agricultural entrepreneurs and specialized companies, but they are beyond the reach of government investment. In reality, this category of enterprise can depend only on the role and strength of the societies in the localities, hence, following enforcement in agriculture of the household operation system, the "united" functions of and village society collectives will still need to be maintained. United construction, provision of certain public services, and regulation of the economy all require the existence of this layer of cooperative societies in the localities. There must be a rebuilding of the accumulation input mechanism of these societies.

To sum up, the new setup of the agricultural input mechanism should be a combination of three layers, namely, the state, the localities and societies, and operators or entrepreneurs. They should have their division of work and their responsibilities. They should be associated with each other, supplement each other, and form a "three-in-one" organic body. Compared with the old structure, there is not only a change in the input main body, but also a qualitative difference in formation of the mechanism and of the input, in enjoyment of the benefits, in sharing of the risks and responsibilities, and in the response to signals from the market.

III. Several Proposals

Changing, reforming, and building the agricultural input mechanism is a long-term process. It needs to be connected with and suited to the progress of economic

structural reform and development of the economy. It should progress step by step. In the near term, efforts may be made mainly along the following three lines:

1. There must be legislation on agricultural input in order to regularize the government's behavior in investment and to strengthen the state's input mechanism.

As mentioned above, due to defects in the systems, such as that in the financial contracting structure, governments at various levels have always been inclined to reduce input into agriculture, and only during times of a decrease in agricultural production and of dire effects being felt in the supply of agricultural products, is the fundamental position of agriculture regarded as important by the people at large, and only then is there any hope of improvement or additional investments in agriculture. But as soon as the agricultural situation turns slightly for the better, investments are put aside once again. This sort of government behavior of "grasping agriculture when there is a poor harvest, forsaking agriculture when there is a plentiful harvest, making more investment when the leadership highly regards agriculture but making less input when there is no such indication has seriously affected the stable development of agriculture and aggravated its passive state. To change this state of affairs and overcome the fact that the leadership is casual in nature and moving more or less blindly or unknowingly, there is an urgent need to compile legislation on agricultural input. Through this legislation, the government's investment behavior will be regularized and it will have to perform its duties and obligations on various sides, such as the composition of financial expenditures, capital construction investment, and credits and loans, and a rational amount of credits and loans will be fixed for agricultural input. This can ensure investment in agriculture and in industries that turn out products for agricultural use. In order to mobilize the whole social strength to support agriculture, will it be possible to consider instituting one or two new special taxes, such as, for example, collecting a grain surtax from all industrial and commercial enterprises for the special use of supporting grain production? Or, from those highly profitable enterprises engaged in processing or handling agricultural and sideline products taking a fixed ratio of their aftertax profit retention as a refund or return to agriculture and to support production. Regarding industries producing articles for agricultural use, the government should provide special and concrete assurances with respect to funds and raw materials. For the sake of improving the management of agricultural funds, raising their effects, and extensively absorbing idle social funds and foreign investments, it will be worthwhile to attempt to establish agricultural investment companies at various levels. Naturally, companies of this kind must have a clear-cut purpose, their operations must be aboveboard, corruption of any kind must be prevented, the transfer of funds outside the realm of agriculture must be prevented, and there must be assurance that the available funds should solely and effectively be used on agriculture.

2. Strengthen, perfect the organization of, and rebuild the input mechanism of the localities.

"The ponds look like small bowls, the ducts and channels look like bamboo flutes, the dykes and dams look like saws, and the roads look like ribbons."—This is a description of the disrepair in recent years of farmland water conservancy and of the aged condition of the facilities. The main cause of such a situation is the weakening of the investment functions of the localities. It represents the most seriously broken layer in the transformation and replacement between the old and new input mechanisms. Rebuilding the input mechanism in the localities should be delayed no longer.

First, the organizational body of the input mechanism in the localities must be rebuilt. Principally the grade-one cooperative economic organs in the villages, particularly in large administrative villages and those in which the residences are widely scattered, should still be appropriately augmented.

Second, building the mechanism for raising of funds. Seen from the actual practices of certain provinces like Zhejiang and others in recent years, the effective measures have been the building of four systems: 1) The agricultural development funds system. Principally, this called for collection from rural collective enterprises, shareholding cooperative enterprises, private enterprises, and individual enterprises, and from the various kinds of highly profitable agricultural operational projects of a fixed ratio of funds for use in agricultural capital construction and for supporting production in low-profit estates such as grain, cotton, and hog-raising. This system played the dual role of agricultural accumulation and economic regulation, being particularly suited to localities with thriving secondary and tertiary industries or developed multiple-line operations. 2) The labor accumulation system. In our country's rural areas, the labor force is the most plentiful resource. In particular, economically undeveloped regions should all the more fully utilize the current advantageous opportunity of possessing a plentiful, surplus, and cheap labor force to increase their input into agriculture. 3) The cooperative funds system. Originally, the two levels of the production team and the production brigade collectively accumulated funds. Now, the funds have been appropriated or used for other purposes. The sedimentary state of funds is fairly prevalent. On the basis of conducting financial liquidation, the establishment of cooperative sinking-funds societies can strengthen the management and control of the funds, put the public's mind at ease, and raise the peasants' confidence in the cooperative economy, as well as put the funds to a lively use and increase input into agriculture. 4) The compensatory contracting system. In the course of implementing the system of contracted production responsibilities in agriculture, many localities divided the land but made no provisions for deliveries of contracted amounts to the contract holder. Some localities did make such provisions but failed to carry them out. On the one hand, this situation caused the misunderstanding that contracted

responsibilities on the household basis represented a mere division of farmland for unitary farming and diluted the concept of the public ownership of land. On the other hand, it weakened the economic strength of the collectives in investment and rendering services. Hence, formation and perfection of the agricultural compensatory contracting system is of great significance.

3. Improvement of the investment environment and attracting agricultural operators and entrepreneurs to increase their input.

It is one-sided to blame the short-term behavior of the peasants in cutting agricultural investment and expanding consumption on their "shortsightedness and satisfaction with being only slightly well-off." As a matter of fact, the factors determining the peasants' investment behavior are their estimation of investment benefits and risks involved. Against this, it would be passive just to let things go their own way, but depending only on political mobilization and administrative mandates may not produce the desired effect. The fundamental measures consist of improving the investment environment and raising investment benefits. This embraces the factors of policy environment as well as material and technological environment.

First, we must resolve to do the utmost to raise investment benefits in agriculture and enable agriculture to obtain society's average profits. This will heighten the power of agriculture to attract capital funds and inputs. It should be noted that the recent four years' sustained downward trend in grain and cotton production was due principally to the shifting and transfer elsewhere of the usage of land resources and other inputs for agriculture under the driving force of comparative benefits. To rectify this "downhill" tendency, we cannot depart from the key point of "comparative benefits." The current rise in the market price of grain serves as an important stimulant to the interest and enthusiasm for planting grain on the part of the peasants, but fixing the grain purchase price too low is a serious deterrent. Raising the purchase price of grain is a question that cannot be evaded. Naturally, it will be difficult in the short run to effect any large-scale increase in the purchase price to make it entirely satisfactory. Prior to this, we can suitably increase the quantity of materials in linked supply and expand exchanges in kind as a sort of subsidy. Concurrently, we should continue to push the policy of "subsidizing agriculture with industry" and employ the measure of microeconomic regulation to increase the incomes of agricultural workers.

Second, the land system must be improved. In this connection, the practical and workable measures, under the precondition of firmly insisting on the collective ownership of land, on the one hand, are to stabilize the contracting right so as to elevate the long-term projections of the contractors, guide them to love and take good care of the land, protect soil fertility, and make long-term investment in land. On the other hand, the usage right should be further enlivened so as to help and

benefit the necessary circulation and centralization of land. Through circulation and centralization an appropriate operational dimension can be formed, the operators' economic benefits can be increased, and their interest in investment can be stimulated.

On the side of material and technological environment, the situation of supply of articles for agricultural use should be improved and there must be a prompt and timely supply, in quantity, of good-quality and cheap means of production for agricultural use as well as good-quality seeds. The socialized service system for agriculture must be improved and coordinated services should be carried out well. Basic facilities for the processing, transport, storage, purchases, and sales sectors should be set up. The industrial and estate chain should be prolonged, the value and prices of products should be raised, and last, agricultural production insurance should be initiated to spread and even out the natural and market risks in agricultural production.

Commenting on the 'Theory of Remolding' in Ideological and Political Work

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[Article by Huang Hong (7806 1347) of the National Defense University]

[Text] Comrade Zhao Ziyang once advocated that we must "remold" ideological and political work (hereinafter referred to as the "theory of remolding"). This slogan produced serious consequences in actual work. At present, it is no doubt of paramount importance that we take further steps to eliminate the influence of the "theory of remolding" and to stress and improve the party's ideological and political work.

I

On the question of how to handle the party's ideological and political work, the difference between our view and "the theory of remolding" is not a simple matter of wording, but reflects two diametrically different assessments of the present state and tradition of our party's ideological and political work.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party established the overall policy of reform and opening the country to the outside world. The party Central Committee has all along been very cautious in describing and presenting various aspects of reform and has been accurate in its use of such notions as "make better," "improve," and "reform." On the question of ideological and political work, the wording used in the Political Report of the 13th National Party Congress was "stress and improve the party's ideological and political work." However, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that "ideological and political work does not simply require stressing, it also requires remolding." There is obviously a special meaning behind this. In the Chinese language, the word "remolding" has two levels

of meaning: One is to remake or rebuild, while the other is choose another mold, both of which involve a change in the nature of the matter. What then did Comrade Zhao Ziyang mean by "remolding" ideological and political work? He made the unequivocal call that we must "bring about changes and innovation on the levels of structure, concepts, content, modes, and methods" in order to "establish a new pattern of ideological and political work." This shows that the "theory of remolding" is aimed at fundamentally changing the nature of ideological and political work. Many of the articles published around that time elaborated this theory along this line: "Remolding means casting off one's old self and carrying out thoroughgoing revolution." "Remolding means changing and remaking. In other words, it means fundamentally changing the old mode of ideological and political work and establishing a new pattern of ideological work." "We must make not only functional changes but also substantial and overall changes." Around this time, an influential newspaper highly praised this slogan in an editorial, saying, "Remolding ideological and political work is not a casual slogan. Rather, it is a principle put forward on the basis of an all-round and objective analysis of the developing situation and the history and present state of ideological and political work, and is in conformity with reality and rich in enterprising spirit."

Is the "theory of remolding" really a principle that is "in conformity with reality and rich in enterprising spirit"? Let us examine this so-called "theory of remolding" to see if it holds water.

In his analysis and appraisal of the present state of ideological and political work, Comrade Zhao Ziyang alleged that "things have not been put right" in this realm. Some people gave the following explanation on Comrade Zhao Ziyang's decision to call for the "remolding" of ideological and political work: "What is meant by remolding is that we must resolve problems in a fundamental way. The reason this call was made is that, after the 3d Plenary Session, things had been put right in all realms except in that of ideological and political work, where 'left' practices still prevailed. Thus, it is not merely a general question of reform and improvement, but is something that requires remolding." On this basis, a newspaper further emphasized in its editorial, "Ideological and political work requires remolding primarily because the task of putting things right is far from over in the realm of ideological and political work.... The long-standing influence of 'left' practices has not been truly eliminated. In comparison, the task of putting things right in the ideological and political realm is slow and out of tune with that in the other realm." It is obvious that such judgment and evaluation go completely against the consistent spirit of the party Central Committee and the actual situation in the ideological and political realm. "Putting things right" has a specific meaning. It has its own historical content, that is, effecting a fundamental change in guiding ideology from the "left" practice of Lin Biao and the gang of four to the correct orbit of

Marxism. Concerning this historical task, the report to the 12th National Party Congress unequivocally pointed out in its opening paragraph: "Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique in October 1976 and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in December 1978, through the arduous efforts of the whole party, the whole Army, and the people of all our nationalities, we have accomplished the difficult task of setting the party's guiding ideology to rights and have won major successes in setting right our practical work on all fronts, thereby effecting a great and historical change." Naturally "all fronts" here also cover the realm of ideological and political work. As a matter of fact, it is precisely because the ideological and political realm had suffered serious damage under the "left" ideology that the party Central Committee attached such great attention to the elimination of "left" influence in the realm of ideological and political work. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee Central Committee, the party has upheld the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and has thoroughly negated the Cultural Revolution and the "theory of continued revolution," thereby creating the necessary conditions for putting things right in the realm of ideological and political work. With a high level of awareness and great efforts, the vast number of political work cadres eliminated the influence of "left" mistakes and put right the guiding ideology in ideological and political work. In the course of party rectification across the nation, they took the elimination of "left" mistakes as the key task in the realm of ideological and political work and helped bring ideological and political work into the correct orbit of development. In so doing, they played an important role in ensuring that the whole party can smoothly effect a shift in work focus. The practice of reform and opening the country to the outside world during the last 10 years shows that ideological and political work not only has not been lagging in the elimination of "left" mistakes, but has played an active role in ensuring and rendering service to the implementation of the correct line of "one focus and two basic points." In the ideological sphere, including the realm of ideological and political work, the complete elimination of "left" influence is, of course, a long-term task. Nonetheless, it is an objective fact acknowledged by the whole party that the work of setting right the guiding ideology with specific historical content has already been fundamentally resolved. In his understanding of the present state of ideological and political work, Comrade Zhao Ziyang compounded the "left" mistakes of the gang of four with our party's ideological and political work since the 3d Plenary Session. In so doing, he seriously obscured the distinction between right and wrong and negated the achievements made in ideological and political work through continuous improvement and innovation during the past 10 years.

