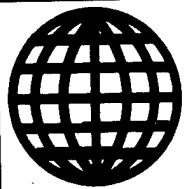


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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
No 4, 16 February 1990

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On Opposing Bourgeois Liberalization

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 90 pp 2-13, 19

[Article by Wang Renzhi; published in FBIS-CHI-90-037, 23 Feb 90 pp 12-23]

Go to the Grassroots Units

HK0504050090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 90 pp 14-15

[Commentator's article]

[Text] Recently, party and government bodies above the county level have responded to the call of the party Central Committee and the State Council to organize their cadres to go down to grassroots units. This is an extremely important plan and measure to improve the style of offices, bring closer the party and the masses, carry out well the rectification program, deepen the reform, and guarantee national and social stability.

Grassroots units are the front base of socialist modernization. They form the base of the party's work. All party lines, policies, and tasks must be consolidated at the grassroots level. It is a basic responsibility and regular task of leading bodies to go to grassroots units, to build them, and to try to resolve problems once they emerge at the grassroots level. It is a topical and imperative thing to do so in light of the current situation and tasks. Not that office cadres do not go to the grassroots in recent years, but not many of them go, and those that go do not do so often. Even fewer really go there to seriously resolve problems. In the past, some comrades went to the grassroots, but their visits were often symbolic. Often they went from a high-level unit to a grassroots unit, stayed in a hotel or guesthouse, and, after stuffing themselves with good food and wine, they listened to reports, cracked a joke, and finished their assignment of "going to the grassroots." Some went to factories or the rural areas, but were surrounded and followed by crowds and automobiles. Their visits were superficial. They were not interested in understanding the problems, and even less in resolving them. They only made grassroots units do more work. When office cadres go to the grassroots again this time, they must avoid such bad bureaucratic habits. They must follow closely the request of the central government to truly go to the grassroots, to factories, rural areas, schools, and streets, to understand the people, make friends, and actually do something. They must conduct heart-to-heart talks with workers, peasants, intellectuals, students, and citizens, sincerely listen to opinions of the masses, answer their questions and doubts in a practical and realistic manner, and patiently and meticulously conduct ideological and political work. They should actively publicize party and government policies, conduct education on the international and domestic situations, mobilize the masses to try their best to protect stability and unity, and actively complete the assignment. They should seriously consult

cadres of grassroots units and the masses, wholeheartedly help those at the grassroots to do their work, and seriously resolve practical difficulties and problems. The more difficulties and problems a grassroots unit faces, the more should cadres go there. This attitude should mark the thinking and work of cadres of party and government bodies at all levels.

Cadres going to the grassroots is a concrete manifestation of party adherence to the mass viewpoint and the mass line. The nature of the working class as vanguard of the party and our goal of wholeheartedly serving the people determine the work of the party and government. From policy formulation to implementation, we must follow the mass line of coming from the masses and going back to them. Cadres of party and government bodies must adopt the mass viewpoint, frequently go deep into the grassroots, listen to the opinions of workers and peasants, and maintain an intimate relation with the vast masses, including workers, peasants, and intellectuals. It was so during the revolutionary years, and should be so during the phase of socialist modernization. However, under new historical conditions, some party members and cadres do not believe in or rely on the masses, nor do they take the mass line as their counterparts did before. Bureaucratism has developed in some party and government bodies which have cut themselves off from the masses. Therefore, it is, by means of encouraging cadres to go to the grassroots, absolutely necessary to seriously educate cadres of party and government bodies with the mass viewpoint and mass line and clear the chaos caused by flawed opinions.

An opinion that practice has proved wrong was once very popular and much talked about. It argues that we live in an information age, that leading bodies need not go to grassroots units in order to understand them, and that they can formulate policies and supervise work by making phone calls from the office, pressing buttons, and going through information data. This opinion is flawed not only because it is unscientific to use information to represent the present age, as it does not distinguish the basic features of the times, but because it mixes up the relations between understanding and practice and between source and flow of information, and polarizes connecting the masses and understanding information. It violates the party's mass viewpoint and mass line. What is information? In actual fact it is just what people say about this and that. Information spread and stored in different ways is only what people say that has been understood, collected, organized, and processed. In the final analysis, information comes from practice. To cut oneself off from the masses on the front line means to cut oneself off from the source of information. Leading bodies, of course, have to collect all kinds of information by indirect means and in indirect ways. However, the most important thing is to directly find out what the masses think and do, what they demand and expect from the leaders, and what their criticisms and suggestions are. Only when we respond to the call of the masses and grasp their information which reflects the pulse of the

times can we formulate in a scientific manner policies that are in line with reality, and conduct accurate and effective guidance. Errors in certain work of some party and government bodies in recent years can be attributed to more than one cause, but they must have been partially caused by cadres who stay high above, cut themselves off from the masses, and do not listen to the opinions of the masses, especially of workers and peasants. Now, the practice of going to the grassroots, to the masses, and mixing with them, which some people once sneered at as guerrilla practices for the guerrilla age, is still our indispensable means of connecting the masses and doing good work.

Some cadres still maintain the mistaken view that our present task is to carry out modernization, which relies on science and technology. It seems to them that relying on the masses and taking the mass line is no longer important. Practice has again proved this view wrong. True, it is impossible not to rely on science and technology to modernize China. For a period of time we one-sidedly emphasized the importance of mass movement, and did not give to science the respect it deserved. Good use was not made of science and technology. This lesson must not be forgotten. However, if we polarize respect for science and reliance on the masses and use the former to negate the latter, we are swinging from one extreme to another. Actually, there is no contradiction between the two. Science and technology are products of the history and activities of the masses. Without the activities of the vast masses, they could not have developed. Similarly, without the active participation of the masses, the popularization and application of scientific and technological knowledge could not have taken place. If we do not rely on the vast masses and adequately mobilize the initiative of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, how can science and technology serve the modernization program? If we ignore the function of the masses, we cannot talk about socialist modernization. To respect knowledge and science, we must also respect the masses. As the party Central Committee and the State Council point out, the masses are the source of our strength and basis of our victory. Divorced from them, we will be unable to achieve anything and will even be in danger. This is a truth that history and reality have repeatedly proved. All party members and cadres must remember it all the time.

Cadre visits to the grassroots enjoy immense popular support and that wins the concern of the entire party and population. Party committees at all levels must be serious about it, and coordinate, arrange, and carefully plan for this work. They should strengthen leadership on it and do it well. They must avoid being enthusiastic about the work in the beginning but abruptly abandon it in the middle. They should share information at the right time and seriously conclude the experience, so that the work becomes long-term work and is established as a system. Cadres' going to the grassroots to connect with the masses is an issue of style and ultimately one of stance and world outlook. It also shows our sentiment

and attitude toward the masses. Each and every party member and cadre should be tested and trained on this question. If cadres of our party and government bodies, especially leading cadres, have developed the awareness and good habit of going deep into the masses and connecting with them, our party-mass relations and cadre-mass relations will be very different, the party and the masses will be closer to each other, and we will perform better in all our work.

Take the Road of Developing the Productive Forces by Relying on the Socialist System

HK0104013090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 90 pp 16-19

[Article by Bao Xinjian (0545 1800 7003) of the Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Federation]

[Text] In the development of the productive forces, is there any choice of which road to take? Yes, there is. Not only do historical materialism and the theory of scientific socialism say this, but the practice of socialist countries and especially the realities of the struggle between the two different orientations and different avenues of development over the last few years in our country's reform and opening up also clearly show this point.

Seen from the general laws of social development, the development of the productive forces of any society is always carried out under certain relations of production and a certain political superstructure. Different relations of production and political superstructures either obstruct or promote, slowly promote or greatly damage the productive forces. Even if they all played a promotional role on the development of the productive forces, relations of production and political superstructures of different natures, or of similar natures but different degrees, would have different effects on the form and degree of promotion given to the productive forces. The reaction of the relations of production and the political superstructure to the different types and different degrees of social productive forces form the different avenues for the development of the productive forces.

The socialist system opens a broad road for the development of the social productive forces. The socialist relations of production and political superstructure are essentially congruent with the orientation and needs of developing the social productive forces. This is because, under socialist conditions, the prime element of the social productive forces—the laborers—are concurrently the main aspect of the social relations of production and of the political superstructure. Thus, there is no basic clash of interests between the socialist system and the social forces of production. On the basis of the laborers being the masters of the state and society, the socialist system inevitably plays a positive promotional role on the development of the productive forces. The social productive forces also essentially require reliance on the socialist system for their own development.

However, the complex history and realities of socialism have not been as clear and simple as theory suggests. In the last 10 years of reform, on the question of the development of productive forces, we have encountered complex situations we have never come across before and the realities of life have continually and abruptly thrust in front of us the question of the choice of avenue in developing the productive forces:

1. After opening the door of the country following its long closure, what people first saw was the quite high level of productive forces and the degree of development of the Western world. Thus, people very naturally asked why the level of productive forces under the capitalist system is higher than the level of the productive forces under the socialist system. This question would seem to be virtually common sense, but it is an extremely difficult question to answer. It perplexes people like a nightmare and even causes people, especially young people, to lose their faith in socialism and their faith in the motherland's future.

2. Over the 10 years of reform, we have achieved brilliant results in enlivening the economy and have won heartfelt support from the people. In the reforms, the individual economy and the private economy have seen rapid development and these have played a definite role in assisting and supplementing the socialist public ownership economy. Faced with the rapid developments of the private economy during the reforms, some people were plunged into doubt, as it seemed that the private economy was better able to promote the productive forces.

3. It is particularly worth pointing out that in the last few years representative figures of bourgeois liberalization have used the perplexity people experienced when comparing the level of the productive forces under the two systems and used the definite promotional role that the private economy has had on the development of the productive forces during the reforms to wantonly blur the division between the two avenues for developing the productive forces, and have advocated that China can only take the capitalist system avenue for developing its productive forces. In this respect, the first manifestations of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization are the advocacy of "not always first asking whether something is 'socialist' or 'capitalist'" and the rejection of the essential difference between different avenues for developing the productive forces. The second manifestation is the simplistic and vulgar propaganda and explanation of the standards for the productive forces. They sum up the productive forces standard as the "material" standard and explain the "material" standard as the "money" standard. Then, with their absurd logic that "we must look toward money because only thus can we look toward the future," they give rise to a large number of phenomena whereby people use all sorts of unscrupulous means to make money. The third manifestation is open belittling of the public ownership system, praise of the private ownership

system, slander of the "empty content" and "low efficiency" of the public ownership system and advocacy of the private ownership system as "the main force in developing productive forces and the most basic method in motivating workers' enthusiasm."

Should we, in developing our country's productive forces, follow the socialist road or the capitalist road? Clearly, this is an issue that will have decisive significance in our cause and will require us to provide a clear and powerful answer.

Developed capitalist countries do have quite high levels of productive forces and possess quite great material wealth. This is an unavoidable fact. However, faced with this fact, we have reason to ask two questions: 1) How have the levels of the productive forces of developed capitalist societies been formed? 2) Is the capitalist road of developing the productive forces feasible in China?

Marx, who engaged in a deep study of the development of capitalism, profoundly pointed out: "The development of socioeconomic forms is a natural process of history" (*Das Kapital*, Volume I, p. 12). It needs to be recognized that the actual level of the productive forces we observe in developed capitalist countries today have not always been thus. Rather, they have been slowly realized through a period of accumulation over 300 years. When the European bourgeois revolution erupted, the productive forces were only at the level of handicraft factories, which were still not very widespread. They had to go through the many changes of the industrial revolution and the development of socialized large-scale production before they were able to achieve the level seen at present in a small number of capitalist countries. That is to say, the level of the productive forces achieved by a small number of capitalist countries is not something that can be realized overnight. Rather, it is a result of long-term development. Seen from the time aspect, the development of the productive forces of the major capitalist countries was much longer than the period we have been engaged in developing the productive forces under the socialist system in our country. This is a factual precondition one must not forget when making comparisons between the level of our own productive forces and the level in developed capitalist countries. Not only this but, more important, we must clearly recognize that the formation of the developed productive forces of modern capitalism was not an idyllic process. Rather, it was a historical process accompanied by acute social contradictions and intense class conflict. It was a "battle for existence" in which the weak were devoured by the strong. The development of the productive forces of capitalism had, as its starting point, "the primitive accumulation of capital." This is a link that must be passed through in the transition from a natural economy to a commodity economy under capitalist conditions. However, the primitive accumulation of capital was not an undertaking involving peaceful development. Rather, it was a process accompanied by plunder, enslavement, subjugation, larceny, and massacres. It was a process run through with blood and tears,

and each person who made good was covered in the blood of innumerable losers! This is a stage that the capitalist road cannot avoid. The capitalist states of today with their developed productive forces all had to go through this brutal process of historical development. In particular, we should not overlook the historical fact that the vast majority of today's capitalist countries with developed productive forces traveled the evil road whereby they engaged in brutal economic plunder and armed subjugation in their colonies and semicolonies. "One country is successful and 10,000 bones are broken." The blood and sweat of the people of colonies and semicolonies have watered the flowers of modern capitalist civilization, while the corpses of the people of the colonies and semicolonies have been used to build the mansions of material civilization in modern capitalist countries. In summing up the history of the rise of the imperialist powers, we can say that without external aggression and expansion they would not have achieved their "miracles" in the development of domestic productive forces. This is an extremely important reason why in today's world, of the more than 100 countries that have implemented the capitalist system, only a small number have highly developed productive forces, while the majority of these capitalist countries are not rich and often are very poor.

Some people might say: What we propose is that we make up for the "missed lesson of capitalism" and that we rely on the capitalist system to develop the productive forces, not that we start from the old road of "primitive accumulation of capital." We do not want to take the road of external expansion, but rather want to import the production modes of modern capitalism in order to develop our productive forces as quickly as possible. What is wrong with this? If this idea is not intentional beautifying of the capitalist system, it is at least a misguided illusion. Of course, the times are developing and history does not simply repeat itself. If today we implement the capitalistic production mode in China, it may bring with it some of the characteristics of the times and some of the production forms of modern capitalist culture may be adopted. However, as a mode of social production, the essential characteristics of capitalism cannot, even in the modern age, be eliminated. These characteristics are ruthless competition, mutual attempts to cheat and outwit, and polarization. These essential characteristics are still clearly manifested in the production process and social life of the most developed capitalist countries. If today in China we take the capitalist road, it will be difficult to avoid the appearance of these essential characteristics of the capitalist production mode. Then we will have no option but to again experience a history where the interests of the majority of the laboring people are sacrificed in order to develop the productive forces. How can the CPC, which has the seeking of the interests of the greatest number of people as its goal of struggle, and the broad masses of people who are the masters of the country, allow such a historical phenomenon to occur again in our country?

That the road of capitalist development will not work in China is not only an inference on the theoretical level, but also the conclusion of history and reality. Since the establishment of the PRC, it can be said that we have gone through two historical stages in which the capitalist economy was allowed to see a certain amount of development. These two historical stages both show undeniably that the road of capitalist development of the productive forces will not work in China. Just after the establishment of the PRC, in response to the extremely backward level of the productive forces left from old China, our party decided that in the development stage of new democracy, capitalist industry and commerce could continue to exist and develop for quite a long period of time. To this end, a clear policy was adopted: We would utilize their positive role which was of benefit to the country and the people, and we would restrict their negative role which was disadvantageous to the country and the people. However, the negative and damaging aspects of this capitalist industry and commerce which was originally backward and had seen lopsided development, very quickly surfaced in the socioeconomic sphere, and its harmful effects on the country and the people became increasingly great. In this way, the task of socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce inevitably and historically was put on the agenda of the Chinese revolution. Having the public ownership system replace the private ownership system and developing the productive forces with the public ownership economy as the main force was the only correct choice for social development in China at that time. Practice has proven that this choice was correct. From 1953 to 1956, during the period of socialist transformation of the ownership system, our country's gross industrial output value saw an annual increase of 19.6 percent, while gross agricultural output value saw an annual growth of 4.8 percent. This fully proves that the socialist system has a powerful vitality, appeal, and creativity and is the only correct road for promoting the development of the productive forces.

