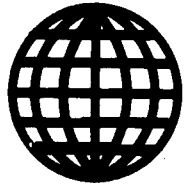


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8 MAY 1990



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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 6, 16 March 1990

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**Conduct Widespread Reeducation Within the
Party on the Marxist Mass Viewpoint**

HK1804062190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 90 pp 4-5

[Editorial]

[Text] The question of the relationship between the party and the masses is a basic question in party building. In the first spring of the 1990's, our party conducted a special discussion on this question at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee and passed the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening the Links Between the Party and the Masses." The "Decision" correctly analyzes the present situation in the relationship between the party and the masses in our country and puts forward the goal and measures for tightening the links between the party and the masses. It manifests the high degree of importance the party Central Committee places on tightening the links between the party and the masses and reflects the common aspirations of all comrades of the party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. This has major significance for doing well in the work of improvement and rectification and in deepening reform, in maintaining the stability of the overall situation, and in smoothly developing the overall cause of socialist modernization. All levels of party organizations must, in accordance with the demands and arrangements made by the plenary session, organize the broad masses of party members to seriously study and firmly implement the decision in a spirit of rectification. In this process, we must, in the light of the outstanding problems that exist in relations between the party and the masses, link up with the ideological reality of party members and cadres and, within the party, widely carry out reeducation in the Marxist mass viewpoint and the party's mass line. We must use the idea that the masses are the creators of history, the idea of learning from the masses, the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly, the idea that cadres' power is given to them by the people, the idea that there is a unity between being responsible to the party and being responsible to the people, and the idea that the party must rely on the masses and must educate and guide the masses, to arm the minds of all the comrades of the party, especially leading comrades at various levels, so as to raise everyone's consciousness in tightening links with the masses. This is an ideological guarantee for ensuring that the various requirements of the "Decision" are truly fulfilled.

Marx held that the activities of history are mass undertakings and that the masses are the main force creating

world history. This is one of the basic principles of historical materialism and is also a basic guiding idea and theoretical basis of our party. Our party takes the mass line of doing everything for the people, relying for everything on the people, coming from the people and going back to the people, which was a line created and developed over a long period of struggle, as a basic work line for realizing the party's ideological, political, and organizational lines. That is, it takes Marxist historical materialism as its theoretical base. This is the source of our party's strength and also the cornerstone of its victory. However, we must also fully recognize the danger that, under conditions where our party holds power, because of changes in status and the influence of the decadent ideas of the exploiting classes, some people within the party may, to differing degrees, become divorced from the masses. It particularly needs to be pointed out that, over the last few years, some self-styled "elite" persons have openly attacked, defiled, and negated the Marxist materialist view of history, and they have done all they can to depreciate the historical role of the masses. Under the influence of this turbid flow and with the laxness in party building, the mass viewpoint of some party cadres has become hazy, the mass line has been overlooked, and various phenomena indicating separation from the masses have seen development, even to a serious degree. Although this situation does not reflect the essence or main trend of the party, it cannot be ignored. Facts show that the state of relations between the party and the masses is of direct relevance to the life or death of the party and the state. All comrades of the party, especially leading cadres, must have a clear understanding of this.

The CPC is the political party of the working class, takes Marxism as its guide, and has the wholehearted serving of the people as its basic goal. An obvious indicator differentiating us Communists from members of other political parties is that we have unbreakable flesh-and-blood links with the broad masses of people. All forms of bureaucratism, subjectivism, formalism, and individualism must be firmly corrected. Our cadres must not stand above the masses. Only if cadres place themselves among the masses, regularly go down to the grassroots level, study from the masses, draw political nutrients from the masses, carefully listen to the masses' views, and concern themselves with the troubles of the masses, can the decisionmaking and work guidance of party and government organs accord with the interests and the aspirations of the people. All activities of using power for private gain, such as appointing people through favoritism, using one's power to engage in extortion, seeking or receiving bribes, corruption or theft, privately dividing public funds or property, and other corrupt phenomena must be firmly investigated and punished. It must be understood that it is the people, and only the people, who are the masters of the state and of society. Cadres are public servants of the people and have an obligation to serve them. The power in the hands of the cadres is conferred by the people and thus the use of power must manifest the will and aspirations of the

people. Cadres must not, even to the slightest degree, deviate from the will and the aspirations of the people. The position of the masses as masters and the democratic rights and interests of the people as masters of their own affairs must be respected and there must be voluntary acceptance of supervision by the people.

“Vibrant creative socialism is created by the masses themselves.” In the past, in our wresting of political power, in our consolidation of political power, and in our engaging in socialist revolution and construction, we relied on the support and assistance of the masses. Today, if we are to advance socialist modernization and the cause of reform and opening up, and if we are to consolidate and perfect the socialist system and defeat the anticommunist and antisocialist forces both within and outside the country as well as activities of peaceful evolution, then even more we need to rely on the help and support of the masses. For Communists, difficulties are not to be feared, great storms are not to be feared, and anticommunist or antisocialist countercurrents and power politics are not to be feared. There is only one thing that must be feared, and that is becoming divorced from the masses. Like Antaeus in the ancient Greek story when he became separated from his mother, the earth, which bore and nourished him, becoming divorced from the masses will result in the loss of the base of our strength and lead to calamities.

Adherence to the Marxist mass view and the party's mass line requires that we both rely on the masses and also educate and guide the masses' progress. In the course of reform and opening up, and in the complex international and domestic situation, we face a series of new situations and new problems, and among the masses there have appeared all sorts of different views. This is completely normal and nothing strange. Communists are the vanguard of the working class and are that part of the masses which is most determined and which persists in pushing the movement forward. In understanding the conditions, course, and general results of the movement, it is necessary to listen to the views of the masses and also to scientifically analyze the ideas of the masses in a way that seeks truth from facts. With respect to all these correct ideas, the party must, in accordance with the situation, lead the masses in realizing them; with respect to incorrect ideas among the masses, the cadres must provide correct guidance. The party organization requires of party cadres that they not be fazed by various excess demands or various negative sentiments among the masses. Rather, they must be able, in accordance with the degree of awareness of the masses, to engage in ideological and political work and thereby enlighten the masses and raise their awareness. In this way, cadres will be able to motivate all the positive elements among the masses. They must be concerned with the masses' individual and immediate interests, but must also help the masses to understand their own overall and long-term interests. Also, they must strive to get the masses to understand and support the party's line and policies and have party policies become their actual actions.

The key to implementing the “Decision” of the Sixth Plenary Session and to strengthening the links between the party and the masses lies, as in all other work, with the leaders setting an example. In this reeducation in the Marxist mass viewpoint and the party's mass line, all levels of leading cadres must be the first to receive education and set an example by studying hard. They must not think that education is just for other people and not for themselves. Leading cadres above the county level must coordinate their ideology with their work and, selectively study relevant themes of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and relevant works by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other comrades. They should study the party constitution, “On Various Criteria for Political Life Within the Party,” and other central documents. Leading cadres must set an example and the whole party, from top to bottom, must combine the study of the Marxist mass viewpoint and the party's mass line with education in adherence to the four cardinal principles and opposition to bourgeois liberalization, and combine study and practice, and study the transformation of the world view. Only thus will the party's fine tradition of being tightly linked with the masses be maintained and developed, will the party be able to more tightly unify the people of various nationalities throughout the country, and will the party be able to firmly struggle to realize its great historical task.

Township and Town Enterprises Must Continue To Forge Ahead in the Course of Improving the Economic Environment and Rectifying the Economic Order and Deepening Reform

HK1304070590 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 90 pp 6-9

[“Part Three of Speech Given by Li Peng (2621 7719) at a Meeting of Jiangsu Party, Government, and Military Cadres on 24 January”]

[Text] The main stops on this visit to Jiangsu were the enterprises, among which were large and medium-sized electronics and petrochemical enterprises and a number of township and town enterprises. I also visited a number of peasant households, stores, and banks. The places I visited gave me the general impression that the political situation in Jiangsu Province was a stable one and that the economic situation was developing in a good direction. At present, commodity prices are stable, market supplies are plentiful, and the people are relatively content; although there are certain temporary difficulties, the cadres and populace are confident that they can overcome them. This side view of Jiangsu reflects the situation of the country as a whole. In Jiangsu's industrial composition, town and village enterprises occupy a relatively large proportion, and the number of processing industries is rather large. Hence, there are rather a lot of difficulties in improvement and rectification, and last year the drop in the industrial growth rate was relatively large. This was one of the reasons why we chose to survey Jiangsu this time. After we came to the province, we found that the cadres and

people there understood, supported, and endorsed the central government's policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order, and deepening the reform. This gave us much encouragement and increased our confidence. This is my sixth visit to Jiangsu Province since 1981. What impressed me most was that Jiangsu has definitely made enormous changes since the reform and opening to the outside world. The gross value of industrial output has amounted to over 220 billion yuan. Even with the growth in population, per capita grain output has been maintained at over 500 kilograms. The income of staff members and workers in urban areas is about 2,000 yuan per person, while the per capita income among the peasants is 870 yuan. All of the above are in the front ranks of the country. Seen from the case of Jiangsu, it may definitely be said that production has developed, economic strength has been augmented, the people's standard of living has been improved, and the reform and opening have both achieved great success. Hence, this policy of reform and opening will not be changed, and should not be changed. We must firmly and irrevocably follow the road of reform and opening to continue to forge ahead. At present, the general demand in economic work is to continue to implement the guideline of improvement and rectification and deepening the reform. After one year's work last year in improvement and rectification, initial results have been attained, and we must continue to maintain those such as controlling commodity prices, developing agriculture, and further controlling demand. This year, against the current economic situation we must place the major emphasis on readjusting the structure, increasing effective supply, and improving economic benefits.

In the following I shall talk with greater stress on the town and village enterprises. In my opinion, we should correctly assess the role that can be played by town and village enterprises in developing China's economy. The central government's current adoption of the guideline of readjusting, consolidating, transforming, and upgrading the town and village enterprises conforms with actual conditions. In the preceding period, among the cadres and the populace there was a feeling that the policies were not stable enough, and they were afraid that there would be many policy changes. Now the central authorities have made it exceptionally clear, and the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee have decided to maintain the stable and continuous character of the policy and ceaselessly perfect it on that basis. Our purpose in so doing is to protect the productive forces formed in the course of reform and opening and pacify and stabilize the activism of the extensive masses of staff members and workers and peasants. Since the central authorities have already talked amply about the system of contracted responsibilities on a household basis with remuneration linked to output, the industrial enterprise contracted management responsibility system, and the plant director responsibility system, everybody's doubts and worries have also been gradually removed. Although we have also talked about the policy on town and village enterprises,

affirmed the role of town and village enterprises in the national economy, and advocated the "eight-character guideline," still we have not talked sufficiently or fully. From the standpoint of the scale of development and the number of people employed, Jiangsu's town and village enterprises rank first in the country. In Jiangsu Province's gross value of industrial output, that of the town and village enterprises has occupied a rather large proportion and is exceptionally important to the stability and economic development of the entire province. Therefore, I would like to take the opportunity today, based on our survey this time on the town and village enterprises, to give our views in this connection.

First, town and village enterprises achieved rapid development in the course of the reform and opening; it has played an important role in the development of the Chinese economy, particularly the rural economy, and has become an important constituent part of the national economy. The industrial gross output value they have currently created occupies one-fourth of the whole country's industrial gross output value, and in some localities the proportion has been one-third. Second, they have provided the peasants with new labor employment opportunities; currently, China has over 90 million labor power units that have been shifted to town and village enterprises. The peasants have departed from the land, but not from the villages. On the one hand, the peasants' income has been increased, and the development of small towns and villages has been facilitated. On the other hand, the various defects and unstable factors caused by the large influx of peasants into the urban areas as seen in the developing countries have been avoided, agriculture has been stabilized, and at the same time, the country as a whole has been stabilized. Third, the development of town and village enterprises has increased inputs into agriculture, pushed scientific and technical progress in agriculture, and provided beneficial conditions for the establishment of a preproduction, during production, and postproduction servicing structure. Depending entirely on national and local finance for input into agriculture is really limited. The peasants themselves must take part in the input, and, if town and village enterprises are developed, more input of capital funds will be made for the development of agriculture. Fourth, the development of town and village enterprises provides capital funds to the rural areas for the development of various kinds of social enterprises and reduces the peasants' burden. Wherever town and village enterprises are developed, particularly in localities where collective town and village enterprises are developed, political power is consolidated and the solution of various kinds of difficult problems in the rural areas, such as the grain levy, birth control, relief enterprises, and educational development, has obtained material support and assurance. Furthermore, the development of town and village enterprises can facilitate the building of rural spiritual civilization and contribute to providing conditions for improving the civilized livelihood of the peasants. Fifth, some town and village enterprises have fully displayed their strong points in having rich labor power

resources, have continuously developed products that can earn foreign exchange, and have become an important force for earning foreign exchange from exports. As for the structure of town and village enterprises, speaking for the country as a whole, many kinds of structures coexist; some are collectives, some are individuals, and some are partnerships. For the country as a whole now it is not advisable to make unified regulations, and the various localities must suit measures to local conditions. But in our opinion, Jiangsu's chosen direction of developing mainly collective town and village enterprises is a correct one and conforms to the concrete conditions of the province. It is also beneficial to rural construction at the grassroots level as well as to socialist economic construction and the building of spiritual civilization.

Naturally, town and village enterprises are a new thing. In the course of their development, defects cannot be avoided. At present, the orientation of the products of some town and village enterprises do not conform to the state's industrial policy; some of the enterprises call for blind development and engage in redundant production at a low level, causing a waste of capital funds and competition for raw materials with large enterprises. Some have engaged in redundant construction with high consumption and high energy consumption in particular. To the state and the peasants all this is an enormous waste and extravagance. Some town and village enterprises, for the sake of obtaining raw materials and marketing their own products, have adopted certain improper management tactics and have thus adversely affected the social atmosphere. The management level of the general run of town and village enterprises is comparatively low and their technological level is rather backward, while some of the enterprises are themselves using the cast-off equipment and machinery of large and medium-sized enterprises. Hence, certain of the products are inferior in quality. When there is a brisk market, these defects are covered up, but when the market is weak, the defects are all exposed. In the course of competition, certain of the enterprises have managed to survive, while others have been forced to close their doors. According to the description of our Nanjing comrades, some of the town and village enterprises are currently full of spirit, some are short of breath, some have to use oxygen to keep on breathing, and some have stopped breathing altogether. This description somehow tallies with the actual conditions and consists of phenomena that are unavoidable in the course of development. The basic way out lies in making use of the current opportune moment to carry out structural reform, readjust the product structure, improve the quality of products, lower the cost of production, increase the variety of products, and reduce consumption. Town and village enterprises can find their way out only from this direction.

Regarding the direction of development of town and village enterprises, in my opinion, the first category should be to coordinate with the large and medium-sized

enterprises to produce spare parts, subsidiary parts, and even component parts for products. By so doing, the products can be specialized, support in technology and management can be obtained from the large and medium-sized enterprises, the small products can be produced in quantity, the cost of production can be lowered, and the results can be improved. The large and medium-sized enterprises can unite with the town and village enterprises in various forms, some forming enterprise groups, some actually merging with the town and village enterprises, some concluding long-term supply and marketing contracts, and some buying and holding stocks in town and village enterprises. By so doing, beneficial conditions can also be provided for the development of the large and medium-sized enterprises. The second category should consist of those that can fully utilize the resources of the localities, such as agricultural product resources and mining resources, to develop the food processing industry, clothing industry, building materials industry, and, under the precondition of not damaging the country's resources, the small-scale extracting industry. The third category should consist of those making use of the strong points of rural cheap labor to develop certain labor-intensive types of industries, including certain traditional handicraft industries with special features. For example, the gold platinum plant in Jiangning County makes use of traditions that have been handed down for many years and which have strong points. The fourth category consists of those that develop the building industry, transportation, communications, and other industries and trades that render services to rural areas or cities and towns. All town and village enterprises should regard technical progress and the quality of their services highly and must continuously carry out technical transformation, because it is only by doing so that they can improve the competitive ability of their products. Town and village enterprises should watch closely and handle distribution relations well. They must not eat up or spend all their profits. Distribution to individuals should not be too much and the increases should not be too rapid. Distribution in certain town and village enterprises in Jiangsu is rather high. In some cases the per capita distribution has amounted to over 3,000 yuan. The greatest danger of such a high income is that it cancels the advantage of the cheap labor force and can affect the future development of the town and village enterprises. At present, the reason why the production of certain products has been shifted from abroad to China is because in those places the cost of labor has gone up, there is no profit to gain, and the strong point of China's cheap labor force is thus made use of. If we raise the price of our labor force too high, the advantage will be lost. Furthermore, we must pay attention to compensating the lack with plentifulness and devote more of the income earnings to developing production and promoting technical progress. The geographical distribution of Jiangsu's town and village enterprises is fairly well spread, the size and number of units are large enough, and much land is being occupied. But many of the workshops are empty, and there is indeed great potential for development. Hence, from

now on Jiangsu's town and village enterprises need not build more new plants or set up new shops or stores. Instead, the original premises should be put to better and more rational use. Land in Jiangsu is extremely precious. Per capita cultivated land has been decreasing yearly. From now on the occupancy of land must be subject to increasingly strict stipulations. Comrades in Wuxi have told me that they have accomplished the feat of equalizing the figures for size of occupancy of cultivated land with that of land redevelopment. This is certainly very good. But in my opinion, it would be even better if the occupancy of cultivated land could be reduced further. This is because at present cultivated land occupied for other uses is largely good land and mature land, while redeveloped cultivated land must still go through many years of tilling and farming before it can attain a relatively good level. In recent years, agriculture in Jiangsu has developed, the population has increased, but per capita grain is still maintained at over 500 kilograms, and rather great contributions have been made to agricultural production. However, I believe that more potential can still be tapped and even greater contributions can still be made. In Suinan, in localities where town and villages enterprises have greatly developed, I saw a phenomenon that showed that the peasants' enthusiasm for farming was not very high. They took the maintenance of koulian tian [0656 9037 3944—a plot of land that is supposed to produce enough grain to meet peasants' basic need for food] as a sort of insurance and a sort of life insurance. The volume of agricultural production has stood still for a long time without making any progress. Per capita yield in the province has been maintained at about 1,000 jin. Wuxi's gross output has stayed at the level of 3 billion jin for a long time, and increasing it will be very difficult. It seemed to me that in the main, the peasants themselves cared only for their own piece of koulang tian which is just sufficient for themselves. In localities where town and village enterprises are thriving in Suinan, there are good prospects of doing an even better job in agriculture because of the advantages in technology, capital funds, and the presence of collective enterprises. It is hoped that you will grasp agriculture in the same way that you have grasped town and village enterprises and bring about an increase in agricultural production. In these places there are possibilities for pushing the adoption and propagation of certain advanced farming techniques, and new seeds developed by the biological engineering offices, and new varieties of products and new irrigation technology should be applied. Suinan is entirely capable of doing all these things since it has the necessary conditions. Naturally there is a need to solve the problem of the peasants' enthusiasm. How should we solve this problem? Can we suggest implementing suitable large-scale land cultivation to raise enthusiasm for land management?