In his analysis of the traditions of ideological and political work and the present situation, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out that traditional ideological and political work must be thoroughly transformed because it can

no longer meet the needs stemming from the deepened reform of the political and economic systems and the development of the commodity economy. On many questions, we cannot but examine and analyze Comrade Zhao Ziyang's views side by side with those of his trusted follower, Bao Tong [7637 1749]. In 1987, Bao Tong emphasized that the tradition of our ideological and political work was "formed in the course of revolutionary and armed struggles. That was the historical background. It was formed under the historical condition of the constantly intensifying mass movement after the founding of the people's republic. Class struggle was taken as the key in the mass movement." "In particular, we must realize that we are now engaged in construction, not fighting a war." In 1988, Bao Tong put forward the notion of "transforming traditions." A certain individual lost no time writing an article to elaborate this idea. The article said, "Our party's ideological and political work took shape in the special historical environment of the revolutionary war years. Ideological and political work must suit the needs of revolutionary struggle. Its guiding ideology, principle, policy, objectives, tasks, ways, and means are tailored to the central task of our party at a given historical period.... After entering the stage of socialist construction, this became a traditional burden. As far as the development of the socialist commodity economy is concerned, past traditions are a heavy weight on reality. History and reality are dislocated." It should be noted that this notion did, in fact, reflect the underlying reason why Comrade Zhao Ziyang called for the "remolding" of ideological and political work and constituted a major excuse for his "theory of remolding." In the new historical period, it is indeed necessary for ideological and political work to renovate certain concepts and change the content and modes of certain aspects of work to suit changed conditions. There is nothing wrong with adapting to changes. It is precisely for this reason that our party has all along maintained that ideological and political work not only must be stressed, but must be improved and made adaptable. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee Central Committee, the party raised the issue of adapting ideological and political work to the shift in work focus. In recent years, in order to meet the needs of the development of the socialist planned commodity economy, the vast numbers of ideological and political workers studied and explored various aspects and tried hard to combine the fine traditions of ideological and political work with the new historical conditions. They made gratifying achievements by properly handling the relationship between advancing and developing. The difference in principle between our stand and the "theory of remolding" lies not in whether ideological and political work needs to be developed and innovated to meet the needs of new conditions, but in the guiding ideology of development and innovation and in whether the traditions of ideological and political work which have proved effective through years of practice ought to be repudiated and replaced by something new. The fine traditions of our party's ideological and political work were developed through revolutionary struggle, and have

been proved effective in practice. No matter how the situation may have changed, the aims of our party will not change. Hence, the basic functions of ideological and political work in spreading propaganda among the masses, educating the masses, and mobilizing the masses have not become outmoded. We have been pursuing the reform and open policy for the 10 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee Central Committee. Today's political and economic structural reform is the deepening and continuation of the decade of reform; it is also a part of the great revolutionary cause of the proletariat. During the past 10 years, the traditional ideological and political work of our party has also been steadily enriched and developed following the deepening of reform and the opening up of the country to the outside world. This is a unified process of development. How can we say today, when reform and the open policy are being deepened, that ideological and political work is outmoded and needs to be thoroughly remolded?

In his defense of the "theory of remolding," Comrade Zhao Ziyang also maintained that "remolding and improvement are in complete harmony." Comrade Zhao Ziyang even used Chairman Mao's "Reform Our Study" to defend his "theory of remolding." At that time, some veteran comrades within the party sternly refuted this simple analogy, pointing out that "remolding" ideological and political work" and "reforming our study" cannot be mentioned in the same breath. "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Work Style" and "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing" are three important documents of the Yanan rectification. The purpose of the Yanan rectification was to rectify the influence of Wang Ming's "left" opportunist line and dogmatism that had once dominated the party and inflicted serious losses on the Chinese revolution, as well as the subjectivist ideology and work style of the petit bourgeoisie which donned the Marxist cloak, so that the whole party can unite and consolidate on a new basis. Of course, we cannot lump these erroneous lines together with our party's ideological and political work, which has already been put right. Comrade Zhao Ziyang's suggestion on "remolding" ideological and political work met with the strong objection of many comrades as soon as it was put forward. However, Comrade Zhao Ziyang tried to gloss over his mistake. He said, "Our aim in improving, remolding, and reforming ideological and political work is to give it greater and more effective stress." "Remolding and improvement are in complete harmony" is but a quibble. It only serves to show that Comrade Zhao Ziyang persisted in his errors, tried to absolve himself from blame by resorting to sophistry, and upheld the erroneous stand of "remolding" the party's ideological and political line.

Facts have made it clear that the "theory of remolding" is by no means "in conformity with reality" but rather runs counter to objective reality. If we have to talk about "making advances," we would say that this theory clearly reflects that Comrade Zhao Ziyang has "made

advances" along the direction of further weakening and even abolishing the party's ideological and political work.

II

Although one may say that the difference between "remolding" and improvement is merely a matter of wording, the two notions in fact reflect two opposite principles. They reflect that the "theory of remolding" seeks to totally "remold" ideological and political work on the levels of structure, concept, content, mode, method, and so on, in other words, to totally change and negate the traditions, modes, and methods of our party's ideological and political work that have proved effective through years of practice. From the following aspects, we can see that the "theory of remolding" is organic and substantial in its negation of ideological and political work.

First, on the question of the nature of ideological and political work, the "theory of remolding" negates the principle of party spirit in ideological and political work.

The "theory of remolding" sets the elimination of "left" influence against upholding the principle of party spirit in ideological and political work. As a matter of fact, the notion of "left" in the "theory of remolding" refers to the principle of party spirit in ideological and political work. Ideological and political work is primarily the party's work. It serves the party's cause directly and must guarantee the implementation of the party's line and principle. It states openly that it takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as guidance, insists on using the advanced ideological system of communism to educate and nurture people, and persists in using proletarian ideas to fight various kinds of nonproletarian ideas. Hence, it has a strong class nature and party spirit, the latter being the concentrated expression of class nature. In the past, due to the party's mistakes and the damage done by Lin Biao and the gang of four, class struggle was artificially magnified and ideological and political work suffered considerably because "everything was raised to the high plane of principle and line," and "ruthless struggle" was the name of the game. It is thus entirely necessary that we put things in order, eliminate undesirable influences and restore the fine traditions of our party's ideological and political work. Under the new historical conditions after the whole party has completed the shift of work focus, how we are to give expression to the principle of party spirit in actual ideological and political work in the light of the changed situation is indeed a matter that calls for study and improvement. Ideological and political work must fully arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and be conducted in close conjunction with economic construction. However, this does not imply any change in the fundamental attributes of ideological and political work as something that serves the cause of proletarian revolution. Negating the principle of party spirit means negating the fundamental nature of the party's ideological and political work. Comrade Zhao Ziyang negated the class content of

ideological and political work. On the pretext of criticizing the notions of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "the philosophy of struggle," he opposed waging a struggle against erroneous ideas that go against the four cardinal principles and opposed using the ideological weapon of criticism and self-criticism. He took the abstract notion of "showing concern for, respecting, and understanding people," which has no precondition, as the basic principle of ideological and political work and paid no attention to educating and nurturing people and raising the quality of people. In so doing, he negated the sense of principle and militancy in ideological and political work. Bao Tong had this to say about liberalization in 1987: "I wish we did not have to talk about combatting it, because this will only put the people in a state of anxiety." "If there is indeed a liberalist trend of thought voicing opposition to the party's leadership and the socialist system, and it is afraid that silence on the part of the leadership will be interpreted as tolerance... just say this is not right." It is quite sufficient to point out that this is not right. "I may be one-sided and you may be one-sided.... As has been pointed out, the basic relationship should be based on unity, democracy, harmony, and an atmosphere of friendliness." Opposition to the party and socialism merely reflects one-sidedness, which we all have. The question of bourgeois liberalization should also be resolved on the basis of unity, democracy, harmony, and an atmosphere of friendliness. This indeed reflects Comrade Zhao Ziyang's attitude toward bourgeois liberalization and is a typical explanation of his notion of "remolding" ideological and political work. If we negate the principle of party spirit in ideological and political work and cast away the ideological weapon of criticism and self-criticism, stressing unity, democracy, harmony, and an atmosphere of friendliness at the expense of the necessary ideological struggle and remolding of world outlook, the party's ideological and political work will become weak and ineffective, and this will encourage the unchecked spread of the trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Second, on the question of the sense of value in ideological and political work, the "theory of remolding" opposes upholding the advanced ideological systems of communism and socialism.

Deepening the reform and open policy requires corresponding changes in people's ideas and concepts. We must take positive steps to promote the birth and development of social concepts that uphold the four cardinal principles and are conducive to the reform and open policy. Since socialism itself is not rigid and unalterable, ideas and concepts that conform to it must also constantly develop. In our reform of ideological and political work in recent years, we have paid attention to absorbing positive concepts that will improve the effectiveness of this work and increase its vitality. The "theory of remolding" advocated by Comrade Zhao Ziyang set developing new ideas against upholding the advanced ideological systems of communism and socialism, and regarded the ideological system of communism as an old concept that is antiquated and

divorced from reality. As he had said on many occasions, conducting education on ideals was to "raise empty, high-sounding, and unattainable slogans." At the same time, he turned a blind eye to the situation where bourgeois concepts and values were sneaking in under conditions of reform and opening up, thereby enabling those engaged in bourgeois liberalization to greatly publicize bourgeois concepts and values as advanced ideology under the banner of developing new ideas. This resulted in the unchecked spread of the trend of bourgeois liberalization and dealt a heavy blow to ideological and political work, putting it in a fix. What exactly is meant by "the transformation of the reference coefficient of the value target of ideological and political work" and "the deep-structure conflicts between the two concepts of value"? At the core of the so-called transformation from taking society as the standard to taking individuals as the standard, from taking obligations as the standard to taking rights as the standard, from asceticism to the emancipation of individual character, and from the worship of ethics to material worship, is the sense of value based on extreme individualism. Such a transformation stresses material benefits at the expense of ideals, individual interests at the expense of overall interests, and individual rights at the expense of social obligations. In talking about striving, design, and realization through one's own efforts outside socialism and collectivism, he fundamentally negated the value target of bringing up a new socialist generation of "better educated, self-disciplined people with high ideals and moral integrity." This "new concept" is, in fact, the most worn-out concept. What it brings up are successors of the bourgeoisie rather than successors of socialism. What the so-called "elite," who decked themselves out as "young people's teachers," had been doing among the youngsters was "ideological and political work" that served this value target. The unrestrained, absolute democracy and freedom for individuals preached by this value concept seriously poisoned the minds of the younger generation and became an important ideological root of the recent turmoil.

Third, on the question of the content of ideological and political work, the "theory of remolding" has weakened the political nature of ideological and political work.

The content of ideological and political work is determined by its objectives and tasks. The essential attributes of ideological and political work and the tasks of the new period have determined that tackling the question of political orientation must be taken as the core of ideological and political work. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has, in a series of speeches stressing the importance of ideological and political work, made a special point of stressing the need to publicize the party's basic line, uphold the concept of "one focus and two basic points," to take the four cardinal principles as the basic ideology in educating the people, and to persevere in conducting education against bourgeois liberalization and decadent ideas. Comrade Zhao Ziyang, on the other hand, advocated "playing down politics" and suppressed

the propagation of the four cardinal principles. His advocacy of "playing down politics" dealt a heavy blow to ideological and political work. For instance, some articles said, "In the future, ideological and political work must give prominence to nonpolitical issues, dealing mainly with mental health, the perfection of personal integrity, and the readjustment of interpersonal relations." Some articles even simply preached that, "since class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in society at present, the word 'political' in the term ideological and political education has lost its significance. Hence, ideological and political work should be abolished and replaced by ideological work." Comrade Zhao Ziyang obviously approved of these ideas. In his speeches, he avoided referring to ideological and political work and talked only about ideological work, underlining that this was an important aspect of "remolding." Proceeding from this guiding ideology, not only was it impossible to conduct education in the four cardinal principles, but other aspects relating to politics were also played down. Ideological and political work could deal only with minor issues, not big issues. Some units mechanically copied Western practices of bourgeois enterprise management, such as giving bonuses, pulling strings, and giving petty favors, thereby becoming more and more lowly in their style of work. We are against confusing ideological issues with political issues, for not all ideological issues boil down to political issues. However, we must be aware that all ideological issues that concern the whole situation have a political nature. If we eliminate the political nature from ideological and political work and conduct this work in complete isolation from political content, only proletarian politics will be played down. This will mean vacating the proletarian ideological position so that bourgeois ideology can move in and take over. This tendency to remove politics from ideological education has long been severely criticized by classical Marxist writers. Lenin said, "In the work of education as a whole, we must never entertain the old concept of separating education from politics. We must not let education work be cut off from politics." Political nature is one of the essential characteristics of ideological and political work, and "remolding" it is tantamount to changing the main theme of ideological and political work.

Fourth, on the question of the methodology of ideological and political work, the "theory of remolding" seeks to abolish systematic and positive education in Marxism.

In the new period, ideological and political work must take fully into consideration changes in the environment and targets of education, and better implement the principle of democracy and the policy of providing guidance. In recent years, the vast numbers of ideological and political workers have carried out positive explorations in many respects and have created many new methods and gained new experience. All these are aimed at better increasing the effectiveness of ideological and political work and making education more reasonable.

On the pretext of improving the method of work, Comrade Zhao Ziyang negated systematic education in the ideology of Marxism. Dialogue is good form, but Comrade Zhao Ziyang talked about the scope of its functions and the conditions of its operation in absolute terms, as if it could serve all purposes. He regarded it as the principal, even the one and only, effective form of ideological and political work in the new period, set it against positive and systematic ideological education, and negated the principle of inculcation. This produced serious one-sidedness. In setting the policy of providing guidance and the principle of democracy against the principle of inculcation, Comrade Zhao Ziyang totally negated positive ideological education, thus rendering it impossible to conduct systematic education in Marxism, the four cardinal principles, democracy, the legal system, the national condition, and so on. Reports and talks on the deeds of heroes, models, and advanced personages, which used to be very popular some years ago, were naturally classified as "inculcation" and "persuasion" as various types of "forums" and "salons" emerged. This was no longer a matter of which was the preferred method of education, but a question of whether Marxism was to be used to educate, nurture, and help people establish the far-reaching ideal of communism and master the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method. Comrade Zhao Ziyang discussed the methods of remolding ideological and political work at length in one of his talks. He said that ideological work should reside in concern for the people, that propaganda on ideals, ethics, and discipline should be blended into various kinds of useful and attractive activities, that ideological work and economic work should be closely integrated, that extensive, in-depth, and two-way consultation and dialogue should be conducted on an equal footing, and so on. Of course these are necessary. However, he said nothing about how ideological education in Marxism should be conducted in a more systematic way. This was not just a moment's negligence, but was the basic thinking upheld consistently by Comrade Zhao Ziyang. After his talk, some articles noted that "mixing education with pleasure will be the main form of ideological and political work in the future," that "ideological and political work in the new period will be changed from hard sell (meaning ideological education) to soft sell." It is true that cultural and recreational activities have a latent potential as a means of perceptual and object teaching, and their indispensable role in providing support to positive education should be brought into full play. However, there is no replacement for systematic and rational education. Everything may have multiple functions and there are different ways of making these functions work, but these cannot replace the intrinsic function and method that determine the special nature and value of the thing itself. This is called the governing nature of matter. Comrade Zhao Ziyang used the secondary function and method of ideological and political work to negate and replace the intrinsic function and method of this work. The ideological and political work thus "remolded" will have lost its original meaning.

Fifth, on the question of the structure of ideological and political work, the "theory of remolding" breaks up the basic system and contingent of ideological and political work.