The complex situation in our country's reform over the last few years has again proven that capitalist development of the productive forces will not work in China. The public ownership system as the main aspect and common prosperity of all members of the society promoted through distribution according to work, are the two basic characteristics of the socialist economic system. In the initial stage of socialism, the implementation of a small private economy and the adoption of the policy allowing some people to become prosperous first will have a definite promotional effect on developing the productive forces. These can only assist and supplement the public ownership economy and the policy of common prosperity. However, in recent years, because of the influence of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization in terms of "privatization," "marketization," and "reform advocacy" and also because the private economy has lacked strict management, regulation, and control, it has led to a series of social problems: First, the production operations of large and medium-size state enterprises have suffered. The "separation of the two rights" has in some areas resulted in distortion of state

ownership rights over enterprises. Second, serious income inequalities have emerged and, to some degree, have led to social contradictions. Third, there has been a major acceleration in the accumulation and centralization of social wealth, meaning that a small number of people have become wealthy quickly or even become wealthy overnight through illegal means. This has resulted in exploitation whereby people obtain gains without work or great gains with little work, and corruption whereby people use their power to seek private gain. Fourth, under the guidance of the set of values where "in everything, people look toward money," there has been serious harm done to the building of spiritual civilization and many ugly phenomena which had long been done away with have reappeared. The broad masses of people have strongly indicated their dissatisfaction with the above-mentioned social problems. Social effects and popular feeling show that although the capitalist economy component can play a role in promoting the development of the productive forces in the primary stage of socialism, if it is not controlled, and is allowed to grow and expand, and if it is allowed to become the controlling force in economic life or even overall social life, then it will have a very harmful effect on the enthusiasm of all members of society and on the overall progress of society. Thereby, it will finally obstruct or damage the development of social productive forces. Thus, it is said that we must never place our hopes for development of the productive forces in the capitalist road.

Is reliance on the socialist system in developing the productive forces an abstract, empty slogan? No, it is not. In the last few years, the influence of the propaganda of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization which has obscured and distorted the orientation of the reforms, has led to some people's concept of taking the socialist road becoming little more than a generality. It has become but a slogan and some people do not even bother to mouth the slogan. This has given some people the false impression that the question of orientation is an empty one and that only the development of the productive forces has meaning. Can there be any development of the productive forces without asking about orientation? Real life has already given us a clear answer. The question of the orientation of our country's revolution truly permeates the process of developing the productive forces. If one does not take the socialist road, one will be taking the capitalist road. Bourgeois liberalization has wantonly encouraged "privatization" and "marketization," the private ownership economy has been praised to the skies, and making money without regard for the methods used have been lauded. Faced with such "reform," are not people justified in asking: "Can these methods be called socialist reforms?" It can be seen that reliance on the socialist system in developing the productive forces is not just an empty slogan, rather, it has extremely concrete contents. Only by maintaining production modes that have the public ownership economy occupying the absolute guiding position, maintaining the track of promoting the common prosperity of all members of society on the basis of developing production, and maintaining leadership by the CPC and the people's

democratic dictatorship on the political level, will it be possible to basically motivate the enthusiasm of the broad masses of laboring people. Only thereby will the social productive forces really be brimming with vitality and become the source for creating endless social wealth.

On the Basic Principles of Socialist Ethics

HK2203090190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 4, 16 Feb 90 pp 20-23, 31

[Article by Song Xiren (1345 1585 0088) from the Chinese People's University]

[Text] What basic principles should socialist ethics uphold, is not just a basic theoretical question of ethics, it is also an important practical issue that guides the target values of a socialist society. On this question, the influence of the bourgeois liberalization trend over the years has created serious ideological confusion among the people. It is thus necessary to carry out thoroughgoing reform, criticize the viewpoints of bourgeois liberalization, and clarify the basic principles of socialist ethics.

I

We have always maintained that the basic principle of socialist ethics is collectivism. Despite the fact that in the past people sometimes did not have an all-round interpretation of this principle and sometimes even resorted to oversimplistic measures in putting it into practice, on the whole, their grasp of its basic spirit had been correct and, as a consistent principle of socialist ethics, it had yielded fruitful results. On this basic issue, we are not caught in a "dilemma" or "crisis" as some people suggest. Quite the contrary, it has, during the past few decades, continuously eliminated interference from the "left" and the right, played its role in correctly guiding the sense of value in promoting socialist revolution and construction, and become the stable ideology and basic regulatory principle of social ethics in our society.

That collectivism is the basic principle of socialist ethics has historical and immediate foundations. Since class society first came into being, whether the regulatory principle of social ethics is based on society or on individuals has always been determined by the modes of production, primarily by the relations of production, which decide the character of society, and is not determined by the wishes of certain people. In a society where there is private ownership and that is under the rule of the exploiting classes, the determination of the principle of social ethics is inevitably subject to the economic relations of private ownership. When land, factories, and other property rights are privately owned by the exploiters, the basic principle for the regulation of social ethics cannot but be based on the private ownership of property. Under this kind of social system, society is but a means for realizing private gains, and the state is but the tool to safeguard the ruling power of the exploiting classes. So-called social justice is likewise preconditioned by the affirmation of these gains and power. In

certain aspects of social activities and in particular periods, the ruling clique may also emphasize the importance of overall interests and put forward unified demands for social ethics. However, because they are based on the private ownership system and relations of class exploitation, they cannot implement the principle of overall interests in the whole society. At the most they can only advocate abstract principles such as humanitarianism and altruism. Essentially, they can only practice individualism and egoism.

The trend of utopian socialism emerged in Europe in recent times. Bearing in mind the drawbacks of individualism and egoism which have private ownership as their basis, the proponents of this trend sought to establish a reasonable social system and a new principle of ethics based on the public ownership system. However, rather than viewing the rise and fall of ethics from the perspective of basic changes in the social system, they attempted to derive a new principle of ethics from the needs of human nature. In practice, they fantasized that they could, without undergoing transformation through revolution, succeed in changing the selfish nature of the bourgeoisie through moral influence, and bring about a new ethical ideal. Hence, they were only able to establish organizations of cooperative production controlled by consortiums of capital and which have diametrically opposed interests, but they were unable to build up the economic base for the practice of new ethics and, morally, they were unable to transcend the abstract notions of humanitarianism and altruism. The practice of collectivist regulation of social ethics can only be a utopian concept as far as they are concerned.

The translation of the basic principles of socialist ethics from something utopian into reality is made possible by the proletarian socialist revolution. The establishment of the principle of collectivist ethics is the conclusion derived from the critical analysis of capitalist economics, politics, and social contradictions on the one hand, and is the summary of practical experience in proletarian revolution on the other. The Marxist theory of scientific socialism turns socialism from utopian to scientific, and scientifically demonstrates the principle of collectivist ethics. The victory of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialist public ownership have laid a solid foundation for the implementation of the principle of collectivism and have fundamentally changed the situation where the regulatory principle of social ethics has the individual as its basis.

In a socialist society, collectivism as the basic principle of social ethics is the embodiment of the principles of social economics and politics in the realm of ethics. Hence, upholding the principle of collectivist ethics and adhering to the socialist road are in complete conformity, while negation of the principle of collectivism will invariably lead to negation of the socialist system and departure from the socialist road. In this sense, taking collectivism as the basic principle of socialist ethics is not a randomly chosen means for controlling society, but

is rather the inevitable outcome of the objective historical process as well as the objective requirement of the socialist economic and political systems.

We understand that socioeconomic relations always find concrete expression in interpersonal interests, and interest relations themselves imply demands on people's actions and interrelations. When there is a relationship, there is demand, and when there is demand, there is ethical regulation on how and what it should be like. The laws of society do not exist outside man's practical activities. They find expression in the guiding value which ultimately determines people's actions and interrelations. In society, although each person has his or her own needs, aims, and wishes, the objective relations and development direction formed in the course of social practice are independent of individual needs, aims, and wishes. Hence, the principle of collectivist ethics grown out of socialist economic relations is just as inevitable as the way socialist economic relations are formed.

II

The following is a regular phenomenon: In ethical and ideological struggles involving major social changes, questions that are placed on the direct order of the day and are the most pointed are questions concerning the principle of ethics. This was the case in the past, and is the case today. As the socialist reform deepened over the years, disputes over the principle of ethics also grew increasingly intense. Some of the disagreements belonged to normal theoretical discussions and has a positive role in enriching and developing Marxist ethics. However, there were some articles and pamphlets that directly attacked the principle of collectivism with a view to fundamentally negating it. They negated the scientific nature of the principle of collectivism, alleging that "collectivism may also be spurious" and that "individual value may be equal to or even greater than collective value." They negated the fairness of the principle of collectivism, alleging that the principle of collectivism "puts undue emphasis on the collective," "stresses submission by the individual," "suppresses the individual," "opposes the individual," and even "shows a hostile attitude toward individual needs and wants." They confounded the collectivist principle of socialist ethics with the feudal and patriarchal principle of ethics, and negated socialist collectivism in the name of criticizing feudal autocracy. Flaunting the banners of "new ideology," "new concepts," and "new breakthroughs," they peddled the bourgeois individualism and egoism of the West by distorting classic Marxist works and resorting to sophistry. In the early 1980's, they were still rather cautious when they raised the issue of opposing communist ethics, but toward the end of the 1980's they went as far as to show abhorrence for socialist ethics. Some of them simply regarded collectivist ethics as "blockhead ethics" and "cannibal ethics," asserting that "selfless devotion" was "extremist and one-sided dogma." They openly preached individualism and egoism and sounded the "critical combat call" against

collectivist ethics. This was, in fact, a reflection of bourgeois liberalization in the realm of ethics.

However, distortion cannot change either the facts or the truth.

People know that the notion of "collective" in the principle of collectivism is a scientific condensation and is usually synonymous with "society" and "the whole." What it refers to is the true collective, which represents the unity of overall social interests and personal interests, and does not cover the unreal or false collective. On the practical level, it refers to the real socialist society, especially the interests of the state and the collective. As the basic principle of socialist ethics, it stresses the need to safeguard overall social interests while regulating the relationship between different interests in society, and requires that personal interests be subject to the interests of the state and the collective, that partial and local interests be subject to the interests of the whole, and that temporary interests be subject to long-term interests. In short, it upholds the unity of overall social interests and personal interests.

The principle of collectivism encompasses the demand that individuals be subordinate to society, but this does not imply oppression or being on guard against personal interests, still less does it imply objection to and negation of individual interests. Quite the contrary, it seeks to guarantee and develop appropriate personal interests and the reasonable and just satisfaction of the needs and wants of individuals while safeguarding overall social interests. However, only when overall interests are developed can personal interests be fundamentally guaranteed. As far as collectivist ethics are concerned, the relationship between society and the individual is like that between the living organism and the cell. The organism depends on the health and vitality of the cell for its existence. Hence its life exists on the integrated whole made up of individual cells and their interrelations. On the other hand, the life of the cell depends on the life of the organism, and a cell has no life once removed from the organism. The collectivist principle of socialist ethics stresses the importance of overall social interests, but it also stresses the importance of personal interests and attaches importance to the role of personal interests and initiative. The socialist principle of "to each according to his needs" and the policies of reform are the manifestation of this kind of relationship. Although unfair distribution can still be found in certain fields in real life, the principle of "to each according to his needs" has indeed eliminated exploitation and guaranteed the rights of workers to a fair share of their fruits of labor. This social justice is beyond the wildest dream of the ethics of all exploiting classes since the beginning of history. If indeed there are things that it guards against, objects to, or negates, they are extreme individualism, egoism, deeds detrimental to the interests of the state and the collective, and antisocialist reactionary activities. This is precisely where the righteous strength of the principle of collectivism lies.

There is no doubt that, according to the principle of collectivism, society is a more important and basic existence than individuals. As noted above, socialism has brought about an economic system based mainly on the public ownership of the means of production, and it laid the foundation for taking society as the basis. Through coordinated development of different economic sectors, the overall interests of socialism are realized and developed. Only when the overall interests of socialism and the interests of the state and the collective are developed will the personal interests of every member of society be guaranteed and increased, and only then will the individual be able to enjoy independence, freedom, and happiness. The overall interests of socialism are by no means illusory. Rather, they solidly embody the common interests of all members of society, and it is in them that the common life of every individual lies. Just as the cells are lifeless once they are removed from the organism, the individual cannot exist or develop outside society, to say nothing about enjoying independence, freedom, and happiness. That is precisely why the principle of collectivism emphasizes the need to take overall social interests as the precondition and the need to upgrade the moral state of individuals to the high level of taking the interests of the state and the collective as the precondition. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "We advocate distribution according to need and recognize material interests because we want to fight for the material interests of the whole population. Every person should have his or her specific material interests, but this does not mean that we advocate that we should forget about the state, the collective, and other people and concentrate on fighting for our own interests. This does not mean that we advocate that people should all turn their eyes to 'money.'" What is discussed here is the spirit of collectivism. Under the socialist conditions in China, it means taking the overall interests of socialism as the basis. This is also the principle of "taking the people's interests as the highest criterion" consistently taught by Comrade Mao Zedong.

When the enemy invades our motherland and the safety of the motherland is threatened, it is submission to the supreme principle that the interests of the motherland are above all else to sacrifice oneself in the battlefield to defend the motherland. When the antisocialist elements created turmoil and staged a counterrevolutionary rebellion, we carried out the following "absolute order" when we curbed the turmoil and quelled the counterrevolutionary rebellion: Safeguard the safety and stability of the country and defend the great cause of socialism.

Some people did everything in their power to oppose the "theory that the whole reigns supreme." In essence, what they wanted was to fundamentally negate the collectivist principle of socialist ethics and practice the principle of bourgeois individualism. They preached that "the individual represents a more fundamental existence and value than society." They alleged that "the individual is the most real, most fundamental subject" and that "the

individual represents a more original, more sacred purpose," claiming that their "theory of new ethics" takes "man's subject," "man's purpose," "man's needs," and so on as its principles. In reality, these aspects, when combined, amount to the principle that the individual comes first, that is, the principle of individualism. The so-called "subjectivist ethics" is what this kind of individualistic ethics is about. Marxist ethics attach importance to the study of subjectivism and ethical subjectivism, but it is resolutely opposed to individualistic subjectivism and individualistic subjective ethics because this kind of subjectivism can only lead people to the evil road of egoism, liberalism, and anarchy. Is the lesson of the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion which broke out last year not enough warning to us?

Of course, when we uphold the principle of collectivism, we must pay attention to coordinating it with the multifaceted and multilevel demands of ethical relations. The principle of collectivism is the basic principle of socialist ethics. All ethical relations and individual actions in society as a whole must ultimately abide by this basic principle. However, the concrete implementation of this principle does not directly replace the demands of ethical relations in different spheres and on different levels, or the relevant codes of conduct. In China today, ethical relations are complicated. There are ethical relations under one and the same system and ethical relations under different systems. There are ethical relations of a socialist nature and ethical relations of a nonsocialist nature. There are also ethical relations between the individuals on the one hand and the state and the collective on the other, as well as ethical relations between individuals. All these different ethical relations have their corresponding ethical norms, and relevant codes of conduct must be observed in handling the deeds under these ethical relations. The principle of collectivism applies mainly to the relations of the individual to the society, the state, and the collective. Interpersonal relations, such as the relationships between husband and wife, father and son, relatives, and the master and the apprentice, are not directly regulated by means of the principle of collectivism. Rather, what it does is affirm the corresponding ethical demands of the individual and, through these concrete demands, ultimately gives embodiment to the collectivist principle of social ethics, thereby combining personal relations with society as a whole. Here we cannot interpret and apply the principle of collectivism in an oversimplified way, lest we arouse unnecessary misunderstanding about the principle of collectivism.

III

The collectivist principle of socialist ethics includes the need for individuals to make sacrifices for overall social interests as well as necessary self-sacrifice. There has been some misunderstanding on this point, and this has been seized upon by some people to attack the principle of collectivism.