In the present economic work there is still another problem that concerns everybody, that is, how to solve the problem of market weakness and shortage of funds. If this problem cannot be solved, then it will be relatively difficult to restore and develop production. Wherever we

went, everyone, whether they were leaders of cities, counties, or enterprises, reflected to us these two problems. They are of a common nature. How should we treat them? What is the relationship between market weakness, shortage of funds, and fall in production? At a group discussion meeting with plant heads in Wuxi, one of the plant heads well said that the shortage of funds was the phenomenon, but the key point was the market readjustment that must follow, and we must fix the sales quotas well. The secretary of a city party committee told me that structural readjustment should be on three sides, one is readjusting the industrial structure, another is readjusting the product structure, and the third is readjusting the enterprise's organizational structure. I think all these views are correct. During the fall in the growth rate of production in the four quarters of last year, bank credit and loans were increased to a rather large extent. Nevertheless, there was still a shortage of funds in various localities and there was no sign that the increase in loans had produced any large effect. We had this problem in mind when coming to Jiangsu. After investigating, studying, and analyzing, we discovered the causes. An important cause was that the central authorities' investment input of funds still had not been truly used on production in the enterprises, and that the stringent condition of funds formed by stockpiling manufactured goods was still serious. Hence, it would be better to invest in commerce rather than in enterprises. Because, when invested in the latter, the money tends to sit in place, whereas putting the money into commerce could expand commercial purchases to ease the stockpiling in production in enterprises, thus enabling the state-run commerce to function as the "main channel" and "reservoir." However, at present, the enthusiasm of state-run commerce for making purchases is not high. They are likewise afraid of stockpiling and also afraid of the burden of having to pay interest. In the final analysis, commercial purchases can only play a delaying role, because whether it is stockpiling in the plants or in commerce, it is stockpiling just the same, except that it is in a different place. Therefore, the basic way out is to open up markets, and only through opening up markets can the contradiction of stringency in funds be eased off. This is a key link in enlivening the enterprises. Against this condition of weakness in the markets, people have made many good recommendations. The worthy ones we shall bring back to Beijing to study. First, enterprises should utilize the current opportunity to carry out technical transformation and readjustment of the product structure, produce more products that are marketable and cheap in price, and improve the enterprise's results. Most fundamentally, the enterprises must be suited to market changes. Second, banks must pursue a preferential policy vis-a-vis funds for purchasing purposes. The first step is to convert certain short-term loans to long-term loans, reduce the practice of levying extra interest and penalty interest, raise enthusiasm for purchasing, and proceed with considering implementing differential interest rates on loans to purchase certain specially designated commodities. Third, measures must be adopted at suitable times to readjust interest rates, but

we must be exceptionally careful with these measures and make good selections regarding rates and timing. Meanwhile, value-preserving savings must be retained. Fourth, simultaneously with continuing to control the scale of capital construction, suitable leniency must be provided for certain technical transformation projects and other construction projects that require large amounts of labor force such as water conservancy, highway construction, and residential building of a usual standard urgently required by the people. We oppose high consumption but do not oppose normal consumption. According to the viewpoints of Marxism, production is the principal factor determining consumption, but it is also admitted that consumption plays a counterrole against production development. The existing basic contradiction in the national economy is still that social gross demand is larger than social gross supply. It is necessary to further implement the spirit of the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, firmly insist on improvement of the economic environment and rectification of the economic order, deepen the reform, continue to implement the guideline of "double-stringency" in finance and currency, actively push readjustment of the industrial structure, devote efforts to improving the economic benefits, and concurrently, based on the new conditions and new problems, make suitable readjustments on the degree of the tightening in the concrete implementing work.

Further Strengthen Greater Unity Among People of All Nationalities Throughout the Country

HK1104090090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 90 pp 10-16

[Article by Ngapoi Ngawang Jigme (7093 3099 7093 2489 2516 5019)]

[Text] Nationality has always been an important issue that concerns the prosperity or decline, security or danger, of a multinational country. The nationality issue is one of the major factors of political turmoil in some countries today. Compared with these countries, the relations between different nationalities in China are generally good. This explains why our consistent nationality policy has been successful and supported by the people of all nationalities. As China's socialist construction enters a crucial period, to further strengthen the great unity among Chinese people of all nationalities is of extreme importance to the socialist modernization drive and the common development and prosperity of all nationalities. Although China has achieved enormous successes in the 10 years of reform and opening the country to the outside world, for various reasons it has also encountered temporary difficulties. Particularly worth mentioning is the fact that people who persistently engaged in bourgeois liberalization created turmoil at home in a vain attempt to overthrow the leadership of the CPC and subvert the socialist system. Hostile forces abroad also stepped up their infiltration in an attempt to bring about "peaceful evolution" in our country. Our

struggle to curb the turmoil and quell the counterrevolutionary rebellion dealt a resolute counterblow to hostile forces at home and abroad and brought about national and social stability. However, we must recognize that hostile forces will never give up their sabotage against us. Among their many methods of sabotage is to continue with their efforts to sow discord in the relations between various nationalities and undermine nationality unity and the unification of the motherland. This reminds us that at a time like this we must resolutely resist the adverse current of attempting to subvert the socialist system, firmly uphold the four cardinal principles, reinforce the nationality policy consistently upheld by the party and government, and further consolidate and develop socialist relations of equality, unity, and mutual assistance between nationalities. Here, I would like to say a few words on further strengthening the great unity of Chinese people of all nationalities from my experience in nationality work over the past decades.

The Four Cardinal Principles Constitute the Political Foundation for the Unity of Chinese People of All Nationalities

China has long been a unified multinational country. Together, the people of different nationalities opened up the country, created a brilliant culture, and made important contributions toward building the great motherland. The close cooperation and friendly exchanges between people of different nationalities have played an important role in the development of the country and the nationalities. Due to the long-term practice of systems of class oppression and national repression, however, nationalities were on unequal footing, and there were mutual discrimination, estrangement, and disputes. For various historical reasons, there was a serious imbalance in the economic and cultural development of Chinese nationalities. On the whole, the economy and culture of the Han nationality were better developed, and those of the minority nationalities lagged behind. At the time they were liberated, some minority nationalities were at the last stage of primitive society or the development stage of slave society. For more than a century, Chinese people of various nationalities, while deeply experiencing class oppression and national repression by the ruling class at home, suffered oppression and exploitation from foreign imperialists. Their common plight made the fate of different nationalities more closely entwined.

In the long course of history, people of all nationalities, imbued with a strong desire for national equality and development, carried out numerous resistance struggles against national discrimination and repression, imperialist aggression, and exploitation and oppression by the ruling class of their own nationalities. Due to the limitations of history, these struggles all ended in failure. In more recent times, multitendency national movements took place in many national minority areas. They explored and tried out various ways and means, but still they failed and were unable to change the fate of their nationalities. Some minority nationalities were even at

the brink of extinction. It is precisely the CPC's integration of Marxism-Leninism with reality in China that pointed out a bright road leading people of all nationalities toward national liberation and development. What this means is that Chinese people of all nationalities must unite and work closely together to wipe out foreign imperialist oppression, overthrow feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism, and the system of national repression at home, and carry out a democratic revolution and socialist revolution within the nationalities in order to truly liberate all nationalities and put them on a truly equal footing. Under the wise leadership of the CPC, people of all nationalities united as one, fought courageously, and finally toppled the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat-capitalism, which weighed heavily like mountains on the backs of the Chinese people, and established the People's Republic of China, where people of all nationalities are their own masters, thus ushering in a new era of equality among all nationalities. After the founding of the people's republic, the party and the government adopted various approaches and measures in light of the reality of each region or nationality to lead the people of all nationalities in carrying out domestic reforms and abolishing various exploitative systems, and thereby enabling poverty-stricken people of all nationalities to obtain complete liberation. On this basis a socialist transformation was carried out step by step to help various nationalities take the socialist road. In the big family of the motherland, the political status of all nationalities has risen to an all-time high, and equality among all nationalities is recognized and respected by the state and protected by law. Through the people's congress system, the people of minority nationalities take part in the management of state affairs on an equal footing and practice autonomy in national minority areas, exercising the right to be their own masters. With the energetic support of the government, various minority nationalities have achieved great successes in accelerating their economic and cultural development.

The people of minority nationalities who have been liberated from the abyss of suffering in old China are now making constant progress. They have deeply realized that the CPC is the only true representative and protector of the interests of people of all nationalities, and that the socialist road is the only road for the prosperity of all nationalities. As a Tibetan who has experienced great changes in Tibet over the past decades, I have deep feelings about this.

The Tibetans are a long-established nationality in China. More than 1,200 years ago, Tufan established close ties to the Tang dynasty, which reigned over the central plains. Relations between Tibet and the central plains grew closer over time, and by the time of the Yuan dynasty, Tibet was officially incorporated into the map of China. The Tibetans, wise, industrious, steadfast and magnanimous as they are, have made outstanding contributions in building the great motherland and creating a brilliant culture. Fettered by the feudal system of

serfdom, social development in Tibet remained stagnant for a long time and productive forces were extremely backward. The serfs and slaves, who accounted for 95 percent of the population, basically had no means of production or personal freedom. In more recent times, the imperialists who invaded Tibet did their utmost to sow discord in the relations between the Han and Tibetan nationalities in a vain attempt to pull Tibet away from our motherland and turn it into their colony. Although, due to the resolute opposition and resistance of the Tibetans and the people of the whole country, their scheme did not turn out exactly as they had wanted, Tibet would not be able to ultimately escape the fate of being reduced to the status of a colony, and Tibetans would not be able to achieve genuine equality and development if the imperialists were not driven out of China and the Tibetan social system were not reformed. A great historical change such as this can be accomplished only if the Tibetan people's anti-imperialist struggle converges with the revolutionary torrents of the people of all nationalities under the leadership of the CPC. Thus, in the excellent situation when the war of liberation was basically won and the People's Republic of China was founded, the central people's government announced its decision to abolish the system of national repression and practice the policy of alliance based on equality, laid down the policy of the peaceful liberation of Tibet, and took steps to liberate Chamdo and promote peace talks. Influenced by the vigorous development of the revolutionary situation and moved and inspired by the central government's policies, in February 1951 the local government of Tibet appointed me head of a delegation to Beijing to negotiate with the central people's government. After repeated negotiations, various complicated issues were correctly resolved in keeping with the consistent policy of the party and in light of the peculiarities of Tibet, and the "17-point agreement" for the peaceful liberation of Tibet was signed. From this time on, the Tibetan nationality was able to throw off the yoke of imperialism and embark on the bright road of unity, progress, and development in the great family of the motherland. However, the implementation of the 17-point agreement was a process punctuated by acute and complicated struggles. The 17-point agreement addressed primarily the need to drive the imperialist forces of aggression out of Tibet and practice regional national autonomy under the unified leadership of the central people's government. The trouble was, some splittists from the former Tibetan local government and serf-owner class, as well as people who did not fully understand the righteous cause, continued to undermine the unification of the motherland and the solidarity of nationalities. The reactionary system of serfdom seriously hampered the development and prosperity of the Tibetan nationality and caused millions of serfs to live in extreme misery. Unless the feudal system of serfdom were eliminated, the masses of laboring people would not be able to truly free themselves, the Tibetan nationality would not be able to win true liberation, and the laboring people would not be able to truly enjoy their rights to national equality and regional national

autonomy. Out of consideration for the special circumstances in Tibet, the 17-point agreement stipulated that reforms in Tibet were to be carried out by the Tibetan government on its own initiative and that relevant matters were to be resolved through consultation between the Tibetan people and public figures who had connections with the people. In light of the concrete conditions in the region, the central government later decided against carrying out social reforms in Tibet before 1962. However, seeing that reform would happen sooner or later as the political awareness of the masses grew with each passing day, the reactionary serf owners rose in rebellion in 1959 out of desperation. Led by the central people's government, the millions of Tibetan serfs supported the People's Liberation Army in quickly putting down the rebellion. In accordance with the resolution on the Tibetan question adopted at the First Plenary Session of the Second National People's Congress, they carried out democratic reform ahead of schedule and abolished the feudal system of serfdom. They had their personal freedom and democratic rights as well as their own means of production for the first time, and cast off for good the status of the exploited and the enslaved. After 40 years of hard work, particularly after the implementation of the reform and open policy during the past 10 years, Tibet achieved swift progress in its political, economic, and cultural development and gradually improved the living standards of its people. The tremendous development and progress made by the Tibetan nationality have no parallel in the past millennia, and are possible only in New China under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The fundamental reason why we have been able to score such great achievements in our nationality work these last 40 years is that we have the leadership of the CPC, which has Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guidance, have built the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, established and developed the socialist system, and adopted a correct nationality policy suited to our national conditions. The four cardinal principles represent the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in China and constitute the political foundation for the great unity of people of all nationalities throughout the country. We must adopt a clear-cut stand and conduct education in adhering to the four cardinal principles, opposing bourgeois liberalization, defending the unification of the motherland, and strengthening nationality unity among the cadres and masses of various nationalities. We should let people of all nationalities, especially the younger generation, know that this is the only correct road for the common development and prosperity of various nationalities. Bourgeois liberalization can only turn China into an appendage of imperialism and push various nationalities once again into the abyss of enslavement, repression, and exploitation. We must wage a resolute struggle against all schemes aimed at dividing the motherland and undermining nationality unity. History of the past 40 years has proved that the overwhelming majority of people of various nationalities love socialist New China. All vain

attempts by splittists and foreign anti-China forces to split China or to drag people of various nationalities back to the time of repression will never succeed.

Autonomy of the Nationalities Region Is the Fundamental Political System for Ensuring Nationality Unity

In a multinational country like ours, in order to ensure that socialist relations of equality, unity, and mutual assistance among nationalities will consolidate and develop for a long time to come after the systems of class oppression and national repression are overthrown and the system of socialism is established, we must address the issue of the structure and form of government in light of our historical conditions and reality. Through protracted exploration and practice in democratic revolution by people of various nationalities under the leadership of the CPC, we have gradually come to understand that China can only implement the system of regional national autonomy in a unified country. It cannot be implemented in other forms. Under the leadership of the CPC, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was established in 1947. This was a systematic and successful experience. After the founding of the people's republic, regional national autonomy was laid down in the "Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference" as the basic policy for resolving the nationality issue in China. In 1954, this policy was enshrined in the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China." Our regional national autonomy refers to the practice, under the leadership of the state, of regional autonomy in areas inhabited by people of minority nationalities. In these areas, organs of self-government were set up to exercise the power of autonomy. Our adoption and implementation of the system of regional national autonomy was decided by our own history and the actual conditions.

1. A unified country with centralized state power has been formed for a long time. This is the historical foundation for implementing the system of regional national autonomy. In the long course of history, Chinese people of various nationalities frequently migrated from place to place. As they migrated, compact communities of various sizes gradually developed. There were places where compact communities of nationalities lived side by side, as well as places where several nationalities lived in mixed communities or where different nationalities lived scattered about. Economically, these communities were mutually dependent. China became a unified country with centralized state power after the Qin dynasty. Although China was divided and reunited many times in the course of the past two millennia, unification remained the main trend. Even a region as special as Tibet had been subordinated to the unified jurisdiction of the central government for centuries. Despite the fact that it was under a separatist regime for some time, it was never regarded as an independent country by the rest of the world. It goes without saying that the same is true of other national minority areas. For these reasons, China's minority nationalities,

including the Mongols and Manchus who had wielded central state power at different stages, all regard China as their motherland as a matter of course. It is in accord with historical traditions and in the interests of people of various nationalities to establish a single state on this basis.

2. People of various nationalities have jointly taken part in the protracted revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the CPC. This is the political foundation for implementing the system of regional national autonomy. The revolutionary struggle jointly waged by Chinese people of various nationalities against imperialist aggression and ruthless oppression by the ruling class at home in modern times has bound people of various nationalities closely together. During the period of the new democratic revolution, in particular, the CPC put forward and adhered to the program of complete national emancipation aimed at putting all nationalities on equal footing. This program, which included the policy of regional national autonomy, won the trust and heartfelt love of people of various nationalities. Like a hundred rivers all flowing to the sea, people of various nationalities with revolutionary ideals all rallied under the banner of the CPC. In their common revolutionary struggle, they not only established the revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry, but further cemented the fraternal, flesh-and-blood ties between Chinese people of various nationalities. The Communist Party, which has a correct program, a staunch organization, and a high reputation, together with the large numbers of nationality cadres brought up by the party, naturally became the core force for exercising regional national autonomy in a unified country. It is thus evident that since the founding of New China there is no reason for various nationalities to abandon the road of unity and cooperation formed in the course of revolution and go their separate ways. Regional national autonomy is the inevitable outcome of the development of revolution.

3. The imbalance in the distribution of natural resources and economic development and the unified domestic market that has developed over the years decide that, in order to achieve common prosperity for all nationalities, we must maintain the unification of our country and the unity of various nationalities. This is the economic foundation for implementing the system of regional national autonomy. Developing a prosperous socialist economy is the common aspiration of people of various nationalities after their emancipation. This requires not only the joint efforts of people of various nationalities, but also mutual assistance and cooperation between various regions and nationalities. National minority areas account for more than 60 percent of China's total area. With rich surface and underground resources, they have important material conditions for building a modernized socialist country. However, the level of economic development in national minority areas is generally lower than that in regions inhabited by the Han. Hence, the country cannot achieve socialist modernization without the help of the national minority areas, and

the national minority areas need the support of the state and the Han nationality areas in terms of funds, technology, and human resources in their economic development. The practice of regional national autonomy in the big family of the unified motherland can guarantee close political and economic ties between various nationalities while ensuring that various national minority areas can act according to their own peculiarities. It is of benefit to the economic development of the country as a whole as well as to the economic development of the national minority areas to combine the advanced science and technology of the state with the resources of the national minority areas.

Since establishment of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, China has practiced regional national autonomy for more than 40 years. During these four decades, regional national autonomy achieved great successes and was welcomed by the people of various nationalities. Of course, it is unavoidable that it also came under the attack of enemies at home and abroad. The Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique tried all ways and means to undermine and abolish the system of regional national autonomy. The handful of splittists in Tibet wanted to replace autonomy with so-called "Tibetan independence." Recently, some people who stubbornly engaged in bourgeois liberalization advocated "establishing a federal country based on a multi-party political system" to replace regional national autonomy. All these demonstrate from the negative side that we must practice regional national autonomy and crush the enemy's schemes.

It should be pointed out that, for various reasons, especially the fact that large numbers of newly promoted leading cadres who are unfamiliar with nationality affairs either belittle or do not understand the importance of regional national autonomy in our political life, the situation of overlooking nationality affairs in our work has happened quite often. Some comrades do not understand that the socialist period is a period for common development and prosperity for people of all nationalities. In the wake of economic and cultural development, the sense of national democracy among people of various nationalities has been constantly strengthened, and contacts between people of different nationalities have become increasingly more frequent. Therefore, it is now even more necessary to maintain and develop relations of equality, unity, and mutual assistance among various nationalities. Otherwise, national contradictions and national disputes will adversely affect social stability and development and will even bring about disastrous consequences. Accordingly, cadres at various levels, especially leading cadres, must strengthen their study of Marxist theory on nationality affairs and the party's policy on nationality affairs, thoroughly understand the correctness and importance of the system of regional national autonomy, and effectively implement the party's policy on regional national autonomy and related laws. This task has very great significance at present.