Comrade Zhao Ziyang put forward the idea of a "new pattern" of relying on part-time and amateur workers to conduct ideological and political work. As soon as this idea was put forward, it produced great ideological confusion in departments handling the actual work and dealt a heavy blow to the already greatly weakened ideological and political work. In tune with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's suggestion, some newspapers drummed up propaganda saying that "cutting the number of political work cadres by half can double output value and profit tax." In the face of this propaganda, the vast numbers of ideological and political workers generally felt the injustice of the media and, in their indignation at being unfairly treated, asked one after another to be allowed to change their profession. Many directors and managers of enterprises and factories also felt that this so-called new structure had not put relations between the various sectors into proper balance. With "directors not doing their proper jobs and secretaries afraid of overstepping their limits," ideological and political work was shelved. Seeing that ideological and political work was seriously weakened, Comrade Zhao Ziyang still upheld his advocacy, while Bao Tong cudged his brain looking for justifications for him. The justifications Bao Tong found were: First, reliance on part-time and amateur workers will help put an end to the situation where ideological and political work is left to a small number of people and will help build up a large contingent of ideological and political workers. Second, reliance on part-time and amateur workers will put the political work cadres in the same status as the masses, thus strengthening the ties to the masses and paving the way for exchanges on an equal footing. In short, reduction of full-time personnel will result in the work being strengthened. The greater the reduction and the less authority these personnel are given, the more effective will the work be and the easier it will be to strengthen the work. Since ideological and political work is at once the party's work and work of a mass and social nature, it is naturally necessary to mobilize the entire party and all of society to join hands in conducting education and grasping the work. This is indeed an important aspect of our efforts to improve ideological and political work. However, the mass nature of ideological and political work does not reject reliance on a contingent of reliable, professional, highly trained, and competent ideological workers to serve as the backbone. Besides, the realization of ideological and political work on a mass scale also relies on their organization and guidance. Ideological and political work is itself a science with its own set of governing laws and professional knowledge. It is not something that anyone can handle well. Comrade Zhao Ziyang set the mass nature of ideological and political work against the role of the professional contingent, and argued that abolishing the contingent of ideological and political workers and weakening the authority of functional

organs in charge of political work will help strengthen ideological and political work. This is not only hard to understand, but also reflects the habit of resorting to sophistry and using one's position to subdue others. In the final analysis, he was weakening ideological and political work in the name of "stressing" it. Practice in recent years has ruthlessly demonstrated that this advocacy of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's inflicted heavy losses on our party's propaganda and ideological and political work.

III

Classical Marxist writers have always attached great importance to the questions of slogans and principle. In *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx pointed out that, to a political party, a principle or program is "an open banner on the basis of which the outside world judges it." Lenin also discussed in "On Slogans," "On the Slogan of the European Federation," and other articles the paramount importance of slogans in guiding the orientation of political parties. What sort of banner was Comrade Zhao Ziyang's "theory of remolding" and where did he want to guide our party? We cannot overlook the need to examine this theory against the international background and the historical conditions at home. This is of great importance to our recognition of the essence of the "theory of remolding" and the seriousness of its damage.

At the present stage, Marxism and socialism are faced with a severe challenge. On the international level, international reactionary forces not only have not given up their subversion of the socialist system but have stepped up their attempts. They have made a concentrated effort to push the "peaceful evolution" strategy in an attempt to achieve the goal of "winning without fighting." In China, on the other hand, a handful of people who stubbornly cling to the stand of bourgeois liberalization and are eager to throw the country into disorder vainly hope to overthrow the leadership of the CPC and the socialist system by relying on international reactionary forces. These people have been wantonly spreading the trend of bourgeois liberalization. This was the international and domestic background of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's "theory of remolding." Here, it is necessary to say a few words on the "Shekou incident" which came to public attention some time ago. In March and April 1988, a newspaper in Shekou published a series of articles attacking the party's ideological and political work, saying that "like monuments erected for chaste women and stories on the 24 filial acts, it is also a means of shackling individuality and eliminating the creative spirit." The paper vilified the advanced ideology of socialism as "worn-out," and promoted the decadent ideas of the bourgeoisie as "modern ideology." Although the occurrence and development of the "Shekou incident" had manifold causes, and many comrades took part in this discussion out of their sincere hope and concern for ideological and political work in the new period, there is no denying that some people did, in fact, make use of this incident to totally negate the content,

modes, and methods of ideological and political work. They openly alleged that the "Shekou incident" "announced the end of traditional ideological and political work and that now is the time to abolish ideological and political work." Using the negation of ideological and political work as their point of breakthrough, they tried to achieve their goal of negating the party's leadership. At a time when the trend of liberalization was spreading unchecked and the party's ideological and political work was greatly weakened and suffered serious setbacks, Comrade Zhao Ziyang put forward the "theory of remolding," which objectively supported the spread of the trend of bourgeois liberalization. When Comrade Zhao Ziyang's "theory of remolding" and the trend of bourgeois liberalization in society were combined, their negation of the party's ideology and politics became more systematic, open, and legal. Amid cries for "remolding," the ranks of ideological and political workers were disbanded and their fighting power greatly weakened. The vast numbers of ideological and political workers felt greatly perplexed.

With indignation, they asked, "Ideological and political work is already staggering along in the cold, why did the general secretary make things more difficult?" Hong Kong newspapers commented, saying that "the authority of the CPC is shaken by the communists themselves." People engaged in bourgeois liberalization were extremely active. Greatly encouraged, these people stepped forward to launch an unbridled attack against the four cardinal principles. They used bourgeois trash to corrode and win over the young people and incited student unrest and turmoil. This led to grave consequences. We cannot but say that the "theory of remolding" is a banner that caters to and supports bourgeois liberalization that aims at changing the nature of our party.

Ideological and political work is the lifeline of economic work and all other work. This is a truth that has long been verified by revolutionary practice and will remain an important principle that must be upheld in the new historical period which has economic construction as its central task. In view of the serious damage done to our ideological and political work by bourgeois liberalization and the "theory of remolding," we must devote major efforts to stressing ideological and political work. At the same time, we must take further steps to draw a clear line of demarcation between the "theory of remolding" and our efforts to improve ideological and political work, protect and encourage mass innovations and efforts at exploring ideological and political work, continue to push forward reform of ideological and political work, and better combine strengthening with improvement and advancing with developing so that the party's ideological and political work will be imbued with new vitality and be better able to play its important role as a lifeline.

Effectively Enhance the Sense of Principle in Ideological and Political Education

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[Text]

I

The principle of ideological and political work is to uphold one's Marxist stand and viewpoint, insist on being clear-cut in one's concept of and attitude toward right and wrong, honor and dishonor, beauty and ugliness, and maintain one's fighting spirit in making healthy practices prevail over irregularities and in promoting the good and eliminating the bad. Upholding the principle of ideological and political work is the fundamental guarantee for maintaining a firm and correct political orientation, maintaining a strong ideological prop, and producing a great appeal and rallying force. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out recently that in the past 10 years the biggest mistake was in the field of education. By this he referred mainly to ideological and political education—not just education for young students in schools, but education among the people as a whole. The biggest mistake in this connection was the lack of a consistent principle. Through rethinking after the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital, this has become the people's consensus.

One of the manifestations was our failure to put up a consistent fight against bourgeois liberalization. Bourgeois liberalization was in sharp opposition to the four cardinal principles. Opposition to bourgeois liberalization is a major issue that concerns the destiny and future of the party and socialism. Over the past 10 years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly put forward the call to combat bourgeois liberalization. On this major political issue, ideological and political education has flunked the test. Whether in the fight against spiritual pollution in 1983 or in the fight against bourgeois liberalization in 1987, the campaign was abandoned soon after the curtains were raised. As a result, the flames of bourgeois liberalization raged on while the four cardinal principles were repudiated and abused. People began to entertain various kinds of illusions. Some even had misgivings and wavered. For instance, some people believed that the major task before them was to eliminate the influence of feudalism and that the influence of capitalism had decreased rather than increased. Their "re-understanding" of capitalism was limited to the "bright side," while their "re-understanding" of socialism was limited to the "seamy side," and so on. Hence, ideological and political education slipped into a ridiculous cycle: The relaxation of efforts to combat it gave bourgeois liberalization an opportunity to sneak in. This created ideological confusion and psychologically prepared the ideal soil, climate, and environment for the spread of bourgeois liberalization. Thinking that ideological and political education can do nothing to stop this, they relaxed their efforts to combat bourgeois

liberalization more than ever. This led to the unbridled spread of the trend of bourgeois liberalization. This vicious cycle ultimately resulted in the outbreak of turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion in the capital.

The second manifestation was the lack of clear-cut opposition to decadent ideas of every description. Decadent ideas corrode people's minds, eat away at their spirit, blunt their will to fight, and kill their consciences. Combatting decadent ideas of every description has a direct bearing on whether or not we can cultivate a healthy personality, bring up a new generation of better-educated and self-disciplined people with high ideals and moral integrity, and break the prophecy that the hope of imperialist forces for bringing about peaceful evolution lies in people of the third and fourth generations. This is an important task of ideological and political education. However, during the past few years we have overlooked the need to combat corrosion in the ideological and political sphere. In a situation where "flies" are coming in through the "open windows," we have remained feeble and numb, trying to steer clear of the term "anticorrosion." Like bacteria, decadent ideas have plagued and befouled people's lives. For instance, various decadent ideas and deeds have surfaced. Gambling, drug addiction, prostitution, and other vices that had ceased to exist in New China have been resurrected and feudal superstition has spread unchecked. Negative aspects of Western culture are in vogue and held in high esteem by some people. Some even looked for the meaning of life and the way to save the world from these aspects. Nietzsche's "will to power," Sartre's "man's sense of value," Freud's "pansexualism," and so on were looked upon as treasures, worshipped and preached. Some people fell captive to decadent ideas and degenerated. It can thus be seen that when the struggle against corrosion is relaxed, decadent ideas launch their assault. Failure to criticize decadent ideas is tantamount to giving tacit consent to or encouraging the unchecked spread of these ideas. The rampant spread of decadent ideas was an important ideological reason for the development of the student unrest into turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion.

The third manifestation was the lack of a tit-for-tat struggle against various evil practices. Evil practices have a subtle influence on people. Waging a struggle against evil practices to encourage the good, eliminate the bad, combat the corrupt, and promote the clean, will help create an external environment where there is a clear distinction between truth, goodness, and beauty on the one hand, and falsehood, badness, and ugliness on the other. It is a prerequisite for the success or failure of ideological and political education. In recent years, ideological and political education has avoided facing reality and waging a struggle against evil practices. Even when referring to facts, it touches on them only lightly. As a result, in some units the good failed to prevail over the bad. In some units, the bad even prevailed over the good, and the corrupt was taken as the clean. Many absurd

phenomena emerged. For instance, whoever threw mud at the party and socialism was looked upon as decent; whoever dared to censure, attack, and stand up against the government was regarded as a "hero" who "worked in the interests of the people"; whoever made the most grievances was given the loudest applause and cheers; whoever totally negated the traditional culture and the fine traditions of the party and the Army would be able to produce a "sensational impact"; whoever was criticized for his or her work would rise to instant popularity; whoever most despised political work was regarded as the most down-to-earth "pragmatist"; whoever outdid others in currying favor by presenting gifts and indulging in extravagant ways was regarded as the most capable. Whoever did things in accordance with principle, the system, and party spirit was regarded as "being orthodox" and "old leftist"; whoever sacrificed his own interest was regarded as "foolish" and "worthless"; whoever peddled "imported stuff," even if it was nothing original, was regarded as learned; whoever was the subject of cheap praise by foreigners would find his or her social status soaring; and so on. Thus, some people had no faith, no goal, no discipline, and no sense of purpose. People thought what they liked, said what they liked, and did what they liked. In short, truth was stood on its head and evil practices prevailed. Although evil practices are different from bourgeois liberalization, they encouraged the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization.

The fourth manifestation was the lack of serious and earnest criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes of comrades. Serious and earnest criticism is an important expression of the sense of principle in ideological and political education. In recent years, ideological and political education has on the whole lost its criticism function. The idea that "when the powers that be have given their seal of approval, everything will go smoothly" and "the mentality of seeking good relations with everyone at the expense of principle" have been rampant. Even if it was sometimes necessary to criticize, the criticism was made "in a roundabout way," ambiguous and superficial, occasionally even with a note of sympathy and understanding. In interpersonal relations, people were afraid of getting on each other's nerves. Everyone became a "gentleman" whose conversation never went beyond "what lovely weather today." The concepts of truth and falsehood, beauty and ugliness, honor and disgrace were confused, even confounded. There were fewer and lower restrictions in terms of principle, policies, and discipline. As a result, some people became more and more reckless and greedy, to the extent that the legalization of individualism and anarchism was openly advocated.

The mistake of lacking a sense of principle in ideological and political education resulted in serious consequences: The four cardinal principles not only were not the theme of ideological and political education, but those who upheld these principles were branded as "conservative," "ossified," and "ultraleft." The party's role was obviously played down, the party's prestige was obviously

lowered, the party's organization was obviously weakened, and the party's rallying force and appeal were obviously reduced. The role of ideological and political work was lowered and debased, with some people "relying on money and working for money" and thinking that "a thousand words is not as good as a single item of reward." The development of socialist ethics was seriously weakened, good moral habits were obviously on the decline, and the pillar of revolutionary spirit became tilted. The contingent of ideological and political workers was repeatedly reduced in number, with some people entertaining the absurd idea that "reducing the number of political work cadres by half can double the output value." In short, the lack of the sense of principle in ideological and political work has affected the future and destiny of the party and the country, as well as the pursuit of lofty ideals and goals. It has come to a point where something must be done.

II

The lack of the sense of principle in ideological and political work is due to complicated social, political, economic, and cultural reasons. The most prominent is that we learned the wrong lesson from the Cultural Revolution, confounded the distinction between right and wrong, confused people's thinking, and made the mistake of jumping from one extreme to the other.

1. From "taking class struggle as the key link" to casting away the concept of class struggle. In the years when the idea of "taking class struggle as the key link" was dominant, ideological and political education was taken as the tool of class struggle. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee rectified the mistake of "taking class struggle as the key link" and awakened people from their slumber. However, some comrades got over their neuroticism about class struggle only to become nihilistic about it, to the extent of obliterating class struggle within given limits. They failed to see that the exploitative system and the exploiting class were still poisoning us economically, politically, ideologically, and culturally; that hostile elements of every description still existed; that hostile forces in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and other places were still engaged in infiltration and sabotage against the mainland through various channels; and that international reactionary forces had never given up their sinister plot to subvert the socialist system. To them, the country was enjoying great peace. Domestic trouble and foreign invasion were a thing of the past. There was a complete lack of the sense of class struggle and vigilance against subversion. They lost their vigilance against the "peaceful evolution" plotted by international reactionary forces and against the frantic attack launched by hostile forces at home. Even when the turmoil and rebellion broke out, they still handled this life-and-death class struggle with good wishes and illusions. It was precisely due to this sort of thinking that in their ideological and political education, some units resented talk of "class struggle" just as Lu Xun's fictional character Ah Q resented any mention of brightness and light. Even though some comrades were aware of the

seriousness of class struggle within given limits, they kept their mouths shut for fear of being branded "leftist." These people had disarmed themselves ideologically, so no wonder the trend of bourgeois liberalization and other decadent ideas spread unchecked and reactionary forces at home and abroad could have their way.