What we mean by sacrifice and self-sacrifice cover two situations: The first refers to the selfless and untiring labor and work put in by industrious and conscientious people for the common good in times of peace, regardless of remuneration or personal gain or loss. The other refers to a special situation, that is, when there is conflict between personal interests and overall social interests, particularly when the cause of the state and the collective is jeopardized or endangered, one is able to step forward bravely regardless of personal safety. For instance, when the country's safety is threatened by the enemy, young people should respond to the call of the motherland and join the fight to protect the motherland. During the revolutionary war years, countless revolutionary martyrs made themselves heroes. In quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion last year, many People's Liberation Army fighters also made themselves heroes for the interests of the people and the interests of the party and the state even though their own safety was at stake. Under the spiritual guidance that the interests of the state and the people are above everything else, they consciously sacrificed their personal interests and even their precious life. When nothing short of sacrificing the individual will make it possible to defend the state and the interests of the party and the people, the principle of collectivism requires the individuals to make self-sacrifice. In this sense, we may borrow the following idea of Kant: Morality has such great value only because of the great sacrifices involved. As far as the individuals are concerned, the moral deed of safeguarding overall social interests itself implies a certain degree of self-sacrifice, not the gaining of personal interests. This is precisely where the noble value of socialist and communist ethics embodied by the principle of collectivism lies. The former situation is something that everyone can and should do. The latter is not something that can be expected of everyone, but it is justifiable to expect this of the advanced elements, party members, and revolutionary cadres. The fact is, the two situations are at one in the final analysis. A person who can truly be selfless will, when necessary, make self-sacrifice, even when it means sacrificing one's own life. In this sense, it is not a question of "feasibility," or a question of impossibility, rather it is a question of whether one wants to do it or not. This is what Confucius meant by "I desire benevolence, and this is the highest form of benevolence."

There is an absurd view that maintains that "the greatness of self-sacrifice is based on a clear understanding of personal interests and one's own value, and if this understanding is absent, a person is no more than a scapegoat before the altar even if he or she has made the sacrifice." This is a basic theory of subjectivist ethics. Actually this view is not absurd if we take into account the fact that according to the logic of subjectivist ethics, man's relation to society is based on the individual, and man's value is much higher and more fundamental and sacred than that of society. This being the case, how can one begin to talk about "sacrificing oneself" for society and the collective? Their idea of "sacrifice" had, in fact, tarnished the noble word itself. According to subjectivist

ethics, the individual is the center and the ultimate aim, and actions that lead to the realization of an individual's aim have absolute and supreme value and are, therefore, great. What sort of objective social standard does such greatness have? From this it is not difficult to see that people who energetically attacked "selflessness" and negated the principle of collectivism were obviously not trying to increase the "feasibility" and "serviceability" of ethics. Rather, they were trying to create public opinion for the rise of "individualistic" elite and for the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization in the economic and political realms.

In short, collectivism as the basic principle of socialist ethics is the fundamental requirement of socialist economics, politics, and ideology. We must do our best to uphold it, publicize it and put it into practice, and must let no one tarnish it, attack it, or negate it. This is the basic conclusion we have reached in our discussion of the principle of collectivism.

Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, p. 297.

Struggle To Build a More Staunch Vanguard of the Working Class—Brief Account of Questions Discussed at Study Class on Party-Building Theory

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[Article by He Yang (0149 2254) of the Policy Research Center under the CPC Central Committee]

[Text] With the approval of the CPC Central Committee, and under the joint sponsorship of the Propaganda Department, the party school, the Policy Research Center, and Organization Department under the Central Committee, a study class on party-building theory was held at the party school from 5 December 1989 to 5 January 1990. More than 40 responsible comrades and party-building theorists from various provinces (autonomous regions and directly administered municipalities), central organs, state organs, and armed forces units, along with four aging comrades, attended this study class. During this monthlong session, the participants conducted study and discussion on the theme of building the CPC into a more staunch vanguard of the working class and a more staunch core that can better lead the people of the whole country in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Firmly bearing in mind the reality of party building in recent years, the struggle waged by our country in curbing the turmoil and quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion, and the new situation that has emerged in the international arena, they further sorted out the effects of the mistakes made by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in party building and of the bourgeois liberalization trend on party building, discussed at great length some important aspects of the theory and practice of party building, and achieved a

fairly clear-cut and unified understanding. The following is a brief account of the major questions and major viewpoints discussed.

We Must Fully Understand the Importance and Urgency of Strengthening Party Building

Our party and state are now at a very crucial stage. In the international arena, hostile forces have not given up and indeed cannot give up their basic stance of being hostile to the socialist system and trying to subvert it. Taking advantage of the temporary difficulties confronting the socialist countries and the fact that these countries are engaged in reform and the open policy, they have stepped up their "peaceful evolution," supported, bought over, and nurtured anticommunist and antisocialist forces in these countries, and resorted to both "aid" and "sanctions" in their vain attempt to achieve the goal of defeating socialism without fighting. The core of struggle is whether we should uphold or negate the Communist Party and the socialist system. The political storm that broke out in China last year has given our party the following experience and inspiration to say the least: In the course of leading the socialist modernization program and the cause of reform and opening the country to the outside world, we must be on guard against "peaceful evolution" by international hostile forces. We must be on guard against the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization at home and its corrosive influence on our party. We must be on guard against sugar-coated bullets from the bourgeoisie and must never forget or divorce ourselves from the masses. We must vigorously strengthen party building and strive to do a good job of building our party. Comrade Zhao Ziyang seriously neglected party building, ideological and political work, and the development of spiritual civilization. He weakened the leadership role of the party, lowered the standard of party building and the advanced nature of the party, advocated playing down party style, advocated the view that corruption is unavoidable, adopted a passive attitude toward the four cardinal principles, abetted and supported bourgeois liberalization, and tried to "remold the party" with this set of ideas. Herein lies the main cause of his mistake in supporting the turmoil and splitting the party. Under the influence of his erroneous ideas, confusion prevailed for a time in the ideological theory and practice of party building. We must continue to remove from the whole party the erroneous views of Comrade Zhao Ziyang on party building and the influence of bourgeois liberalization on party building.

Party building must be closely linked with the party's political line and must not divorce itself from this line. It must be subordinate to and serve the party's political line and must not go against or deviate from this line. This is the fundamental guiding ideology of party building, the most valuable experience gained by our party in building itself up over the past decades. We must lead the people of all our nationalities in a united, self-reliant, intensive, and pioneering effort to turn China into a prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally

advanced, and modern socialist country by making economic development our central task, while adhering to the four cardinal principles and persevering in reform and the open policy. Practice has proved that this basic line of our party, which developed gradually and took shape after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and was summed up by the 13th National Party Congress, is entirely correct. The study and practice of party building must be carried out in close conjunction with the party's basic line and around the central task of economic development, and efforts must be made to handle properly the internal link and relationship of dialectical unity between adhering to the four cardinal principles and persevering in reform and the open policy. No matter how the international situation may change, our party must take economic development as its central task, adhere to the four cardinal principles, persevere in reform and the open policy, and continuously push China's socialist modernization forward. Party building will lose its correct goal if it does not have the party's basic line as guidance. In this way, we will not only be unable to do a good job of party building but will cause our party to change its nature.

We Must Uphold the Nature of the Party as the Vanguard of the Working Class

On the pretext that the class situation and class relations in China have seen new changes and that a new technological revolution has taken place in the world, some people have for some time been trying to negate the idea that the working class is the representative of advanced productive forces. In so doing, they have also negated the party's class basis and the party's nature, and have ultimately negated the party's leading position. Influenced by the erroneous views of Comrade Zhao Ziyang on party building a few years back, some comrades inside the party have also been rather muddled about the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class. We must clarify various erroneous views that distort and negate the party's nature.

We should see that following the founding of New China, the cultural level, composition, and work mode of the working class have all seen considerable changes as the cause of building socialism developed, and that it has newly acquired a contingent of intellectuals. However, the working class remains a class with close ties to modernized big industry. It has a strict sense of organization and discipline, as well as a high sense of responsibility, and it is still the representative of advanced productive forces. Although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as such, class struggle still exists within a given scope. The historical mission of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class is far from being fulfilled, and the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics and the ultimate realization of the communist social system will still take a fairly long historical process. Hence, changes in the condition of the working class have not altered and simply will not alter its class nature. They have not altered and simply will not alter the nature of the party as the vanguard of the

working class. A political party is invariably a political organization of a class, and class nature is the intrinsic attribute of a political party. As long as classes and class struggle exist, political parties will be parties of specific classes. Supraclass political parties do not, in fact, exist.

The need to uphold the nature of the party as the vanguard of the working class should be observed in all aspects of party activities. We must strengthen the party's work among the working masses, do a good job of building up the ranks of the working class, and lay a good class foundation for the party. The working class is the most advanced class. It is China's leading class. However, not all members of the working class can recognize the historical mission of their own class and accept Marxism of their own accord. Hence, it is necessary to strengthen education on class awareness, historical mission, workers' status as masters of the country, sense of responsibility, sense of organization, and sense of discipline among the working class, and guide them to continuously raise their political awareness. We must attach importance to workers organizationally. In particular, we must cultivate industrial workers and workers on the first line of production, and absorb outstanding elements into the party. Worker representation in party congresses should be increased. We must prudently recruit party members strictly in accordance with the standards for advanced elements of the working class as prescribed in the party constitution. At the same time, we must enforce party discipline, resolutely eliminate corrupt elements, opposition parties, and people who oppose socialism, properly deal with party members who are not up to the mark, and maintain the purity and advanced nature of the party.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has taken in a large number of intellectuals, thereby enhancing its vitality. For various reasons, liberal ideas of the bourgeoisie tend to affect intellectuals more than anyone else. We must attach importance to this problem. On the one hand, we must continue to absorb into the party intellectuals who have communist awareness and are willing to abide by and implement the party's constitution. On the other hand, party organizations at various levels, particularly the party organizations of institutions of higher learning, scientific research institutions, and party and government organs, must strengthen management and education over party members among the ranks of intellectuals and give them encouragement and support so they will go among the masses, go deep into practice, and go down to the grassroots units. This will enable them to remold their subjective world, while remolding their objective world and enable them to become both Red and expert.

We Must Uphold and Strengthen the Party's Position and Leadership Role as the Ruling Party

The leadership of the CPC in China's revolution and construction is the inevitable outcome of historical development since modern times. It is the correct choice of the Chinese people, the outcome of arduous struggle

waged by the people under the leadership of our party. The socialist cause is invariably tied to the leadership of the Communist Party. Without the leadership of the CPC, a modern socialist China would have been unthinkable. This has been proved and will continue to be proved as the only correct conclusion. In contemporary China, no political party or political force other than the Communist Party has the strength to exercise effective leadership over the affairs of the state as a whole. This is the consensus of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people.

It is through surmounting difficulties, overcoming mistakes, and summing up historical experience that our party has gradually matured. It is a fact that the party has made mistakes in its work, that negative and corrupt practices do exist in the party, and that China's socialist democracy needs further improvement. When there are mistakes, the thing to do is to rectify these mistakes; when there are corrupt practices, the thing to do is to punish the corrupt elements; when democracy is not fully developed, the thing to do is to extend and develop socialist democracy. On no account must we negate the party's leadership on these excuses. Moreover, it has always been the party that first stepped forward to rectify its own mistakes. Likewise, the party has always been trying to tackle corruption, and, since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, has taken new measures to tackle the problem and achieved good results. Political life in China is also moving toward greater democracy and a better institution and legal system. Hostile forces at home and abroad, as well as people who stubbornly engaged in bourgeois liberalization attacked our party, saying that it had become corrupt and was no longer fit to lead. Seizing hold of certain mistakes made by our party, they spread slander against our party, saying that it could lead only class struggle and revolutionary wars, but could not lead economic development. They threw mud at the party's leadership, calling it "autocratic." Their purpose was to negate the party's position as the ruling party and to practice the Western-style multiparty system in China. These attempts of theirs, which are divorced from China's national conditions and go against the wishes of the people, will definitely get them nowhere. On the question of upholding the party's leadership, a matter which has direct bearing on China's future and destiny, we must maintain a firm and clear-cut stand and wage a resolute struggle against all words and deeds that negate the party's leadership. We must not be lenient toward antiparty and antisocialist political forces, still less must we connive at and abet these forces. If we so much as yield one step, we will retreat in defeat again and again and ultimately ruin the socialist political power.

Our party is a ruling party, and the party's leadership over state affairs is exercised through being in power. If the party relinquishes or loses its power, we cannot begin to talk about the party's leadership. Our party must strengthen its sense of being the ruling party, improve its ability to rule, and firmly grasp its political power. As

prescribed in the party constitution, organs of state power at various levels, including the NPC [National People's Congress], the government and judicial organs, must accept the leadership of the Communist Party. All major principles and policies must be discussed by party committees before they are acted on. The party groups of these organs of state power must be answerable to the party committees at their corresponding levels. Party members of these organs of state power, whether or not they hold any posts, must implement the party's resolutions and subject themselves to supervision by the party organizations. Of course, the party is not state power itself. It cannot replace the functions and powers of organs of state power and cannot take on all administrative duties. Rather, it must support these organs in fully discharging their functions and powers in accordance with law.

The party's leadership refers mainly to political, ideological, and organizational leadership. Since the party is a political organization, the party's leadership refers primarily to political leadership, that is, to leadership over the line, principles, policies, and political orientation. The formulation of the party's line, principles, and policies must have correct ideology as guidance, and likewise the line and policies must be implemented by people armed with correct ideology. The party's political and ideological leadership must be guaranteed by well-organized material force. The party's political leadership, ideological leadership, and organizational leadership are thus unified and inseparable. We must be good at properly integrating these three and give full scope to the party's leadership over construction and reform in the political, economic, cultural, and other spheres. The correctness or incorrectness of the party's decisions concerns the interests of the masses and will determine whether or not these decisions will have the support of the masses. It is an important issue that bears on the unity of the party's ideology and deeds, the success or failure of the party's cause, and whether the party can correctly exercise its leadership. Party and government organs at various levels must uphold the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and step up investigations and study on the new situation, new problems, and the reform theory. They must adhere to the mass line and oppose subjectivism, empiricism, dogmatism, and bureaucratism in order to avoid mistakes in decision-making.

In order to uphold the party's leadership, we must improve its leadership; the improvement of party leadership will strengthen this leadership. We must continue to firmly implement this notion of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's. While unflinchingly continuing with our efforts to reform the political structure, we must see to it that this reform is conducive to the strengthening and improvement of party leadership and will not negate or weaken it. The separation of party and government functions is a major task of the reform of the political structure. However, it does not mean that the party and the government must be separated and must not have

anything to do with each other; neither does it mean that the party should handle only party affairs. We must properly handle the relationship between the separation of party and government functions and the leadership role of the party. Under the party's leadership and in light of the different functions of party organizations, organs of state power, enterprises, and institutions at various levels, we must clearly define their functions, powers, and areas of responsibility. We must uphold the party's unified leadership from top to bottom. At the same time, we must also give embodiment to the specific functions of party organizations at different levels and in different fields and give full scope to the role of grassroots party organizations as political nuclei and fighting bastions.

In our efforts to uphold the principle that the party handles cadre management and to improve the method of cadre management, we must continue to reform the cadre system, uphold the principle of fairness, democracy, equality, and appointing people according to their merits. We must strictly adhere to cadre selection procedures; improve the systems of cadre training, selection, appraisal, reward, punishment, supervision, and replacement; introduce the system whereby cadres should resign from a job in order to avoid likely suspicion of favoritism and the cadre exchange system; institute the tenure system for leadership posts and the retirement system for leading cadres; put an end to irregularities in employment; and form a mechanism whereby large numbers of outstanding people who have both ability and political integrity can show their talents. Concerning the contradictions between centralized and decentralized management, between the central ministries and the local governments, and so on, in the system of cadre management, we must conscientiously sum up experience and positively grope for solution in the course of practice in order to find the correct means of resolving these contradictions.