First of all, the practice of autonomy for nationalities regions will benefit the centralized and unified leadership of the state, and then benefit the integration of guarantee of equality for minority nationalities, with the right for self-rule of autonomous nationalities regions. Under the centralized and unified leadership of the central government, organs of self-government in various autonomous nationalities areas can, through cadres of their own nationality, ensure the implementation of the Constitution and the law in these places and guarantee the unity of the country. At the same time, by exercising the power of autonomy, they can also protect the right of minority nationalities to manage their own internal affairs as well as the rights of people of various nationalities to democracy and equality. The organs of self-government of autonomous nationalities areas are local organs of state power and must be subordinate to the unified leadership of the state. The practice of regional national economy will also enable the people of minority nationalities to become convinced that they are at once masters of their own nationality and masters of the whole country, thereby combining and carrying forward people's love for their own nationality and their motherland. During the past decades, people of minority nationalities have made important contributions toward safeguarding the unity and security of the motherland by building a bastion of iron along the frontiers of the motherland side by side with the People's Liberation Army.

Further, the practice of regional national autonomy is also beneficial to the integration of the state's principles and policies with the reality of the national minority areas, as well as to the social development and economic and cultural prosperity of various autonomous nationalities areas. It was precisely through the practice of regional national autonomy and the adoption of means and steps suited to the characteristics of different nationalities and regions that we were able to complete the democratic reform and socialist transformation these last decades. Through managing their internal affairs, the minority nationality cadres of autonomous nationalities areas developed their political competence. They quickly developed their economies by utilizing the rich local resources in a way suited to the characteristics of their production and livelihood, and quickly developed their culture and education using their own written and spoken language. The practice of regional national autonomy, which helps autonomous nationalities areas arouse the enthusiasm of people of various nationalities to the largest extent possible, is indeed the most practical and suitable form for achieving political, economic, and cultural cooperation among people of different nationalities. It is also the best means for achieving prosperity for both the country and the nationalities.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in "Reform of the System of Party and State Leadership" in 1980 that we must "enable various nationalities to practice regional national autonomy in the true sense." This further pointed out the direction for the development of the

system of regional national autonomy. In 1984, the National People's Congress adopted the law of regional national autonomy, thereby providing a legal basis to the practice of regional national autonomy in our country and ensuring that things are carried out in accordance with law. Ensuring that organs of self-government can fully exercise the power of autonomy is the gist of the question of regional national autonomy. State organs at the higher level are responsible for providing leadership, assistance, and guarantees. There are many problems in this connection. The main problem is that state organs at the higher level tend to be reluctant to relax their grip on affairs that are to be administered by the autonomous nationalities areas according to autonomy regulations. Some competent operational departments tend to give more consideration to general needs than to the specific characteristics of autonomous areas. More often than not, autonomous nationalities areas are unable to act in accordance with law by making appropriate adaptations or suspending those resolutions, decisions, orders, and instructions that are not suited to actual conditions in the autonomous nationalities areas. Furthermore, in view of the fact that there are more than 100 autonomous areas at the three levels of autonomous region, autonomous prefecture, and autonomous county, where conditions are different and where development is extremely uneven, it is inadvisable and also impossible to lay down concrete economic regulations. National autonomous areas should be allowed to administer their economic affairs in response to local conditions. In the wake of economic structural reform in recent years, China's economic structure and pattern of financial distribution have undergone considerable changes. Some policies toward nationality areas have been abolished or rendered impossible to implement, while new measures have yet to be formulated. This too has made it difficult for organs of self-government to exercise the power of autonomy. To overcome the above-mentioned problems, cadres at various levels, especially leading cadres of state organs at the higher levels, must enhance their sense of law, consciously act in accordance with law, and change their practice of "seeking uniformity in everything." On the other hand, we must, through economic retrenchment and further reforms, speed up the establishment of relevant autonomy regulations in the national minority areas.

Fostering and strengthening the contingent of minority nationality cadres and workers is the key to the practice of regional national autonomy. Problems in this regard are twofold: First, with the exception of a few autonomous areas, the number of minority nationality cadres in most autonomous nationalities areas is very small. Second, the structure of minority nationality cadres is not always reasonable. Most of these cadres hold party and government posts. There are not many technical cadres who are engaged in such specialized areas as economic management or scientific research. They either hold leadership posts or are working at grassroots levels. The number of midlevel cadres and cadres in charge of vocational work in important government

departments is rather small. Hence, the state must adopt special policies to effectively strengthen the fostering and education of minority nationality cadres and enhance their political level and professional competence. It must also assist autonomous nationalities areas in energetically developing educational undertakings. Diversified ways and means must be adopted to cultivate minority nationality cadres who are politically and ideologically sound, who have socialist awareness, who love the motherland, who have close ties to people of their own nationalities, and who are educated and resourceful. Efforts must be made to increase the proportion of minority nationality cadres in leading organs at various levels, and this applies to responsible persons as well. The number of nationality cadres should be increased gradually so they are more or less proportional to their population size. Only in this way will the rights of various nationalities to administer their own internal affairs be fulfilled, and only in this way will unity among nationalities and unification of the country be guaranteed.

Speeding Up the Development of the Economies of Minority Nationalities Is the Material Foundation for Nationality Unity

With the realization of political equality among all nationalities, an important historical task of a multinational socialist country led by the proletariat is to help minority nationalities swiftly develop economic and cultural undertakings and gradually eliminate the de facto inequality among nationalities, which has been left over from history, thereby eradicating the root cause of all dissatisfaction and conflict. This is also a basic principle of Marxism-Leninism. Accordingly, the Chinese Constitution stipulates that "the state does its utmost to promote the common prosperity of all nationalities in the country." "The state helps the minority nationality areas speed up their economic and cultural development in accordance with the peculiarities and needs of the different minority nationalities"

Under the energetic support of the party and the state over the past four decades, the areas inhabited by minority nationalities have scored tremendous achievements in economic and cultural development. This is obvious to all. However, due to reasons relating to social, historical and natural conditions, the economic and cultural foundations in the vast areas inhabited by minority nationalities remain weak. Their economic growth rate has been lower than the national average for many years, the poverty-stricken outlook has not yet been eradicated, and a segment of the minority nationality population still does not have enough to eat or to keep warm. These salient problems in current nationality work are more than just an economic issue. They deserve our keen attention because they are also a political issue that concerns unity among nationalities and social stability.

Our socialist modernization program covers areas inhabited by nationalities and our national economy is a

unified entity. It is wrong to think that national minority areas, with their backward economy and culture, will be a drag on the country's modernization endeavors. Our esteemed Premier Zhou pointed out long ago that "the nationality policy of our country is the policy of bringing prosperity to all nationalities. On this question, all nationalities are completely equal. No discrimination will be tolerated." "In our efforts to build an industrialized socialist country, no nationality will be an exception to the rule. It is inconceivable that the Han nationality areas alone should have highly developed industries, while Tibet, the Uygur Autonomous Region and the Inner Mongolia pastoral areas are to remain backward for a long time to come. A country like this is no socialist country. In our socialist country, we must see to it that all fraternal nationality areas and autonomous regions are modernized. The modernization of China as a whole must be developed in an all-round way." For 40 years, the state has been giving vast amounts of financial subsidies to help national minority areas develop their economies and culture. During the nine-year period between 1980 and 1989, state subsidies to five autonomous regions and three multinational provinces amounted to 58.08 billion yuan. In the meantime, national minority areas have also made considerable contributions to the state. According to incomplete statistics, between 1980 and 1987, national minority areas supplied the state with 174 million sheep, 18.25 million beef cattle, 163 million meat pigs, 1 million tons of wool and woolen piece goods, 137 million cubic meters of timber, 16.22 million tons of steel, 570 million tons of raw coal, 58.08 million tons of crude oil, and 242.5 billion kWh of electricity. In addition, they also supplied large quantities of rubber, sugar, tea, medicinal herbs, tobacco leaves, nonferrous metals, and other products in active support of the country's four modernizations. Minority areas cover a vast area and are richly endowed with surface and underground resources. In the wake of further economic development, the economies of national minority areas will definitely occupy a more important position and play a more important role in the national economy. Therefore, we must now make an earnest effort to tackle problems in the economic development of national minority areas in order to ensure the long-term harmony and stability of the national economy, consolidate nationality unity, and promote the common prosperity of various nationalities.

Reform and open policy are the only way to the development and prosperity of nationalities. Cadres of various nationalities in areas inhabited by nationalities must cultivate the new concept of reform and opening the country to the outside world and take the initiative to lead the masses of their nationalities to gradually change or cast off old ideas and habits that hamper the progress of nationalities and the development of the productive forces. They must make full use of the power of autonomy vested in law to readjust the relations of production and the industrial structure, give play to their local resource superiority, and tap development potentials. Proceeding from the local conditions and within

the limits permitted by the Constitution and the law, they must adopt special policies and take flexible measures to speed up the pace of reform, the opening of the country to the outside world, and the absorption of domestic and foreign funds, technology, and human resources. They must devote major efforts to developing the socialist commodity economy, have the courage to compete in international and domestic markets, and take positive steps to absorb the advanced experience and outstanding culture of other nationalities and regions to promote the economic and cultural development of their own national minority areas.

At present, some areas inhabited by nationalities have not yet solved the problem of feeding their population. Hence, stepping up the work of helping the poor is a task of top priority. When allocating funds and resources to help the poor, the state should give preference to the poverty-stricken areas inhabited by minority nationalities and give them a respite by reducing or remitting taxes and levies wherever possible. National minority areas must fully carry forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, stress diligence and thrift in running all undertakings, properly manage funds in aid of various causes, build an internal mechanism for the stimulation of their own vitality, and increase their ability for self-development so as to gradually shake off poverty and become rich.

Autonomous nationalities areas should energetically assist and support higher-level state organs in running enterprises and opening up resources in their regions. On the other hand, higher-level state organs should protect the legitimate economic rights of the local people and see to it that the material and cultural life of the minority nationalities is improved as their local resources are being opened up and utilized. In this regard, many problems have accumulated over the years, and these must be properly tackled by the higher-level state organs in accordance with the official principles.

Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC that "necessary measures should be adopted to continue help and support to the national minority areas in developing their economic, education, cultural, and other undertakings, and prolonged, unremitting efforts must be made to gradually eliminate the gaps that exist to different extents between different nationalities for reasons of history." To help the national minority areas accelerate their economic development, the state must formulate development strategies that will enable the western provinces and the coastal areas to complement and support each other and give full play to their potentials. In the light of the actual level of social productivity in the national minority areas, the state should adopt a graded industrial policy and allow these areas greater flexibility in their economic development. In the current economic retrenchment, particular attention must be paid to overcoming oversimplistic practices and the mentality of "seeking uniformity" in work, so that the aid given by the state to the national minority

areas in terms of human, material, and financial resources can produce the desired results. At the same time, we must also see that, in view of the fact that the state is confronted with piles of problems accumulated over the years and that the current economic situation is extremely grim, in order to ensure the completion of the current task of economic retrenchment, we must also appropriately stress the importance of centralization, increase the proportion of state revenue in the national income, and increase the centrally controlled proportion of state revenue. For this reason, the existing problems in the economic and cultural development of national minority areas can be resolved only step by step in the course of improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening the reforms. National minority cadres at various levels should fully take the overall situation of the country into account and consciously serve the needs of the overall interests of the state.

China's minority nationalities are industrious and ingenious people. With the leadership and help of the party and the state, so long as we fire the enthusiasm of the people of all nationalities and continue to consolidate and develop the excellent situation of stability and unity in China, economic and cultural undertakings in the national minority areas will surely advance even faster and the great ideal of common development and prosperity of all nationalities will certainly be realized soon in the course of economic retrenchment and further reforms.

'Leading a Thrifty Life' Is a Positive Approach

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[Text] Before and after New Year's Day this year, I visited in succession the Beijing Yenshan Petrochemical Company and the Daqing Petrochemical Main Plant and held group discussion meetings with the grassroots-level cadres of the enterprises, including workshop chiefs and secretaries of party branch committees, investigating and studying the hot-point problems of the ideological work of the staff members and workers. They almost unanimously reflected that the staff members and workers were relatively and generally concerned with having to pass "several years of austerity." The majority of the cadres believed that the call of the central authorities concerning passing several years of austerity was correct, particularly after connecting with reality, calculating the growth income of the state, enterprise, and individual and the changes in living and discovering that the days had indeed passed rather comfortably. Among a portion of people in many units, high consumption and super-consumption have become a relatively common phenomenon, and in certain units the growth in salaries and wages, bonuses, and collective welfare benefits has surpassed the growth in the labor productivity rate.

Because the public's desire for consumption has gone up and their "appetite" has improved, mere reliance on bonuses and welfare to arouse the activism of the staff members and workers and workers not only cannot be maintained economically for long, but also, and more important, implies lowering of the ideological and spiritual demand, narrowing the scope of life, and making work become increasingly difficult. At the same time, it must be understood that the accumulation rate in the national income will fall; the guideline of "first we must eat and second we must build" cannot be carried out well, economic development will lack the stamina that it must have, the enterprises cannot thrive, and even greater difficulties lie ahead. But there are also a number of comrades who have shown that they cannot understand why there must be "several years of austerity" and are afraid that this cannot be accomplished, that the populace will not accept it, that there may be a chain reaction of passive factors in production and in work, and so forth. From these different kinds of reactions it can be seen that the extensive masses of cadres and staff and workers still lack the background for "passing several years of austerity," that they do not have an understanding of its implication and significance for the state, the enterprises, and the individual; and that they are not too sure about how to live the austere days. This is a big lesson that ideological and political work will confront for a considerable length of time from now on. To this we should make a correct response and issue guidance.

"Living Several Years of Austerity" Is an Important Constituent Portion of Improvement and Rectification

In his talks at the 40th anniversary of the founding of the PRC and at the Third Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, General Secretary Jiang Zemin repeatedly stressed that comrades of the whole party must fully display the spirit of engaging in difficult struggle and building the nation with diligence and frugality, serve as examples, and, along with all of the people in the country, pass several years of tightening their belts. In reality, the difficult days began following the adoption at the Third Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee of the guideline of improvement and rectification and deepening the reform. Premier Li Peng, in his report on government work to the Second Session of the Seventh National People's Congress [NPC] clearly pointed out, "During the period of improvement and rectification, both the government and the people must have ideological preparation for passing several years of austerity." He emphasized that if only the cadres would serve as examples and "explain clearly to the populace the objective demand of having to endure stringent days, then the extensive masses of people will understand and give their support." The objective demand of "passing several years of austerity" means that we must make the determination to cut short our demands. In the preceding several years, social gross demand and gross supply were unbalanced, while investment demand and consumption demand were both inflated. In 1988, the gross scale of society's fixed assets

investments amounted to 449.655 billion yuan, a 250-percent increase over the 183.287 billion yuan 1984. In 1988, the gross salaries and wages of the staff members and workers of the whole country totaled 231.62 billion yuan, an increase of more than 100 percent over the 113.34 billion yuan of 1984, of which from 1985 to 1988 the average annual growth rate was 21 percent, which was an increase of 5.2 percent over the growth rate of the industrial net output value, namely, the newly created value of the staff members and workers. The fact that for many years in succession social gross demand has exceeded social gross supply and that the existing national power and social production ability have been unable to tolerate the burden of the enormous scale of construction and the seriously inflated social consumption demand have led to an over-issuance of banknotes, a large-scale rise in commodity prices, and economic instability, thus resulting in the discontent of the masses, which has affected social stability and unity and has also affected the smooth progress of reform and construction. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out improvement of the economic environment and rectification of the economic order and pass several years of austerity.

To solve the problem of over-brisk demand, there are two fundamental measures that can be taken: One is to cut down on society's fixed asset investments, reduce the scale of capital construction, and particularly cut back on the large number of construction projects that are non-productive, do not have the backing of resources, are redundant, are of a high-consumption nature, and that produce a supply that exceeds market demand. The other measure is to cut down on high consumption and super-consumption that depart from the development level of our country's current productive forces and from the economic receptive capability of our country and enterprises. Implementing these two measures requires a unified ideological basis, that is, confronting reality, starting from reality, establishing the ideology of enduring austerity, and carrying out the measure of thrifty living.

Our country is a big country with a population of 1.1 billion. The base figure is indeed too large. Speaking of supply, if divided by 1.1 billion, the quotient will be very small per person. As for demand, if multiplied by 1.1 billion, the product will be a huge one. This is the biggest objective reality of China's national condition. Capital construction on a too-large scale, too high an economic growth rate, and overly high consumption exceed the country's economic capacity. Seen in the long-run and viewed from the standpoint of development, if these sorts of too lax and overheated conditions that exceed objective reality are maintained year after year, it will be inevitable that problems will multiply, grow larger in accumulation, and become increasingly difficult to follow up and may result in a total "collapse." This runs entirely contrary to socialist reform, which ordains the formation of a new structure of the combination of planned economy and regulation by means of market mechanism, and against the general target of realizing a

long-term sustained, stable, and coordinated development. "Passing several years of stringent days," speaking from the near term, is beneficial to overcoming the current difficulties in the insufficiency of capital funds, foreign exchange, and material resources, and is also beneficial to readjusting the enterprise structure and product structure and to the economic operations that tend toward stable development. And, speaking from the long term, it can educate the cadres on understanding the national conditions and objective economic laws and promote the economy's long-term sustained, stable, and coordinated development and gradually lead to the track of a benign cycle of economic development.

Passing Austere Days Is the Chinese People's Tradition of Ruling the Country in Thriving Times

Passing austere days is not only a necessity in the current improvement and rectification, but also a sort of spirit, life outlook, and method of ruling the country. A nation and a people must, in this great program of ruling the country, make a correct policy decision. The rises and falls in recorded history, both in the past and the present, and both in the country and abroad, all attest to the fact that during a developed and rising stage, a nation and a people, always advocate the spirit of diligence and thrift, take thrift as basic and thrift as glorious, and deal with matters in the economy. The book *Zuo-chuan*, recording the 24th year of the reign of Duke Zhuang, stated that high official Yui Sun of the Kingdom of Lu wrote in a petition that "thrift is a common virtue, while luxury is a big evil." In China's history, in the thriving days of the Han and Tang dynasties, under the peaceful rule of Emperors Wen Jing, Jiang Guan, and under Emperor Kong Hsi of the Qing dynasty, wealth and affluence were attained on the basis of "rehabilitation" and "always leaving a margin." The reign of Emperor Li Shimin of the Tang dynasty was a thriving period seldom found in China's long history, but even at that time of being the wealthiest nation in the world, Ma Zhou still offered a petition stressing that the "major need was still economy and thrift." Summing up historical experiences, Li Xiangyin wrote a poem, *On History*, in which he concluded that in reviewing past sages and countries, it could be seen that their successes were due to diligence and frugality, while their failures were the result of luxury. Members of the Chinese Communist Party have always looked at these historical summations as the superior traditions of our race and made use of them to educate the whole party and all the people. As early as April 1944, Chairman Mao, in his celebrated speech on the topic of "Learning and the Political Situation," called on party members to learn from Guo Meiquo's "Memorial Article on 300 Years of Zha Shen," which took a lesson from history and warned the whole party to learn from the lesson of Li Zicheng's failure and be on guard against pride and luxury. On the eve of the founding of the PRC, at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, he issued a further penetrating warning, pointing out, "Possibly there are certain Communist Party members who were never

conquered by the enemy's gun and who did not do injustice to the name of heroes before these enemies, but who were nevertheless unable to stand up to the enemy's onslaught of sugar-coated bullets and succumbed before these bullets." Following the seizure and holding of political power, and in the common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Constitution, our party clearly laid down the guideline and policy of "strictly implementing diligence, frugality, and economy" and "building the country in diligence and frugality." In general practice, it has maintained engaging in difficult struggle and displaying the atmosphere of sharing joy and misery with the populace.