2. From the absence of the "human touch" to "stressing human sentiments above everything else." Due to the "philosophy of struggle" during the decade of internal turmoil, the "human touch," which should be found in ideological and political education, was replaced by the "smell of gunpowder" from "revolutionary mass criticism," and everyone feared for his or her own safety. After the shackles of the "philosophy of struggle" were smashed, the "human touch" of ideological and political education was restored. However, due to the sudden release of suppressed resentment against the "philosophy of struggle," some comrades entertained the extremist idea that "it is only human interest that counts." The impact of the onslaught of the commodity economy further exacerbated their abnormal sentiments and rekindled the remnant ideas of "human sentiments are above principle" and "human sentiments are above the laws of the land," which prevailed during China's feudal society. Some people who totally denied that people in the primary stage of socialism still bear the characteristics of "class nature" and "political nature" slipped down the evil path of "stressing human sentiments above everything else." Some people who cracked themselves up to be "high-class masons" obliterated the significance and role of intraparty principled struggle and ideological struggle.

Some people exaggerated the role of the interest lever and substituted the solution of ideological problems with the solution of practical problems. Their short-sighted behavior produced short-term effects. Some people one-sidedly interpreted the principle of respecting others and showing concern for others and paid no attention to education, nurturing, and ideological remodeling. As a result, the "human touch" of ideological and political education replaced the sense of principle. It must be pointed out that the sense of principle and sense of struggle we are talking about are different from the "philosophy of struggle," and we are not, and will not, repeat the tragedy of using ideological and political education as a means of "punishing one another."

3. From exaggerating man's shortcomings to "playing down man's shortcomings." Ideological and political education is aimed at guiding people in rectifying their shortcomings, while the objective precondition is to face the shortcomings squarely. During the 10 years of internal turmoil, everything had to be "connected with the higher and lower levels" and "raised to the high plane of principle." Concrete problems were treated as ideological problems; problems of ideology and work style were treated as problems of integrity; and problems of ideological understanding were treated as political problems. This not only did not help solve problems, but

gave people misgivings. The reestablishment of the ideological line of seeking truth from facts changed the ideological trend of magnifying man's shortcomings. However, some comrades fell from the pinnacle of magnifying man's shortcomings into the deep valley of playing down man's shortcomings. To these comrades, playing down man's shortcomings was the new "panacea" for ideological and political education. Hence, some people tried to minimize and ignore man's shortcomings; some turned a blind eye and a deaf ear to man's shortcomings; and some "nurtured flowers but not the thorns" and "reported nothing but good news." Actually, man's shortcomings are in objective existence and will not diminish or disappear just because people are deliberately playing them down. Playing down man's shortcomings goes against the spirit of seeking truth from facts. In the process of playing down these shortcomings, the sense of duty of educators will be weakened, the shortcomings of educators will be magnified, and the role of ideological and political education will be lost. This is an important lesson that we must learn.

The above are mistakes of being divorced from objective reality and being one-sided and seeing things in absolute terms. Ideological and political education, like everything else, has its own special governing laws. Only by following the objective laws can ideological and political education produce notable results. If, in rectifying mistakes, we go beyond the limits of the truth and make new mistakes, we will be violating the objective laws of ideological and political education. "Acts of despising dialectics will not go unpunished." That some units have become disorganized, lost their position, and become ideologically confused is a concrete expression of this punishment. Facts have demonstrated to us that subjective idealism in epistemology resulting from one-sided and absolute ways of thinking and is the theoretical basis for the lack of a sense of principle in ideological and political education.

III

Enhancing the sense of principle in ideological and political education is a pressing and long-term task. To this end we must properly handle the following four relationships:

First, we must properly handle the relationship between the sense of principle and kind guidance, stressing the human touch and reasoning while upholding the principle. Ideological and political education can point out the political direction, provide ideological guidance, and give spiritual encouragement. The function of the sense of principle in ideological and political education is to uphold the truth, promote healthy practices, rectify mistakes, and replace the bad with the good. Even functions like pointing out direction and providing guidance involve the task of promoting the good, eliminating the bad, and overcoming mistakes. The sense of principle can point out people's shortcomings and give them warning so that they wake up and escape disaster before it is too late. It is the "backbone" and "pillar" of

ideological and political education. In a sense, the effectiveness of ideological and political education is determined by its sense of principle. At present, reactionary forces abroad and hostile forces at home are working hand in glove and echoing one another from a distance. Corrupt and degenerate elements inside the party and enemy agents from Hong Kong and Macao are acting in collaboration and wallowing in the mire. Contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, contradictions inside the party, and contradictions among the people are interwoven and the struggle is exceedingly complicated. The antagonism between spiritual pollution and spiritual civilization, between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles, between decadent ideas and fine moral habits, and between extreme individualism and the communist ideal, has come out into the open and become red hot. This situation will continue for a long time to come. Many units are finding it hard to eliminate corruption, rectify evil practices, launch criticism, and draw a clear demarcation line between right and wrong. Giving up the sense of principle is tantamount to tolerating the onslaught of reactionary forces at home and abroad, the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization and decadent ideas, the prevalence of evil practices and corruption, and the malignant inflation of individualism and the self-centered sense of value. Thus, we simply must persevere in and strengthen the sense of principle in ideological and political education. However, upholding the sense of principle does not mean that we should not respect, understand, and show concern for others. Rather, it means that we must stress the human touch, reason with people, combine concern with reasoning, and give guidance on the basis of upholding the principle. Only in this way will ideological and political education be able to maintain its militancy while giving kind guidance, so that people will truly listen and be completely convinced. In other words, in ideological and political education we must insist on combining the sense of principle with kind guidance, and neither is to be neglected.

Second, we must properly handle the relationship between construction and destruction and establish and develop correct ideas, while resisting and rectifying erroneous ones. Ideological and political education involves using correct ideas and theories to arouse, educate, and arm the masses. It is based on belief in the correctness and might of truth and belief in the basic awareness of the overwhelming majority of the masses and the possibility that it will turn into something more advanced. There is no doubt that through inculcation of the truth, the influence of things true, good, and beautiful, and fostering correct ideas, it is possible to effectively resist and rectify erroneous ideas. However, as a kind of ideology, erroneous ideas will have relative independence and stability once they are developed and will not leave the ideological front and disappear of their own accord. In everyday life, correct and erroneous ideas do not necessarily grow and diminish in relation to each other. When correct ideas grow, erroneous ideas do not always diminish. Sometimes the abnormal phenomenon

will occur of both growing at the same time. The direct precondition for the elimination of erroneous ideas is an understanding of the manifestation, roots, and dangers of these ideas. The deeper the understanding, the sooner and the more profoundly will we be able to rectify erroneous ideas. If we do not have a profound understanding of erroneous ideas, it will do us no good to talk about correct ideas. Besides, erroneous ideas have a built-in repellent against correct ideas. Unless erroneous ideas are eliminated, correct ideas cannot be established. This is something independent of man's will. Although the notion "destruction comes first and construction comes in the course of destruction" is rather biased, we cannot say categorically that if we put destruction first, construction will fall through. Thus, we must not only eliminate erroneous ideas in the course of fostering correct ideas, but also pay attention to fostering and developing correct ideas in the course of resisting and rectifying erroneous ones, and organically combine the two. In recent years, we have put too much stress on positive education and the provision of guidance and construction. We have overlooked the necessary negative education, prohibition, and destruction, with the result that correct ideas could not be truly fostered, and erroneous ideas multiplied and raged on. Faced with this grim reality, we have reason to say that at present we must pay more attention to the need to foster and develop correct ideas in the course of resisting and rectifying erroneous ones. That is to say, we must cultivate the staunch will to uphold the four cardinal principles through criticizing bourgeois liberalization, cultivate the spirit of socialism and communism through resisting various decadent ideas, and cultivate a correct outlook on life and the world through criticizing various erroneous ideas.

Third, we must properly handle the relationship between the sense of principle and party spirit and strengthen the party spirit in ideological and political education in the course of practice. Lenin pointed out, "Idealism encompasses the so-called partisan spirit, which requires that we candidly and openly take the stand of a given social institution when evaluating exigencies."¹ Ideological and political education is the party's work. It has clear-cut party spirit and serves the party's cause and ultimate aim. Its sense of principle is saliently manifested as the political nature or party spirit of the proletariat. Departing from the political nature means obliterating the fundamental distinction between proletarian ideological and political education and bourgeois ideological and political education and losing the sense of principle in ideological and political education. For some time a trend has emerged in the ideological and political education sphere to play down the political nature, which essentially means weakening party spirit. We must admit that under the guidance of the past ideology of "taking class struggle as the key link" everything was raised to the level of political stand and political attitude. This was what truly discredited the good name of ideological and political education. However, we must soberly see that this is not the political nature of ideological and

political education; rather, it pollutes and distorts the political nature of ideological and political education. We must not negate or play down the political nature of ideological and political education just because we reject its magnified mistakes, lest we stand to lose the sense of principle. In last year's soul-stirring political struggle some people failed to maintain a clear-cut stand and could not smell the change. Some even mistook falsehood for truth, thereby adding fuel to the flames. This had a lot to do with the playing down of political nature. Practice shows that the political nature of ideological and political education can only be strengthened and cannot be played down. In order to strengthen the political nature of ideological and political education it is necessary, first of all, to stress guidance. That is, use the four cardinal principles as the political orientation and major content of ideological and political education. Some people used to think that we had devoted too much attention to education in the four cardinal principles. Looking at it now, it was too little rather than too much. Education in the four cardinal principles must be strengthened. Second, we must lay a good foundation. That is, take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology for ideological and political education. While it is wrong to submit to modern superstition, we must firmly believe that Marxism is the only correct guiding ideology that can liberate the whole of mankind and that there is nothing in the present-day world that can take its place. Only by arming our minds with the stand, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will we not be overwhelmed by Sartre fever, Nietzsche fever, Schopenhauer fever, and Freud fever, and sink into the quagmire of "self-selection," "self-struggle," "self-detachment," and "self-emancipation." Third, we must stress reinforcement of the root. That is, use political nature and ideological nature as the main pattern and theme of ideological and political education. As the ancient saying goes: "Treating the symptoms but not the root cause is like giving a drowning man a piece of rock and using firewood to fight a fire." Political nature and ideological nature are the roots of ideological and political education. On no account must these be drowned by qualities such as knowledge, interest, recreation, and benefits, which will only encourage the development of man's thinking in the direction of "liberalization," "pleasure-seeking," "material lust," and "vulgarization." If we "only treat the superficial ulcer and lose sight of diseases of the heart," we will never be able to overcome the "evil wind and waves" in the realm of political ideology. Last year's political struggle has given the best footnote to this truth.

Fourth, we must properly handle the relationship between the sense of principle and creativity and continuously study new problems to meet the needs of the new situation. The fundamental direction, objective, principle, and spirit of our party's ideological and political education are summed up through protracted practice on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism and give concentrated expression to the objective laws of

ideological and political education. We stress the need to uphold the sense of principle, but this does not mean that we think people should be content with antiquated ideas, stick to convention, leave our minds in a bygone age, and mechanically copy "leftist" practices of the past. Rather, we must continuously try to meet the needs of the new situation, broaden our horizons, study the new conditions, and solve new problems. Following the deepening of the reform and open policy and development of the commodity economy, and in the wake of the interflow of different ideas and cultures, ideological and political education is faced with many new problems without precedent and confronted with unprecedentedly severe challenges. If we do nothing but recount "old experiences," "sing the old tunes," and "turn over the leaves of the old almanac," not only will ideological and political education be divorced from objective reality, but the sense of principle will not be properly upheld. This is something of which we must be deeply aware.

In short, stressing the sense of principle in ideological and political education is not only an objective requirement of the developing situation and the actual political struggle, but is also an important link in strengthening and improving ideological and political education. On this issue, we must be sober-minded and work arduously in order that ideological and political education can truly guarantee the healthy development of socialist modernization.

Footnote

1. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 1, p 379.

True or Made-Up 'Perplexities'?—Discussion With Comrade Zhang Kuiliang

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[Article by Shi Dazheng (2457 6671 2398)]

[Text] On 29 May 1989, GUANGMING RIBAO published an article, "The Perplexities of Marx in His Later Years," by Professor Zhang Kuiliang of Heilongjiang University (hereinafter called "Zhang's article" for short). [The article by Zhang Kuiliang was published in JPRS-CAR-89-065, 26 June 1989, pp 4-6, with the headline "Marx's 'Altered' View of Socialism During Declining Years."] Zhang's article instills these concepts into the readers' minds: 1) "The passionate revolutionary enthusiasm and ardent revolutionary expectations of Marx mercilessly vanished like soap bubbles in real life," and the great contract between reality and his theory "became his greatest ideological perplexity in his later years." 2) "To eradicate his perplexities, Marx conducted a deep examination and breakthrough exploration of his previous theory in his later years." 3) "The efforts made by Marx in his later years to eradicate perplexities were, however, not very successful and these efforts not only did not really straighten out the contradictions and contrast between reality and his theory, but theoretically resulted in a series of new perplexities."

Zhang's article reaches a conclusion from this, saying, "This signifies that later generations have a larger choice and freedom to bring forth new ideas, and it is completely unnecessary to tally with Marx." Nevertheless, a problem with which we shall be confronted here is whether the "perplexities" of Marx in his later years as mentioned in Zhang's article are, after all, true, or made up by the writer of the article. This article discusses the problem with Comrade Zhang Kuiliang.

I

To expound and prove the so-called "contrast" between reality and the theory of Marx, Zhang's article first conducts an analysis of the situation at that time. It says: "Beginning in 1849, capitalist industry was universally prosperous, bourgeois political domination gradually tended toward stability, and revolution did not head for a high tide, but entered a low valley. The outcome of revolutions, including the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Revolution in the Orient, were not very good. The Paris Commune revolution miscarried in 1871; the thesis of the *Critique of the Gotha Program* on the two stages of the transition period and communist social development, cannot be tested and verified by practice." What a gloomy picture! Here, the revolutions in Europe in 1848 disappear from the field of vision in Zhang's article and his expositions begin with 1849. Subsequently, the 1857-1859 Indian people's anti-British armed uprisings disappear, the 1861-1865 Civil War in which the people of the United States rebelled against the slave owners in the south disappears, the establishment of the International Workers' Association (the First International) in September 1864 also disappears, and the expositions deal only the "outcomes," not the "course" of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and Paris Commune revolutionary movements. It is correct that the workers' movement in Europe reached a low tide in the 1850's. Did this "reality" however, contrast with the theory of Marx and give rise to "perplexities" in his thinking? As everyone knows, the 1850's was an important period in which Marxism took shape and developed. Marx summed up experience in the 1848 European revolutions and wrote many important works, such as the idea that "revolutions are the locomotives of history,"¹ the idea that "the proletarian combat slogan should be 'uninterrupted revolution,'"² the idea that "the urban proletariat" should and can become the "natural ally and leader" of the peasants,³ the idea that "class struggle will surely lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat,"⁴ and so on. These were all put forward in this period. Obviously, the *Critique of Political Economy*, especially its Preface, published in 1859, occupies an extremely important position in the history of the development of Marxism. The viewpoint of Zhang's article goes against the facts.