Party organizations must exercise unified leadership over mass organizations like trade unions, the Communist Youth League, and the Women's Federation, strengthen party building in these organizations, support them in doing their work independently and self-reliantly in accordance with law and their respective constitutions, and support them in their endeavor to better defend the specific interests of the masses they represent, while defending the overall interests of the people of the whole country. The systems of multiparty cooperation and political consultation under the leadership of the Communist Party have taken shape over a long historical period. It is suited to our national conditions and the strong points and characteristics of our political system, and is widely supported by democratic parties. It determines the leadership position of the Communist Party in state political life rather than allowing different parties to take turns running the country. Democratic parties work in cooperation with the Communist Party and participate in and discuss governmental and political affairs in the political life of

the state, but they are not parties out of office or opposition parties. This pattern must be kept stable if we are to maintain a stable political situation in China. At the same time, we must gradually improve this system under the guidance of the principles of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe."

We Must Earnestly Accord Priority to Ideological Development in Party Building

The party's ideological development is the basis of the party's development in all other aspects. It is the central link in uniting the whole party in struggling to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. Putting the stress on the ideological development of the party is the party-building principle of Marxism; it is the basic summation of the party-building experience and fine tradition of our party. Upholding and developing this fine tradition is the urgent demand of party building in the new period.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China has shifted from "taking class struggle as the key link" to taking economic development as the central task, from a unitary system of planned economy to the integration of planned economy and regulation by market forces, and from a closed-door policy to an open-door policy, and has carried out reform in various fields. The enormous changes and complicated situation brought about by such a major transformation will unavoidably find reflection in intraparty thinking. Activities of "peaceful evolution" perpetrated by international hostile forces, the corrosive influence of pernicious political ideas and decadent way of life of Western capitalism, the demagoguery of anticommunist and antisocialist forces, the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization at home, as well as the influence of egoism, money worship, feudal ideas, and so on, have severely contaminated the body of our party, with the result that there has been serious ideological confusion in our party for some time. Some party members began to waver in their belief in socialism and communism. They failed to distinguish right from wrong and lost their bearing on major issues of principle. A handful of party members persisted in engaging in bourgeois liberalization; some of them even became the plotters, organizers and participants of the turmoil and rebellion. Some members began to flag in their purpose of wholeheartedly serving the people. Their spirit of hard struggle abated, while ideas of extreme individualism, hedonism, "looking to money in everything," and other nonproletarian ideas spread unchecked. It is evident that the development of the situation to such serious proportions has a lot to do with the fact that individual leading comrades, particularly Comrade Zhao Ziyang, neglected party building, weakened the party's ideological and political work, and abetted and supported bourgeois liberalization. The emergence of these problems within the party shows that, under the present situation of reform and the open policy, the whole party must regard the strengthening of

its ideological development and the improvement of party members' political and ideological qualities as an urgent task.

In recent years, our party has quickened its pace of institutional development. By further bringing most work into a standardized orbit, it has yielded many positive results and gradually gained experience in strengthening the party's institutional development. If we must continue to grope for new experience. However, we must on no account treat institutional development one-sidedly or in absolute terms. Only when ideological development and ideological education are combined can a good system be implemented. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that our biggest mistake during the past 10 years was the slackening of ideological and political education. We must draw our lesson, strengthen political and ideological education among party members, and tackle the question of helping a large proportion of party members join the party ideologically. Joining the party ideologically means overcoming and rectifying various nonproletarian ideas, cultivating a firm Marxist stand, world outlook, outlook on life, and sense of value, as well as the concept of putting public interests before personal interests, being selfless and wholeheartedly serving the people. Party members, regardless of their profession, field, or work, must firmly bear in mind that they are members of the Communist Party and must therefore combine upholding the communist ideal with carrying out the party's policies in today's society. Hagglng with party organizations by taking advantage of the party's present policies and the principle of equal exchange of commodity economy simply will not be tolerated.

A party not armed with advanced theories cannot be an advanced party. Party members not armed with advanced theories will not have genuine party spirit and cannot play the role of advanced fighters. At present and for some time to come, we must systematically carry out in-depth education throughout the party on the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and enhance the ability of party members to analyze and solve practical problems by applying the Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method. We must carry out education on the party's basic line in order to enhance the awareness and steadfastness of party members in carrying out the party's line, principles, and policies. We must also carry out education on the party's basic knowledge and enhance the party members' concept of party spirit so they will stand firmly by their communist ideal and strictly abide by party discipline. In these "three courses of basic education," it is necessary to provide training in party spirit throughout and make conspicuous efforts to grasp education on the four cardinal principles and on opposition to bourgeois liberalization. Party members at all levels must attach great importance to and conscientiously grasp education on these aspects, and leading cadres among party members must set an example in these education activities. It is hoped that the central departments concerned will draw up plans for the "three courses of basic education" as quickly as possible and

compile teaching materials of a high level and with specific objectives so as to do a better job of educating party members. We must not only grasp the basic tenets of Marxism, but must also continuously carry out theoretical study and fresh theoretical summation on new practices and practical experience in order to enrich and develop Marxism. This is evidently very important at present.

We Must Strengthen the Development of Democracy Within the Party and Improve the System of Democratic Centralism

The system of democratic centralism is the fundamental organizational principle and organizational system of the party. It is an important guarantee for correctly handling intraparty relations, fully arousing the enthusiasm, initiative and creativity of the whole party, and safeguarding the solidarity and unity of the party. This system is the integration of centralism based on democracy and democracy under the guidance of centralism. Without democracy, it is impossible to have correct centralism and scientific leadership decisions. Without centralism, democracy may end up in empty talk without ever reaching a decision, or lead to extreme democracy and anarchism. Practice has proven over and again that, in implementing the system of democratic centralism, we must not only oppose arbitrary decisions by an individual or a handful of people, but also must oppose extreme democracy and anarchism. All words and deeds that negate and undermine the principle of democratic centralism are wrong. On no account can we tolerate the practice of each going one's own way politically and organizationally. Still less can we tolerate the formation of opposition factions.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's democratic centralism has been restored and developed. However, the implementation of the system of democratic centralism is still not totally in keeping with the party's nature, the party's tasks, and the requirements of the development of socialist democracy and legal system. Insufficient democracy and inadequate centralism both exist. For some time, some party members, particularly leading cadres among the ranks of party members, have been disobeying resolutions formed in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, acting arbitrarily, and going their own way in intraparty life. Some of them have vainly attempted to form opposition factions within the party by openly opposing the party's program and line. Decentralism, departmentalism, anarchism, extreme democracy, and the tendency to fight the policies announced by higher authorities have developed to serious proportions. The fact that democratic centralism has not been sufficiently strengthened is an important reason why the bourgeois liberalization trend has not been effectively checked and the party has made mistakes in work in recent years.

There are two reasons why the party's democratic centralism has not been properly implemented. First, we lack the guarantee of a complete set of stringent and

effective rules and regulations. The democratic style and method of the party's leading organs and leading comrades will have an important role to play in whether the party's line, principles, and policies can be correctly formulated and carried out. However, the style and method of leadership may also change with the replacement of leading comrades and the ideological changes of leading comrades, and it is difficult to keep these unchanged for a long period of time. In this sense, the system is more important than the quality, style, and method of the leaders and is more fundamental in nature. Second, it concerns the quality of leading comrades. When leading comrades are of a high caliber and display good democratic style and method, they will be adept at applying and carrying out democratic centralism in an exemplary way. On the other hand, if leading comrades are of poor quality and lack democratic style and method, democratic centralism, however perfect, will be trampled underfoot and become something mechanical. In recent years our party has formulated many good regulations and systems for the implementation of democratic centralism, but more often than not they have not been satisfactorily implemented. Some systems have even been undermined by individual leading comrades of the party Central Committee. This is where the major problem lies. Hence, the system and the quality of leaders must be integrated and must supplement each other, and neither can be dispensed with. In order to strengthen the party's democratic centralism, we must conduct in-depth education on democratic centralism in the whole party, particularly among the leading cadres, in order to raise the awareness and level of implementing democratic centralism. To begin with, we must properly implement the existing systems, stipulations, rules, and regulations. At the same time, we must continue to strengthen institutional development, particularly institutional development in the areas of election, decisionmaking, and supervision, so as to further institutionalize, standardize, and program the party's democratic centralism.

In order to strengthen the party's democratic centralism, we must strictly implement in the whole party the principle that individual party members are subordinate to the party organization, with the minority being subordinate to the majority, the lower party organizations being subordinate to the higher party organizations, and the whole party being subordinate to the central authorities as laid down in the party constitution. We must properly handle the relationships between party congresses at various levels and plenary sessions, between plenary sessions and standing committees, and between members of party committees and the principal responsible persons of the party committees. We must also uphold the system that combines collective leadership with personal responsibility, improve the party's internal democratic life, and strengthen supervision over the party's leading comrades at various levels, including those at the highest level.

We must make better and improve the system of party congresses, improve the discussion procedures of party

congresses, further define the rights and obligations of delegates, and find a method whereby delegates can play a better role. In this way, we will be able to fully bring into play the functions of party congresses in policymaking and supervision and cement closer the ties between the higher and lower levels within the party and between the party and the masses.

As prescribed in the party constitution, leading organs of local party organizations at various levels are local party congresses and the committees they elected. In real life, however, the phenomenon of standing committees taking the place of and overriding plenary sessions is quite common and should be put to an end. The duties of standing committees and plenary sessions should be clearly defined. Efforts should be made to appropriately reduce the size of plenary sessions, readjust the composition, suitably increase the number of plenary sessions, and raise the quality of the sessions. At the same time, a system stipulating how members of party committees can keep in touch with standing committee members when the plenary session is not in session should be drawn up. Individual cities and counties may conduct tests at selected spots on eliminating the level of the standing committee, reducing the size of the plenary session and giving full scope to the decisionmaking function of the plenary session. Where the general effect is good, further tests should be conducted to make it more perfect. It is also necessary to improve the election system, and adopt supporting measures for holding elections with more candidates than posts.

All party members, regardless of their position, have equal rights and duties in intraparty life. Major issues are decided by the casting of votes, sometimes by secret ballot, and the minority is subordinate to the majority. Principal responsible persons of party committees also have but one vote to cast. Once the collective has made its resolution, the minority must be subordinate to the majority. At the same time, it is necessary to pay attention to protecting and respecting the views of the minority. Minority views, whether correct or not, should be allowed the right of reservation and appeal provided they do not go against the organizational principles of the party.

Efforts must be made to improve the quality of democratic-life sessions of leading groups at various levels, and to correctly unfold criticism and self-criticism. It is wrong to equate the correct practice of criticism and self-criticism with "left" and think that the unfolding of positive ideological struggle will affect unity. All party members must learn to correctly wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in intraparty life, and leading cadres in particular must set an example with their own deeds. Efforts must be made to gradually increase party members' understanding of internal affairs and smoothen the democratic channels within the party so that the situation at the lower levels can be made promptly known to the higher levels, and the situation at the higher levels can be made promptly known to the lower levels.

Always Maintain Flesh-and-Blood Ties Between the Party and the Masses

Our party has taken shape, developed, grown, and matured by maintaining close ties to the masses and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them. The masses are the source of our party's strength and the foundation of victory. To serve the people wholeheartedly is the sole purpose of our party. It is because our party represents the interests of the masses, truly and wholeheartedly relies on the masses, and maintains close ties to the masses, thereby winning their backing and support, that our party has been able to achieve such brilliant successes in revolution and construction and to move from victory to victory, and has been able to overcome all difficulties and hardships on the road of advance and pull through several major setbacks over the past 60 years and more. Our present efforts to stabilize the political and economic situation depend on our party, and the question at the core is the relation of the party to the people. Only by effectively strengthening the ties between the party and the people, improving the relationship between the party and the people and between the cadres and the people, and uniting with and relying on the masses to work in a down-to-earth way that we can smoothly overcome the temporary difficulties, weather the storms, and unswervingly engage in building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrades of the whole party should strive to recognize the relationship between the party and the masses from the high plane of a matter that concerns the life and death of our party's cause.

Having secured better conditions for serving the people since becoming the ruling party, our party has obtained unparalleled benefits for the masses, and the relationship between the party and the masses has mainly been satisfactory. On the other hand, its position as the ruling party has also increased the hazard of being divorced from the masses. In recent years, in particular, negative and corrupt practices such as manipulation of power for personal ends, dereliction of duty, giving and taking bribes, extortion and blackmailing, corruption, and extravagance and waste have spread unchecked and effective measures have not been taken to punish the culprits. Policy mistakes such as unfair distribution have not been rectified in time, and the trend of bourgeois liberalization has not been effectively stopped. All these have aroused the discontent and worry of the masses. Hostile forces at home and abroad have taken advantage of this opportunity to sow discord, thereby greatly undermining the relationship between the party and the people. An important reason why, during the political storm which broke out around spring and summer last year, the plotters, and organizers of the turmoil and rebellion were able to stir up trouble was that these people were able to play on the discontent against the party and the government harbored by sections of the masses. We must acquire a profound understanding of the importance of strengthening the ties between the party and the people, and fully appraise the seriousness of the problems in relations between the party and the

people. We must guard against and overcome the mistake and erroneous thinking that "the problem is not too serious," "the problem is unavoidable," and that relations between the party and the people "cannot be worse." We must be resolute, increase our sense of urgency and strengthen our faith, resolutely follow the plan of the party Central Committee, conscientiously implement the policy of running the party strictly, punish corrupt practice mercilessly, strengthen the development of party style and the building of a clean government, promptly rectify mistakes in work, smooth and widen the channels of democracy, listen to the voice and views of the masses, and take down-to-earth measures to tackle problems that undermine the relationship between the party and the masses.

We must conduct partywide education on the Marxist materialist concept of history, which maintains that the masses are the true heroes, the decisive force that creates history and pushes it forward, and criticize the "theory of relying on the elite to run the country," "the theory that the masses are backward," "the theory that information is decisive," and other idealist historical viewpoints that negate the position and role of the masses. We must firmly believe in and rely on the masses at all times, set great store by the interests of the masses in everything, hold ourselves responsible to the masses in everything, and humbly learn from the masses. Party and government organs at all levels must resolutely oppose and overcome bureaucratism, subjectivism, and commandism, improve their work style, improve their leadership, and do a better job of grasping and exercising power for the people. All leading cadres should regularly go to the grassroots, the factories, the countryside, schools and colleges, the streets, and places where difficulties are great and where problems abound in order to familiarize themselves with the sentiments of the people and solve problems. They must do more concrete work and guard against the practice of merely paying lip service and just scratching the surface. This is particularly necessary at present, as it will have an important role to play stabilizing the situation, overcoming difficulties, and alleviating contradictions, and should gradually be developed into a system.

Leadership of Party and State Organs at Various Levels Must Be Placed in the Hands of Those Devoted to Marxism

This is a strategic issue with a direct bearing on the future and destiny of the party and the state. Whether the communist parties of socialist countries can effectively resist "peaceful evolution" and persevere in the socialist orientation depends mainly on whether leadership of party and state organs at various levels is in the hands of those who are devoted to Marxism or in the hands of non-Marxists and anti-Marxists. On this question, the experience and lessons we can learn from the international and domestic situation and from the past and the present are by no means few. Over the past 10 years, our party has achieved tremendous success in maintaining cooperation between new and old cadres and in the

replacement of new cadres by the old. However, it must be clearly pointed out that it is a long-term task cultivating and bringing up a large contingent of cadres who are devoted to Marxism. International hostile forces pinned their hopes of bringing about "peaceful evolution" in China on the third and fourth generation of our party. We must show great foresight and pay attention to the question of successors. In accordance with the principle of making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent, we must properly build up the leading bodies at various levels, thereby ensuring that the cause started by proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation can be passed on from generation to generation.