Today, the party Central Committee's call to "pass several years of austerity" is definitely not a provisional measure but is, under the new historical conditions, a follow-up to and display of the superior tradition of engaging in hard and difficult struggle. In a developing country, the result of consumption inflation is inevitably a fall in the accumulation rate accompanied by the inability of the newly created wealth to be used in an adequate ratio on expanded reproduction, by insufficient stamina for economic development, and by the inability of the country's comprehensive national power to be augmented. The consequences will not only affect our country's attempt to catch up economically with the advanced nations, but will also make it difficult to maintain itself for long in the non-austere days. Some countries depend on loans to provide high welfare benefits, but this leads to serious economic and political crises and the lesson would indeed be a serious one. In this context, it is only through living austerely, maintaining the necessary accumulation growth rate, and employing the active spirit of living austerely in order to carry out construction and to live that the state can become strong, the people's wealth can have a corresponding material foundation, there will be prolonged peace and security, and our country and race can find themselves in the front ranks of the world.

Learning To Live Austerely Is a Sort of Virtue in Economy and Frugality

Austere days means the opposite of lax or easy days. Being austere and being lax have their rational demarcations. Fixing one's outlay according to one's income and tightening up a little bit consist of a sort of attitude, whereas insufficient income for outlay and laxity without limits constitute another type of attitude. In daily life people have felt that those who run their homes on the basis of diligence and frugality seem to have relatively more initiative in passing their days, and their life interests, spiritual life, and pursuit of ideology all tend to be elevated. They work diligently, do not fear fatigue, make money, become rich, and yet they continue to live austerely, put earned wealth into production and economic development, and replenish and fill up their spiritual life. They understand the meaning of thrifty living, are aware of the difficulties in life, and believe that name, fame, and undertakings are all more important than material enjoyment. They work assiduously

and forge ahead in their undertakings. They always keep in mind the word "stringency," work urgently, and pass stringent days. Being "stringent" is their spiritual attitude in forging ahead. On the other hand, there are other people who adopt another attitude toward life. Their consumption wishes are too high. They seek enjoyment, which deviates from a realistic life; compete for a high standard of living; and relish using foreign goods, including fruits, drinks, and even diapers for their infants. It is their belief that "Heaven has endowed me with talents for a purpose; so no matter how much I spend, I can recover the money eventually." Some spend recklessly, feel discontented at the least bit of dissatisfaction, and complain against the social system. In some localities there are people who take up consumption of a highly foolish nature and lavish their money and wealth on various kinds of meaningless endeavors. Then there are people who violate law and discipline, seek wealth cunningly and by illegal means, and then spend their earnings lavishly and in an illegitimate manner and finally land themselves in prison. All this we must guard against. We must lead the people to look skyward and regard passing stringent days in the spirit of undergoing self-imposed hardships.

Thrift and diligence are the two sides of the same spirit. Diligent people know that the fruits of labor are not won easily and that attention must be paid to practicing economy. Frugal people know that to become well-off one must rely on diligence and work. Diligence and laziness, austerity and laxity, wealth and poverty, are conditions for each other and act as cause and effect for each other. Speaking about the gross volume of resources required for our country's undertaking the four modernizations, we have indeed many of the resources for the premier industry, but because we have a huge population, our culture and technology are not developed and the development and utilization of our resources is limited, the per capita distribution of the resources on the basis of the population and the use of these resources to again create wealth are hardly sufficient to land us among the advanced rank in the world. Giving way to laxity a tiny bit and allowing the 1.1 billion people to consume one extra jin of oil a year would mean a total of 550,000 tons of oil gone; but if we tighten up a little bit, it would mean a savings of 550,000 tons of oil. This arithmetic when applied to other kinds of resources can produce frightening figures. This applies to China's national conditions. It determines the essential nature of living austerely and should become a principle of long-term significance. Indeed, we must start from this reality; make meticulous calculation; work diligently and practice economy; make good use of all resources; distribute well the limited manpower, material strength, and financial strength; consider current interests and, more important, notice long-term interests; and watch both the partial interests of the localities and departments, and, and more importantly, the interests of the whole situation.

Naturally, when we speak of living austerely, we definitely do not mean passing days of hardship, or even less,

returning to the living conditions of the early 1960's. Healthy consumption to a suitable degree is beneficial to life and to production. Market prosperity is determined by production, and, at the same time, consumption pushes the development of production. Between them there is an innate relationship. We should sum up experiences, have a clear idea of objective laws, employ correct ideology to guide consumption, and use an adequate degree of consumption to push production. We must enable individual spending, production, and marketing in the enterprises and the national economy to all achieve development and complement each other.

Passing on the Spirit of Living Austerely To Develop the Economy

Seen from the current conditions of the supply of material products in the urban and rural markets in our country, we must take into consideration in an all-round manner the passing of stringent days with developing production and making the markets prosper, and these phases of work must all be handled well. Compared with the "stringency" of the 1960's and early 1970's, the present is vastly different. In earlier times, what was the price of a Dacron shirt? What was the market supply then? And how many people could afford then to buy one or wear one? Now Dacron apparel in any form or style is plentiful in both the urban and rural markets and is available everywhere. Moreover, the urban-rural differential and the differential between large and small cities are very small. In a large, developing country with a population of 1.1 billion, the ability to solve the problem of "being dressed warmly" to the current level fully reveals the strong points of socialism. This revolutionary change has come about through developing production, developing the economy and reform, and opening to the outside world. Cotton production, after having stagnated at about 40 million dan for a prolonged period, has increased now to over 80 million dan, that is, it has doubled; the production of chemical fibers has sharply increased from only several tens of thousand tons to 1.5 million tons, making China the fourth-largest chemical-fiber producing country in the world. All these were the result of the "10 years of concentrated efforts" and 10 years of reform in the 1970's and 1980's and were the accomplishments of the state's making a strong determination, practicing savings on various sides, and centralizing capital funds to carry out economic construction. In speaking of the economic conditions of the country during these years, it may be found that the country's financial power was by no means strong and that it was all through the state, the departments, and the localities demonstrating the spirit of practicing the utmost economy to save up funds for the building of a number of large enterprises. Without "austerity" at that time, there could not be such "laxity" today. Of course, the lax situation today is relative only; after all, the people's standard of living has greatly improved. This proves that only through living austerely is it possible to create the conditions for the lax days afterward.

At present, enterprises have all effected a link between work and effect. As for the condition of its implementation, many enterprises have truly made increases in production and benefits have been increased. Through this linking, it is no longer necessary to tap the revenues of the state. However, there are still many enterprises that have effected the linking in name only; in reality, corresponding increases in economic benefits have not been made and the labor productivity rate has not improved. The sources of the increase in salaries and wages have been mainly from tapping the cost of production, price increases, and operational receipts outside the plan, including certain improper operational receipts. In reality, the state's revenues have been tapped just the same, and subsidy and compensation have been relied on to maintain lax living and to pass easy days. If conditions of this kind are repeated year after year, then the state will not be able to bear any more, the enterprises can hardly continue, and the spirit and interests of the individual will be narrowed and he will become shortsighted and lack ambition. We must let the spirit of living austerely be implemented in work, in production, and in economic development. We must indeed make use of the motive force of living austerely to open up the movement to increase production, practice economy, increase receipts, and cut down on expenditures; develop technology and renovation; push the results of renovation; improve operation and management; lower various kinds of consumption; open up new products; develop new markets; and take the road of economic development, which envisages less input, more output, and higher benefits. Living austerely should start from one's own self, little by little, and from each and every enterprise, and each and every product. We must watch each tiny bit of savings and each and every tiny bit of increase in effective wealth and let them accumulate and multiply. Let the spirit of living austerely shine on each and every front and at various posts so that living austerely may become a positive spirit and a sort of motive power to forge ahead.

The Study of the Science of History Must Take Marxism as Its Guide

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[Text] For a long time, since the founding of the PRC, there has been little contention on whether the science of history should be guided by Marxism. This does not mean that the question has been handled well. At the end of the 1950's and beginning of the 1960's, the field of history, as other fields, achieved a great deal through studying Marxism. However, due to leftist ideological tendencies in party guiding thought, bias and errors emerged in the way Marxism guided the study of history. The essence of Marxism was not correctly understood. People studied history subjectively for the sake of studying Marxism and following its principles. Prior to and during the 10-year upheaval, the study of

"quotations" took the place of systematic study of Marxism and Maoism. Marxism was simplified and vulgarized and its authority suffered. During the last decade Western bourgeois views of history were introduced to China. This may not have been a bad thing. However, some history workers uncritically absorbed the essence and dross alike. This inevitably led to disruption of viewpoints and methods in research on history. Besides, some history workers were swayed in their faith in Marxism and opposed historical research guided by Marxism. Marxist theories and principles on the science of history were ignored, questioned, or negated, and historical research was marked by chaos. Therefore, raising the issue of Marxism as the guide for the study of history is necessary for the development of the science of history.

I. Important Meaning of Marxism as the Guide for the Science of History

History is a true science because of its employment of a Marxist view and methodology, namely materialism. This methodology understands the multitude of historical data and the phenomena they reflect, not as isolated coincidence, but as interrelated incidents that depend on and condition each other, and that there is within them a law, an inherent inevitability. Marxist historical materialism has changed the entire conception of history.

Before the emergence of historical materialism there was no lack of perceptive views, whether from feudal or bourgeois historians. Nevertheless, they could not explain the causes and consequences of historical development. Li Zhi, a prominent thinker during the Ming dynasty, criticized his predecessors for subjectively and one-sidedly explaining history in the light of their own era and stance. He exclaimed, "Contention between right and wrong is like the alternation between day and night. They never coalesce. What was wrong yesterday becomes right today and what was right yesterday becomes wrong today. If Confucius were alive today, I wonder how he would judge right and wrong."¹ Neither did bourgeois historian Liang Qichao discern an inherent law of historical development. He said that "historical relics represent human free will and the content of people's free will cannot be the same. Therefore, the work of historians is exactly the opposite of that of natural scientists. Historians look for differences."² He also asserted that in history "there is never an 'inevitable consequence' that can be calculated in advance," "for human free will cannot be fathomed."³ As Lenin pointed out, historical theories of the past "investigated at most the ideological motives behind people's historical activities, not the causes leading to them. They had not discovered the objective law of development of the system of social relations, nor discovered the degree of development of material production as the source of such relations." Lenin also said that "sociology and history before Marx at most collected fragments of unanalyzed facts and described isolated aspects of the historical process."⁴ In China, the study of history of feudal society was fairly well developed. Be it

Sima Qian's *Shiji*, or Sima Guang's *Zizhi tongjian*, or Zhang Xuecheng's *Wenshi tongyi*, they were all great studies of history and gems of traditional Chinese culture. However, none of them discovered an inherent law of historical development in feudal Chinese society.

After the introduction of Marxism to China, Li Dazhao was the first to spread Marxist historical methodology, that is, historical materialism. Since then a transformation has occurred in Chinese historical methodology. Guo Moruo's *Study of Ancient Chinese Society* pioneered employing historical materialism in studying history. Later, Marxist historians, including Fan Wenlan, Jian Bozan, Lu Zhenyu, and Hou Wailu, advanced along this track. The publication of innovative works like Fan's *A Brief History of China*, Jian's *Teaching Program for History and Philosophy*, and Lu's *Social History of China*, were the fruits of Chinese study of history under Marxist guidance. They moved Chinese study of history to a new realm. After the founding of the PRC, Marxism became the guiding thought in political life, economic construction, cultural life, and ideology. Study of the science of history has improved under the guidance of Marxism. Methodology, thinking, and structure in studying history as a rule followed the Marxist theory of history, and achievements in these areas were remarkable. This period surpassed the past whether counted in number of works or depth and breadth of research topics. Besides, the record was set straight in such aspects of history as the peasant wars and some historical figures.

After the 10-year upheaval, using the pretense of correcting leftism and dogmatism, some people negated the Marxist theory of history and opposed studying history under the guidance of Marxism. At first, some proposed the orientation of "history for history's sake." Later, others suggested a return to the Qian-Jia school of study. Some even labeled the Marxist theory of class struggle as "barbarian" and publicly advocated a so-called non-Marxist approach to studying history. And so, after some members in the history field rejected Marxist guidance, the study of many events and figures in history retreated into the feudal, bourgeois perspective. For example, they blindly belittled the role of the peasant wars in history and the people's anti-aggression struggle in modern China. Even the anti-aggression struggle of the Chinese people in the Opium wars and later in the eight-year War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression were belittled. In assessing figures in modern Chinese history, Li Hongzhang, Zeng Guofan, Hu Shi, and Chen Duxiu were undeservedly praised, whereas Hong Xiuquan, Mao Zedong, and Lu Xin were wrongly belittled. In short, some historical workers were proceeding on the track of feudal historians or studying history in a way that pleased Western scholars. All this led inevitably to regression in Chinese historical science. A look at works published during those years reminds us that many questions demand our contemplation.

The positive and negative experiences in the development of the study of history in China tells us that, as a

methodology, historical materialism is superior to all others. Neither faithfulness to truth as advocated by historians in feudal society nor the so-called objectivity and fairness of bourgeois historians can reveal the law of historical development. Only when the study of history employs the methodology of historical materialism can it become a true science.

However, precisely on this fundamental question did two conspicuous biases occur in the field of history in China. The first is the substitution of historical materialism with Western historical methodologies, such as the three new theories, the three old theories, metrological history, and fuzzy science history. How much value bourgeois Western historians' methodologies have for our study of history and how to apply them are points we can consider; however, it is wrong to blindly accept them all and attempt to replace Marxist methodology with them. It must be pointed out that in recent years some people uncritically adopted so-called new methodologies to study history, which were artificial and led to wrong conclusions. Some of their viewpoints are extremely harmful. For example, some people used the so-called control theory to study Chinese history and fabricated the view that feudal Chinese society had a "super-stable structure" which enabled it to continue for more than 2,000 years, that feudalism had been so strong as to integrate with Marxism to form feudal Marxism, and that under its guidance the new democratic revolution became a peasant war. In this perspective, Mao became a peasant leader and the new Chinese regime became a peasant regime. This shows how an incorrect methodology distorts Chinese history while at the same time it leads to harmful conclusions and entirely negates Marxism and the nature of the Chinese revolution and the regime of the people's republic. This is, of course, absurd. Some historians boasted that by employing metrological methods to study the history of the Chinese peasant wars they could calculate the casualties in each large-scale peasant war, to show the destructive or negative aspects of peasant wars. This is obviously unscientific. It is meaningless to show how many people died in a peasant war without considering the law of class struggle in feudal society and the historical context of a peasant war. The second bias was to abandon or question important Marxist principles and conclusions about the science of history. Crucial to this was a rejection of historical materialism. Some historians maintained that historical materialism belonged to philosophy and should not be applied to history. This is obviously wrong. Engels had high esteem for Marx's discovery of historical materialism. He said that this discovery "changed the entire conception of world history."⁵ Lenin also noted that "the extremely chaotic and arbitrary view people had of history and politics is replaced by an extremely integrated and well-organized scientific theory."⁶ Therefore, the Marxist materialist conception of history is "the only scientific conception of history."⁷ This shows that to negate historical materialism in the study of history is the same as fundamentally negating the guidance of Marxism.

Of course, we can discuss some of the content of historical materialism and how to interpret it. For example, what is the relation between the drive behind the historical development of class society and social class struggle? How to interpret more correctly and scientifically classic Marxist writers? We can better answer these questions after discussion. Besides, the question of how to understand the inference that the history of civilized society is all a history of class struggle can also be discussed. However, discussion helps us to understand correctly, not to negate. Whether from a broad, overall perspective, or from the perspective of major historical changes, Marxist conclusions are always correct. That certain historical incidents are not simplistically summed up as class struggle is not sufficient to negate the fundamental thesis of Marxism. Rather, it helps us to understand relevant Marxist theses in a more integrated and correct manner.

II. Follow the Marxist Conception of History, Continue To Thoroughly Inquire Into the Law of Historical Development

Marx unveiled the law of historical development and made history a science. His theoretical conclusion of this law became the Marxist conception of history. If we follow it, we can channel the study of history onto the right track. The essence of the Marxist conception of history is as follows.

1. Historical process is conditioned by the level of development of productive forces. This discovery is important. As Engels pointed out, "Just as Darwin discovered the law of development in the organic sphere, Marx discovered it in human history. It is a simple fact that had always been concealed by a multitude of diverse ideologies: People have to meet their basic needs for food, drink, housing, and clothing before participating in politics, science, art, religion, and so forth. Therefore, these activities are based on direct and material production of the means of subsistence, or, for that matter, on specific stages of economic development of a people and an era. On this basis are developed state systems, legal viewpoints, and conceptions of art and even religion. They must also be explained in this light."⁸ Material production, or the development of productive forces, determines the process of history. This is the premise of historical materialism.

2. All historical phenomena have a beginning, a process, and an end. Although they tend to take a winding course, new progressive forces always triumph over old and backward ones. On this principle Marx revealed the law of historical evolution. In the Preface to *Critique of Political Economy*, he made the following summary: "In general, Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be taken as several epochs in the evolution of economic forms."⁹ What "Asiatic" refers to here is subject to debate. Many comrades understand it to mean primitive societies and "ancient" to be ancient Greek and Roman slave societies. So, Marx

actually saw the transformation of society from primitive to capitalist in four forms. Socialist society adds a fifth form to it. As to whether "Asiatic" refers to primitive society can be discussed. Nevertheless, the existence of primitive society received much attention in the works of Marx and Engels and there is no contention about it whether in anthropology or history. So, Marx and Engels addressed all five social forms. Of course, how to actually differentiate them, how they are manifest in nations, and whether there are five or six social forms can all be discussed. However, to negate the five social form perspective, some people insisted without grounds that Stalin, not Marx, initiated it. This is, of course, untrue. There was another reason for their negating the five social form perspective. They claimed that the United States had no experience as a feudal society and that, in China, parts of Sichuan and Tibet inhabited by national minorities had no experience as feudal or capitalist societies and had leaped from slave to socialist society. They asserted therefore, that historical evolution of civilized societies did not necessarily include all five social forms. This view is one-sided because it equates specificity with universalism in social development. Human history as a whole is summarized into five social forms. However, because of the uneven economic development of nations and regions and other historical factors, not all societies went through all five forms. To negate the Marxist theory of class struggle, some people suggested dumping the five social form perspective and replacing it with the formula of transformation from public to private, and then back to public ownership, to avoid the law of class struggle. This three-stage approach is evidently unscientific. A look at the "private" stage alone shows that, divorced from the class struggle between masters and slaves, landlords and peasants, capitalists and workers, and so on, the meaning of "private" can only be muddled and study of this topic can only be similarly muddled. This regression is tragic in the Chinese study of history.

3. The history of class society is the history of class struggle. From this is extrapolated: Class struggle is the direct motivator of historical development. This statement has been much criticized in recent years. In criticizing "grasping class struggle as the link" people blindly queried and negated the Marxist theory of class struggle. This is, of course, wrong. The Marxist theory of class struggle has made great contributions to the science of history. As Lenin pointed out, "Marxism is a guiding ray helping us to discover a law in this apparently chaotic state. This ray is the theory of class struggle."¹⁰ He also asserted that we "must firmly grasp the fact of social class division,... and view it as a fundamental guiding ray."¹¹ Lenin here set a high value on the function of the Marxist theory of class struggle in historical science. But in both quotes above, Lenin referred to this theory as a "guiding ray." Generally speaking, "ray" refers to basic historical veins. It does not mean that all historical incidents were merely class struggles, nor that all historical figures could be simplistically divided into classes.