On the foundation of erroneously analyzing the situation, Zhang's article asserts categorically, "In 1881, two years before Marx died, he eventually came to understand that the occurrence of revolution had already been impossible, and although so far as he was concerned this was an agonizing fact, he could not but admit it."

(Emphasis added by quoter.) The statement was harsh enough. What was its basis? A direct proof can only be given, together with three collateral proofs, but it is a pity that they are untenable.

Let us look at the direct proof. Zhang's article says, "On 29 April this year, in his letter to his daughter Jenny, congratulating her on smooth parturition, Marx had to acknowledge that revolution was a matter of the future and as he was 'old,' he could only predict it, not personally see it."⁵

It is illogical to reach a conclusion that the occurrence of revolution had already been impossible, on the basis that "revolution was a matter of the future" and "it could only be predicted but not seen personally." In fact, just before the sentence quoted above by Zhang's article there is another sentence: "They are facing the most revolutionary period ever experienced by mankind."⁶ "They" as mentioned by Marx here referred to the generation of his daughter's son Masaier Longge [7456 6357 1422 7893 2706] (1881-1949), "newcomers."⁷ Did this generation undergo the "most revolutionary period ever experienced by mankind?" Yes, this generation not only went through the 1905 Russian revolution, 1918 German revolution, and 1919 Hungarian revolution, but also underwent the Russian October Revolution and the great Chinese People's Revolution. While Zhang's article is quoting Marx, why does it neglect this sentence, which shows that Marx had full confidence in the future of revolution, and which was tested and verified by history?

Let us look at the collateral proofs. Zhang's article goes on, "Marx could not profoundly reexamine this stage of history in time by himself, but his comrades-in-arms and students—Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong—made a clear and definite conclusion." It is, of course, authoritative to ask the three to give evidence as collateral proof, but it is better to let us to look at these collateral proofs one by one, to see what they mean after all!

This is the first collateral proof: Zhang's article says, "Immediately before Engels' death in 1895, he wrote: 'History shows that we and those who have the same way of thinking are incorrect. History clearly shows that the state of economic development of the European continent at that time was far from mature to the extent that the capitalist mode of production could not be eliminated.'"⁸

This passage was extracted from the Introduction written by Engels in March 1895 to the *French Class Struggle by Karl Marx from 1848 to 1850*. Did it theoretically prove that the "occurrence of revolution had already been impossible?" If we thoroughly read the Introduction, we know that it was not the case. This passage from the Introduction meant that in spring 1850, while Marx was writing the first three chapters of the *French Class Struggle*, he exaggerated the maturity of capitalism and the possibility of the French proletarian revolution. This was "incorrect." History shows that the "European continent" was so economically immature

"at that time," namely 1848-1850, that the capitalist mode of production could not be eliminated. Here there was basically no implication that the "occurrence of revolution had already been impossible." The Introduction clearly and definitely points out, "If it is said that in the first three articles" (that is, the first three chapters of the separate edition of the *French Class Struggle*—quoter) "there still exists the idea of looking forward to an upsurge of revolutionary force not long after, Marx and I forever abandoned such an illusion in the historical commentary (May-October) written by us for the last combined issue published in autumn 1850. It points out there, 'New revolution is possible only after a new crisis. However, like a new crisis, new revolution will unavoidably come.' Nevertheless, this is the only important revision we must make."⁹ It can be seen from this that if there was any "profound reexamination," Marx and Engels did it together in autumn of that year. The content of the "reexamination" was that "new revolution was possible only after a new crisis," but not that "the occurrence of revolution had already been impossible." On the contrary, Marx and Engels clearly and definitely stated that "like a new crisis, new revolution would unavoidably come." Can any "perplexities" of Marx be seen in the slightest from this?

This is the second collateral proof: Zhang's article says, "Lenin did not deny this fact. He said: 'Yes, in appraising that the time for revolution would come very soon, Marx and Engels... had many mistakes and often made mistakes.'"¹⁰ (Zhang's article originally has the ellipses—quoter.)

This statement was extracted from Lenin's "Preface to a Russian translation of the 'collection of letters from Johann Philipp Becker and others, to Friedrich Adolf Sorge and others.'" However, the Preface does not basically say that "Marx could not conduct profound reexamination in time by himself" but calls on the people to seriously study the letters from Marx and Engels to Sorge and the other people. It holds that "it is very useful to compare the statement of Marx and Engels on the British and American workers' movements with their statement on the German workers' movement."¹¹ It points out, "Judging from the scientific viewpoint, we can here see the example of materialist dialectics and see the specific characteristic of being good at aiming at different political and economic conditions, and the ability to put the different focal points and different aspects of the questions above everything else and to stress them."¹² Moreover, Lenin reprimanded "some mediocre people" for "sneering in an arrogant attitude at" the mistakes made by Marx and Engels. After the sentence as quoted above by Zhang's article, Lenin went on to say, "Compared with the poor intelligence of those liberals of officialdom who clamor, talk irresponsibly, and talk wildly that revolution is meaningless busyness, revolutionary struggle works to no avail, and the dream of counterrevolutionary 'constitutionalism' is too wonderful for words, the mistakes made by two great revolutionary thinkers are 1,000 times nobler, 1,000 times

greater, and 1,000 times more valuable and more correct in history..."¹³ I do not know how Comrade Zhang Kuiliang will feel after reading this passage!

This is the third collateral proof: Zhang's article says, "On 23 July 1959, Mao Zedong said at the Lushan meeting, 'Marx committed many mistakes and he thought every day that European revolution would come, but it did not come. He thought repeatedly until he died but it still did not come.'" This was a historically similar example mentioned incidentally by Mao Zedong, while a mistake was made by becoming impetuous during the Great Leap Forward in that year. He did conduct "profound reexamination" for Marx! A comma, not a full stop, was used after the sentence quoted above. What follows it is, "It came in the period of Lenin. Was it not impetuous?" The "conclusion" was "clear and definite." It is a pity that it did not say that "the occurrence of revolution had already been impossible." I do not know why Zhang's article quotes only half a sentence, not the whole sentence.

In one word, the argument put forward by Zhang's article to assert categorically that in those years, Marx came to understand that "the occurrence of revolution had already been impossible" is untenable.

II

After the first part of Zhang's article put forward the so-called "contrast" and "perplexities," the article immediately shifts, saying, "To eradicate perplexities, in his later years Marx carried out a deep rethinking and breakthrough exploration of his previous theory. In 1878, Marx finally abandoned the writing of *Das Kapital*, on which he had expended his energies all his life, and changed to engage in the study of Eastern society and anthropology that was unfamiliar to him." The aim of such a statement in Zhang's article is to create an argument for the so-called "new perplexities" of Marx put forward in the third part of the article. The pity is that almost none of the sentences in this passage are correct.

1. After *Das Kapital* was published in Hamburg in September 1867, Marx seized all time that could be used to continuously study and write all subsequent volumes, and was prepared to publish a new edition of Volume 1 upon his last breath. Please read the following data: Between the second half of November to December 1878, "Marx wrote Volumes 2 and 3 of *Das Kapital* and studied the historical data on land relations."¹⁴ From October 1880 to March 1881, "Marx continued writing Volumes 2 and 3 of *Das Kapital* and studied a large number of official documents (blue books) and documents on American economic development."¹⁵ From 30 October 1882 to 12 January 1883, "Marx stayed in Wentenuoer [2429 3676 6179 1422]. He engaged in the preparatory work for the third edition in German of *Das Kapital* Volume 1."¹⁶ From this it can be seen that the allegation "that in 1878, Marx finally gave up... writing *Das Kapital*" does not tally with the actual situation.

2. Of the works of Marx, the earliest one to deal with "anthropology" was *German Ideology*, written jointly with Engels in 1845 and 1846. He began to study Eastern countries and Eastern society at the beginning of the 1850's at the latest. In April and May 1853, "Marx took great interest in the history, development, and future of the Asian colonial countries and dependencies, and read the works of John R. Maculloch, Keliemu [0344 0441 1191], Beierniai [6296 1422 1441 1002], and Mikhail Yevgrafovich Saltykov and some other works on the history and economy of India and China, and made extracts."¹⁷ From about 26 May to 14 June, "Marx and Engels exchanged their views on the questions of the history of all Eastern countries in their correspondence. In dealing with Eastern social and economic relations, Marx pointed out that there was no private ownership of land there."¹⁸ In the *Critique of Political Economy* (1857-1858 draft), there is a chapter, "All Forms Prior to Capitalist Production," in which there is a paragraph on the "forms of ownership in Asia."¹⁹ This research work was carried on more penetratingly in the 1860's and 1870's. From the last 10 days of October to the first 10 days of November 1868, "Marx studied the issues of ownership in the villages and communities of Russia."²⁰ On 12 December 1872, "Marx wrote a letter to Nikolai Frantsevich Danielson, ...asking him to send the data necessary for the detailed discussion of the issues of the forms of ownership of land in Russia contained in *Das Kapital*, Volume 2."²¹ From July to October 1873, "Marx studied Russian land ownership relations, especially the issues of land, villages, and communities, and read the relevant literature sent by Danielson."²² In May 1875, "Marx read a book, the *Land System of Russia*, by Hakesitehaosen [0761 0344 2448 3676 6275 2773] and made extracts and took notes."²³ In the middle of May 1876, "Marx continued to study the economy of Russia and studied the land ownership relationship, especially the issue of land rent."²⁴ It seems that in "1878," Marx's "switch" to the study of Eastern society and anthropology that was "unfamiliar" to him was, it is feared, hardly based on facts?!

3. If it is said that after 1878 Marx continued to study Eastern society and anthropology, it is right. However, he by no means limited his study to this, and the scope of his study was extremely wide. The aim was, of course, not "to eradicate perplexities," nor to give up the writing of *Das Kapital* to study them; on the contrary, the aim was to write *Das Kapital* well. In dealing with this point, Engels said in November 1892, "While Marx was studying anything, he always checked its history, origin, and prerequisites. Therefore, every individual question he had would naturally give rise to a series of new questions. He studied history in the primitive age, agriculture, land relations of Russia and the United States, geology, and so on, because he mainly wanted to write the chapters on land rent in *Das Kapital*, Volume 3, most perfectly. Nobody had made such an attempt before him."²⁵

4. What does he mean by saying that "Marx carried out profound rethinking and breakthrough exploration of his

previous theory in his remaining years?" Please read the following to see what it says. Zhang's article says, "It was in this year (referring to 1878, but it was actually 1877—quoter), in his letter to the editorial department of the Russian 'Chronicle of the Motherland' magazine, he surprisingly limited the scope of the application of *Das Kapital*, pointed out that *Das Kapital* merely wanted to describe the way in which the capitalist economic system of Western Europe was born of the feudalist economic system, and could by no means be turned into a 'general road of development of the theory of historical philosophy'; changed his consistent views, and put forward a tentative idea for the first time, that Eastern society and countries, including Russia, should avoid the road of capitalist development." This is another wanton interpretation of the works of Marx.

First, it must be pointed out that the letter from Marx to the editorial department of the "Chronicle of the Motherland" was aimed at the article, "Karl Marx in the Court of Mr. Zhukovsky," by Nikolay Konstantinovich Mikhaylovsky published by the magazine in the October issue of 1877. This article of Mikhaylovsky gave an erroneous explanation of *Das Kapital*. In his letter, Marx, therefore, emphatically pointed out: "*In the chapter on primitive accumulation*, (readers please note that this half sentence is omitted by Zhang's article and emphasized by me—quoter) I merely wanted to describe the way in which the capitalist economic system of Western Europe was born of the feudalist economic system."²⁶ "However, so far as my critics are concerned, their criticisms are too few. He wanted to thoroughly change the historical sketch of the origin of the capitalism of Western Europe to a general road of development of the theory of historical philosophy."²⁷ It can be seen that, here, Marx criticized Mikhaylovsky for distorting the chapter, "the Historical Sketch of the Origin of the Capitalism of Western Europe," into a "general road of development of the theory of historical philosophy." How could it be that Marx "surprisingly limited" the scope of the application of *Das Kapital*? If it must be called "limitation," *Das Kapital* originally had it. At the latest, *Das Kapital*, therefore, had it in its Volume 1 published in 1867. How could it be that Marx imposed a "limitation" in "1878?"

Second, it must be pointed out that in his letter to the editorial department of the "Chronicle of the Motherland" Magazine, Marx was not sure whether Russia could finally avoid the capitalist road or not, and only said, "I have come to such a conclusion: If Russia continues to take the road that it began taking in 1861, it will lose the best chance that history can give a nation, and will suffer all extremely unfortunate calamities brought about by the capitalist system."²⁸ In his "letter," Marx also explained in detail that his viewpoint did not contradict with that of *Das Kapital*. How could it be that he "changed his previous consistent views?"

III

If it is said that, in its first part, Zhang's article depicts that Marx lost his revolutionary confidence in his later years, it then wants to prove in its last part that Marx had wavered in the face of the "materialist conception of history," one of the greatest discoveries of his life.

The fundamental basis for Marx's "reexamination of the materialist conception of history" put forward by Zhang's article is "the tentative idea that Eastern society and countries, including Russia, should avoid the road of capitalist development put forward for the first time" in his letter to the editorial department of the "Chronicle of the Motherland" magazine, as mentioned above. Incidentally, Marx originally mentioned Russia only in his letter, but Zhang's article quietly adds others and then further goes to the extent of saying, "Marx now changes his previous statement and holds that Eastern society, whose population makes up the great majority of the population of the world and which is a vast region, can skip over the stage of capitalism and enter communism directly from backward feudal society." On this basis, Zhang's article also infers four great "new perplexities" of Marx. Therefore, so long as we thrash out the viewpoint of this issue and compare it with that of Zhang's article, we can tell at a glance whether the so-called "new perplexities" of Marx are, after all, true or made-up.

In his "letter to the editorial department of the 'Chronicle of the Motherland' magazine," Marx put forward the prospects for the historical development of Russia and the question of the destiny of the rural communes, but conducted penetrating and specific analysis of this question in the "letter to Vera Ivanovna Zasulich" from him on 8 March 1881, especially in the three previous "drafts" of this letter.