The principle of making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent is a comprehensive principle that is interrelated. It is the concrete expression of the principle of having both ability and political integrity under new conditions. Here, making cadres more revolutionary takes precedence. To be more revolutionary, the main requirement is to be steadfast in one's Marxist stand.

Only people who measure up to this requirement will be able to cultivate a scientific world outlook, correctly understand and carry out the party's line, principles, and policies, persevere in the aim of wholeheartedly serving the people, and keep to the socialist orientation and communist belief. Only they can master the situation in a complicated environment, have contradictions under control, maintain a firm stand, and advance courageously without flinching in the face of difficulties and betraying no fear in an hour of danger. We must observe and appraise cadres in an overall way and see to it that they have both ability and political integrity. Leading cadres from among the ranks of party members who are engaged in economic and technical work in party and state organs must not only be experts in their own profession, but also must be proletarian politicians. Those who are not politically competent should not be appointed to leading positions, particularly not major leading positions. We must see to it that those engaged in bourgeois liberalization do not hold leading positions in party and state organs at various levels. Those who are not firm in their political stand, who do not have political integrity, and who bend with the wind should not be promoted or appointed. Those who are in leading positions should resolutely be replaced. The struggle between evolution and anti-evolution finds salient expression in the ideological realm, and vital departments such as those handling propaganda and the media must be grasped by genuine Marxists.

In order to bring up a large number of Marxist cadres, we must strengthen education and training on Marxist theories among the ranks of cadres. Paying attention to selection alone and overlooking the importance of cultivation is short-sighted, and will not provide qualified people for selection. All localities must formulate cadre training plans and fully bring into play the role of party schools at various levels in educating and training

cadres. In educating and training cadres, we must have the teaching of basic Marxist theories as principal causes and make appropriate arrangements for the teaching of scientific and cultural knowledge necessary for modernization. The education of cadres should be focused on members of the leading groups of party committees and organs of state power at and above the county level. The aim of educating cadres is to enable the vast numbers of cadres to grasp the spiritual essence of Marxism, correctly know the world, explain and solve new problems in practice, and increase their political insight.

Several Basic Measures To Strengthen Party Style Building

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[Article by Zhong Jiyan (6988 1323 1484)]

[Text] During the decade and more of reform and opening the country to the outside world, the question of party style has become a major issue in the political life of our party and state, and party style building has become a matter of concern to comrades of the whole party and the people of the whole country. Party style building is an important component of party building. The advanced nature of the party determines that we must develop a good party style. Good party style is an important guarantee against the deterioration of party nature. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out back in 1980 that the party style of the party in power is a matter of life and death for the party. Hence, the question of party style must be grasped firmly and forever. This is the profound summation and precise condensation of the experiences of our party and the international communist movement. It is also a basic guiding ideology for building our party. For some time, however, particularly under the influence of Comrade Zhao Ziyang's erroneous guiding ideology on playing down the importance of party style, the sense of party style on the part of some party comrades, especially certain party organizations and their responsible persons, have begun to flag. Some of them thought that the question of party style was not all that important and were therefore rather indifferent toward the need to improve party style. Some viewed the question in abstract terms and lacked a real sense of urgency on this question of life and death. Some regarded the grasping of party style as a measure of contingency, a gust of wind, and were not mentally prepared for grasping the task as a long-term measure. These muddled ideas have done great discredit to the present drive to strengthen party style. We should soberly recognize the following two basic situations: First, with the party being in power and engaged in reform and the open policy, some weak-willed party members are susceptible to corrosion. The question of party style thus becomes all the more conspicuous. Second, in the international arena, the imperialists have never given up their attempts to bring about "peaceful evolution" in socialist countries. They did their utmost to publicize the capitalist system and the capitalist

ideology and way of life on the one hand, and wantonly attacked the socialist system on the other. In particular, they took advantage of and willfully played up certain negative cases of corruption in the communist parties and socialist countries in their attempt to fan up and magnify discontent among the people so as to perpetrate or aggravate social turmoil and seize the opportunity to subvert the leadership of the communist parties and overthrow the socialist system. As the party in power, we must do a good job of party building and party style building. Only in this way will we be able to keep from wavering in the face of this international climate.

In strengthening party style building, we must correctly recognize the present state of party style. During the decade and more of reform and opening the country to the outside world, the party has, on the whole, adhered to the fine work style of seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice, conducting criticism and self-criticism, self-reliance and hard struggle, and repeatedly wage struggles against undesirable tendencies and corrupt practices within the party. This is the main trend of party style, and it has played an important role in guaranteeing the smooth implementation of the party's basic line and the healthy development of economic construction, reform, and opening the country to the outside world. This is a basic fact that must first be borne in mind in our analysis of the present state of party style.

When analyzing the present state of party style, we should also face another basic fact, namely, that undesirable practices, negative cases of corruption and the tendency to be divorced from the masses still exist to a fairly large extent in the party. This refers mainly to the violation of law and discipline, the abuse of power for private gain, serious bureaucratism, extravagance, and waste. Some undesirable practices not only have not been effectively curbed, but have shown tendencies of spreading. For instance, undesirable practices in the allocation of housing and building of new living quarters have resurfaced and are quickly spreading among a section of party members and cadres in some places. In particular, the problem of violating regulations in building private quarters have reached unprecedented proportions in terms of the number of party members and cadres involved and the standard of construction. Corrupt practices have aroused the discontent of the masses and have even caused some people to become estranged from the party. It will be very dangerous if this goes on. Hence, comrades throughout the party must have a sense of urgency and a sense of crisis about the need to strengthen party style building and overcome corrupt practices.

Based on past practices, we believe that there should be five basic measures for doing a good job of party style building:

1. Improving the political quality of party members is the foundation for doing a good job of party style building.

Our party has over 48 million members, and their political quality affects the fighting strength and mental outlook of the whole party. Under the new situation of reform and the open policy, many party members have

slackened their efforts to improve their political quality and remold their world outlook, with the result that some of them have shown serious signs of impurity in party spirit. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago, the fact that some people have joined the party organizationally, but have not yet or simply have not joined the party ideologically remains a salient problem today. This is also one of the ideological reasons for the cropping up of various phenomena that tarnished the party's image.

In order to improve their own political quality, the first thing that party members must do is to conscientiously study the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, study the works of Comrade Deng Xiaoping and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, and study the line, principles, and policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This is of paramount importance in raising the ideological and theoretical level and political quality of party members, enhancing their party spirit, increasing their ability to distinguish between right and wrong and resist the corrosive influence of exploiting class ideology, and preserving the advanced nature of the party organizations. Being able to study conscientiously and to consciously uphold and resolutely safeguard the party constitution is the basic quality to be found in every party member. In recent years, the sense of upholding the party constitution has begun to flag among party members, and quite a number of them do not quite understand the basic content of the constitution, to say nothing about conscientiously implementing it. This is very unfavorable to the development of party style and discipline and other aspects. Hence, the need to study, implement and safeguard the party constitution should be taken as a basic theme in the education of party members.

2. Seriously investigating and handling cases involving party members' violation of discipline is an important link in promoting party style building.

Strictly enforcing party discipline and improving party style are inseparable. At present, some party organizations are weak and lax in discipline. Many people who ignored party discipline and gravely violated party style and discipline went unpunished with the warning that the mistakes were not to be repeated. People who refused to mend their ways despite repeated admonition and who knowingly violated discipline were abetted and treated leniently. The idea was to turn big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all. This is an important reason why certain undesirable practices cannot be checked despite repeated prohibitions. Hence, if we want to administer the party strictly and rectify party style, we must grasp well the the important link of investigating and handling cases involving party members' violation of discipline.

After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, party committees and discipline inspection committees at various levels have, resolutely

adhering to the Central Committee's guideline on the punishment of corrupt practices, vigorously grasped the investigation and handling of cases involving the violation of discipline, especially big and major cases. This is of great importance in promoting party style building, restoring and further cultivating the party's noble image among the masses of the people, and increasing the rallying force, appeal, and fighting strength of the party. However, considerable difficulties and obstacles are still encountered in the work of investigating cases, some problems revealed have not been effectively investigated and handled, and clues to cases are sometimes not grasped in good time. We must soberly recognize this situation and take relevant measures in order to push the investigation and handling of cases to greater depth. First, we must rely on the masses, go deep into the realities of life, and positively explore clues through various channels. Once important clues are discovered, we must hold on to them and track them down to the end regardless of who was involved. Second, we must put the stress on the investigation and handling of cases involving corruption, bribery, illegal profiteering, the serious abuse of power for private gain, extravagance, and waste. As regards cases involving leading cadres, we must be incorruptible, enforce disciplinary measures impartially, and take action as soon as investigation is completed. Third, we must overcome resistance to and interference in the handling of cases, surmount difficulties, support the work of the discipline inspection committees, and draw up regulations for dealing with interference in the investigation and handling of cases in violation of discipline. Fourth, we must bring fully into play the overall effectiveness of organs of supervision and combine forces in investigating and handling cases in order to ensure the quality and improve the effectiveness of investigation.

3. Strengthening supervision over party members is an important guarantee for improving party style.

Strengthening supervision over party members is an important means for strictly administering the party and upholding party regulations and law, as well as an effective means of urging party members to enhance their party spirit and rectify their ideology and work style. In our present efforts to strengthen supervision over party members, we should pay attention to the following:

a. We must educate party members to help them increase their sense of supervision. At present, intraparty supervision from top to bottom can be carried out with relative ease, while supervision from bottom to top is difficult to carry out. This reflects the fact the sense and habit of supervision is still lacking in the party. In particular, some leading party cadres have a weak sense of supervision, while others refuse to be drawn into the matter. This makes it necessary to educate leading party cadres that subjecting themselves to supervision is a basic requirement prescribed in the party constitution for party cadres, that they must overcome the "special privilege" mentality, heighten the sense of supervision,

and increase their awareness in subjecting themselves to supervision. At the same time, we must make the vast numbers of party members understand that the practice of intraparty supervision, particularly supervision over leading party cadres, is the basic right vested by the party constitution in party members and is the manifestation of concern for party building. On no account must we think that "we should not bother ourselves with something that does not concern us" and that "we should be worldly-wise and play it safe by saying as little as possible." Primary party organizations must earnestly shoulder the responsibility of seeing to it that party members fulfill their obligations and observe discipline, and play the role of the party as fighting bastions in primary social organizations.

b. We must put the emphasis on strengthening supervision over leading party cadres. We must strengthen the supervisory mechanism and extend democracy both inside and outside the party by strengthening the party's democratic centralism and improving the party's systems of collective leadership, voting, election, and livelihood meetings and the system for the assessment of leading cadres, so that the power of each and every leading party cadre will be subject to the control of party regulation and law and the supervision of the masses both inside and outside the party. This will prevent and eliminate the abuse of power.

c. We must regard criticism and self-criticism as an important form of supervision. After all, serious irregularities that call for disciplinary action within the party are few and far between, and most problems can be resolved through criticism and self-criticism. By seriously rather than perfunctorily conducting criticism and self-criticism, including playing an active part in the regular activities of party organizations and doing a good job of the democratic assessment of party members, it is possible to check erroneous ideas at the outset and to nip problems of irregularities and violation of discipline in the bud. This will also enable party members to constantly cleanse their minds and increase their ability to resist corrosive influence. An important hallmark for judging whether a unit can do a good job of exercising supervision is to see whether there is a rich atmosphere of criticism and self-criticism in this unit. Leaders must treat one another frankly and sincerely and be able to speak to one another without inhibition. They must earnestly listen to the views of ordinary party members and the ordinary masses. This is the basic requirement for exercising normal supervision inside and outside the party. We must create such an atmosphere and environment for the media.

d. We must strengthen the building of special supervisory organs of the party. In accordance with the provisions of the party constitution and actual needs, the party's discipline inspection organs should be developed into authoritative organs for the supervision of party functions. In actual practice, however, the supervisory functions of discipline inspection organs on the whole have not been brought into full play. It is particularly

difficult to exercise supervision over leading party cadres. To properly tackle this problem, it is necessary to increase the relevant supervisory jurisdiction of the discipline inspection committees and to draw up laws and regulations for strengthening supervision within the party. On the other hand, the discipline inspection committees must be bold in and good at carrying out supervision, fully exercise their power in carrying out supervision and inspection, and wage a resolute struggle against violations of discipline, passiveness, and corruption inside the party.

4. Comprehensive improvement is an effective measure for doing a good job of party style building.

Party style building involves many aspects, including economic management and economic policies. Only by rallying the party organizations at various levels as well as different departments and social quarters to make a joint effort to carry out comprehensive improvement around the central task of economic construction will we be able to achieve good results.

First, we must grasp party discipline, administrative discipline and legal discipline simultaneously. At present, we have many cases that involve both criminal activities and irregular practices within the party, cases in which party, administrative, and legal discipline are all breached. Major economic cases are particularly complicated. Investigation and handling of one person may lead to the uncovering of a whole gang; inquiry into one case may produce leads to a string of cases; and the ferreting out of a "small potato" may lead to the tracking down of "big shots." Also, inquiry into violations of discipline may lead to the discovery of unlawful practices. The problems of cases involving violations of party, administrative, and legal discipline are particularly knotty. Cases like these are not easy to tackle by one department alone. This means that different supervisory and law-enforcement departments must play their respective roles while maintaining close cooperation.

Second, we must do a good job of the comprehensive improvement of party and administrative style and social atmosphere. Party style has something in common with administrative style and social atmosphere, but it is also different from these. We cannot think of "party style as a basket into which everything can be dumped," and ascribe all things undesirable and evil in society as problems of party style. However, neither can we say that these problems have nothing to do with party style and party organizations, or interpret "the party handles party affairs" as "the party handles party affairs alone." Since party members have to live in society, administrative style and social atmosphere will naturally affect party style. We must mobilize, rely on, and organize the forces of all quarters to promote party style building. Party style building has a core and leading role to play in administrative style and socialist spiritual development. We should do a good job of party style building and use this as a means of promoting and bringing about a turn for the better in administrative style and social atmosphere.

Third, we must organically combine ideological education with institutional development and make the two complement each other. It is inadvisable to emphasize either one at the expense of the other. We should pay attention to ideological education at all times and in all work. Without ideological education, we cannot do a truly good job of institutional development. However, we should not exaggerate the functions of ideological education and overlook the importance of institutions in setting the standards for man's behavior. Likewise, we must not think of institutional development in absolute terms and see institutions as remedies for all ills. The party has quickened the pace of institutional development in recent years and has achieved fruitful results in bringing much of its work into the standardized orbit. However, some comrades have shown a tendency to overlook ideological education in institutional development. This is something that deserves attention.

5. Leading organs and leading cadres taking the lead in setting an example is the key to the improvement of party style.

Every leading cadre must understand that the higher one's position and the greater one's power, the more necessary it is for one to be strict with oneself and use one's own exemplary deeds to influence and lead the vast numbers of cadres and the masses. At present, leading cadres must set an example in the following three respects:

First, they must set an example in observing political discipline. They must conscientiously and firmly implement the guidelines of the Fourth and Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 13th CPC Central Committee. Every party member, particularly leading cadres, must be politically at one with the Central Committee and resolutely implement the party's basic line of "one focus and two basic points." They must maintain a clear-cut stand of opposing bourgeois liberalization, spread propaganda among the masses, and organize the masses to wage a protracted struggle against various antisocialist trends of thought.

Second, they must set an example in strictly enforcing orders and prohibitions. In further improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening the reforms, every party member, particularly leading party cadres, must handle correctly the relationship between the interests of the state, the collective, and the individuals: Partial and local interests are subject to the interests of the whole, immediate interests are subject to long-term interests, individual interests are subject to the interests of the state and the collective. They must resolutely oppose and rectify decentralism and departmentalism, defend the authority of the party Central Committee, and guarantee the centralism and unity of the party. The phenomena of "not implementing existing orders and prohibitions" and of "those below devising measures to counter policies imposed from above" must not be tolerated. On no account must they

implement only those decisions of the Central Committee that are to their liking on the excuse that they have "special circumstances." Everything that has already been decided upon by the state must be guaranteed with party spirit and implemented unflinchingly.