Just as class struggle has a leverage effect on the historical process of class society, "ray" refers to major fundamental aspects. It is because many historical incidents and figures in class society, though not unrelated to class struggle, cannot be directly summed up as class struggle. For example, the contention between father and son or between brothers for the throne in feudal society was not necessarily a class struggle. The personality of historical figures and what they liked sometimes had an effect on shaping history, but they cannot all be summed up as class struggle. However, taken as a whole, all major changes in history, such as transformation from one social form to another, from slavery to feudalism, feudalism to capitalism, and capitalism to socialism, were realized through class struggle. Within a social form, class struggle propelled the occurrence, development, and ending. Take feudal society as an example. Without the resistance struggle by the peasants, history would at times be impeded. Without the peasant uprising at the end of the Qin dynasty, Liu Bang could not have established his Han regime. Without the peasant war at the end of the Sui dynasty, prosperity at the height of the Tang dynasty would not have been a reality. And the peasant war at the end of the Yuan dynasty directly gave rise to the Ming dynasty under the Zhu family, and in this way pushed the history of feudal society a step forward.

If we seriously apply the Marxist theory of class struggle to the study of history, chaotic historical phenomena will be clarified. Chronologically, there are clear vertical lines indicating historical evolution as primitive society—slave society—feudalism—capitalism—socialism. Horizontally, class conflict cuts across these lines. Such conflict has specific expressions. For example, conflict between masters and slaves, landlords and peasants, and the bourgeoisie and proletariat are major conflicts in all social forms. They decide the course of history. This shows that despite the complexities of several thousand years of civilization, the basic veins can be clearly revealed with the theory of class struggle. It is a regression, not an innovation, to reject and abandon the Marxist theory of class theory.

4. That the masses create history is also a basic viewpoint of historical materialism. In recent years there has been much contention on this point. Actually it is a flawless point. Classic writers have written a lot about it. Marx and Engels pointed out in the article "Sacred Family" that "historical activities are undertakings of the masses."¹² When mentioning "the people's history-creating activities," Lenin referred to the masses as "conscious historical activists."¹³ The historical function of the masses, especially material producers, is easily discernible.

The "masses" is a big concept. It is a synthesis, not a uniformity. In other words the masses have, as a rule, a consensus on the basic direction of history. Although the effect of each individual's will and wish on history may vary and even contradict each other, the bulk of individuals together are the main creators of history. Therefore,

when we say the masses create history, we mean on the one hand that in the main the masses move history forward and, on the other hand, that the masses comprise mostly working people, although some enlightened and progressive members of the exploiting class, such as those from the landlord class during the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, are included. In that case, is negative history related to the masses? I believe history, whether negative or positive, is related to the masses. We can put it this way: In the course of history the masses participate in positive and negative factors, progressive and conservative, and revolutionary and reactionary forces, even though these forces have extremely different influences on the course of history. Why then are the masses prime movers of history? I believe that most of the masses play a positive role in history. In spite of obstacles, they manage to propel history. Two reasons support my point. First, the masses produce material worth. Only with the production of material wealth can we guarantee the normal development of politics, ideology, science, culture, and so on. The base on which history develops is directly constructed by the masses. Second, the law of historical development proves that the new and progressive always triumphs over the backward and conservative. Most of the masses stand in the forefront of history and incessantly propel history along progressive paths. They are the mainstream of the masses. As Engels pointed out, "In 17th century Britain and 18th century France, the bourgeoisie did not earn even their most glorious achievements. The masses, that is, the workers and peasants, did it for them."¹⁴ Lenin also said that "Marx valued most the historical initiative of the masses." He demanded that Russian Social Democrats accurately assess "the historical initiative demonstrated by Russian workers and peasants in October and December 1905."¹⁵ Facts prove that each major change in history is possible only with the support of the masses. Of course, we are again talking about mankind as a whole and the historical processes of nations. Under special historical conditions and in a certain country or region, there were cases of the masses being involved in creating negative history.

To assert that the masses create history does not contradict the role of outstanding figures in history. Once an outstanding figure is chosen to represent the masses, he pools together and condenses the most representative of the people's views into an ideology or suggestion, which becomes his will and action. In this way, outstanding figures become leaders and their ideas, theories, will, and programs become a banner guiding the masses. These figures are in the forefront of history and move it along. They are outstanding for representing the masses. Negative figures in history represent the declining exploiting class, but are often supported by some members of the masses who are cheated, fooled, or coerced by the exploiters. They deter the progress of history. The role of individuals in history is prominent in all its phases, but we must see that any outstanding figure, including negative leading figures, had the support of this or that

section of the masses; otherwise no leader would have emerged or could have established himself even if he had emerged.

The masses are the fundamental impetus behind the course of history, but history records only the deeds of heroes or outstanding figures. Throughout the centuries these individuals, whether negative or positive, are like milestones that mark the stages of history. What they do is used to illustrate the winding course of history. Some people are bedazzled by this phenomenon and assume history is created by history. Actually, milestones are only appearances behind which lie very rich contents, such as the people's wishes, sentiments, demands, the context of class struggle, conditions of productive forces, relations among the peoples, and so forth. No outstanding figure is isolated. They are among the masses. That is to say they are members of the masses and independent of them. Therefore, there is no flaw in historical materialism's basic principle that the masses create history.

The above four laws have significantly changed methodology in the study of history and pointed a direction for it. All our historical workers must continue, adhere to, and follow them.

III. Seriously Study Marxist Works, Consciously Receive Marxist Guidance

Whether historical researchers can consciously receive Marxist guidance hinges on the degree of their faith in and familiarity with Marxism. Therefore, they must actively study and grasp Marxism, especially the application of historical materialism in studying history. As everyone knows, history is one of the oldest disciplines in China. Before the founding of New China, bourgeois methodology in historical studies was dominant. Despite the emergence of a group of Marxist historians, Marxist history was only a small drop in an ocean of feudal and bourgeois history. After the founding of New China, Jian Bozan once said that "before the reorganization of institutes of higher learning, some bourgeois professors tried in vain to forcibly occupy university history departments and bar Marxist history from them."¹⁶ To address this question, the party adopted two measures. The first was to take advantage of the reorganization of institutes of higher learning and to place learned experts and professors who were familiar with Marxism-Leninism in responsible positions in college history departments and related research units. For example, Guo Moruo held a concurrent post as director of a history research center, Fan Wenlan was director of a modern history research center, and Jian Bozan was head of the history department at Beijing University, and so on. Jian said that, after the reorganization, "Marxist and Leninist history made inroads into colleges and universities and rose to dominance. Marxist-Leninist banners began to flutter in college and university history departments across the nation."¹⁷ This measure worked at the organizational level. It was not an easy thing for history researchers to "plant a Marxist-Leninist banner" in their thinking. To

do so, they would have to seriously study Marxist works. Therefore, the second measure adopted was to launch a campaign among intellectuals to study Marxist works. An overwhelming majority of history experts and scholars did so passionately. This campaign was linked to the ideological transformation of intellectuals. The attitude toward Marxism was an important yardstick to measure the change in stance of intellectuals. This led to another tendency. Some people appeared to be too passionate in reciting lines from Marxist works and adorned their works with them. They thought in so doing they had grasped Marxism, when in truth they did not quite understand what it was all about.

Because of this problem, a discourse on the relation between "history" and "discussion" took place and lasted many years. The crux of the discourse was how to apply Marxism to analysis of and research on history so as to integrate Marxism and historical data. However, to achieve this goal was no easy task. The key was to seriously study Marxism. Fan Wenlan commented in the article "Several Questions on History Research" that "we should study the essence, not the appearance, of Marxism." He was referring to truly understanding Marxism and integrating the universal truth and concrete questions in Marxism. "Appearance" referred to ignoring Chinese practice and "taking lines from Marxist works as panaceas and limiting oneself to certain abstract formulas and using them without taking into consideration the time, place, and conditions."¹⁸ At the same time, Lu Zhenyu and Jian Bozan in articles like "How to Study History" and "Several Questions on Current Teaching of History," respectively raised some good points on how to study Marxist works and how to apply the Marxist stance, viewpoint, and methodology to history research. Through this study-Marxism campaign, a Marxist science of history was basically established and a generation of quality Marxist researchers was nurtured in the science of history. At present, most experts and scholars who know Marxist works well were baptized in that campaign.

Because of these scholars, historical science has developed rapidly since the founding of New China. However, in recent years, some researchers blindly negated the guiding role of Marxism. Most of them did not pay attention to Marxist works. They talked glibly about the so-called development of Marxism or willfully negated Marxist principles on historical science, Chinese history, traditional culture, and even Marxist theory on history. These people should seriously study Marxist works and understand Marxist theories on historical science.

Marxism is open and developmental. It is a science that enriches and substantiates itself by absorbing rational thinking which has made human progress a possibility. The cream of Western bourgeois methodologies in historical studies can be absorbed, but only after selection and digestion. We believe that, as long as we seriously study Marxist works and integrate them with historical reality and do not blindly borrow or negate, we can

definitely better carry out the principle of studying history under Marxist guidance and make historical science boom.

Footnotes

1. Foreword to *Cangshu* comprehensive table of contents, Chapter "Shiji Liezhuan."
2. *Yinbinshi wenji*, Zhonghua Shuju edition, p. 2.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Karl Marx, Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 21, p. 38.
5. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 40.
6. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 443
7. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p. 10.
8. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 19, pp. 374-375.
9. *Ibid.*, Volume 13, p. 9.
10. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 587.
11. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume, p. 47.
12. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 104.
13. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Second edition, Volume 1, p. 146.
14. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 18, p. 325.
15. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Second edition, Volume 1, p. 688.
16. Jian Bozan: *Discourse on Issues in History*, People's Publishing House, 1962 edition, p. 32.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 66.
18. Fan Wenlan: *Selected Essays on History*, p. 208.

Dissecting a Major Question of Philosophical Theory—My Views on the Theory of 'Transcendence'

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[Text] In the tide of reflection on the nature of Marxist philosophy in the last few years, the so-called theory of "transcendence" has appeared. It holds that the antagonism between materialism and idealism can be transcended and that Marxist philosophy is a "transcending" philosophy, which transcends the antithesis between materialism and idealism. The major reasons they put

forward are: 1) The question of the relationship between thinking and being is not something that is impossible to transcend. 2) The relationship between materialism and idealism is not a relationship between truth and falseness. 3) Marx's view on practice has a "transcending nature."¹ It is very clear the theory of "transcendence" involves the major theoretical question of how we should understand the history of philosophy and, in particular, how we should understand the nature of Marxist philosophy. Thus, we need to conduct a thorough dissection of this question.

1. Philosophy Cannot Transcend the Question of the Relationship Between Thinking and Being

The antithesis between materialism and idealism is based on which aspect they consider to have primacy in the relationship between thinking and being. That is, they give different answers to the question of whether thinking or being is of primary importance. If one says that the antithesis between materialism and idealism can be transcended, then naturally one must say that the question of the relationship between thinking and being can be transcended. Put another way, if philosophy cannot transcend the question of the relationship between thinking and being, that shows that the antithesis between materialism and idealism cannot be transcended.

Engels pointed out that the relationship between thinking and being is "the basic question of all philosophy, especially of more recent philosophy."² Some proponents of the theory of "transcendence" hold that "Engels' summation of the basic questions of philosophy refers only to modern philosophy and it cannot continue to be applied in Marxist philosophy and contemporary philosophy."³ The idea is that Marxist philosophy and contemporary philosophy transcend the question of the relationship between thinking and being. These words are, at least, not in accord with Engels' original meaning. Engels spoke of "all philosophy." The reason he especially referred to modern philosophy was that it was only beginning in the modern age that "this question (the question of the relationship between thinking and being—explanatory note made by Wang) ...could be put forward in its whole acuteness and could achieve its full significance."⁴ Engels' stress on the modern age was in relation to ancient times. He was not saying that the question of the relationship between thinking and being is not a basic question of contemporary philosophy. On the contrary, Engels said that, from the beginning of modern times until the present, the question of the relationship between thinking and being has become a clearer and more basic question of philosophy.

Of course, the question lies not in what Engels said, but in whether what he said was correct. I believe that Engels' judgment was correct. Why is philosophy unable to transcend the question of the relationship between thinking and being?

First, the question of the relationship between thinking and being is rooted in the essence of man's cognition and all cognition involves the question of the relationship between thinking and being.

Nobody can deny that cognition must first have an object. Cognition must be cognition of something. Without an object there can be no cognition to speak of. The relationship between cognition and the object is in fact the relationship between thinking and being. Thinking and being, cognition and object, subject and object, theory and practice are all innate basic contradictions in cognitive activities. Without these innate basic contradictions, we cannot talk about cognition.

It is because the question of the relationship between thinking and being is innately included in man's cognitive activities that, following the deepening of cognition, this question has become increasingly clearly revealed, and has become a research target of cognition. In ancient and modern times, science and philosophy were often mixed together and scientific questions included philosophical questions. Thales said that all things were constituted by water. This was primarily a question that had a specific scientific nature. However, at the same time, it included a philosophical question, the exploration of the nature of the world. Newton studied the movement of celestial bodies, the movement of matter, and realized great achievements. Later, he asked himself, as matter cannot move without an external force, who gave the celestial bodies their initial motive force and set them in harmonized motion? He found the hand of God. Here, he was moving into the philosophical sphere, maintaining the existence of a supernatural force. Einstein, when explaining the rational nature of the wave-particle duality of light, said that the world of nature has always liked contradictions. Einstein believed in the objective reality of the world of nature and contradictions. These examples show that the question of the relationship between thinking and being is intrinsic in man's cognition and that, as cognition deepens and achieves higher planes, cognition will increasingly show its own contradictions.

Second, studying and resolving the question of the relationship between thinking and being is the most basic and essential task of philosophy and is the essential characteristic differentiating philosophical cognition from other types of cognition.

In fact, while all cognition includes the question of the relationship between thinking and being, not all cognition is consciously aware of this question and not all cognition must study or resolve this question. Cognition can be divided into concrete scientific cognition and philosophical cognition. Concrete scientific cognition is cognition of concretely existing things. It does not take the relationship between cognition and its object or the relationship between thinking and being as its target of study. Chemists directly study the chemical structure of and chemical changes in matter. As for whether the structure or changes in matter are objective things that

do not rely on consciousness, whether they are just perceptions and concepts of the chemist, and whether they are ingenious creations of God, the answer to such questions is at least not a mission that chemists must take on. A chemist can either consciously study and answer these questions or not.

However, a philosopher's task is different. A philosopher must study and answer the question of the relationship between thinking and being. Philosophy, as a world view, has three basic ingredients: 1) What is being? (Not concrete being, but general being). 2) What is the general situation of being? 3) Can being be known? Of these three ingredients, the first and the third directly constitute two aspects of the basic question of philosophy. The second, although not directly involving study of the relationship between thinking and being, certainly cannot be separated from the question of the relationship between thinking and being. It must answer the questions, what is it that moves or does not move? Are the laws of motion objective or subjective? These questions are the questions of the relationship between thinking and being. From this we can see that, regardless of from which angle philosophy is viewed, one cannot avoid the question of the relationship between thinking and being. The study of the question of the relationship between thinking and being forms the special nature of philosophical cognition.

Third, actually there is no philosophy that transcends the question of the relationship between thinking and being.

The theory of "transcendence" which holds that one can transcend the question of the relationship between thinking and being and transcend the antithesis between materialism and idealism is, in our country, an idea which has only recently been put forward. However, in the West, it is an old tune. This argument is stressed particularly in contemporary bourgeois philosophy. Lenin once pointed out that one of the characteristics distinguishing contemporary idealists from classical idealists is that, unlike the latter, the contemporary idealists do not openly and frankly state their philosophical line. Rather, they disguise themselves as "neutrals" and as those who "transcend." Some schools of contemporary bourgeois philosophy, such as the positivists, the pragmatists, the proponents of empiriocriticism, the analytical philosophers, and so on, have this characteristic. They consider the question of the relationship between thinking and being to be "metaphysics" and reject it, and on this basis declare that they have "transcended" the antithesis between materialism and idealism. However, regardless of whether some philosophers advertise that they have "transcended" the question of the relationship between thinking and being, they actually cannot transcend this question. They are like a person trying to lift himself up off the ground by pulling his own hair upwards, never achieving the desired effect.

Philosophies can, in accordance with their attitude to the question of the relationship between thinking and being, be divided into three types: "The first type is those

philosophies which clearly affirm the primacy of the material and the secondary nature of the spiritual, or vice versa. These are the various open, obvious materialist philosophies and idealist philosophies. These philosophies have never thought of transcending the question of the relationship between thinking and being or transcending the antagonism between the basic schools of philosophy. Rather, they are always trying to strengthen themselves and fight against the opposite side. The second includes those philosophies, such as Descartes' dualism, that advocate that two independent entities exist. These philosophies vacillate between materialism and idealism, and their ideas are not thorough. They neither resolve the question of whether thinking or being is primary, nor are they able to truly transcend this question. Dualism certainly had such a tendency. When Descartes said that the supreme entity of God existed above the two independent entities of the spiritual and the material, he was actually resolving, in the manner of idealism, the question of the relationship between thinking and being. The third type is those philosophies that declare that the question of the relationship between thinking and being cannot be resolved or that it has no significance, and thus philosophy should not study this question. Hume's theory of the impossibility of knowledge and the various contemporary philosophies that "reject metaphysics" belong to this type. Does this type of philosophy transcend the question of the relationship between thinking and being? Certainly not. When they resolve specific philosophical questions they are actually manifesting their attitude on the question of whether thinking or being is primary. For example, although Hume was unwilling to say whether experience was produced by material things or spiritual things, he in fact took experience to be the only truly reliable source of understanding which could not be further investigated. This was actually an idealist resolution of the question of the relationship between thinking and being. Further, the positivist principle of "experiential affirmation" and the pragmatist proposition that "if it is useful, it is truth," both involve idealist resolution of the relationship between thinking and being. To sum up, any world view that exists, other than that of concrete science, cannot transcend the question of the relationship between thinking and being. As to the question of whether thinking or being is primary, there can only be two diametrically opposed views—either the materialist answer or the idealist answer. A compromising, harmonious, wavering, "transcendent" answer only indicates that people who give such answers are not thorough in their thought. It does not show that they have truly transcended the antithesis between materialism and idealism.

2. The Antithesis Between the Materialist Viewpoint and the Idealist Viewpoint Has the Significance of the Antithesis Between Truth and Falseness

The proponents of "transcendence" hold that the relationship between materialism and idealism is not a relationship between truth and falseness. They hold that each aspect has its own strong and weak points and that,

by studying both, and allowing each to permeate the other so that the strong points of one make up for the weak points of the other, "the antithesis between materialism and idealism will gradually be eliminated."⁵ What is meant here is very clear: If materialism does not represent truth, why must we uphold materialism? If idealism is not false, why must we oppose idealism?

This sort of theory can truly confuse people and especially people who lack a correct understanding of materialism and idealism. Young students are often heard to say that they do not understand the repeatedly stressed idea that we must adhere to materialism and oppose idealism. They know that Marxist philosophy was developed through the study of idealism and that it has constantly held that we should study intelligent idealism. But they cannot understand, if idealism has no truth in it, why we need to study idealism. Actually, they are not clear about what Marxism means when it refers to studying idealism. We must understand that Marxism has never and will never need to study idealism for its idealism.