In his "drafts," Marx pointed out that "The form of the constitution of an agricultural commune can only be one of the following two situations: Either its factors of private ownership triumph over its factors of collective ownership or the latter overcome the former. Everything is determined by its historical environment."²⁹ What historical environment could enable the agricultural commune of Russia to possibly avoid the capitalist future? Marx said: "In such a historical environment and with the coexistence of capitalist production, it is provided with all conditions for collective labor. It can possibly enjoy all affirmative fruits of the capitalist system without passing through Kafuding Gorge."³⁰ "If Russia should be divorced from the world and exist in isolation, and if it should rely on its strength to score those economic achievements that have been scored by Western Europe after a series of long-term evolutions (from a primitive commune to its present status), the commune would be doomed to destruction along with Russian social development. This point, I think, is certain."³¹

Was the agricultural commune of Russia doomed to the possible avoidance of the fate of destruction under such

historical conditions? No. Marx said, "On the one hand, the 'rural commune' has been pushed almost to the brink of destruction; on the other hand, a vigorous scheme is awaiting it and is prepared to deal the last blow to it. To redeem the Russian commune, it is necessary to have the Russian Revolution."³² On 21 January 1882, Marx and Engels explained this more clearly in the "Preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*." They said: "The task of the *Communist Manifesto* is to announce that modern bourgeois ownership will surely be destroyed. However, we have seen that, except for the rapidly spreading craze for capitalism and the initial development of bourgeois ownership of land, the majority of land is occupied by the peasant commune. Can the Russian commune—a primitive form of public ownership of land that has been destroyed—pass directly to the advanced form of communist public ownership? Or, conversely, must it first go through the course of collapse experienced by the West in its historical development? The only possible answer to the question now is: If the Russian Revolution becomes a signal for the Western proletarian revolution and if both sides supplement each other, present ownership of land by the Russian commune will become the starting point for communist development."³³

Marx said it very carefully here, but he still said that there were two possibilities. Later historical facts show that the Russian Revolution came too late and it was impossible for it to become a signal for the Western proletarian revolution or for both sides to supplement each other. The Russian commune could, therefore, not escape the fate of collapse that the West had experienced in historical development.

The foregoing are some basic viewpoints of Marx on this question. We shall analyze below the so-called "new perplexities" of Marx as put forward by Zhang's article:

"Perplexity" 1: "Is the history of human society monistic or pluralistic?" Zhang's article says: "According to Marx's previous view of 'world history,'... the law and course of the development of human society were the one and the same. However different their specific situations and stages of historical development might be, all countries would finally follow the common track of world history. This formed Marx's monistic concept of history. However, in his later theory on Eastern society, Marx held that Eastern society was another world, totally different from Western society... would skip over 'Kafuding Gorge' in the future and pass through a road of development completely different from the West. The monistic concept of history was thus broken through and the pluralistic concept of history was put forward. How should these two concepts be coordinated?"

Here, I want to put forward three questions:

1. Prior to the destruction of the Russian rural commune that possessed the majority of land, had the Russian Revolution broken out, become a signal for the Western proletarian revolution, and each supplemented the

other, could Marx have hoped, as Russian liberal economists did at the time, and advocated transition to the capitalist system after the destruction of the rural commune? Could Marx thus be considered as adhering to the "monistic concept of history" and as having no "perplexity"? "Marx said that the greatest flexibility was needed in a revolutionary period."³⁴ How should this be understood?

2. When and where did Marx say "however different their specific situations and stages of historical development might be, all countries would undergo the capitalist system? I have read something to the contrary. In the "letter to the editorial department of the 'Chronicle of the Motherland' magazine" dwelt upon with great relish by Zhang's article, Marx said: "He (referring to Mikhaylovsky—quoter) definitely wants to thoroughly change my historical sketch of the origin of the capitalism of Western Europe to a general road of the development of the theory of historical philosophy. *Whatever their historical environment may be, all nations are destined to take this road* so as to finally achieve such an economic formation, that while a high degree of development of social labor productive forces is guaranteed, the all-round development of mankind is guaranteed. However, I must ask him to forgive me. When he does so, he will give me too much honor and will give me too much insult at the same time."³⁵ (Emphasis added by the quoter.) Please note that this is "insult!"

3. Lenin said: "The general law of the historical development of the world does not exclude in the slightest particularity of the stage of individual development expressed in the forms of development or in proper order, but conversely, regards this as a prerequisite."³⁶ May I ask how the "general law" and "particularity," as mentioned here by Lenin, should be coordinated from the viewpoint of a philosopher?

"Perplexity" 2: "Did the theory of five large social formations still work?" Zhang's article says, "In the later years of Marx, this understanding was shaken. In his opinion, the five large social formations were applicable to Western society only,... but did not work in the East."

Marx had an extremely famous statement that is familiar to everyone: "On the whole, the Asian, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be regarded as several periods in the evolution of socio-economic formation."³⁷ Marx said it very precisely here. He said only that on a general trend, they could, but did not lump them together. In the age of Marx, especially after the publication of a book, *Ancient Society*, by Morgan, the above-mentioned four kinds of social formation came one after another in time, coexisted, and were no longer a secret in academic circles. Since they coexisted, they would affect one another under given conditions. Marx said, "The uncivilized conquerors are always conquered by the higher civilization of the nation that they have conquered and this is an eternal historical law."³⁸ Can it be said that this law

contradicts the general law of social development mentioned above? Can it be said that one of these two laws does not work? Marx said very clearly that it was possible that the Russian commune did not need to pass through the Kafuding Gorge of the capitalist system because "it was in such an historical environment; and was provided with all conditions for collective labor by capitalist production that coexisted at the same time." "If Russia was divorced from the world and existed in isolation and if it relied on its own strength... the commune would then be doomed to destruction with the development of Russian social development..." Therefore, Russia did not skip over the Kafuding Gorge of the capitalist system. Even if it did, the general line of the historical development of the world would not change because of this. How can it be said that the theory of five large social formations did not work? How could Marx be "perplexed" by this?

"Perplexity" 3: "What is the yardstick for measuring history?" Zhang's article says: "When Marx asserted categorically in his later years that Eastern society *could* skip over the 'Kafuding Gorge,' his yardstick of history changed. What came up in his mind at this time was not the *so-called* movement of social basic contradictions... This obviously proceeded from the consideration of humanitarianism and was deeply concerned with the value and the liberation of man. Therefore, humanitarianism here not only was an ethical standard but also became Marx's yardstick for and starting point of *planning history*." (Emphasis added by the quoter.)

In which works, may I ask, did Marx "assert categorically" that Eastern society "could" skip over the Kafuding Gorge? Of course, Marx was sympathetic to the laboring people and did not hope that Russia "would suffer the extremely unfortunate calamities brought about by the capitalist system." Did Marx, however, proceed from the Russian historical environment and its political and economic conditions at that time, or "obviously proceed from the consideration of humanitarianism" while he was analyzing the Russian commune, saying that the Kafuding Gorge of the capitalist system could be skipped over? The books by Marx are placed there, and those who respect facts and truth can study and can easily come to a correct conclusion. Marx regarded the development of human society as a natural course of history and the motive force to push this course of history was just the "so-called (!) movement of social basic contradictions." Prior to the victory of the socialist revolution, social progress pushed by the social basic contradictions was always gained at the price of the suffering of the laboring people. "With the fruits of the great social revolution that dominates the age of the bourgeoisie,... human progress will no longer be like a horrible pagan statue that used a person's head as a cup to hold sweet wine."³⁹ How can "humanitarianism" as human ideology become a yardstick for "planning history?" Can history be "planned?"

"Perplexity" 4: "Is socialism strict determinism?" Zhang's article says, "According to Marx's theory of

scientific socialism, socialism is a product of the high degree of development of capitalism,... scientific socialism, however, already lost shape in Marx's theory of Eastern society in his later years and did not begin in the inherent contradictions of capitalism, but evolved from village and commune public ownership by proceeding from the consideration of humanitarianism either prior to capitalism or before the full development of capitalism."

We have quoted above a very important passage from Marx's and Engels' "Preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*." Subsequently, Engels further expounded this passage in his "Postscript to 'On the Social problems of Russia.'" I am now extracting some viewpoints from it by way of my answer to the so-called "perplexity 4" so as to see if "scientific socialism already lost shape."

Engels said that "All forms of the clan commune and future socialist society prior to the emergence of commodity production and private exchanges have a common ground, which is that certain things, namely the means of production, are possessed and used jointly by certain groups. However, *this common characteristic alone will not enable a relatively low social formation to become a future socialist society and the latter is the final product of capitalist society.*" If "strict determinism" as mentioned by Zhang's article referred to the meaning of Engels' statement here, it was surely correct. "Determinism," however, is by no means tantamount to "mechanism." Please read the following: "Nevertheless, it was not only possible but also certain that, after the proletariat of the people of Western Europe won a victory and the means of production were under public ownership, those countries that had just stepped on the road of capitalist production and still retained the clan system or vestiges of the clan system, could utilize these vestiges of commune ownership and the prevailing customs of the people suitable to these vestiges as powerful measures to greatly shorten its course toward the development of socialist society and could also avoid the majority of sufferings and struggle that we had to experience while opening up a road in Western Europe." Even if "he proceeded from the consideration of humanitarianism," Comrade Zhang Kuiliang will not oppose doing it this way, will he? Please continue to read the following: "The indispensable conditions in this aspect are: The capitalist West is now still setting an example and giving vigorous support. Only when the capitalist economy is defeated in its hometown and in the countries where it has thrived, and only when backward countries see 'such a thing' as a practical example and see how to use the productive forces of modern industry as social property to serve the whole *society—only when that time comes, can these backward countries then take such a road to shorten the course of development.* Their success can then be guaranteed. This is applicable not only to Russia but also to all countries before the stage of development of capitalism."⁴⁰ (Emphasis added by the quoter.) Can we say that socialism "evolved from village and commune

public ownership by proceeding from the consideration of humanitarianism prior to capitalism and before the full development of capitalism" so as to make scientific socialism lose shape"?

It appears that Marx did not have "perplexities," but that Comrade Zhang Kuiliang has forcibly imposed the so-called "perplexities" on Marx. Comrade Zhang Kuiliang has set Marx's statements on different problems and in different periods against each other, set the particularity of the Russian problems against the general law of the development of world history, separated them, and denied their internal connection and unity as well as the main line and trend of development. In dealing with the characteristics of Marxism, Lenin pointed out, "What it provides is merely a general guiding principle and the application of this principle, specifically speaking, in Britain is different from that in France; that in France is different from that in Germany; and that in Germany is different from that in Russia."⁴¹ The conclusion that Marx came to by applying his basic theory to analyze the Russian problems was not the "wavering" and "alteration" of the materialist conception of history, but the enrichment and development of the theory of scientific socialism. Comrade Zhang Kuiliang, however, has not grasped this point.

On the basis of the ideological data, I am refuting the arguments in Zhang's article one by one and proving that the so-called "perplexities" of Marx in his remaining years were not true, but made up by Zhang's article. Likewise, I sincerely expect that Comrade Zhang Kuiliang will use conclusive historical data to refute the arguments in this article.

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 1, p 474.
2. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p 392.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, pp 697-699.
4. *Ibid.*, Volume 4, p 332.
5. *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 35, p 179.
6. *Ibid.*, Volume 35, p 179.
7. *Ibid.*, Volume 35, p 179.
8. *Ibid.*, Volume 22, p 597.
9. *Ibid.*, Volume 22, p 593.
10. *Complete Works of Lenin*, Volume 12, p 362.
11. *Ibid.*, Volume 12, p 345.
12. *Ibid.*, Volume 12, p 345.
13. *Ibid.*, Volume 12, p 362.
14. *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 19, p 677.
15. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 683.
16. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 694.
17. *Ibid.*, Volume 9, p 700.
18. *Ibid.*, Volume 9, p 703.
19. *Ibid.*, Volume 46 (first part), pp 470-520.
20. *Special Issue of the Data on the History of the Development of Marxism-Leninism*, p 87.
21. *Ibid.*, p 91.
22. *Ibid.*, p 91.
23. *Ibid.*, p 93.
24. *Ibid.*, p 93.
25. *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 22, p 400.
26. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 129.
27. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 130.
28. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 129.
29. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 435.
30. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 438.
31. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 444.
32. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 441.
33. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 326.
34. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 4, p 689.
35. *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 19, p 130.
35. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p 130.
36. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 4, p 690.
37. *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 2, p 83.
38. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p 70.
39. *Ibid.*, Volume 2, p 75.
40. *Complete Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, Volume 22, pp 502-503.
40. *Ibid.*, Volume 22, pp 502-503. .
41. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 1, p 203.

Mao Zedong and His Secretary Tian Jiaying, Part IV

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[Text] Once the Guangzhou conference was over, Tian Jiaying and I returned to Hangzhou on 26 March. Our major task was to carry out a pilot study and organize discussion on "60 Articles." When Tian assigned this task to the investigation team, he emphasized, "Continue to open your minds." He said, "On the one hand, you should have an adequate appraisal of this document. On the other hand, you must not follow it blindly, for some problems, such as the handicraft industry and commerce, have not been fully resolved. In the pilot study and discussion on the 'Articles,' you must still be good at pointing out problems, and bold enough to discover them." The assignment was not only investigation, it was also operational work, sometimes we would have to resolve some questions. Therefore, Tian reminded everybody that "at this stage we, especially those of us involved in the pilot study, must follow discipline all the more closely. We have to make a decision now. We must be clear whether it is truly the opinion of the masses and not be deceived by illusion. We must especially be cautious on major problems and be responsible to the masses. We should not act rashly. Be cautious and plan well, only then can we succeed. No individual should casually make a decision by himself. We must discuss major issues. Sometimes we should even discuss with the provincial party committee. The provincial party committee has a high regard for our investigation team. The higher regard it have for us, the more carefully we should work."

Our pilot study continued well into mid-April. During this time, a subgroup of the investigation team accidentally discovered that the production of a production brigade in Fuyang county, under the control of some elements who seriously abused the law, was seriously impeded, and the people there lived in extreme poverty; some even died an unnatural death. When Tian heard about this, he and I immediately went there on 9 April. He heard a report from the investigation team and the next day summoned a meeting with all cadres of that administrative region. Tian made a long speech, in which he harshly criticized and reproached those elements that abused the law and educated the cadres present with convincing points. The scene was orderly. Everyone was absorbed in his moving and captivating speech. He exposed some horrible happenings there. When he said, "It breaks a Communist's heart to see all this," he could not go on. For a long time he could not say anything, but tears ran down. Lastly, he announced the "60 Articles" and gave a concrete account of how this region could discuss and do experimental work on "60 Articles." Tian's visit and speech proved to be a turning point for this production brigade. Under the leadership

of the county party committee and the assistance of the investigation team, this brigade revived. In less than two years, a good harvest and happiness reappeared on this beautiful and fertile land of Jiangnan. When many cadres and members of the masses of this brigade heard from the broadcast on the morning of 29 March about the central government's rehabilitation of Tian, who had died unclear of a false charge during the Cultural Revolution, they were in great sadness and rushed in grief to pass on the news to others. This production brigade immediately wrote a letter of sympathy to Dong Bian and asked for a picture of Tian as a souvenir.