Third, they must set an example in hard struggle. Being the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts is the true political color and cherished tradition of our party. In response to the party's call to live in austerity, every party cadre must set an example by sharing weal and woe with the masses and taking the lead in waging a hard struggle. It is true that compared with the well-off, party cadres of party and government organs have a lower standard of living. However, this is no excuse for seeking special treatment and being greedy. Leading cadres must overcome this mentality, take the lead in carrying forward the spirit of struggle, and set an example for the whole party and the people of the whole country.

In order to set a good example, leading cadres must do a good job of management in the following aspects: They must manage themselves well by setting high standards and strict requirements for themselves, conducting self-criticism and demanding honesty of themselves. They manage their dependents and children well by educating them to be good citizens who observe law and discipline and forbidding them to seek special privileges through the abuse of their power, position, and influence. They must manage their staff well by forbidding them to "blow the trumpet" for leaders and being more of a hindrance than a help, and forbidding them to seek private gains by flaunting the banners of their leaders. They must properly manage the districts, departments, and units under their control and implement the system of responsibility in party style building.

Do a Good Job in Employment Work; Promote Social Stability

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[Article by Ruan Chongwu (7086 1504 2976), minister of labor]

[Text] Labor and employment are important social issues and have an influence on the overall situation. The party and the state have always been concerned with and emphasized the importance of job placement. The party and the state design individual plans and policies responding to the different periods of time. When our country was first founded, there were financial and economic difficulties. In order to effectively solve the serious unemployment problem, the residue from old China, the government mobilized all manpower to work on recommending and training people for jobs. People were organized and sent back to the countryside to work. Work was provided as a form of relief, and welfare money was given out. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the general

guidance of the reform and open policy, and on the principle of public ownership, we developed different types of economic activities, revitalized our economy, expanded production, and widened the job market. The government did the overall planning and provided guidance for our employment policy, which is a combination of three things: Job placement by labor departments, by volunteer organizations, and by independent effort. Not only did we basically resolve the severe unemployment problem that had accumulated during the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution, but a new generation of labor forces from cities and towns were also allocated. The unemployment rate in cities and towns went down every year—from 5.4 percent in 1979 to two percent in recent years. Our work of matching labor with employment astounded the world. But we must understand that we have a large population. Our level of productivity is still low, and the labor force is growing quickly. The problem of unemployment is a long-term issue that cannot be ignored. Recently, because of rectification and reorganization, new situations and problems concerning job placement have arisen; this conflict, which is due to the unbalanced demand and supply of labor, has become more obvious. Therefore, we must look from the standpoint of stability, be responsible to the people, and work hard to find employment for them.

I

Two factors—the supply and demand of labor—determine the work of job placement. Generally speaking, if the economy is in its developing stage, there will be a big demand for labor, and job placement will be easier than when the situation is reversed. At present, the number of new workers has risen to another high point. To top it off, rectification and reorganization have slowed the speed of economic development and reduced capital construction. The demand for labor has shrunk. The problem of unemployment has now become a more prominent issue.

Since last year, cities and towns have had to find jobs for a work force that is growing at the rate of over 5,000,000 a year. The natural growth of the labor force is rising steadily in cities and towns, and the labor force from the countryside is migrating to the cities on a grand scale and at high speed. At the end of last year, there were more than 5,400,000 people in cities and towns waiting for jobs. The unemployment rate in cities and towns has gone up from the two percent of the past five years, to about 3.5 percent. This year, there will be another 6,700,000 joining the list. This, plus the number of unemployed people at the end of last year, is equal to 12 million employable people looking for work.

There are, however, many problems in our work environment and conditions. First, the economic environment for employment is not too positive. Some enterprises have closed down or moved, and various companies have been wiped out or rectified. The scope of investment has been down-scaled and the industrial structure reorganized. There is less demand for labor in

social production. When the speed of productivity slows down, state-owned enterprises that have already had full employment will further reduce their need for more workers. Not only will their ability to absorb the new labor force diminish, they will also have surplus employees. Collectively owned enterprises in cities and towns have their share of difficulties in obtaining capital, energy, raw materials, as well as difficulties in the area of transportation and product sales. All these difficulties have an impact on their ability to absorb more workers. Privately owned enterprises and individual businesses must be more closely managed and properly guided; hence their job vacancies have decreased. Second, the problem of structural unemployment has also become more prominent. Among those who are waiting for jobs are young people in cities and towns who have now come of age, and also those who are seeking jobs for the second time. A lot of these people are not too qualified or employable, and do not come up to the standard required by work units. Furthermore, a large number of unemployed people are influenced by traditional thinking. They are inclined to be dependent. They consider state-owned enterprises more important than the collectively owned. They despise private business. They are very choosy about what jobs they want. They won't pick any difficult, dirty, or tiring work. That is how the abnormal situation of "people with no jobs and jobs without people" occurred. In addition, the surplus laborers from the countryside come en masse to look for work in the cities and occupy positions that should have been filled by the unemployed in towns and cities. This has sent shock waves through the towns and cities.

The work of job placement is directly related to the personal benefits of all the people. It is also connected to our national economy, politics, and other work areas. For the country, stability is the most important thing; and for its people, food. How we do our work in job placement will have a great impact on the situation of our state and society. If we perform poorly in job placement, we will have in our society a whole lot of unemployed people milling around—people who are not administered by any unit, and who are without any means to make a living. They will cause a set of serious social problems. Only if we manage job placement can the work of rectification and reorganization be guaranteed a smooth ride. Therefore, we must have a good understanding of the importance and difficulties of the work situation and job placement. We have to look from the standpoint of the whole situation, and work hard in our duty of finding jobs for people; in that way social stability and unity can be preserved.

II

The basic way to solve the unemployment problem is to make the best of the socialist system and to further the development of productivity. Only when productivity is elevated will the demand for labor continue to increase. During the period of "1-5," [This refers to China's First 5-Year Plan] our economy had a set pace, and was relatively well coordinated, therefore, the question of

employment seemed stable. The decade after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was a time when productivity increased, the economy improved, and the work of job placement was successful. Because the Great Leap Forward movement in 1958 caused an imbalance in the national economy, and productivity was terribly impaired, in 1960, 20 million already employed workers were sent down to the countryside. During the Cultural Revolution economic development was almost stagnant to the point of collapse. Many young educated people were sent to the countryside and a serious employment problem for these people began to accumulate. In recent years, overheated economy, and rapid development of the economy have caused a decline in economic efficiency and caused a structural imbalance. In the end, this development affected development of production and employment.

At the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the party decided to further pursue rectification, reorganization, and reform. The party pointed out that the only way to overcome our economic predicament is to continue to stabilize our national economy and to coordinate development. The basic prerequisite to maintain stable employment conditions and to solve the unemployment problem is to pursue the essence of the Fifth Plenary Session. Rectification and reorganization require a rational adjustment of industrial structure and a reduction of the size of investment. Some ongoing projects have to be stopped. Some enterprises have to close down, combine, or move. During this time the work of job placement will encounter some difficulties, but this will be temporary and short-lived. After rectification and reorganization, our national economy will be on its way to continuous, stable, and coordinated development. The conditions and environment for job placement will then become desirable.

Our socialist economy is a planned commodity economy based on public ownership. It is a marriage of planned economy and market regulation. In order to be adjusted to our economy, the work of job placement must combine overall arrangements, social welfare, and independent job hunting. Both the cities and the countryside have to aggressively expand the arena of production and increase job positions so that surplus workers will have somewhere to go. The basic fact of our country is that it is overpopulated, and finding work for the people is not easy. In order to maintain stability, the most urgent business these days is to find new jobs. state-owned, collectively owned, private, and self-employed economic sectors have to do the best they can to absorb more workers. State-owned enterprises have to take good care of their surplus workers. At the same time, labor service companies and collectively owned enterprises which have independent accounting and are responsible for their own losses and profits need to go on with their business. The development of small and medium-sized industries is still an important solution to the unemployment problem. The small enterprises that are state-owned, enterprises that are collectively owned or that are

located in towns and villages, self-employed businesses, and private industries have to fight with state-owned, large and medium-sized enterprises for raw materials and energy. Their economic profits are not as high as the state-owned medium-sized and large enterprises. However, their advantages are that they only require a small investment and that they are in labor-intensive areas. They can create more job positions. During rectification and reorganization, the medium-sized and large enterprises should be the backbone. We should be lenient on the small and medium-sized enterprises, particularly those existing in towns and villages, and see to it that they have good input into solving the unemployment problem. At the same time, we must encourage more young people in the cities to go back to work in their towns and villages. We should help more workers to organize themselves and look for jobs themselves.

An effective measure to control laborers drifting from the countryside to the cities is to increase agricultural production. This will also slow down the conflict caused by unemployment in the cities and solve the unemployment problem. In recent years one reason for increased unemployment in the cities is the large migration of village laborers into the cities. We must work hard to stop this migration. We should persevere and carry out our policies toward the countryside and get more involved in agriculture. We should improve the enterprises in villages and develop more varieties. Then the surplus work force can be absorbed in the villages, and the structural change of "leaving the soil behind but staying in the village" will occur. To those workers who have come from the countryside for the jobs in the cities, we must have planned guidance and overall control. There should be a system to issue work permits, to register for jobs, and to oversee work. We should combine quota control and policy restrictions to severely limit the number of people who want to switch from "the agricultural to the nonagricultural sector." Except for specified professions or occupations where permission has been given to hire farmers, all enterprises have to dispense with all farm workers that are not included in the plan. These workers should be sent back to their villages so that they can dedicate themselves to agricultural production and construction, and so that more positions can be vacated for the unemployed in the cities.

In order to perform well the task of job placement, we must work hard to solve the problem of structural unemployment. While we try to do more in expanding the job market, we must improve our administration of the unemployed and provide them with better employment service. We should have individual employment guidance for unemployed workers. We should do better in reforming the employment system and expand the area of insurance. We should establish and improve a reasonable mobility system for workers from different work spheres. People from different economic zones should have a better way of finding jobs. We should pay more for jobs that are difficult, dirty, or tiring. Wages

can be used as a lever so long as they do not exceed the allowed limit. There should be a policy to reduce taxes for those who are willing to organize themselves and find their own jobs. If we make it easier for people to look for jobs and if we no longer have difficulty filling certain positions, then the structural unemployment problem will gradually be solved.

III

Our past experience tell us that in order to do a good job in work placement, leaders from various levels have to emphasize the importance of their task. They have to cooperate and coordinate with other relevant departments, depend on the strength of society, and work together in this field. This is a good lesson that should be carried on and expanded. In a district the quality of job placement work depends largely on whether the local leaders emphasize the work or not. Every district ought to consider job placement as an important duty that is related to overall stability. Job placement should be included in every local plan for the national economy and social development. Job placement should be teamed together with rectification, reorganization, and the further development of reform. We should regularly analyze and study the environment for employment and find a workable solution for every situation and difficulty. Job placement should be considered a key element of purposeful management. To carry out this work, the responsibility system should be implemented. The key to good results in the work of job placement is an intimate cooperation between departments. We must strengthen the ability of the labor department, which oversees labor and employment, and let this department perform its duty of job placement. Each level of administration should help the labor department in its daily responsibility to allocate jobs. At the same time, various departments have to show their strong support, coordinate their efforts, and divide their duties to create conditions for employment.

The employment issue concerns the whole society. In order to perform our duty, we must mobilize and depend on the strength of society. Not only do we depend on various administrative levels of government and labor department, who together should faithfully carry out their duties, but we also need every aspect of our society to share burdens and trouble. Industrial units, social organizations, and the working masses should feel strongly that it is their duty and vocation to do well in work placement. Everyone should bear the whole situation in mind, pay attention to the issues, create new ideas to solve the problem, and dedicate energy to the work of job placement. Whenever a problem concerning job placement comes up, the unit responsible for solving it should take up the work without being asked. It should faithfully carry out its duty and overcome all difficulties. It should improvise and take the initiative. Labor service companies have the special function and important duty of finding employment. Relevant departments ought to show their continuous support and help these companies grow stronger.

Historical experience proves that promoting propaganda education and strengthening ideological work will ensure that the work of job placement goes well. The more dangerous the situation, the more widely we should proceed with propaganda education. The more difficult the problem, the more we should strengthen ideological work. On the one hand, we have to explain to people the difficulties and problems, the solution, and the bright future so that they can deal properly with the situation and keep their confidence. On the other hand, we should educate the unemployed so that they will eradicate their impractical attitude in choosing jobs. We educate the people so that some of them won't just lean on the state to decide their future for them. We educate them to rid them of their traditional and stale ideas about how to find employment. When deciding their goal of employment and choosing job positions, people should be objective and look at the facts. We should work out the details of ideological work; there should be different ideological understandings for different unemployed people. We should help people gain the spirit to struggle upward, to raise their qualities, to bring out their special skills and advantages, and to improve their chances of getting jobs.

Strive To Increase the Proportions of State Revenue and Revenue of Central Financial Authorities

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[Text] Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out in his speech at the general meeting of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC that "during the phase of economic rectification it is all the more important to emphasize an appropriate degree of centralization and to gradually raise the proportion of state revenue in national income and the proportion of revenue of central financial authorities in state revenue." This reveals a direct cause of the harsh financial situation in recent years. It also suggests a fundamental measure that we must firmly adhere to to help the nation to get rid of financial straits.

I

For many years, total social demand has exceeded supply, and spending has exceeded national income. This is the fundamental cause of the difficulties facing state revenue in recent years. Another cause, a direct one, is the continuously dwindling proportion of state revenue in national income. In the 26 years preceding 1978, state revenue accounted, on average, for 34.2 percent of national income. In 1978 it was 37.2 percent. After that, it dropped proportionally each year. Calculated in terms of comparable items, the proportion in 1988 had dropped to 19.2 percent. In other words, in 10 years it had dropped by 18 percentage points. If calculated in terms of prices in relevant past years, in the 10 years

from 1979 to 1988, national income climbed on the average of 14.61 percent a year, and domestic state revenue by a mere 8.2 percent a year, with a difference of 6.4 percentage points between the two rates. Between 1978 and 1988, our GNP had grown by 2.9 times, our gross value of industrial and agricultural output by 3.27 times, and our national income by 2.9 times, whereas our domestic state revenue rose merely by 1.14 times. Therefore, although state revenue increased with the development of production and growth of national income, its proportion in national income has been declining. This means it has actually become relatively lower than before.

As state revenue drops proportionally, the proportion of revenue of central financial authorities in total state revenue also drops. In the last 10 years or so, the centrally controlled proportion of state revenue has been below the historical level. During the First 5-Year Plan, it made up 70 percent. During the phase of economic adjustment in the 1960's, it was above 60 percent. However, between 1979 and 1988, it was, on average, about 50 percent; and in 1988 had dropped to 47.2 percent.

These two proportions have dropped to a record low since the founding of the PRC and are even lower than those of some developed and developing nations as well as socialist nations. The radical drop of the two proportions has brought difficulties to the national economy and state revenue.

First, state revenue may fail to perform its basic functions. China is a socialist nation. Government performs the functions of protecting and perfecting socialism, and of organizing and developing socialism in a planned manner. Not only are central and local governments responsible for essential expenditures on education, science and technology, culture, health, national defense, foreign affairs, and administration, they must also organize, coordinate, plan, and supervise economic life. As well, they must provide financial guarantees for the organization of social reproduction. Therefore, state revenue has the characteristics of productive and constructive finance. Especially when China's economic base is weak, to speed up the development of productive forces the state must invest in priority items and infrastructure such as modernized energy, communications, raw materials, and so forth. Without the state to pool funds, no enterprise can take the burden of such costly and long-term construction items. While wrong investment orientation has been a reason for the dislocations of our economic structure in recent years, another major reason has been the grave inadequacy of state financial capacity to meet the needs of priority construction. We also need considerable financial support and reserves to continue deepening the reform and perfect and consolidate the fruit of reform.