To become clear on this point, we need to analyze the different ingredients of the two terms "materialism" and "idealism" and the relationship between their different natures which derive from their different contents.

The two terms "materialism" and "idealism" can be used to indicate specific philosophical forms. For example, because he advocated the primacy of the spirit and the secondary nature of the material, Hegel's philosophy was called idealist philosophy. On the other hand, as Feuerbach advocated the primacy of the material and the secondary nature of the spiritual, his philosophy was called materialist philosophy. Here, materialism and idealism not only indicate these two basic threads of philosophy, but also refer to these two specific philosophical forms. Although the question of whether thinking or being is primary is the highest question of philosophy, it is not the only one. Philosophy also needs to study many questions other than this. These include: Is the world developing, and how is it developing? Can the world be known? How can people obtain a correct understanding? What are the laws of cognitive development? Is historical development determined by laws that are independent of man's will? And so on. Although the resolution of such questions cannot be separated from the question of whether thinking or being is primary, the questions do have a certain independent nature. We cannot say that the resolution of the question of whether thinking or being is primary will completely obviate the need to resolve all other philosophical questions. A specific philosophical form that is correct for determining whether thinking or being is primary will not necessarily be correct in all other questions. Another specific philosophical form may be wrong for using to resolve the question of the primacy of thinking or being, but not necessarily wrong for use in other philosophical questions. In this way, a specific materialist philosophical form will have both strong points and weak points.

In the same way, idealism as a specific idealist philosophy will also have strong and weak points.

The actual situation is just like this. Feuerbach's philosophy was a materialist philosophy. This sort of philosophy holds that being is primary and that thought comes from being. On this basic point, Feuerbach was correct. However, this materialism also had many shortcomings. In *Theses on Feuerbach*, Marx pointed out that, in this sort of materialism, "the chief defect is that the thing, reality, perception, is conceived only in the form of the object or of contemplation, but not as human perceptual activity, practice, not subjectively."⁶ Engels, in *On Feuerbach*, pointed out that this materialism had three major drawbacks: It was mechanistic, it was metaphysical and, in its historical viewpoint, it was idealistic.⁷ Lenin called metaphysical materialism "foolish materialism."⁸

Some idealist philosophies can be said to be not entirely erroneous. Hegel's philosophy was an idealist philosophy. He held that thinking was the main part, the subject, while existence constituted the predicate and indirect object. This is erroneous. However, Hegel's philosophy also had its "rational core" of revolutionary dialectics, and the rational elements of his views on knowability, on practice, on truth, and on history. Lenin called this sort of idealism "intelligent idealism" and said that "intelligent idealism is closer than foolish materialism to intelligent materialism."⁹ The intelligent idealist philosophy benefited the establishment of Marxist philosophy. Marx and Engels were not embarrassed about studying such intelligent idealist philosophy. Quite the contrary, for when some philistine Germans had written off Hegel as a dead dog, Marx especially declared, "I openly avow myself the pupil of that mighty thinker."¹⁰ Engels, in his later years, also noted, "I still harbor strong feelings of respect and sadness for that great old man."¹¹ This shows that Marxist philosophy is certainly not a factional theory and that it has never rejected the study of this type of intelligent idealist philosophy. It was like this in the past, it is like this now, and it should also be like this in the future. From this we can see that, where materialism and idealism are used to indicate specific philosophies, the relationship between them is not a complete and simple corresponding relationship between truth and falseness. In fact, we can say that it is not the case that all the concrete philosophical forms which fall under the materialist category are completely true or that the others are completely false.

As far as their original meanings are concerned, the two terms "materialism" and "idealism" indicate two overall views of the world. Engels said that materialism (and idealism) are "general world outlooks resting upon a definite conception of the relation between matter and mind."¹² "Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature... comprised the camp of idealism. The others who regarded nature as primary belonged to the various schools of materialism." "These two expressions of idealism and materialism originally signified nothing else

but this."¹³ Plekhanov said, "All those philosophers in the eyes of whom the prime factor is matter belong to the camp of the materialists and all those who consider such a factor to be the spirit are idealists. That is all that can be said about materialism in general, about 'materialism in the general philosophical sense.'"¹⁴

As two basically different views on the question of the nature of the world, the relationship between materialism and idealism has, without doubt, the significance of the antithesis between truth and falseness. The materialist viewpoint is truth and the idealist viewpoint is falseness. This has already been proved and continues to be proved by the development of philosophy and science. The reason we said that Thales' view was a materialist view was not because of his specific conclusion that water was the origin of all things, but because within this view was included the "general materialist" viewpoint. This is because he took matter, rather than consciousness, to be primary and to be essential. In this respect, Thales was correct and represented truth. The development of science and philosophy has overturned the specific idea that water is the origin of all things, but has not overturned, and in fact has verified, Thales' materialist viewpoint. The specific views and specific forms of materialism can change, but the general materialist viewpoint does not change. In the same way, the reason he said Hegel's viewpoint was an idealist viewpoint was not because he said that the world is developing, but rather because he said that the development of the world is a manifestation of the development of the spirit and that the material world is nothing more than the externalization of the spirit. On this point, Hegel's view was completely erroneous and without any truth.

Thus, we cannot say that the two basic viewpoints on the question of the nature of the world, which are constituted by materialism and idealism, all have strong points and weak points. In the above sense, we do not need to study anything from the idealist viewpoint. Thus, we should firmly adhere to materialism in a clear-cut and perfectly assured way and must, without even the slightest compromise, oppose idealism. We believe that upholding materialism is upholding truth and opposing idealism is opposing falseness.

When the theory of transcendence says that the antithesis between materialism and idealism can be transcended, what is meant by "materialism" and by "idealism"? Do they refer to specific materialist philosophy and idealist philosophies? Of course not. The relationship between specific materialist philosophy (such as Feuerbach's philosophy) and specific idealist philosophy (such as Hegel's philosophy) is not entirely a relationship between truth and falseness, and both of these could be transcended. The establishment of Marxist philosophy was a transcending of Hegel's and Feuerbach's philosophies. Every time a new form of materialism is achieved, it is a transcendence of the original form. This is not a new or strange idea, but the transcendence spoken of by the theory of "transcendence" does not refer to this sort of transcendence. They want to transcend the general

materialist viewpoint and general idealist viewpoint and they want to transcend the basic antithesis between materialism and idealism. This is the major difference of opinion between ourselves and the people who advocate the theory of "transcendence." We believe that the antithesis between the materialist viewpoint and the idealist viewpoint cannot be transcended, just as the general antithesis between truth and falseness cannot be transcended.

3. What Sort of Transcendence Has Marx's Views on Practice Achieved in the Field of Philosophy?

Of the founders of Marxism and the inheritors of the Marxist cause, the proponents of the theory of "transcendence" particularly "stress" Marx. In their view, it was Marx who realized the transcendence of materialism and idealism and thereby established a transcending philosophy, while Engels, Lenin, and others diverged from the transcending ideas of Marx and greatly stressed so-called materialism. Of Marx's philosophical theory, the proponents of the theory of "transcendence" also especially "stress" Marx's views on practice. They say that Marx's views on practice have a "transcending nature" and that this enabled Marx to achieve transcendence of the antithesis between materialism and idealism on the philosophical level, and to claim that the secret and the essence of Marxist revolutionary change lies in this.

Indeed, we should stress Marx because he was the main creator of Marxist philosophy.

Indeed, we should stress Marx's views on practice because it has key, basic significance in Marxist philosophy. The establishment of a scientific view on practice certainly was a key in the birth of Marxist philosophy.

Indeed, Marx's views on practice induced revolutionary change on the philosophical level and achieved various types of transcendence on the philosophical level. It became a modern scientific form of philosophy and became the proletarian, scientific world view and methodology.

The problem, however, lies in the question of what constitutes Marx's view on practice and what essential transcendence Marx's view on practice achieve on the philosophical level?

There is even today much debate on Marx's view on practice. Not only are there many differences of opinion on Marx's view on practice per se, but many of the debates on the philosophical level have in fact resulted from different understandings of Marx's view on practice. It can be said that understanding Marx's view on practice has essential and guiding significance in understanding the whole of Marxist philosophy.

I believe that Marx's view on practice has manifold contents, but that of these there are two basic points forming its essence. The first is his understanding of the nature of practice and the second is his understanding of the relationship between practice and consciousness.

What is meant by the nature of practice is the general nature of practice. That is, whether practice is: 1) Subjective, spiritual activity; 2) Objective, material activity; 3) A unity of spiritual activity and material activity. In philosophical circles, all three understandings of the nature of practice exist. The first understanding is an obvious idealistic understanding. In our country, very few people openly endorse this viewpoint. The third understanding is the most prevalent and it is most in accord with people's common sense. However, it is this third understanding that provides the various theoretical bases for the proponents of the theory of "transcendence." This is despite the fact that the vast majority of comrades who hold this view have not reached "transcending" conclusions. The second understanding is also held by only a few persons at present.

In my opinion, it is the second understanding that is in harmony with Marx's thought. Marx advocated "understanding man's activities (here referring to sensory activities, or practice—opinion of Wang) as objective activities." (Stress added by Marx)¹⁵ In the Marxist classics, practice is always a concept opposite to consciousness, cognition, thought, and theory, and its basic function is as a material base for explaining the realization of conceptual things.

Practice is an objective activity and a material activity. Most people would not disagree with this. However, they add that practice is not a "pure" objective activity and not a "pure" material activity. What is meant by not pure is that practice has both material factors and spiritual factors. It should be pointed out that in materialist philosophy, and especially in Marxist philosophy, the objective is a concept opposite to the subjective, while the material is a concept opposite to consciousness. They are, in themselves, abstractions of thought and whether they are pure or impure is not a question. Within the scope of explaining differences between philosophical schools and within the scope of "epistemology", the antithesis between the subjective and the objective and between the spiritual and the material has absolute significance. Thus, when we say that practice is an "objective activity," we are saying that practice does not include subjective elements. When we say that practice is "material practice" we are saying that practice does not include spiritual factors. This is not to say that practice can be divorced from conceptual activities. Indeed, no. Practice is carried out under the guidance of concepts. However, on the philosophical level, we must separate the two unified activities and set them apart from each other. Only thus are we able to examine the relationship of unity between them. Social existence (that is, in fact, practice) cannot be separated from social consciousness. How can we say that social existence does not include social consciousness?

Proceeding from an understanding of the objective and material natures of practice, Marx scientifically set down the relationship between practice and consciousness. Marx and Engels held that their philosophical line was

"understanding conceptual things from material practice" and that one could not lump together that which was used for explaining and that which was being explained.¹⁶ Practice is the material basis for the realization of consciousness and, as far as consciousness is concerned, practice is primary. Practice determines consciousness. This determining role is concretely manifested as: 1) Practice is the target and source of consciousness. 2) Practice is the basic motive force for developing consciousness. 3) Practice is the standard for determining the reality and truth of consciousness. 4) Practice is the final goal and point of return for activities of consciousness.

These are the basic components of Marx's view on practice.

The establishment of a scientific view on practice meant that, on the philosophical level, Marx achieved two types of transcendence:

1. He truly transcended idealism. Marx's scientific view on practice was a sublation of the German classical idealists' view on practice, and in terms of the view on practice, he transcended idealism. The establishment of a scientific view on practice meant that it became possible to achieve a materialist view on history, thus ending the long period of rule by the idealist view of history. This was also a transcendence of idealism.

2. He truly transcended old materialism. This is what Lenin referred to as "pushing materialism in a forward direction." The transcendence of old materialism was mainly manifested in: a) A Marxist philosophy grounded on a base of a scientific view on practice overcame the passive, direct-perception nature of old materialism and raised it to a materialism of practice, or dialectical materialism. b) It overcame the incomplete and nonthoroughgoing nature of old materialism and implemented materialism in the social history sphere, establishing a complete, thoroughgoing, unified materialism, which made it a "piece of steel."

It is extremely clear that these two types of transcendence achieved by Marx's view on practice on the philosophical level in no way transcended the antithesis between materialism and idealism. Quite the reverse. These two types of transcendence showed that Marxist philosophy is materialist, that it is scientific materialism and that it is basically antagonistic to all forms of idealism. From the time Marx and Engels became Marxist, they always called themselves materialists. "The entirety of Marx's philosophical expositions were centered on demonstrating the basic antithesis between these two lines." (referring to the two lines of materialism and idealism—citer)¹⁷ "Marx and Engels were partisans in philosophy from start to finish."¹⁸

How then do some proponents of "transcendence" obtain from Marx's view on practice the conclusion that Marxist philosophy is a philosophy that "transcends" materialism and idealism?

First, they set down different stipulations on the antithesis between materialism and idealism than did Engels, Plekhanov, and other materialists. They say that the antithesis between materialism and idealism is the antithesis between "the abstract existential viewpoint that proceeds from a nature which is divorced from man" and "the abstract view of consciousness that proceeds from man who is divorced from nature." They also call this the antithesis between the "abstract natural viewpoint" and the "abstract humanist viewpoint."

Continuing, they have a different understanding of practice than did Marx. They say that Marx believed that "in the activities of practice, there are manifestations of both the inherent role of nature and the dynamic, creative role of man and his spirit." (This wording is hazy. In other places, this is expressed more clearly: "Subjectivity... is an indispensable element of the activities of practice." and "The activities of practice... are oriented at unifying objectivity with subjectivity and unifying the object with the subject.")¹⁹

Finally, they infer and conclude, "The view on practice transcends both the abstract natural viewpoint and the abstract humanist viewpoint. It is a concrete unity of the two in a rational form. Given this, we can logically draw the conclusion that Marxist philosophy can no longer be contained within the model of antithesis between the traditional materialist and idealist factions. That is, it can be understood neither from the idealist viewpoint, nor from the materialist viewpoint. The secret of the emergence of Marxist philosophy and the essence of its change lies precisely in its transcendence of the antithesis between materialist and idealist theories."²⁰

Here, between the inferred two preconditions and the conclusion, there is certainly a natural, logical relationship. The falseness of the conclusion is not due to any error in reasoning, but in the fact that the two preconditions used in the reasoning are both false. As long as one upholds either of these conditions, then quite logically and naturally, one can obtain the conclusion of "transcendence."

If one says that the antithesis between materialism and idealism is the antithesis between the abstract natural viewpoint and the abstract humanist viewpoint, then Marx's philosophy was neither materialist nor idealist, because he did not agree with either of these two antithetical viewpoints. Such a summary of the essence of the antithesis between materialism and idealism will inevitably place Marxist philosophy outside the antithesis between materialism and idealism, and make it a "transcendent" philosophy.

If we say that practice is the unity between subjective elements and objective elements, and a unity of the spiritual and the material, the Marxist view on practice is neither materialist nor idealist. This is because it is only when one proceeds from objective or material things in explaining subjective, spiritual things, or vice versa, that one has a distinction between materialism

and idealism. Describing practice from a unity of the subjective and the objective destroys the distinction between materialism and idealism and at most can be considered to be just a superficial dualism.

The theory of "transcendence" appeared with the attitude of wanting to scientifically understand the nature of Marxist philosophy anew and thereby promote the development of our country's philosophy. However, from the above analysis, it is not difficult to see that the proponents of "transcendence" are not only unable to scientifically understand the nature of Marxist philosophy, but have actually seriously distorted the nature of Marxist philosophy. Facts have proven that neither in the past or in the present has there been a philosopher or a philosophical system that has truly achieved a transcendence of the basic question of philosophy. It can also be asserted that there will never be such a philosopher or philosophy. I believe that the theory of "transcendence" may have serious effects, resulting in the elimination of the party character of Marxist philosophy, the abandonment of the flag of materialism, and the giving up of the criticism of and struggle against the various idealist tides at home and abroad. Objectively, this conceals an attack by idealism and the theory of unknowability on materialism, and especially on Marxist philosophy. This will finally lead to the loss of Marxist philosophy's leading theoretical position in our country and lead to a flood of idealism and the theory of unknowability. The end result will be that our country's socialist cause will lose the guidance of its scientific world view and methodology. In the last few years, in the fields of philosophy, history, and literature and art, some people have encouraged egoism, and the idea of "the supremacy of the subject," have negated historical determinism and propagated the theory of free choice. I am afraid that I cannot say that this is unrelated or unconnected to the "theory of transcendence." Thus, we must certainly not treat it lightly.

Footnotes

1. Gao Qinghai [7559 3237 3189]: "Further Ideas on the Transcending Nature of the View on Practice" in ZHEXUE DONGTAI [TRENDS IN PHILOSOPHY] 1989, No. 1; "Gao Qinghai Says That We Should Reassess the Antithesis Between Materialism and Idealism" in WEN HUI BAO, 7 October 1988; ZHEXUE DONGTAI reporter: "Sidelights of the National Conference on the History of Marxist Philosophy," ZHEXUE DONGTAI 1989, No. 3.
2. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 219.
3. ZHEXUE DONGTAI reporter: "Sidelights of the National Conference on the History of Marxist Philosophy," ZHEXUE DONGTAI 1989, No. 3.
4. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 220.
5. See footnote 1.
6. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 16.
7. *Ibid.*, Volume 4, p. 224-25.
8. Lenin: *Philosophical Notebooks*, p. 305.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 218.
11. *Ibid.*, Volume 4, p. 359.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
14. Plekhanov: *The Development of the Monist View of History*, pp. 3-4.
15. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 43.
16. *Ibid.*, Volume 1, p. 43.
17. Lenin: *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, p. 338.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
19. Gao Qinghai: *Philosophy and the Self-Awareness of the Subject*, pp. 235, 238.
20. Gao Qinghai: "Further on the Transcendent Nature of the View on Practice, in ZHEXUE DONGTAI 1989, No. 1.

Reunderstanding Interrelations Between Systems Science and Dialectics

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[Article by Sun Xianyuan (1327 7359 0337)]

[Text] In recent years, there have been several debates on the relations between systems science and dialectics. These debates have stemmed mainly from differences of academic views. If we soberly examine the debates on this issue, it will not be difficult to discover the tendency to replace dialectics with systems science. Hence, reunderstanding the interrelations between systems science and dialectics is essential to upholding the Marxist philosophy and opposing the trend and influence of bourgeois liberalization.

What Way of Thinking Has Systems Science Changed

In their exploration of the relations between systems science and dialectics, some people are of the view that the invention and development of systems science has changed the present-day way of thinking. This view sounds convincing on first hearing, but it is actually fraught with problems. What exactly does the "present-day way of thinking" mean? Does it refer to the dialectical way of thinking or the metaphysical way of thinking? If we say that systems science has changed the dialectical way of thinking, it means that dialectics is the subject that the present-day way of thinking seeks to change, and using systems science to negate and replace dialectics becomes the inevitable and logical conclusion of this reasoning. If we say that systems science has

changed the metaphysical way of thinking, then it is not a change that has occurred just recently. The birth of Marxist philosophy has brought about a change in the metaphysical way of thinking in the history of philosophy. This shows that in whichever sense, the idea that systems science has changed the present-day way of thinking is undesirable. We must discuss this issue anew in order to eliminate certain unnecessary misunderstandings, clarify certain ideological confusions, and prevent the oversimplistic practice of replacing dialectics with systems science.