Tian had a special affection for the masses, especially poor peasants. He loved the people and struggled for their interests. To him, the fundamental interests of the masses were the ultimate interests. In his investigation and pilot study on the "60 Articles," he adhered to this principle all the time and adhered to educating and arming the cadres with Mao's theory of mass line.

He said, "The regulations on the work on the people's communes mentioned in particular that we must care about the lives of the masses and see things from their viewpoint. The mass viewpoint means first we should wholeheartedly care about the people's lives, and truly put their interests in the first place. To work for the benefit of the people is in line with being responsible to our superiors. What is in line with the interests of the people, we should do; what is not, we should resist. By resist I do not mean violating organization and discipline. We must observe certain procedures. Juniors must obey seniors, the minority must obey the majority. We must adhere to this principle. We should oppose anything that is against the interests of the people and disruptive to production (note: this refers to messing things up by giving wrong orders). If we do not express our view on wrong instructions from above and blindly execute them, we must be responsible for the consequences." He added, "Because we do not have a strong concept of serving the people, we are not very committed to our work. This is an important lesson we should learn from. We must be equally responsible to both the party and the people. A cadre once remarked, 'We used to be afraid of rectification movements, and of criticism and loss of face, but we were rarely afraid of the masses being hungry.'" Then Tian said, "To some people, errors and shortcomings in work reflect that they have not been responsible enough to the people. We must not be afraid of losing our jobs. Some comrades are fully aware of the food shortage among the masses, but dare not report to their superior for fear of losing their jobs. Others dare not report corrupt tendencies, for they have a weak mass viewpoint. Although instructions from above should be executed, if they are wrong we must report them and voice our opinions. The penalty could only be separation from one's spouse, being labeled a rightist, one's son being told not to recognize one as father, or dying an unnatural death. What do we fear! We must adhere to the truth. Besides, our party does not turn a deaf ear to opinions." When talking about motivation and effect,

Tian said, "The interests of the people is a criterion to judge whether a motivation is good or bad. Anything that works against the people's interests must be stopped. Some of the work in the last few years was done without good planning and effect. It must be reviewed immediately."

Tian said these words almost 30 years ago. They were said in the context of the situation then, but they make good sense even today. The way he said these words, his expression, and smile remain vivid in my memory.

During the pilot study on "60 Articles" in Jiashan, Zhejiang Province, we had a walk after supper one evening. Tian recited a poem by Zheng Banqiao to me: "I lie in my official residence listening to the bamboos sough and sigh, as if the people were lamenting. I am just a minor prefectural official, but even a tree and a leaf remind me of the people." Zheng inscribed these four lines on a painting of bamboo he did for another official when Zheng was a prefectural official in Wei County, Shandong Province. Tian sighed with emotion, "Even an official of the feudal age was so concerned about the people's suffering. We as communists must be more so." As a communist, Tian had inherited Chinese intellectuals' good tradition of deep concern for the country and the people, and developed it on the basis of the Marxist world outlook.

Tian came from a poor family and had experienced unfair treatment from society and family at an early age. His family did not support his education. He stopped attending school at the age of 13 and became an apprentice in an herbal medicine shop his brother ran. He lived a humble life and witnessed the darkness of the old society. He had an intimate knowledge of the suffering of the ordinary people and was very receptive to revolutionary ideas. When the War of Aggression Against Japan broke out and the country and people were at risk, patriotic Tian left his birthplace, Chengdu, and rushed to Yanan, a sacred place of the Chinese revolution, to look for the Communist Party. He was only an adolescent of 16 then. After joining the revolution, he chose the road of intellectuals integrating with the vast workers and peasants that Mao instructed. Influenced by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, his simple class feeling elevated to a rational stage and his thinking elevated to a rather high level. His mass viewpoint was firm and consistent. In 1947 he went to Zhangjiazhuang in Jingle County, west Shanxi Province, to carry out land reform. There he experienced this great, antifeudalist land reform movement and established a profound relationship with the poor peasants. He often recounted to me that part of history. He said that he stayed at the home of a poor peasant household. The old lady there was particularly kind to him. It was a difficult time then, for the people were hit by a serious food shortage. However, when he came back every evening, there was a small bag under his pillow filled with roasted soybeans. Wolves roamed the hills around that mountain village at night. Tian often went out for meetings at night. An old farm laborer volunteered to be his bodyguard. He carried a big

machete and walked behind Tian. In 1956 we went to Shanxi to conduct investigation. We paid a visit to that mountain village and saw the old lady and the old farm laborer again. Once we entered the village, the villagers came out to see Tian. "Old Tian," "old Tian," they greeted him affectionately. On the day we left, the villagers gathered on the yellow earth hill and watched us leave.

The Zhejiang investigation and pilot work on "60 Articles" came to an end in mid-April. All members of the investigation team moved to Liuzhuang in Hangzhou and stayed with Mao.

On 23 April, Mao had a conversation with Tian. They discussed the next step of investigation, both partywide and for the Zhejiang investigation team. On 25 April, Mao wrote a letter to Deng Xiaoping, who was also in Hangzhou, and suggested summoning a central working conference in mid-May to continue the unfinished work of the Guangzhou conference, which was to revise the "60 Articles" on the people's commune, to continue with the rectification of the "five tendencies," and to have comrades attending the conference make use of this time to conduct selective investigation on a number of key problems in the countryside.¹ Mao asked Deng and Tian to draft the notice on the conference. In the morning of the same day, Tian delivered the draft notice for Deng to check and approve. That evening, Tian took part in a meeting that Mao called which lasted till 0200 in the early morning. This meeting decided that the Zhejiang investigation team should continue investigating the above issues. The next day, members of the investigation team went to three places and started busy new work. This was one of the key team investigations the party central had conducted across China. All these investigations were in preparation for the Beijing conference to be held in May.

The Zhejiang investigation took exactly 100 days. It began on 23 January and ended on 3 May 1961. It was led by Tian, who in between took part in the Guangzhou conference, the drafting of "60 Articles," and the pilot work on "60 Articles." These hundred days were rich both in work and ideas. Tian was both busy and happy. He put forth many important ideas to Mao and assisted Mao in doing a lot of work, and Mao praised him for it. His deeds agreed with his words. He was patient in his supervision and turned the investigation team into a brilliant one. He was a good model to the others. He was approachable. He actively spread Mao Zedong Thought and helped the masses resolve problems, and was widely known among local cadres and masses for it. On some occasions he put forth perceptive ideas on how to practice socialism. Even today these ideas are still quite meaningful. (I will discuss them later.) The investigation and pilot work adequately proved Tian to be a leader and organizer with character, characteristics, thought, and ability.

In 21 May to 12 June 1961, the Central Committee of the CPC held a conference in Beijing. The conference

revised the "Regulations on the Work on Rural People's Communes (Draft)" on the basis of investigation by the central government, regions, and departments, and formulated a revised draft of the regulations. The change from the original draft was mainly cancellation of the stipulation on the mess hall and supply system. The conference also discussed commerce and urban handicraft industry.

During the conference, Tian drafted for the central government "Instructions on the Discussion of and Experiment With the Revised Draft on Work on Rural People's Communes," based on the four issues Mao had raised: investigation and research, the mass line, paying compensation, and screening for rehabilitation. "Instructions" maintained that party members and cadres who had been criticized and penalized in the previous few years should be screened in an honest manner for rehabilitation. It stipulated specifically that no antirightist or antileftist struggle should be waged among cadres who had been released from work and the masses in the future and that no one should be given political labels. This was an important stipulation. For several years there was often an antirightist current in political movements and many were labeled rightist opportunists for no adequate reason. Those who were hurt included many cadres who had been released from work and ordinary people. This was a serious lesson. To prohibit antirightist and antileftist struggle was a concept used in the Communist Party to resolve party problems. Such struggle should not be waged rashly within the party, nor on cadres who had been released from work or the masses.

Mao made a self-criticism at the conference and shouldered the main responsibility for the party's mistake. He stated that "when we have done something against the objective law, we should be penalized and review it." After the May conference, the economic situation of the country continued to turn better and democratic life within the party was further back to normal.²

"60 Articles" was the first fruit of Mao's emphasis on investigation. This document was crucial to turning around the agricultural situation and even the difficult situation of the national economy. Led by it, all battlefronts across the nation formulated work regulations one after another, and a set of concrete policies was formed in accordance with the reality. "60 Articles" pooled together the wisdom of the whole party and realized Mao's ideas on agricultural policy. It also contained Tian's contribution.

Just as we should adopt a historical viewpoint on everything, we should not simplistically use today's criteria to measure "60 Articles." "60 Articles" basically adhered to the rural people's commune as an organization that integrated government administration and economic management. Practice has proved that this system cannot fully mobilize peasant initiative and develop agricultural production. From the early eighties on, the

family contract system of responsibility linked to production was introduced to most rural areas in China to replace the people's commune, and the achievement is recognized worldwide. Some rural areas have changed the people's commune system, but still stick to the collective economy. It should be pointed out that these areas are usually of a higher level and have a faster pace of development.

XII. "Conduct a Delightful Conference"

The publicity and experiment on "60 Articles" was very well received by the peasants. The results were good and agriculture began to recover in a short time. Mao was delighted. Meanwhile, the central government began to systematically resolve problems on other battlefronts, such as industry, education, and science. The second Lushan conference, which took place from August to September 1961, aimed at resolving policy problems in these areas.

Before going to Lushan, Mao told Tian that "this time I want to make it a delightful conference."

One cannot help comparing the second Lushan conference to the first one. The first one produced disastrous results, and Mao must have felt about them as strongly as others had. From the summer of 1960 on, the central government gradually learned about the plight of the rural areas, and this also reached Mao. He became sad. In those days he often appeared silent and depressed. Sometimes he sat still for a long time, gazing at nothing. This had rarely happened before. In early November 1960, he supervised in person the drafting of "12 Articles" to be issued by the central government. He decided to first resolve the agricultural problem.

Mao pointed out, "Our assessment at the Lushan conference proved to be wrong. At that time we estimated that the situation would turn better in a year. We thought that if the rightist tendency and 'communist wind' were suppressed, and if we carried out several major tasks, the problems would be resolved. Someone mentioned then that odd years were bad years and even years good ones. This year is an even year, but it is not a good year. The 'communist wind' is even more severe than before. At first we estimated it would be better in 1960, but we were wrong. In 1960 we are hit by both natural and manmade calamities. We have committed mistakes in our work, not to mention damage caused by our enemies. The main problems are that we put too much effort in building waterworks and industry, and transferred too much labor power to them." (This was his comment when he listened to reports by central bureaus on 30 December 1960.)

"The goal of the Zhengzhou conference was to suppress leftism. The attack on leftism lasted for only three months, from March to June. It would be good if we had continued with it. Unfortunately, Peng Dehuai interfered in the middle of it, and we turned to attack rightism. It was correct to attack rightism, but it resulted

in exaggerated estimates of yield, requisitions by purchase, and distribution. We must remember and learn from this lesson. At the Lushan conference, the anti-rightist movement interrupted the antileftist movement." (Mao said this to several leaders in the central government on 5 March 1961.)

Mao did not regret having wrongly criticized Peng Dehuai. ("The anti-rightist movement was correct.") However, he did regret having suspended the antileftist movement because he had to attack Peng, and that, subsequently, more damage was caused by the 'communist wind.' He was very unhappy about the whole thing. Did he want to reach a psychological balance by conducting a second conference in Lushan and making it a delightful one?

As Mao expected, the second Lushan conference was not marked by tension and harsh criticisms. The participants were relaxed and in a good mood. They were bold to criticize and discuss problems and errors in work. The conference also produced several good documents, such as "Instructions from the Central Committee of the CPC on Current Problems in Industry," "70 Articles on Industry," and "60 Articles on Higher Education." Tian was suppressed in the latter phase of the first Lushan conference, but this time he felt different. Even so, something disturbed him. Mao felt the national economy had reached the bottom. Tian felt it might be so in agriculture, but not in industry, for industrial output was still dropping. Unable to sleep, Tian went to Mei Xing's room in the middle of the night to discuss this issue until daybreak. (Mei participated in the drafting of "Instructions on Industrial Problems" and "70 Articles on Industry.")

The second Lushan conference aimed at discussion on problems in industry, finance, education, and so forth, but Mao was still interested in the rural areas. He was still concerned about the fate of "60 Articles" on the people's commune and its implementation.

Our party took a zigzag course in 1959. Mao remembered well this lesson. He was worried about whether "60 Articles" was fully implemented, whether it could truly resolve the problems, and whether things would change for the worse again. On 23 August 1961, the first day of the second Lushan conference, he gave a speech to a meeting of leaders from the central government and the major regions, which basically reflected his thoughts.

He said, "'60 Articles' is all socialism. You all say it will work, well, I don't quite think so. Do not have the illusion that after the Guangzhou conference and the Beijing conference, all problems can be thoroughly resolved. I think we still have to try for three years and make major mistakes. Will we suffer more setbacks and failures? Definitely. We have already suffered setbacks and failures, but not enough of them. We must suffer more. Let's try for another two or three years to see if we can develop something from it. As for socialism, we know a little about it, but not much. We learn as we carry

out socialist construction. Only by carrying out socialist work will we have socialist experience. There is a saying that "no woman gets married after she has raised a child." We made a mistake at the Zhengzhou conference. The conference was divided into three groups. Each group met for a day. Only the summary of each meeting was reported to the other two groups. After six months, we went to the Lushan conference. It was right for the conference to resist Peng Dehuai's force, for it was necessary to do so. But we committed a mistake as well. We should not have gone on with it after dealing with Peng. Do not assume that all problems are resolved with the introduction of '60 Articles.'"

The setbacks China suffered in socialist construction educated the whole party as well as Mao. In the winter of 1960, he began to calm down and realized that "it seems socialism can only develop step by step, but not be achieved all at once. I guess socialist construction may take half a century." (This was from a speech on 30 December, 1960.) At a congress of 7,000 people in 1962, Mao pointed out as he summarized the experience of China's socialist construction that "we are still blind in socialist construction. We are still ignorant of many areas of socialist economy. Take me as an example. There are still many questions in economic construction that I do not understand. I know little about industry and commerce, for instance. As for agriculture, I know a little about it." However, "I pay more attention to the questions of system and production relations. As for productive forces, I know little about it." Mao was straight forward and objective when he presented this summary. Mao was very experienced and successful in wars and the democratic revolution. However, he lacked both knowledge of and experience in construction and certain aspects of socialist revolution. He did not respect the knowledge and experience of others and the collective leadership of the party. Therefore, mistakes often occurred in his guidance. Mao was against blind transfer of the Soviet experience. He emphasized that we must develop a China model based on China's reality. He was right in that, but he failed to attain his goals. There is much to learn from this lesson, which is beyond the scope of this article.