Central financial authorities are also responsible for price subsidies and repayment of domestic and external debts and interests on them. To balance economic development among the regions, they also regulate and support the regions in the form of subsidy. Therefore, the

two proportions must be appropriately raised in order for the central government to continue to perform its function. As Comrade Jiang Zemin emphasized in his speech on the National Day, "If the central government does not possess the necessary financial capacity, it cannot carry out the tasks of guaranteeing priority constructions and economic rectification. We must strengthen the authority of the central government and oppose decentralization, so as to enable the national economy to continue to develop in a stable and coordinated manner."

Second, drop in the two proportions has weakened the ability of the state in overall regulation and control. The state relies on financial departments to regulate and control the national economy, and reserve funds are crucial for this function to be performed. Investment, subsidy, and payment of interest in the form of a deduction when selling a bill of exchange, and so on, are possible only when funds are available. Without sufficient financial backup, the state's ability to regulate will be restricted. When authority to distribute funds is too decentralized and state financial strength is weak, the state is often unable to control rising demand and to adjust enterprise structure even if it so wishes. Finally, it has to resolve the conflict by adopting numerous administrative measures, but it is difficult to obtain intended results this way.

Third, state deficits will stay for a long time. Deficits are manifested chiefly by financial constraints and spending exceeding revenue. With the decline of the two proportions since 1979, there has been continuous deficit. In the state's final settlement of accounts, only in 1985 was there a little surplus. The other nine years were marked by deficits. If collection of domestic and external debts is included, all 10 years were marked by deficits. A main component of the deficit is the central government's deficit. Deficit is fundamentally caused by expansion of demand both for investment and for consumption. However, it is also caused by decline of the two proportions. Localities retain a higher portion of income and turn over proportionally less to the central government, and so what is turned over to the state increases at a far slower rate than national income.

The above illustrates that annual increases in state revenue lags behind the needs of socioeconomic development. Especially in recent years, state revenue has been increasing at lower rates than inflation rates, resulting in actual negative growth. Therefore, it is a must to raise the two proportions.

II

A decade of reform has tremendously developed our national economy. Nonetheless, why have the two proportions been incessantly declining despite impressive growth of national income? There are two main reasons for this.

1. There has been great change in the distribution of national income.

Economic reform of urban China started with the reform of distribution. To mobilize the initiative of localities, enterprises, and individuals, the state and the central government employed a series of decentralization measures and to a large extent regulated the interest relations between the state and enterprises, between the central and local governments, and among the state, the collective, and individuals, so that the pattern of distribution of national income has profoundly changed. As the proportion of state revenue radically drops, that of earnings of enterprises and laborers grows as radically. Preliminary statistics reveal that, in distributable national income, peasants obtained about 10 more percentage points in 1988 than in 1978, and wages, welfare, and bonuses of urban enterprise employees and workers had gone up by about eight percentage points. What enterprises earned collectively had also gone up to a certain extent. The absolute amount of what they earned had increased by about five times. In order to develop production, it is perfectly justified to increase the earnings of individual laborers each year. The question is, in all these years the earnings of peasants and urban employees and workers have soared beyond the capacity of the state and enterprises. Presently, what peasants and urban employees and workers earn makes up more than two-thirds of national income. This shows that national income tends to be channeled more to individual consumption and less to the state.

2. Unsatisfactory economic results have affected the growth of state revenue.

Revenue comes from value of surplus product, which is directly affected by economic efficiency. In recent years, economic work has tended to pursue speed and neglect efficiency, causing serious waste. Many enterprise have produced low-quality goods, using more raw materials at higher costs. As a result, losses have increased. The rate of tax and profit on sales income of state-owned industrial enterprises was 26.8 percent in 1979, but it had dropped to 18.9 percent in 1988. The investment results of fixed assets have also been rather poor. There have been too many capital construction projects. Some projects cannot go into operation in time and have become a heavy financial burden on the state. The value of total social output in 1988 was 3.4 times that of 1978, of which material consumption had increased by 3.7 times, and national income by 2.9 times. Since increase in material consumption exceeded that in national income, there was a relative decline in production and economic results, which in turn affected revenue. For a drop of each percentage point in rate of tax and profit on sales income of state-owned industrial enterprises, revenue is reduced by several billion yuan. Meanwhile, the state has to correspondingly increase subsidies on losing enterprises.

3. National income from agriculture increases rapidly, but value of surplus product increases slowly.

A characteristic of China's economic structure is that a high proportion of national income comes from agriculture. In

most years it is above 40 percent. However, value of surplus agricultural product is lower than that of surplus industrial product. Most national income created from agriculture is of a necessary labor value. It is given to agricultural organizations and individual peasants at the first round of distribution. Only a very small proportion is turned over to the state. In 1988 it was only three percent. Generally speaking, if the tax rate of agricultural products remains the same, the higher proportion they comprise in national income, the lower revenue will be.

4. Relation between the state and enterprises has not been handled well.

During the decade of reform, tax reduction and profit concessions have been employed as the major means to reinvigorate enterprises, but an appropriate degree of centralization and overall regulation and control has been neglected. In 1978, the total amount of profit retained by all enterprises in China was 2.75 billion yuan; the rate of profit retained was only 3.7 percent. That was too centralized. In 1988, the comparable amount was about 70 billion yuan, and the rate of profit retained had soared to about 56 percent. Preliminary calculation shows that in those 10 years, financial departments had allowed state-owned enterprises to retain some 330 billion yuan in the form of tax reduction and profit concessions, and the financial capacity of the state had been gravely decentralized. Enterprises retained much profit, of which a considerable proportion was spent on consumption rather than production. Enterprise spending on wages (including bonuses) grew too fast. For several years on end it surpassed the growth rate of national income. Spending on housing, health, and other welfare in kind also increased faster than production costs, so that revenue suffered.

5. The relation between the central government and the localities shows that the principle of integrating financial power and control over enterprises and undertakings has not been fully manifested.

In those years, at each reform of the financial system, the central government gave the localities some preferential treatment. It is responsible for major tasks such as key national constructions, national defense, foreign affairs, provision of aid for less developed regions, and handling serious natural calamities, but it lacks a stable, reliable, and large source of income. Especially after localities became responsible for their own finance, growth of revenue of central financial authorities became limited. At present, spending by the central government on localities in the forms of subsidies and allocation of funds for specific purposes exceeds the amount localities turn over to the central government. Therefore, the proportion of revenue of the central government in state revenue has declined.

III

That the two proportions are too low is a problem that took shape gradually over the years. Great efforts must be made to deal with it in comprehensive ways in order to resolve this problem. The following goal can be set up: At the end of

a three-year rectification program, the proportion of state revenue should be raised to 25 percent of national income; toward the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it should be further raised to 28 percent. In the near future, the proportion of revenue of central financial authorities should be raised to about 60 percent of state revenue; toward the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it should be further raised to above 65 percent and it should stay there. Therefore, great effort must be made in the following aspects:

First, try every possible means to raise enterprise economic efficiency.

This is a fundamental means of increasing revenue. It is especially important to raise the economic efficiency of large and medium-sized enterprises. During economic rectification, we should follow the demand of adjustment of the economic structure and give preference to large and medium-sized state-owned enterprises in the distribution of energy, raw materials, and capital, so as to ensure a stable increase in the amount these major sources of income turn over to the state. We must also strengthen management over large and medium-sized enterprises so as to raise their overall quality and ensure economy of scale and social results.

We should further promote the "dual increase and dual saving" movement in a wholehearted manner. We must all adhere to the policy of plain living and hard struggle and of building up the country with industry and thrift, and live in austerity for a few years. We should mobilize the many enterprise employees and staff to tap their potential, to stop waste, and to reduce consumption, so as to raise economic results. Meanwhile, efforts must be directed to revert enterprises from loss to profit. Necessary forces should be organized to investigate in detail enterprises suffering losses and set a deadline for ending losses. Operational losses of enterprises should be stopped in the shortest time possible, and afterward no subsidy should be granted them. Only when the economic results of enterprises have improved can the two proportions be raised.

Second, the tax system should be improved to raise income from it.

On the one hand, tax collection and supervision should be strengthened. At present, they are rather chaotic. Tax evasion is widespread. From now on, taxation work must be improved in order to increase revenue. Tax evasion must be seriously dealt with so that no income from taxes is missed.

On the other hand, we should be strict about tax reduction and exemption. We have been too lenient in this. As a result, state revenue has been too low, and there is inequality among regions and among enterprises in taxation. This hurts fair competition and economic results. Some regulations on tax reduction and exemption are no longer suitable and should be canceled. Others are too lenient and have too many loopholes and should be amended. The taxation system should be unified and authority should rest with the responsible department. Tax reduction and exemption

granted by those exceeding their power should be checked and the right amount of taxes should be collected.

Third, reform of the current financial management system should continue.

The fundamental means of reaching the goal of raising the two proportions is to adjust relations and patterns of distribution. Otherwise, state revenue may increase with socio-economic results and national income in absolute terms, but it can hardly increase in relative terms. From the perspective of relations of distribution between the state and enterprises, at present we should further consolidate and perfect the enterprise contract system, and appropriately adjust the base figure and proportion of increase of unreasonable enterprise contracts. When conditions are ready, we should gradually abolish the system whereby enterprises repay loans before paying income tax. At the same time, experimental work on channeling profit from taxes should be carried out.

From the perspective of relations of distribution between the state and localities, in the next two years the current system of localities being responsible for their finance should be revised. Generally speaking, regions that have to turn over part of their income to the state should turn over more proportionally, regions that are subsidized should receive appropriately less subsidy from the state, and regions with national minorities should be helped, depending on their conditions. We believe that, in the long run, the direction of the reform of the financial system is to change the current system of localities being responsible for their finance to a differentiated tax system that takes into consideration regional disparity. On the one hand, some major forms of tax should be channeled to the central financial authorities and then redistributed. Revenue and expenditure of localities should be regulated with flexibility and on the basis of not interfering administrative authority, so that the central government's ability in overall regulation and control is stronger. On the other hand, we should address economic disparity among the localities and distribute on a fair basis. After implementing the differentiated taxation system, localities will turn over more of their income to the state, but at the same time we must employ measures to protect and strengthen their initiative to increase income and curtail spending.

A Study of High-Tech Development Zones

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[Text]

I

High technology, represented by microelectronics, computers, biological engineering, space engineering, ocean engineering, new materials, new energy industries, and

other such industries, has been exerting significant influences on the world's economy and society ever since its rise and development in the 1940's. It has profoundly changed the composition of industries, labor forces, and markets, and has even changed the people's way of living and their concepts in some developed countries. Such influences and changes indicate that the future worldwide competition will first be the one in the realm of high technology. Whoever has mastered high technology will have the key to economic development. Over the past 20 years, some developed countries have been working hard to develop high technology and high-tech industries in order to strengthen their economies and military power, and strive to gain superiority in future competition. Some developing countries and regions have also successively followed suited, as well as conducted research in and developed certain aspects of high technology in order to quicken their pace of technological advancement and invigorate their national economies. Today, the development of high technology has become an international trend.

Judging from the overall development of high technology in the world, we can see that, when formulating their high-tech research and development plans, many countries and regions take high-tech development zones as important strategic measures for development, as the birthplace of a new industry, and as one of their basic means to tackle challenges of the new technology revolution.

High-tech development zones are comprehensive, intelligence-intensive bases which help improve the combination of scientific research, education, and production, as well as help promote a coordinated development between science and technology on the one hand and economy and society on the other, with the purpose of developing high technology and new industries. These zones are called "science parks," "technology parks," "scientific industries parks," "science and technology parks," "science city," "technology city," "high-tech zones," "silicon valleys," "silicon mountains," "silicon islands," and so forth, in accordance with their differences with respect to functions, structure, scope, and characteristics. They have profoundly influenced and still influence every country in their high-technology competition, their science and technology progress, as well as the future development of mankind's history.

Being a social phenomenon associated with high-tech development, as well as a new organizational and management format combining science and economics, the high-tech development zones have been established for more than 30 years. Today, in the wake of the fact that international competition of high technology has become keener, every country is very anxious in building these zones.

The high-tech development zone was born in the 1950's. The first one—Stanford Industrial Park—was built by the United States in 1951. The Soviet Union built another type of high-tech development zone—the New

Siberian Science City—in 1957. In the 1960's, Japan and France respectively built two high-tech development zones, namely Tsukuba Science City and Sofia Antipoles Science City. Beginning in the 1970's, some countries and regions in Europe and Asia have successively built a variety of high-tech development zones. According to the statistics recorded on relevant documents, there are now more than 300 high-tech development zones of various types. While some 200 of them that have been formed or are taking shape are found in U.S., European, and Asian countries, the number in the United States is the largest, accounting for over one-third of the world's total figure.

As the history of high-tech development zones is very short, the development of these zones is not a balanced one, and it is very difficult to make an overall judgment. Nevertheless, quite a few of the oldest development zones have become bases for developing high technology and high-tech industries, and they have turned their superiority in intelligence to that in economics. For instance, the production of integrated circuits by the region of Silicon Valley accounts for one-third of the total output of the United States. Scotland Electronics Industry Center has become the center of the British and European electronics industry. Besides, Triangle Research Park in North Carolina, in the United States, is becoming a development zone mainly for biological engineering and for microelectronics and telecommunication technologies and other such industries.

Not all high-tech development zones in the world are built successfully. For instances, only a dozen or so of the scores of parks built by FRG really yield economic results. The science park built by Oxford University in Britain is a total failure despite its repeated efforts. Moreover, there are still a number of unsuccessful parks and zones in the United States. By studying the history of these parks and zones, one can easily find that the reason their construction was unsuccessful or that they even ended in failure is mainly because little or no consideration was given to the actual conditions of their own countries or localities, or that they did not have the basic conditions for such construction, lacked the necessary social facilities, and there was not a complete set of policies and systems to cope with the development.

II

When visiting the state laboratory for the positron-electron collider in Beijing on 25 October 1988, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "Many countries in the world are now working out their plans for high-tech development. The next century will be one of high technology. China must at all times develop its high technology, and occupy a position in the world's high-tech realm. The development and achievements of high technology made by a country reflect the capability of that country and its people, and is a symbol of prosperity. The development of the modern world, particularly, the development of the high-tech realm has been so rapid that China cannot afford to miss it." Now, it is

necessary for China to take this opportunity to build and develop our high-tech development zones, which is both an urgent need under the current development of international situation and an urgent requirement for China in reforms, open policy, and socialist modernizations.

1. High-tech development zones are an inevitable product of development of modern society, economics, and science and technology.

The rise and development of different high-tech development zones all over the world have formed a movement of re-urbanization following the rise of industrial cities. In this movement, China has been lagging the developed countries for several years. This requires us to waste no time in taking this opportunity to work hard and strive to catch up with them. In addition to the fact that high technology not only symbolizes the commanding point of the 21st century, high-tech development zones are the "camps" and "advanced group" to get this commanding point. Only when we waste no time in building high-tech development zones can we create more opportunities for China's future economic and social development, and provide more conditions for catching up with the advanced ones of the world.

2. The building of high-tech development zones is one of the strategic alternatives to realize international competition.

Judging from the current situation of economic and technological competition in the world, China is in an unfavorable international environment. We desperately need to strengthen and improve the standards of technology for industrial purposes, and increase the added value of our export products. At present, the proportion of primary products in China's foreign trade is still very high. Judging from the import-export ratio, one can see that the gap in technology for industrial purposes between China and the developed countries is widening. This situation is an unfavorable condition for China to take part in the world's economic and science exchanges, as well as a new question to be settled in the formulation of development strategy for the new period. Undoubtedly, it is an important choice of strategy that we use high technology to find breakthrough points on the international economic market, and, with the help of high technology to spur on the development of traditional industries, improve China's standards of technology for industrial purposes. In this respect, to build high-tech development zones is an effective way to achieve such a choice.

3. The building of high-tech development zones is favorable to China's current readjustment of composition of industries.