What way of thinking has systems science changed then? We will understand what it is by looking at the analyses made by the founder of systems science and other leading scientists.

According to Bertalanffy, the founder of systems science, "the systems approach essentially addresses the limitations of the analytical method in scientific applications."¹ The actual object that this analytical method studies is made up of parts that may be grouped together. It may be disintegrated into chains of causation to facilitate the search for "atomic" units in various fields of science. This approach, which is also called the atomic theory, is created by modern natural science. According to Bertalanffy, there are two conditions for the application of this approach: The first condition is that interactions between "parts" are either nonexistent or so weak that they can be ignored in particular research tasks. The second condition is that the relational expression used in describing the behavior of the parts is a linear one, so that one can see the overall process by putting together various parts. This shows that as far as Bertalanffy was concerned, systems science provided a present-day scientific way of thinking, and what systems science changed was the modern scientific way of thinking, that is, the analytical method or atomism.

Laszlo, noted U.S. expert on systems science, made a comparative study of systems theory and atomism and concluded that the replacement of atomism by systems theory represented a change in the way of thinking. He said, "We witness today another shift in ways of thinking: The shift toward rigorous but holistic theories. This means thinking in terms of facts and events in the context of wholes, forming integrated sets with their own properties and relationships. Looking at the world in terms of such sets of integrated relations constitutes the systems view. It is the present and next choice over atomism, mechanism, and uncoordinated specialization."² According to Laszlo, in the history of Western science, early scientific thinking was holistic but speculative, and made no use of the analytical method; the modern scientific temper reacted by being empirical but atomistic, using the analytical method. The evolution from ancient scientific thinking to atomistic thinking represented a shift in ways of thinking. Atomism and mechanism mentioned here refer to the analytical method created by modern science. "Complex sets of events could be understood by this science only when broken down to their elementary interactions."³

This shows that Laszlo and Bertalanffy were in complete agreement in their understanding of changes in ways of thinking.

Bei-fu-li-qi [6296 1715 6849 1142], Australian professor of animal pathology, is a popular writer on scientific thinking and scientific methods who is well known to Chinese readers. He held that scientific methods which had proven highly effective during the past four decades all concentrated on the study of isolated factors, while complex phenomena and substances were divided into their component parts, the nature of which was subsequently examined. This process was described as the reductionist method. However, as demonstrated by scientific practice, this method cannot show the nature of complex matters; characteristics found in the whole are not present in individual parts; the integrated body is more than the sum of its parts. Bei-fu-li-qi said, "The traditional science of dynamics ignores the 'things' imperceptibly added as a result of this kind of organization. Hence, scientific thinking needs a fundamental reorientation to help us understand the basic substance of systematic and organized wholes as well as meaningful compounds. This has led to the emergence of a new science. This new science has a far-reaching theoretical significance and practical application value. This is called 'general system theory,' 'systems science' or, more commonly, 'systems theory.'"⁴ It can thus be seen that the replacement of the reductionist method of traditional science by the systems method was the basic content of this shift in ways of thinking.

The situation is clear. First, the birth of systems science represented a change in the methods of natural science. Second, in terms of ways of thinking, it was the traditional scientific way of thinking that was replaced. Atomism, mechanism, reductionism, and the like may differ in name and may have slight differences in substance, but they have something in common in their methodology, namely analysis. Holism, mechanism, systems theory, and the like may differ in name, but in terms of methodology, they are all products of analysis and synthesis; they are at once analytical and synthetic, with more being derived from synthesis than from analysis. This shows that the replacement of traditional scientific ways of thinking by ways of thinking based on systems science represents the development of scientific thinking from the elementary to the advanced form. Laszlo said, "The systems view is the emerging contemporary view of organized complexity, one step beyond the Newtonian view of organized simplicity."⁵ Hence, what systems science has accomplished are changes in ways of thinking in the realm of natural science, not in the realm of philosophy. It replaces the analytical method of modern natural science with the systems method of present-day natural science, and incorporates the analytical method in the form of sublation.

The Return of Present-day Natural Science to Dialectical Thinking

Systems science is a major discipline of science that covers general system theory, control theory, information theory, operational research, game theory, theory of dissipative structure, synergetics, mutationism, hyper-cycle theory, and so on. It is a natural science, not material dialectics. Bertalanffy said, "In this sense, systems theory is primarily a branch of mathematics. It provides a comparatively new and highly ingenious technology, has a close bearing on computer science, and is determined mainly by the need to solve a new type of problem that has cropped up."⁶ As something concerned with the search for complexity, systems science puts forward a series of extremely broad concepts which far exceed the scope of technical issues and technical needs, and is widely applied in research on physics, chemistry, biology, behavioral science, and social science. The significance of ways of thinking, which contain certain ideas of dialectics, is thus indicated all the more clearly in its own scientific content.

The inclusion of dialectical ideas in concrete science should be a universal phenomenon because the general is found in the specific and the specific includes the general. Hence, as a specific form, concrete science includes dialectical ideas of a general form. This is not something unique to systems science. The difference is, the dialectical ideas contained in different disciplines of concrete science vary in depth and breadth. The reason systems science can highlight changes in ways of thinking is that the dialectical ideas it contains are richer and more direct than in other concrete sciences.

Since the beginning of this century, the developing natural sciences have continuously changed the scientific vistas of the world and the way of thinking of natural scientists. The theory of relativity gave new meaning to interrelations between matter, movement, time, and space, and changed the view of classical physics that matter, movement, time, and space are separate. Quantum mechanics reveals the peculiar law governing the movement of matter in the microscopic world, and negates the rigid idea of determinism in classical physics. This has led to a series of changes in scientific concepts. Today, after the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics, systems science has also brought about a series of changes in scientific concepts, changes that are unmatched by the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics in both depth and breadth. The Soviet philosopher Ru-ke-fu [5423 0668 1133] gave the following evaluation to the role played by present-day natural sciences in changing scientific concepts and ways of thinking: "If we say that the 19th century offered us non-Aristotelian logic and non-Euclidian geometry, and that the first half of the 20th century offered us quantum mechanics and the theory of relativity, we will say that the latter half of the 20th century has offered us general system theory and theoretical cybernetics. All these have thoroughly changed the scientific vistas of the world as well as the way of thinking of contemporary scientists."⁷

It is quite evident that Ru-ke-fu did not simply have systems science in mind, that he thought other sciences were also responsible for changes in ways of thinking. Moreover, in restricting these changes in the ways of thinking of natural scientists, he drew a clear line of demarcation between concrete sciences and dialectics. Strictly speaking, the role played by the theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, systems science, and other concrete sciences reflects the historical process of the return of metaphysical thinking in natural science to dialectical thinking. It shows that it is through their own scientific research and practice that natural scientists have gradually mastered dialectical ways of thinking.

In the history of man's thought, dialectics has gone through three forms of development. The first form was ancient philosophy, or naive dialectics of ancient times. It existed and developed in ancient Greek philosophy and ancient Chinese philosophy. This form of dialectics was the result of direct perception through the senses, and failed to dissect and analyze the natural process in detail. The second form of dialectics was classical German philosophy of modern times, or idealist dialectics. Hegel provided us with a broad program of dialectics in his philosophical writings. However, it was dialectics on the development of concepts, not dialectics on the development of the objective world. In Hegel's writings, dialectics was mystified and stood on its head. His was idealist dialectics. This form of dialectics should be set right. The third form of dialectics was Marxist dialectics, or material dialectics. Marx reformed Hegel's philosophy, stripped its idealist overcoat, took over its reasonable dialectical substance, and organically combined this with materialism, thereby establishing material dialectics, or dialectical materialism. It represented a profound revolution in ways of thinking, both for Hegel's idealist dialectics and for metaphysics that opposed dialectics.

The problem is, although the establishment of material dialectics had effected changes in the realm of philosophy and in certain realms of social science, metaphysical ways of thinking had not stepped down from the stage of history in the realm of research on natural science. The accumulation of concrete facts and knowledge on empirical natural science has to be studied comprehensively on the basis of analysis. This urgently requires dialectical thinking, a way of thinking that makes use of dialectics. However, due to the empiricist tendency of natural scientists and the force of habit of analytical methods, dialectics has not been consciously applied in natural science for a long time. Hence, in the realm of natural science, it is necessary to continue the kind of changes in ways of thinking that have already taken place in the realms of philosophy and social science. Engels pointed out long ago, "And there is no other way out, no possibility of achieving clarity, than by a return, in one form or another, from metaphysical to dialectical thinking."⁸ There are two ways to return to dialectics: The first way is through studying dialectical philosophy in history, an approach which can greatly

shorten the process by which the dialectical law governing the development of the natural world is shown. The second way is through the exploration of natural science itself. The dialectical ideas reflected in the scientific contents of present-day natural science, particularly the theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, and systems science, indicate that present-day natural science has taken the latter approach.

It should be pointed out that we cannot over-simplistically denounce atomism, mechanism, the analytical approach, and so on, as metaphysics, just as we cannot over-simplistically equate the systems approach with dialectics. In given realms, these ways of thinking are entirely necessary, and they are worthy of being called scientific methods. However, at a time when the development of natural science requires us to change these traditional approaches, we would be turning to metaphysics if we exclude dialectical methods from natural science and still resort to atomism, mechanism, reductionism, and the analytical approach, which are no longer suitable. This would bring back the domination of metaphysical ways of thinking over natural science. Under the circumstances, the need to return to dialectics will become all the more pressing. The birth and development of the theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, and systems science all show the return of present-day natural science to dialectical ways of thinking. Systems science attaches importance to comprehensive thinking as advocated by holism. This highlights the methodological significance of its scientific content and is of universal importance. The fact that systems science is widely applied in research on various disciplines of science means that the system approach to thinking can extend its influence in research on natural science and various disciplines of social science. The recent return to dialectics surpasses all previous occasions in terms of scale. The profundity of changes in ways of thinking also knows no parallel.

In natural science, the return of metaphysical thinking to dialectical thinking does not require theories of natural science to sum up dialectical laws of philosophy. It requires us only to know the natural world as it really is and reveal the objective laws governing the movement of the objects under study. Since all things in the natural world occurred dialectically, only by applying the dialectical way of thinking will we be able to truthfully reflect dialectical movements in the natural world. Systems science makes use of comprehensive thinking as advocated by holism to reflect the general characteristics of the universal links and eternal development of the natural world. This dialectical thinking is included in the concrete scientific content of systems science. The categories and laws we touched upon in discussing its philosophical significance are generalizations of the concrete content of systems science. Seen in the general nature of the content of thinking, this is already one order higher. Take the systems view and the systems law for instance, although they run through the content of systems science, they are no longer the concrete contents of systems

science. The fact that these have become more universally applicable and are moving closer toward dialectical thinking give people the wrong impression, causing them to regard these generalizations as the concrete content of systems science. This accounts for the emergence of over-simplistic practices of replacing dialectics with systems science. It is wrong to deny that systems science has enriched and developed dialectics. Likewise, it is also wrong to equate dialectics with systems science. If we use systems science to replace dialectics, or use it as an excuse to negate the correctness of dialectics and announce that dialectics is outmoded, we will be doing even greater harm.

Dialectics Is the Most Important Way of Thinking That Present-Day Natural Science Has To Offer

The development of present-day natural science not only does not deny the correctness of dialectics, it even promotes the transformation of natural science from metaphysical to dialectical thinking. Practice has fully proven the following prediction made by Engels: "It is precisely dialectics that constitutes the most important form of thinking for present-day natural science, for it alone offers the analogue for, and thereby the method of explaining, the evolutionary processes occurring in nature, interconnections in general, and transitions from one field of investigation to another."⁹ In other words, as far as present-day natural science is concerned, the most important way of thinking is dialectics. It is different from systems science or other disciplines of natural science.

The relations between the principle of dialectics and the theories of natural science are relations between the general and the specific. Given that general principles are found in specific principles, and specific principles include general principles, specific theories of natural science also include general contents of dialectics. This is what makes dialectics the most important way of thinking that present-day natural science has to offer, and this is also one of the factors that makes dialectics capable of guiding research on natural science.

The fundamental argument adopted by those who negated the role played by Marxist philosophy in guiding research on natural science is that they denied the fact that dialectics is the most important way of thinking that present-day natural science has to offer. Fang Lizhi said, "We often hear people say that 'philosophy is what guides scientific research.' If what this means is that philosophy can provide an effective means and a useful tool for scientific research, I quite agree. If it means that the relationship between philosophy and scientific research is one between that which guides and that which is guided, then I disagree. If it goes a step further and maintains that there is a 'supreme' philosophical principle that guides scientific research, I would say it is a mistake."¹⁰ Here, the "supreme philosophical principle" refers to Marxist philosophy. One of the methods adopted by Fang Lizhi to negate the guiding role of Marxist philosophy in research on natural science was to

lower the status of Marxist philosophy as "a useful tool" just like any other branch of natural science, maintaining that "philosophy, like mathematics and formal logic, is just a tool that is useful in the study of physics."¹¹ In so doing, he negated the significance of Marxist philosophy as a world outlook as well as the universality of its general laws.

Our purpose in knowing the world is to change it. The significance of all scientific theories lies in the fact that they can be used as tools for knowing and changing the world, and Marxist philosophy is no exception. However, as a world outlook and methodology, the role played by Marxist philosophy is different from that played by tools. Mathematics, once regarded by Engels as "dialectical aids and expressions,"¹² has dialectical substance in it. Nonetheless, it remains a tool for the description of the spatial form and the quantitative relations of matter, and does not concern itself with the concrete content of its objects of study. Compliance with the rules and regulations of formal logic is the condition for all correct thinking, and for this reason formal logic is the tool of all scientific research. However, formal logic only studies the deterministic nature of thinking but does not concern itself with the flexibility of thinking. It still uses an immutable category. Engels said that "dialectics divested of mysticism becomes an absolute necessity for natural science, which has forsaken the field where rigid categories sufficed, which represent, as it were, the lower mathematics of logic, its everyday weapons."¹³ Marxist philosophy is about interrelations and development. It not only reveals the dialectical laws governing the development of the objective world, it also reveals the dialectical laws governing the development of man's thinking. The specific disciplines of natural science reflect the special laws governing the dialectical development of the objective world, while dialectical philosophy reflects the general laws governing the dialectical development of the objective world. It is precisely for this reason that dialectics is a way of thinking that provides present-day natural science with a mobile category with which to grasp the dialectical movement of the objective world. It is absurd to equate this guiding role with the role played by natural science as tools.

How does dialectics, as the highest form of thinking in the study of natural science, play its guiding role? Here, a variable intermediary stage, namely scientific concepts, is needed. In order to apply dialectics in their spheres of research, scholars of natural science must turn the basic principles and methods of dialectics into scientific concepts. The law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa in dialectics tells us that quantitative changes will lead to qualitative changes at some stage. If we are to apply this principle, this method, in the study of the nature of chemical elements, we should have it changed into the mutual transformation of the nature of elements and atomic weights. Mendeleev made this conversion when he discovered the periodic function of chemical elements. He held that chemical substances have two properties, namely

quality, or the atomic weights of elements, and property, or the chemical nature of elements. When studying the relations between the two, he came up with the idea that one should try to find out the function between the nature of elements and their atomic weights. This was a new concept of chemical elements: The relations of mutual transformation between the nature of chemical elements and their atomic weights. By means of induction and analogy, Mendeleev arranged elements of similar nature according to their approximate atomic weights. In this way, he arrived at the conclusion that the nature of elements changes periodically according to their atomic weights. Engels said: "By means of the—unconscious—application of Hegel's law of the transformation of quantity into quality, Mendeleev achieved a scientific feat."¹⁴

Philosophy is a world outlook. It is the general standpoint and view of the world. For this reason, philosophical concepts represent concepts of the highest order. Scientific concepts are something quite different. They are no more than general standpoints and views of a particular aspect or process of the movement of matter in the natural world and are of a lower order than philosophical concepts. Compared with the concrete nature of natural science, scientific concepts have more abstract substance and do not bring to light concrete laws governing the movement of matter in the natural world. However, they do contain ideas of a regular nature and are more generalized than theories of natural science. The study of the theory of relativity, which proceeded from changes in the concept of time and space, used primarily the concept of simultaneous relativity to negate the concept of simultaneous absolutism. This concept of relative simultaneity embodied philosophical concepts and was the concrete form of the principle of relativity in philosophy. However, it was not the same as philosophical concepts. As a concept of natural science, it summed up the content of natural science. This concept of simultaneous relativity was still not equivalent to the theory of relativity in the narrow sense. It was the starting point of studies on the theory of relativity in the narrow sense, and it was precisely under the guidance of this kind of theory that the theory of relativity in the narrow sense was established. Quantum mechanics originated from Planck's quantum theory, which used the idea of discontinuity to negate the simple concept of continuity. It was under the guidance of this concept that the theoretical system of quantum mechanics was gradually established.

Systems science comprises a range of rather generalized scientific concepts, the core of which is the systems view. Various disciplines of systems science are developed through the specific description of different systems by means of formalist and mathematical methods on the basis of the systems view.

It can thus be seen that scientific concepts are concrete forms of philosophical concepts. They contain the general content of natural science, and are of a higher order than the principles and laws of natural science in their

generality. They serve as the medium and bridge between philosophy and natural science. Of course, having scientific concepts does not mean having established the theoretical system of natural science. It is still necessary to put these scientific concepts in more concrete forms, to depict the actual process of the objects of study in concrete terms, and to apply formalist means, mathematical models, and other methods to discover the laws governing the concretization of scientific concepts and formulate scientific concepts, principles, and laws. It is only then that a theoretical system can be established. In using dialectics to guide the study of natural science, we must consciously turn philosophical concepts into scientific concepts of the specific spheres under study, and make further use of mathematics, logic, and other related theories and methods of natural science to identify the concrete scientific laws that embody this kind of scientific concept. Hence, we cannot equate the guiding role of philosophy with the role of mathematics, logic, or other tools of science. The guiding role of dialectics is simply different from that of other tools of science in that it is mainly through scientific concepts that it provides present-day ways of thinking.

It should be pointed out that the birth of large numbers of scientific concepts in the history of science resulted mainly from the search of the natural process itself rather than from the direct guidance of philosophy. Of course, we have the direct guidance of dialectics, and we do not deny the role of this kind of search. It can shorten the search process, speed the formation of scientific concepts, and promote scientific discovery, thereby enriching material dialectics and further verifying its truth. This is precisely where the significance of the conscious application of dialectics in guiding scientific research lies.

Footnotes

1. *General System Theory*, Social Sciences Publishing House, 1987, p. 15.
2. *The Systems View of the World*, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1985, pp. 14-15.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
4. *The Seeds of Discovery*, Science Publishing House, 1987, p. 93.
5. *The Systems View of the World*, p. 13.
6. *General System Theory*, p. 4.
7. See ZHEXUE YICONG, No. 1, 1979, p. 49.
8. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 467.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 466.
10. *Philosophy Is the Tool of Physics*, Hunan Science and Technology Publishing House, 1988, p. 144.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
12. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 20, p. 357.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 546.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 407.