It was at this conference that comrades from the central-south region, such as Tao Zhu and Wang Renzhong, pointed out that "60 Articles" had resolved the problems of production teams, but that there was a contradiction between ownership and distribution, as the land, farm animals, and labor power belonged to the production team, but distribution was based on the production brigade as an accounting unit. Mao indicated this was an important point, which should be studied. Actually Mao had realized this contradiction much earlier. He had distributed some material that addressed this contradiction at the Guangzhou conference in March. His proposal to "bring it to the whole of China" was not passed at the conference. Mao kept in his heart this problem of the people's commune system. After the second Lushan conference, he continued to explore ways to correct the internal equalitarianism among people's communes.

On 27 September 1961, Mao called the Handan discussion meeting and personally conducted an investigation of the question of the basic accounting unit. On 29 September he wrote a letter to the Standing Committee of the party Central Committee and comrades concerned, in which he stated his view that the basic accounting unit of the people's commune should be the production team, not the production brigade. He wrote that "We still have not fully resolved the severe equalitarianism in agriculture. This problem remains. The peasants said an article is needed in '60 Articles' to address this problem. What is it? It is that the production team has production autonomy, but the production brigade has the power of distribution."

To change the basic accounting unit is a major shift in the commune system, and an important departure from "60 Articles." (In practice, as long as scope of operation is concerned, this was a return to the elementary cooperative, although the rigid frame of integrating administrative government with economic management remained. Such a frame was still a chief obstacle to development of agricultural production.) While Mao had made this policy decision, a process was required whereby leading cadres at all ranks of the party reached a consensus after investigation. At this critical moment, Mao assigned to Tian the important task of assisting him to resolve the problem. On one hand, Mao had Tian draft a directive on behalf of the central government and present this problem to the entire party for study. On the other hand, he sent Tian to conduct investigation on this problem. Tian chose a village in Changzhi prefecture, Shanxi Province as site of investigation. After the investigation, he decided Mao's view was correct. So he led several comrades to draft on behalf of the central government "Instructions from the CPC Central Committee on the Question of Changing the Basic Accounting Unit of Rural People's Communes." This document criticized some people for their indifferent attitude toward this question and opposed to the view that the smaller the basic accounting unit, the better. It proposed that the suitable scope should be something similar to that of the elementary cooperative. In most of China, it should be about 20 to 30 households. Mao read this document carefully and drew many thick underlines on it. Tian showed it to Dong Bian happily and said, "the chairman underlined the places that I myself think are good points." Later, Mao presented this document to the congress of 7,000 people to be held from January to February 1962.

In the discussion there, an important opinion was to stipulate that the production team remain a basic accounting unit for 40 years without change. (I remember Mao raised this point, but I do not have evidence at hand.) A leader from the central government suggested changing 40 years to "at least 20 years" and asked Mao to consider it. Mao changed "at least 20 years" to "at least 30 years" and added a note saying "better to change it to 'at least 30 years.'" It has taken the Soviet Union 45 years, but agriculture there still has not

succeeded. We may also take several decades to succeed." This amendment and note revealed that Mao was still sober and careful at this point on the question of agriculture. After that, the concept of "no change for 30 years" became an important one and often appeared in documents of the party Central Committee. Thirty or 40 years, the idea was that there should be long-term stability in production relations, that there should not be frequent change, and that the people long for stability. History has proved that only with stability can production develop favorably. Mao remembered the damage caused by frequent change in production relations and the two 'communist winds,' so he took this painful lesson to heart. He said to a provincial party committee secretary during an inspection tour shortly after the 10th Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee in 1962 that, "You must not let equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources happen again. Do not transfer pigs to the central, not even one." No matter how chaotic it was during the Cultural Revolution, and no matter how people like Zhang Chunqiao advocated the idea of a premature transition to a higher form of public ownership on the foundation of the same low level of productive forces, Mao kept the system of the production team as a basic accounting unit. However, even this system could not overcome the problem of increased poverty caused by the movement of chopping off 'tails of capitalism' that swept the rural areas, which lasted from the 'four clean-ups' movement in 1963 to the end of the Cultural Revolution.

In 1961, from the time of the Zhejiang investigation to the drafting for the central government of the directive on the basic accounting unit, Mao and Tian maintained a very harmonious and close relationship. Tian's outstanding work was highly trusted by Mao, and Mao's opinions and policy decisions won Tian's ardent support. This trust and support was built on the basis of similar views of policy and ideology. Both wished difficulties in agriculture and even the entire national economy to be over as soon as possible, production to develop, and the people's livelihood to improve. This was the year throughout Tian's service as Mao's secretary in which Tian was at his best and his work was the smoothest.

Footnotes

1. The problems that Mao raised were: the mess hall, grain, the supply system, hills reserved for private use, administration by level of mountain forests, farm cattle, whether farm tools should be owned by production brigades or production teams, the rectification of incorrect styles and determination on paying compensation in category 1 and 2 counties, communes, and production teams, opposition to the idea of bestowing something as a favor, adherence to the mass line, learning from the masses and promoting investigation, revival of the handicraft industry, and revival of supply and marketing cooperatives.

2. I might as well add that during this conference, Hu Qiaomu was disturbed by a serious neurasthenia and left in the middle of the conference on sick leave. He did not resume work until Tian died, uncleared of a false charge at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. From then on, the work relationship between Tian and Hu ceased.

A Magnificent Scroll Picture, A Lively Paean—Joyously Watching Central Television Station's *A Snap of the Fingers*

HK0502112090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 90 p 47

[Article by Li Xiangming (2621 0686 2494)]

[Text] During the 40th anniversary of National Day, the Central Television Station broadcast a series of special news reports entitled *A Snap of the Fingers*, chiefly reflecting the brilliant achievements of New China. These news reports were penetrating and rich in content, unfolding like a history-related scroll picture and warmly singing the praises of the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the superiority of the socialist system. It rid news circles of the dull atmosphere that prevailed for a time, and gave people a sense of pride and a feeling of excitement.

This series of news reports was continuously broadcast for 57 days, using a total of 180 news items. The content involved 36 trades and 30 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, except Taiwan Province. The scope of coverage, duration, and the vastness of the area covered have rarely been seen in the history of our television news broadcasting. This series of reports tells us with a host of indisputable facts that the Chinese people, who have stood up, can hold their own in the world of nations. Only by upholding the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system can China step on the road to wealth. Many scenes are unforgettable: The Old China was a scene of deserted or uncultivated fields, with the corpses of the starved scattered everywhere. China has now basically solved the problem of food for a population of 1.1 billion. It has become a great miracle in the world. The old China's "three northern" areas were at the mercy of sandstorms, with grass and trees scarce. They now thrive with their networks of densely packed forests, their clumps of luxuriant growth and their bumper crops of grain, presenting a spectacular sight. The big earthquake of 13 years ago reduced Tangshan to a patch of wasteland. A new picture of Tangshan has now emerged in the east of the world. The Huanghe of Old China was dubbed "the sorrow of Huanghe." After liberation, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, and other leading comrades personally set themselves to transform the blueprint for Huanghe. The cubic meters of earth and stone developed in 40 years are equivalent to 13 Great Walls and two Suez Canals... Seeing all this, who can refrain from being excited and bursting into song at the top of one's voice? Therefore, since this series of programs was broadcast there has been keen social response. Viewers speak of these programs this way:

"Old people feel moved after viewing these scenes, the middle-aged feel doubly inspired, and the young people wake up with a start."

The success of these news programs is, in my opinion, attributable chiefly to two factors. One is the upholding of the correct direction for public opinion, with positive propaganda taken as the center and the reflection, in a concentrated and graphic manner, of the results of the labors of our people fighting amidst hardships. Another is the relatively satisfactory realization of three "unities" regarding the guiding idea for news and propagation and relevant practice: Unity between the transmission of information and the expression of public opinion; unity between wide-ranging subject matter and clarity of content at all levels; and unity between the common laws governing news and the unique means of television.

The news media has an extremely large influence and impact on people's consciousness. Upholding the correct direction for public opinion with positive propaganda taken as the center is a guideline and a useful experience for the news undertakings led by our party. But during the past few years, given the impact of liberalized bourgeois thinking, the news circles have showed deviations. Serious mistakes were made, especially during the storm between the spring and summer of 1989. Through summing up positive and negative experiences, the Central Television Station took a big qualitative leap forward in its understanding of this problem. "A Snap of the Fingers" is a result of this understanding.

The value of news as a means of dissemination chiefly finds expression in the quantity of information. Its value in the mass media chiefly finds expression in the degree of publicity. The organic unity of such quantity and degree is the highest plane of news and publicity. Given the relatively wide span of time and space in most of the news in "A Snap of the Fingers," and given the means of television, rich information is contained in most of the new items. These reports achieve the aim of organic unity of the two, giving expression to public opinion through the dissemination of information and realizing the value of publicity through reporting news. This is the reason why "A Snap of the Fingers" can provide ideological education for people.

Most of the data for "A Snap of the Fingers" has been selected seriously. Data selection involves many levels, aspects, and angles. An effort is made to link things to people and thinking and steer the idea of things to the depths of their implications. Some of the news items put things in macrocosmic or microcosmic terms. The painful memories of that old fellow in the countryside "who started out in poverty but is getting rich today," and the aura of self-pride exuded by that young boy, are typical cases in this respect. One scene was of the PLA officers and men who had extinguished the unusually large forest fire in Da Hingan Ling returning from victory. Another was of villagers whose faces were still smoke-stained, gently waving small banners of red paper, with tears glistening in their eyes. Among the

crowd of people, an oldster stuck up his thumb, refusing to let go for a long time. At this time, despite the absence of an explanation and the absence of music, the spectators still seemingly hear and see things outside.

The success of "A Snap of the Fingers" lies in its giving full play to the superior features of television and using images, music, explanations, subtitles, and various other kinds of language and techniques to effectively increase the quantity of information and arouse interest, given conformity with the common laws governing news as a prerequisite. It is this aspect with which other news media cannot compare.

Of course, "A Snap of the Fingers" still has many inadequacies. For instance, some news items still lack depth. The arts of filming and writing remain to be improved upon. But, given a new beginning, it is believed that television news programs of still better quality will surely appear in future.

Pursuits of a Military Artist

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in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 90 p 48

[Article by Zhu Wenbin (2612 2429 2430)]

[Text] Li Renyi [2621 0086 3015] is a painter brought up in the army camp, and a military artist of a new generation cultivated by the heroic troops with a glorious tradition of the New 4th Army. Over the past 20 years or so, the heroic feats and the fiery life of the people's Army have sparked his enthusiasm for creation, and given him the rich soil that abounds in gifts of nature for his creation. It is the propaganda and cultural work in the Army that have tempered his creative talent and allowed him a vast world to give full play to his talent. Some of his works have been given a place in armywide and nationwide exhibitions of the fine arts and have been published in the press, military and civilian alike. Five pieces of his works, including "Morning Mist" and "Sweet Dew," have been selected to be exhibited abroad.

"Li Renyi's Exhibition on the Profiles of the New Fourth Army" possesses sharp ideological connotations and peculiar artistic charisma. The artist has, with pleasing results, made a positive exploration of the harmony and unity of ideological connotations and artistic charm. Primarily, the exhibition in question has merit in individual reality. In every painting, a real personage of the New 4th Army's rank and file is portrayed. In his collection of profiles, the real experiences of every general or soldier are recorded, and the artist's real feelings are conveyed under his pen. This particular advantage, which is shaped with the stress on intensifying truth, has actually given play to the peculiar artistic effects of "overawing others by displaying his strength." Second, he has succeeded in doing something unconventional in linking the feelings of soldiers from two generations. It could be rather difficult to portray historical personages with such strong effects that people in everyday life,

especially teenagers and young people, may show concern for, and cherish those historical personages. The artist has boldly adopted a unique way of expression. Against the setup of decorating a gallery of honor in which heroic models are focused, he succeeded in linking visual pictures to audio captions, linking painting to words on the same painting, and placing the instantaneous artistic images of historical personages side by side with their recent photographs to close the distance between history and real life by breaking fresh ground as best he could. Through the artist's shading and relief, his portrayal of profiles has enabled the audience to arrive at a better understanding of the real "personages" portrayed, starting with appreciating the "images" in the paintings. Through the artist, a young serviceman's understanding of the ideals, feats, characters, and sentiments of soldiers of the older generation is enhanced. And third, the artist has made a helpful attempt in portraying characters after the technique of traditional Chinese painting. Li Renyi, who started his career with painting slides and picture-story books, is very strong in sketching and applying black ink in various tones and has succeeded in portraying with sharp individuality the images and spirit of the generals and soldiers in the War of Resistance Against Japan some half a century ago. This has actually involved a process of surpassing past habit in creation, a profound knowledge of the battling life of those years, and accuracy in grasping the individuality of characters. While going deep into reality, he gave play to the entire accumulation of his own experiences of army life over the years, and began his arduous work in surpassing his own past accomplishments. He worked out the composition of his works on the strength of his own past experiences on the battleground, by listening to the recounting of revolutionary martyrs' dependents and his comrades-in-arms, referring to historical photos that have now turned brown, and sometimes recent photos of personages in order to trace the battling features of those days. His success has been hard earned. It took Li Renyi approximately three years to complete the collection in question, into which he has poured all his enthusiasm and energy. What we have seen are some 170 generals and soldiers with sharp characters in dusted uniforms, emerging from the flames of the War of Resistance Against Japan. These representatives of our nation's elite, each with his own expression in vividness, form an entity full of power and grandeur. Contained in their expression is their anxiety for the nation's life or death and unbended strength, and in their eyes is sparkling faith in the final victory of communism. The exhibition with its huge volume as an entity has impressed us deeply with a spiritual force characterized by profound solemnity, high morale, powerful momentum, and grandeur. A strong national confidence and sense of pride are conjured up when people recall traditional history in their recollections of the New 4th Army's heroic martyrs.

"Li Renyi's Exhibition on the Profiles of the New 4th Army" regards the spread of our Army's glorious tradition and bringing forward the national spirit as its sacred

mission. This alone has manifested the stubborn pursuit of a military artist. The fact that the exhibition is under way today, when the education in the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberation is carried out in depth is the commemoration of the martyrs who dedicated their lives to the revolution and a consolation to the veteran soldiers of the New 4th Army who have

survived. The exhibition is a textbook in images for the new generation of officers and men of the people's Army and all teenagers and young people; it is a great encouragement to Li Renyi himself and to all leading members and comrades-in-arms who have supported and shown concern for him. Here I hope Li Renyi will create more good works in his unyielding pursuit.