The present technological level of China's industries is so backward that it desperately needs to be upgraded through the use of high technology. According to estimates made by over 1,600 specialists in Shanghai, the usage of high technology which has become mature in recent years in 30-odd key industries is approximately 80

percent in the microelectronics industry, 80 percent in the new-materials industry, 46 percent in fiber-optic communications, 38 percent in the laser industry, and 33 percent in biological engineering. These figures indicate that, in addition to the fact that we need high technology in future, we shall have a bright and promising prospects in the market for high-tech products. Meanwhile, we need to invigorate China's industries, as they are not active with respect to economics under China's current composition of industries. Therefore, we may effectively promote local economic development and invigorate these industries by building high-tech development zones. In particular, high-tech enterprises are highly effective in promoting the development of other enterprises, which is of more importance.

4. To run well the high-tech development zones is an effective way to combine science and economic construction.

First, this may bring about an integration of science with production, as well as the realization of a complete incorporation of research, development, production, and sales. Second, the establishment of high-tech development zones provides our scientific and technological personnel with a favorable environment in which they can fully demonstrate the value of their knowledge, thereby giving better play to the roles of scientific and technological personnel.

As China has many advantages in this respect, it is absolutely possible that it can establish high-tech development zones.

1. China's initial basis for high-tech research and high-tech industries are taking shape.

Though China's average level of technology for industrial purposes is rather low, it is very obvious that there is a distinction between the backward areas and the advanced ones. The technology of some localities and departments has reached the world's advanced level and matches that of the developed countries in certain areas of biological engineering, space technology, and new materials. In particular, over the past 40 years, China emphasized the construction of trades and national defense. This, together with the import of complete sets of advanced technology, has, to a certain extent, formed a basis for high-tech industries and the capacity to manufacture high-tech products, as well as the provision of industrial facilities and technological bases relating to high technology in some localities and enterprises. Therefore, instead of starting from scratch, China has a sound basis for establishing high-tech development zones and developing high-tech industries.

2. The formation of intelligence-intensive areas has created conditions for China's establishment of high-tech development zones.

Following the founding of the state, some cities have successively built a number of intelligence-intensive areas that have science and education as the principal

part. These areas have advantages in terms of location, manpower, instruments, equipment, and access to scientific information, which cannot be matched by other developing countries. Provided that appropriate measures are taken or some guidance in certain areas is given, we may have the necessary environment for developing China's high-tech industries. The formation of intelligence-intensive areas in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Wuhan, Guangzhou, Changchun, Shenyang, Nanjing, Chengdu, Lanzhou, Xian, and other cities has created significant conditions for rapid construction and development of China's high-tech development zones.

3. Reforms and the open-door policy have provided China a favorable social environment for the establishment of high-tech development zones.

This is reflected mainly by the following: 1) The active support given by the government has helped the formation of high-tech development zones. At present, the state, from the central level to the local level, attaches great importance to the establishment of high-tech development zones. Many provincial and city governments have started including such establishment in their daily agenda, and have conducted large-scale research projects and construction works, so that some parks have been taking shape. 2) Many provincial and city governments have adopted special policies for the development of high-tech industries and offer preferential treatment to them in foreign trade, allocation of revenue, and so on. These policies and measures have helped promote the establishment of high-tech development zones. 3) Innovations, competition, and the flow of qualified personnel promoted under new policies have encouraged the flow of a number of scientific and technological personnel to developing industries, thereby providing a constant supply of qualified personnel to enterprises in these zones. 4) Structural reforms have improved the connections among various departments and trades, particularly between the scientific and the industrial circles, thereby providing prerequisite conditions for developing science and technology industries. The foregoing are the important driving forces and guarantees that help China establish its high-tech development zones.

III

The success of establishing high-tech development zones is determined by the content of high-tech projects undertaken in these zones, particularly the choice of key projects, in addition to the extent of intelligence-intensiveness, the investment environment, the basis of technology for industrial purposes, and so on.

The following are some basic criteria and conditions for China to undertake projects planning for high-tech development zones:

1. Science and Technology Capacity

When determining whether a project will be started, we must first study the science and technology capacity in the area of the high-tech development zone in question.

We may view such capacity from two different perspectives: The first is the basis for scientific research, including scientific research staff, organizations, laboratory equipment, and theoretical and experimental achievements; the other is the technology base for industrial purposes, including technological personnel, scale of production, quantity and quality of equipment, technicians, and so on. A high-tech project must involve a high level of intelligence and a large investment, which ordinary technological projects are unable to tackle. As a matter of fact, this means special requirements of science and technology capacity. At present, the development of individual projects undertaken by several high-tech development zones in China is very uneven. This indicates that we must not rush headlong into mass action when developing these projects. This also shows that various localities in China have different advantages in developing these projects, which provides us the basis for coordinated development. Judging from China's actual conditions, it is impossible for China to allocate huge funds to each of these development zones. Rather, it would be better for these zones to make their explorations and development. Therefore, we suggest that the competent authorities in charge of the development of high-tech development zones investigate and study the local capacity relating to high technology before beginning any project. They should understand their advantages and work out realistic project domains to be undertaken.

2. Prospects of Industrialization

Another goal of project domain planning is to judge its prospects of industrialization. Generally speaking, it is impossible for high technology and high-tech industries to attain overnight the position of having an important bearing on the overall situation. But this does not mean that we may slow down the development pace of high-tech industrialization. The high-tech development zones should take industry as their principal part. Their criteria of assessment should be the economic and social value, rather than academic significance. The question of whether or not we can grasp high-tech projects which can help speed the pace of industrialization determines the existence and development of these high-tech development zones. In order to promote a healthy and rapid development of high-tech development zones, we must take the direction of self-motivation and self-development, rather than depending on huge investment funds allocated by the state or donations by other people. In other words, we must first work on a number of short-term and low-cost projects that will yield quick returns, so as to promptly form a complete chain including scientific research, production, and sales. The scale of development will be expanded by using our own strength in the wake of industrialization.

3. Market Demand

The planning and choice of high-tech project domains must be closely linked to China's economic construction. Market demand may be taken as one of the basic criteria.

Provided that there are great market demand, preferential policies, and other corresponding conditions, some projects may immediately become the right ones for industrialization, though some areas may have temporary difficulties in the development of such science and technology capacity. Therefore, an important task of soft science research in project planning is market projection of the project in question. Of course, the level of market demand is a relative one and is subject to dynamic changes. Moreover, it may be created under certain conditions, but this takes time. We must act cautiously when dealing with high-tech projects that currently have no market demand. What needs to be stressed is that the market of high-tech projects is often of international scale, requires far-sighted judgment, and that we must be bold in exporting high-tech products overseas. If we win the international market, we can really get a commanding point of high-tech development, have reserve strength for the high-tech development zones, and maintain long-lasting vitality.

4. Development of Resources

In choosing the high-tech project domains, we must also think about the issue of resources. The basic principles of resource development are scientific method and economic means. Whether it is manpower resources or natural resources, we should take overall economic results as the basic conditions of development.

5. Selection of Zone Sites

Often, when we work out plans and studies of high-tech development zones, we must assess a number of indexes in order to select zone sites, including the extent of intelligence-intensiveness, degree of industrialization, degree of ease of access to transportation and telecommunications, index of environmental quality, number of educational and research organizations, and so forth. These indexes were originally related to the requirements of certain special high-tech areas before they became abstract principles for other areas. In actual planning, we should take the project domain as the basic starting point for assessing the development zones. Let's take the index of environmental quality as an example. Some high-tech projects require an extremely high level of cleanliness, while others do not. Some have special requirements in terms of resources, while others simply need to have easy access to transportation, and the like. There should be different indexes of assessment for different project domains. Any study or selection that deviates from the specific project domain, or that states excessively high or low indexes for the development zones, is not favorable to the establishment of high-tech development zones. Therefore, we hold that site selection and domain selection should be carried out simultaneously.

IV

Though China needs technology, capital, and qualified personnel in its establishment of high-tech development zones, the most urgent needs are good a management

system, policies, and a favorable atmosphere, which are major external factors for the development of high-tech industries.

As for the type of management system to be adopted by China's high-tech development zones, a conclusion is yet to be made. According to the development characteristics of high-tech industries, the management system to be adopted by China's high-tech development zones should meet the following two requirements: First, it should guarantee that the research, development, production, service, sales, and other activities of the zones are highly efficient. Second, it should guarantee that a mechanism for establishing a healthy circulation can be established in the zones.

In view of the fact that various high-tech development zones in China differ widely in terms of science and economics, we should first encourage all parks to act boldly in their explorations, strive to develop a new management system that suits their local conditions but differs from other parks, and, in their practices, sum up the experience of others, so as to form a management system marked with Chinese characteristics for China's high-tech development zones.

The basic functions of policies and systems concerning the high-tech development zones are to protect and promote the construction of the zones in order to turn them into bases for developing high-tech industries, places attracting capital, technology, and outstanding personnel; and to turn them into exemplary parks with flexible combinations of science, technology, education, and industries, as well as experimental sites for promoting China's structural reforms of science, technology, education, and economics. Proceeding from this goal, our system of policies and systems concerning high-tech development zones should be marked by the following features and principles:

1. There must be an appropriate level of flexibility and adaptability. Policies governing high-tech development zones must correspond to the characteristics of high-tech industries, which are short term, change quickly, require large investments, and are high risks. They should be constantly revised in the wake of changes in time, location, and international factors rather than being fixed within a boundary. Of course, what we mean is the one based on the principle that everything is favorable to the development of productive forces, rather than an orderless state.

2. They must be arranged in a coordinated way and supplement each other. The establishment of high-tech development zones requires coordination of different policies, such as financial, foreign, pricing, customs, and patents policies, as well as policy concerning qualified personnel. As the formulation and implementation of these policies involve many other departments, coordination and organization among them are very important. When formulating policies on high-tech development zones, government departments must pay

attention to uniformity and integrity. They should not emphasize certain domains while neglecting others. Otherwise there will be contradictions among their policies, and there will be difficulties in the actual work.

3. We must take the overall situation into consideration and be far-sighted. At present, China's overall situation is to carry out economic construction, to earnestly accomplish tasks to be done at the preliminary stage of socialism, and to promptly put an end to the state of poverty and backwardness. Therefore, the construction of China's high-tech development zones must be subject to the overall situation of economic construction, and must be favorable to promoting a technological transformation of China's traditional industries, so that the people will get practical benefits. At the same time, we must be far-sighted. We must take into consideration the position and strength of China in the next century. In order to guarantee our long-term development, we must prepare to support the high-tech development zones in terms of manpower, material resources, and financial resources at the expense of the interests of certain areas.

As a new economic and social phenomenon, the high-tech development zones are an aspect yet to be studied in a comprehensive and intensive manner. Our investigation and study work over the past two years is just the beginning of the work. Therefore, in order to construct high-tech development zones with Chinese characteristics, and to develop China's high technology and high-tech industries, both the state and relevant local departments should continue to support the high-tech development zones, and tackle problems concerning them.

The Times Require the 'Iron Man Spirit'—After Watching the TV Series *The Iron Man*

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[Article by Wang Min (3769 3046)]

[Text] The eight-part television serial *The Iron Man* shakes people with its artistic charm. Each moving scene, every iron-boned image, and every depiction of vitality for life stirs people's hearts and causes us, in our excitement, to further appreciate and understand the "iron man" essence and the meaning of "contributing." Thereby our spirits are cleansed and uplifted.

Over the last few years, the claim that "realism is outdated" has been heard. However, the success of *The Iron Man* clearly tells us that not only is the road of realist creation in literature and art not outdated and cannot become outdated, but shows that we must further demonstrate its powerful vitality. "Capturing what looks ordinary requires great skill. To achieve what looks easy is the most difficult." On first viewing, the creative technique of *The Iron Man* appears extremely simple, and it does not seem to be a stirring "masterpiece." However, on closer examination, it is the fact that *The Iron Man* does not engage in any new-wave methods but

instead faithfully recreates archetypal figures in an archetypal environment that makes the serial so successful.

The achievements of Wang Jinxi [3769 6651 0823] have long been known in every house and home. The writer of this serial does not record his entire story from beginning to end. Instead, looking from the high plane of the present, he reexamines the materials and extracts the section on the battle for oil at Sa-er-tu [5646 1422 0956], which can most fully manifest his "iron man spirit." He has dug up all the details in full and, with the resulting production, has been able to elicit a strong sympathetic response from viewers. China at that time faced harm from hostile forces, while repeated years of natural disasters and major mistakes in work meant that the situation was very serious. The television drama does not skirt these issues but likewise does not engage in exaggeration. Rather, it just depicts the distinctive character of heroism within the "ocean of turmoil." The work lays stress on the depiction and eulogizing of the solemn and stirring process by which the oil workers fought against and eventually gained victory over difficulties. Through the harsh realities, the viewers can listen to the pulse of the times. Those construction workers who came from all areas to work in the sleet and snow, those bonfires that dotted the deep night, those derricks raised with flesh and blood, that thumping sound of machinery that shook the wasteland, and the figures of family members, bathed in sweat, working to provide for themselves... these images are the epitome of the Chinese nation's great efforts to strengthen the country and the powerful sounds of the time which shook the world. The environment tempered the iron men while the iron men transformed the environment. The mutual reliance and mutual impetus between such people and the environment is the key topic in realist creation. This aesthetic principle has seen vivid artistic manifestation in *The Iron Man*.

The "iron man spirit" is essentially a collective manifestation of the lofty spirit of the Chinese working class and the Chinese nation in their willingness to bear hardship and difficult work, in struggling hard to strengthen the country, in constantly striving for improvement, and in working harder after every mistake. This spirit is jointly manifested by the heroic group represented by Wang Jinxi, Song Ruohuai, Niu Jincai, Su Jian, Huang Bao, and Lu Chunhua. The group of iron men in the serial are lively persons covered in the sweet smell of the soil. They come mainly from the villages. They have their various strong points and weak points. They are able to make

some money to support their families, they are worried that they will not find anyone to marry, and they fret about their family members being unable to accompany the team. They moan and quarrel and they hunger for other people's understanding. However, they are, in the end, men of special qualities. They all have absolutely sincere hearts. They love their family members, they love their comrades and, even more, they love their rumbling drilling rig. Love of the country is something real in their hearts. They will sacrifice anything for another half ton of oil for all the people of the country. They are those sort of persons who become "completely wrapped up in the development of their cause in a completely selfless way." In their hearts, the material interests of any individual were insignificant compared to the "sinking of wells." This is true, deep, and rich love. In the face of these graphically depicted figures, any of the new-wave works that esteem the primitive instincts of man and man's selfish nature would certainly be very feeble.

True realist works do not exclude the brightness of ideals. With respect to these two things, we can truly say that "together, they form a pair of jewels, while separated, they are both injured." *The Iron Man*, in its views of the development of reality, is cold and harsh, but not grey or pessimistic. Rather, in a very forceful way it provides frequent flashes of the brilliance of revolutionary heroism. *The Iron Man* uses a sudden, gloomy style to depict their failures, but through this reveals the inevitable victory of the heroes. It uses stirring and solemn scenes when depicting the death of someone, but then rejoices loudly in their eternal life!

At the end, as a narrator speaks of the contribution that the Daqing Oilfield has made to the country and the subsequent development of the Bohai Oilfield and the North China Oilfield, on the screen we see the work-weary figure of Iron Man Wang striding strongly toward our future. This shot leaves a long-lasting impression and is very deep in its artistic conception. Wang Jinxi is now dead, but his "iron man spirit" will live forever. He strode towards the Shengli Oilfield, the Central Plains Oilfield... and he has walked into our hearts. He will long walk in the forward ranks in the cause of socialist construction.

"This majestic spirit will live on for 10,000 years. When such a spirit extends to the heavens, how can we concern ourselves with life or death?" At present, as changes go on in the international situation and the people of the whole country are engaged in the struggle to improve and rectify the economy and deepen reform, how much more we need to call on the "iron man spirit"!

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