China's Aeronautics and Astronautics Industry Took Off From Scratch

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[Article by Leading CPC Group of the Ministry of Aeronautics and Astronautics Industry]

[Text] Encouraging Achievements

Soon after the gun salute was fired at the ceremony proclaiming the founding of the state, the CPC Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, made an important decision: In order to safeguard the security and independence of the state, safeguard the economic construction of New China, safeguard the international status of China, and break through the blockade imposed by the imperialist countries, we must strengthen China's national defense and create China's own aeronautics and astronautics industry while devoting major efforts to developing the national economy. In 1951, although it was in a very difficult situation, the state founded the aeronautics industry. In 1956, it was further decided to set up a missile research institute. Ever since the establishment of the aeronautics and astronautics industry in China, the CPC Central Committee as well as veteran revolutionaries such as Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai always paid great attention to and supported its undertakings. After the world's first manmade satellite was launched in October 1957, Chairman Mao fully visualized the profound influences of astronautics technology on man. He made a call that "we must also develop manmade satellites." In 1960, when China's national economy was very poor, Chairman Mao continued to make clear proposals that "we must be determined to develop advanced technology. We must not take a relaxed attitude toward it or give up development." The CPC Central Committee also made a corresponding decision. The CPC Central Military Commission further made clear the principle of "giving priority to missiles while developing two types of ballistic weapons." Therefore, during that period of three difficult years, the astronautics industry, instead of shrinking, basically completed the construction of China's research, production, and launching bases. In 1962, the state founded a central special committee headed by Premier Zhou Enlai. Its functions were to direct advanced technology relating to defense, including astronautics technology, so that China's astronautics technology made great progress in the mid-1960's. Although the industry was seriously interfered with and hampered during the 10 years of disturbance, the central leaders, including Premier Zhou, worked against all difficulties, adopted different measures to protect the astronautics research contingent, so that they completed some key tasks and

made many great achievements. In the early days after the founding of the aeronautics industry, Premier Zhou clearly put forward that China was a country in which a population of 500-600 million was living in a territory measuring 9.6 million square kilometers. To buy planes from other countries, to maintain them, or to copy them did not work. We had to develop in the direction of manufacturing as well as designing our own planes on the basis of our experience of maintenance. For this reason, the state took the aeronautics industry as a key construction area. Of the 156 key construction projects undertaken by the state with Soviet aid, 13 were related to the aeronautics industry.

Under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and veteran revolutionaries such as Mao Zedong, everyone in China united to work hard and struggle hard along with the aeronautics and astronautics scientific and technological workers, cadres, and staff. During the 30-odd years, China's aeronautics and astronautics industry took off from scratch, and, to a certain extent, gradually expanded itself and developed relatively complete industrial systems for research, production, and training. They thus made great contributions to China's defense construction and economic construction. In July 1954, soon after the establishment of China's aeronautics industry, China made its first domestically produced piston plane (Chu Jiao 5). In 1956, it also succeeded in developing a jet fighter (Jian 5), so that China became one of the few countries capable of manufacturing jet planes. Then, China's self-designed "Chu Jiao 6" flew to the sky in 1958, and its domestically made supersonic jet fighter (Jian 6) successfully soared to the sky in 1959. Therefore, China's aeronautics industry developed from the maintenance of planes to the manufacture and design; and from the manufacture of piston planes to jet planes within a period of seven to eight years. Such a growth rate was unprecedented. Over the past 36 years, China's aeronautics industry has supplied to the PLA [People's Liberation Army] more than 13,000 (55 types) planes and aviation engines, including fighters, bombers, attack planes, helicopters, air freighters, reconnaissance planes, trainer aircraft, special planes, unmanned planes, target drones, and so on. China's astronautics industry has developed various types of tactical missiles, strategic missiles, and carrier rockets, with which 26 manmade satellites were successfully launched. At present, China's astronautics industry has been ranked at top of the world in some important aspects. First is the technology of satellite recovery. The United States, the Soviet Union, and China are the only countries in the world that have mastered such technology. Eleven times China has succeeded in every aspect of the recovery of satellites. Second is the technology of launching multiple satellites with a single rocket. China has become the fourth country, after the Soviet Union, the United States, and the European space bureaus, to launch multiple satellites with a single rocket. Third is the technology of satellite survey control. China has built more than a dozen satellite ground stations and a survey control network, which is comprised of fleets of distant-water tracking

and surveying vessels, for survey control, telecommunications, and so on. The precision level of the survey has attained the world's advanced level. Fourth is the technology of launching rockets with high-energy low-temperature fuel. This symbolizes that China has reached a new stage in its development of modern rockets. China has mastered this technology after the United States and France. Fifth is the technology of launching geostationary satellites. China is one of the world's five countries that can launch this kind of satellite.

The reason that China's aeronautics and astronautics industry has made such remarkable achievements is because, under the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, the superiority of the socialist system was given full play, and materialistic dialectics was used to guide China's aeronautics and astronautics industry.

To Give Full Play to the Superiority of Socialism and To Tackle Key Problems With Concerted Efforts

Aeronautics and astronautics technology is a very sophisticated large-scale system engineering. Let us take satellite telecommunications as an example. It includes five systems, namely the satellite, the carrier rocket, the launching site, the ground network for survey control, and the ground telecommunications network. Involving different kinds of science, disciplines, techniques, and technology, it requires strictly organized and coordinated action, unified command, as well as coordination and cooperation from all areas. To put it in a nutshell, it requires a high degree of planning. In particular, in a relatively backward socialist country such as China, to develop high-tech industries such as aeronautics and astronautics means that we have to face difficulties such as shortages of qualified personnel and capital. Furthermore, it is necessary to give play to the special superiority of socialism and concentrate our efforts across the country to jointly tackle key problems. Only thus can we promptly put an end to the backward situation in China's aeronautics and astronautics technologies, and can we build a new great wall for our socialist motherland. Once the aeronautics industry was established, the state built corresponding factories for the production of planes, engines, airborne equipment, weapons, ground facilities, raw materials, and component parts. Meanwhile, it made arrangements for the support of basic industries to the aeronautics industry, such as metallurgy, chemical industry, electronics, machine building, building materials, textile industry, and so forth. This thus gradually formed an industrial network to provide aviation services. In the 1970's, in view of the fact that there was an "incomplete range of accessories" for research and the manufacture of new planes, the state further put forward the necessity to form "five complete systems," namely to form a design system, a trial-production system, a manufacturing system, a finalization system, and a delivery system. This guaranteed a smooth and effective process of research and manufacture of new planes. In order to safeguard the supply of

various high-temperature materials, highly pure fuel, high-precision alloys, rare metals, semiconducting materials, compound materials, rare gases, and so on, various departments and research units of the State Council, factories, and colleges made concerted efforts to tackle the key problems. Between 1960 and 1966, they conducted experiments on and produced some 4,000 new materials. Different sections of the electronics, and machine-building industries adopted a strict system for production and management. Through the adoption of holding the local units responsible for the work, they satisfied the needs for the production of astronautics products, and achieved within a short time the goal of building carrier rockets with homemade materials.

In the course of carrying out the large-scale socialist cooperation, different departments took the overall situation into consideration, and provided manpower, materials, and technology whenever necessary. This thus gave full play to our political and economic advantages, which are a distinctive feature of socialist countries. For instance, the "Chang Zheng 2" rocket was made up of more than 4,000 cooperative projects involving 27 ministries and commissions, as well as over 1,300 industrial and mining enterprises, research institutes, colleges, and universities in 25 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions. When the satellite was being launched, tens of thousands of personnel from 20-odd provinces and cities, as well as PLA units, were working at such posts as launching, survey control, telecommunications, transport, hydrology, meteorology, security, logistics, and so on. Under the unified command of the commission for national defense sciences and industries, the work of launching was carried out without a hitch, the rocket was safely launched, and the timing was exact. This was just because of the large-scale cooperation and selfless contribution under socialism. This was the result of giving full play to the superiority of the socialist economic system.

To Resolutely Build Our Standing Point on the Basis of Self-Reliance

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "We stand for self-reliance. We hope that there will be foreign aid, but we cannot rely on this aid. We must depend on our own efforts." Our history over the past 30-odd years indicates that an important reason that China made remarkable achievements in its aeronautics and astronautics undertakings was because, in the course of aeronautics and astronautics development, it always upheld the principle of maintaining independence, keeping initiative in our own hands, and being self-reliant. Meanwhile, it actively studied and imported advanced technology from overseas. In those days shortly after the establishment of the astronautics industry, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai approved the construction principles proposed by Comrade Nie Rongzhen, which was "to strive for foreign aid and apply scientific achievements made by capitalist countries on the basis of self-reliance." In the 1950's, the Soviet Union gave us some technical assistance in the development of liquid propellant rockets. However,

China took it right from the start as a means of boosting our strength of self-reliance. At the stages of making imitations and studying, we mastered the skills of designing and manufacturing. Therefore, when this assistance was abruptly terminated, we quickly developed from the stage of making imitations to that of making our own designs. Starting in the 1960's, all of China's strategic missiles, tactical missiles, carrier rockets, and manmade satellites were developed by its own efforts under the circumstances in which China was under a tight blockade imposed by foreign countries. This has fully indicated the intelligence and great strength of the Chinese people. Hence, we can see that the blockade and sanctions imposed by foreign countries may give us some difficulty in the short run, but they will stimulate us to make progress in the long run.

As China's aeronautics industry got assistance from the Soviet Union at its fledgling stage, China could avoid taking a winding course. Therefore, its starting point for the construction of the aeronautics industry was improved. However, from start to finish, the aeronautics industry placed its foundation on the basis of self-reliance. Beginning at the stage of making imitations, the industry spent efforts on assimilation and absorption of scientific research results, and on building its own material and technology base. Therefore, when the Soviet Union abruptly withdrew its experts, the industry was able to overcome difficulties and designed China's own new planes such as Qian 5 and Jian 8, and was able to break through the blockade imposed by foreign countries.

Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee formulated the principle of opening up to the outside world. There were also significant changes in the international environment. This thus provided us conditions to actively develop international cooperation and interchange; encourage an inflow of technology, capital, and qualified personnel; develop export trade; and boost our capability for self-reliance. However, we must keep a sober mind and realize that we can only obtain certain parts of a technology from overseas. No country will give us technology that is really advanced, particularly sophisticated technologies such as aeronautics and astronautics. The fact that Western countries imposed sanctions on China following the outbreak of the counterrevolutionary riots in Beijing indicates that we must take the road of "actively importing technology on the basis of self-reliance" when we develop our aeronautics and astronautics technologies. Only when we have built our technological strength can we avoid being controlled by others; and only thus will we be able to assimilate and absorb overseas advanced technology, and cooperate and interchange with foreign countries on an equal basis.

To Achieve the Strategic Transfer of Military Production to Civilian Production and the Strategic Transfer of Self-Utilization to Utilization With Other Units

Soon after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping analyzed

in a scientific way the international situation. He then made a penetrating conclusion that there would be no war for a long time in the future. On the basis of this conclusion, the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission further defined the principle of defense construction. They formulated the principle for the defense industry to "practice military-civil combination, be functional in peacetime and wartime, give priority to military products, and maintain the army through civil production." Right from the start, the aeronautics and astronautics industry transferred its development from an exclusive military production to the military-civil combined production. They also transferred their principal direction of development from self-utilization to one that stresses self-utilization and utilization with other units. Over the years, the aeronautics and astronautics industry gave play to its advantages in terms of technology, equipment, and manpower, while safeguarding the tasks of conducting research on and manufacturing various weapons and equipment. They devoted major effort to readjusting the composition of products, and developed the production of goods for daily use and for export, thereby making new contributions to construction of the national economy, and finding a new way for their continuous development. First, there was a good start in the manufacture of aeronautics and astronautics products for civil use. Satellites launched by China for conducting scientific experiments have collected a large quantity of data on physics in space, thereby providing firsthand information for basic scientific research activities in space. Pictures obtained by China's satellite for general territorial investigation have been used in general territorial investigation, geological investigation, oil exploration, mapping, environmental monitoring, and so on. China's telecommunication satellites enable the broadcast of television and radio, as well as the scope of telecommunication, to cover the whole country. China has also developed a good trend in the research and manufacture of planes for civilian use. China's medium-range passenger plane, Yun 7, is flying on 50-odd to 70-odd air lines. The industry has delivered 13 MD-82 planes, which are jointly manufactured with McDonnell Douglas of the United States, to civil aviation departments for serving on main lines. Helicopters and light aircraft were also developed. Modified aeronautics engines for use as gas turbines have been widely used by various industrial departments. Second, they have provided a large quantity of equipment for transformation of the national economy. By using their technology, equipment, and manpower, the aeronautics and astronautics industry has developed more than 600 sets of special and complete equipment for technological transformation in 28 trades, including light industry, textiles, and the chemical industry, so that these trades have made technological advances. Third, they have greatly developed the production of goods for people's daily use, such as vehicles, motorcycles, refrigerators, air conditioners, and so on. The output value of all these goods accounts for about 70 percent of the gross value of industrial output of these industries.

Recently, the aeronautics and astronautics industry began transferring their strategic development from self-utilization to utilization with other units. The aeronautics and astronautics industry is a high-tech industry. We must not simply emphasize the domestic market in order to maintain the strength of the industry and to improve our technological and management skills. Rather, we must spare no efforts in developing an international market and export trade. At present, China now puts astronautics technological services on the international market. It has been announced that the Chang Zheng 2, Chang Zheng 3, and Chang Zheng 4 carrier rockets, which were developed by China, are now available on the international market. Between 1987 and 1988, China utilized a recoverable satellite to provide piggyback service to France and FRG. Moreover, China's newly developed Chang Zheng 2E and Chang Zheng 3 carrier rockets will launch telecommunications satellites for Australia and the Asia Satellite Company. The export of aeronautics products was also rapidly developed. China now has exported to more than 10 countries several hundred planes of different models. Its other exports include engines, airborne equipment, parachutes, and so on. China also started exporting aeronautics components and spare parts, as well as electric mechanical products, and is manufacturing aircraft and engine components and spare parts for more than 10 foreign plants and companies. The transfer from self-utilization to utilization with other units has not only yielded better economic results and compensated for insufficient investment and foreign exchange, but has also improved the technological skill as well as the adaptability of China's aeronautics and astronautics industry.

To Form a Contingent of Scientific and Technological Personnel in the Aeronautics and Astronautics Undertaking Who Devote Themselves to the Motherland

The key to catching up with others in terms of aeronautics and astronautics technology in an economically underdeveloped country such as China rests with the factor that there must be a contingent of workers who have the spirit of devotion, a healthy ideology, good technological skill, and a firm work style. The aeronautics and astronautics industry always attaches great importance to the building of the two civilizations, and regards the improvement of political quality and technological skill of the workers as an important task. On the one hand, it educated them on patriotic, collectivist, socialist, and communist thinking; and on the other, it undertook technological and professional training. Eventually, it cultivated a contingent of workers with better technological skills and good work style. Some of them were well-known experts with a high level of patriotism. In the early days after the founding of the state, they returned to China despite all difficulties, devoted themselves, and eventually made contributions to New China's construction of the aeronautics and astronautics industry. There were also a large number of cadres, workers, and scientific and technological personnel cultivated by New China. They were all proud of making

contributions to the aeronautics and astronautics industry. They rushed to undertake the work in areas where conditions were the hardest without giving any thought about their personal fame, status, or rewards. They silently did their work days after day. Facts have shown that they were the core of the aeronautics and astronautics industry, as well as the significant component of the cream of China's entire contingent of scientific and technological personnel. The aeronautics and astronautics industrial departments paid close attention to implementation of the party's policies toward intellectuals. Politically, they trusted them. They also trusted their work and showed care about their livelihood. It was just because of this that a number of experts emerged on the front of the aeronautics and astronautics industry. They included a large number of veterans as well as middle-aged and young experts, such as Comrade Qian Xueshen, who made remarkable contributions to China's development of rockets; Ren Xinmin, Liang Shoupan, Tu Shou'e, and Huang Weilu of the astronautics front; and Xu Shunshou, Lu Xiaopang, Gu Songfeng, and so forth on the aeronautics front. They were the pioneers of China's aeronautics and astronautics industry. Our experience over the past 30-odd years showed that mental power is invincible. Once we have such enormous power, we shall be able to create earthshaking miracles despite poor material conditions. We cherished this spirit in the past. From now on, we must carry forward this spirit in our scientific research and economic construction. Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently said, "Our goal is to attain the ideological and moral level of the 1950's." We should take the realization of this goal as our next important task, so as to safeguard continuous progress in our undertaking.

Though China has made remarkable achievements in the aeronautics and astronautics industry, there is still a wide gap between our present level and the world's advanced level. Beginning in the 1980's, the developed countries successively worked out their plans for high-tech development. Some developing countries also included the development of aeronautics and astronautics technology as their national strategy. Thus, there was a tendency of rapid development in high technology. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "If China had not had any atomic bomb or hydrogen bomb or had not launched any satellite in the 1960's, it would be excluded from the three big countries and would not have its present status. These events reflect the capability of a nation, and are symbols of prosperity in a nation and a country." "Be it yesterday, today, or tomorrow, China must contend for a position in the realm of high technology." According to China's circumstances and the requirements for the four modernizations, the major tasks of the aeronautics and astronautics industry in the 1990's will be to develop a new generation of aeronautic and astronautic equipment. Our tasks in 1990 are very arduous. Several new plane models will be flown, and several manmade satellites will be launched. This is unprecedented in China's history. We must continue to give play to the superiority

of the socialist system and implement the guiding principle of "practicing military-civil combination on the basis of aeronautics and astronautics industry, give priority to military products, produce goods for civilian use, and gear to the needs of the world market." We must develop in the direction of "transferring military production to civilian production, and self-utilization to utilization with other units, on the basis of self-reliance while actively importing technology," and carry forward the spirit of "self-reliance, arduous struggle, enthusiastic cooperation, and selfless devotion," so as to promote a continuous, steady, and coordinated development in the aeronautics and astronautics industry.

Explorations on Technological Transformation of Old Enterprises

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[Article by Anshan Iron and Steel Corporation]

[Text] During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, under circumstances where there was a serious shortage of funds for technological transformation and production tasks were very heavy, Anshan made great headway in its technological transformation. Within a period of four years up to the end of 1989, Anshan made investments totaling 4.1 billion yuan (including investment in mines), and completed 30 key engineering projects. Therefore, this 70-odd-year-old enterprise made a major breakthrough in production techniques, greatly enhanced standards of technology and equipment, improved product quality, increased variety, and strengthened its capability for reproduction expansion. Also, the production of its main products reached a new level. It respectively completed four years and two years ahead of schedule its assigned quotas of iron and steel for the Seventh 5-Year Plan, which were 7 million tons and 8 million tons. Such improved capability equals a newly built plant with an annual capacity of 1 million tons. Thus, this has realized a steady growth in profits and tax delivery.

We have realized from our experience that in order to do well in the technological transformation of an old enterprise, we must proceed from the actual conditions of such enterprise, and be bold in carrying out reforms and explorations, so as to find new ways for technological transformation. In view of the specific conditions in Anshan Iron and Steel, we adopted the following measures in our work of technological transformation.

1. We should locate more financial sources, reform the internal investment system, and make the best use of our tools.

In the course of technological transformation in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, Anshan Iron and Steel encountered a prominent contradiction, that is, a serious shortage of funds. In particular, following adoption of the contracted responsibility system, under the circumstances where fund-raising activities and self-accumulation were the major financial sources for an enterprise to carry out

technological transformation, it became very urgent that we must locate our financial sources for the transformation. For this reason, we carried out explorations in the following aspects.

First, we reformed the pattern of fund-raising and the management of funds. We raised our transformation funds through a variety of channels. We established Jingang Trust and Investment Company. The company made use of Anshan Iron and Steel's products, which were available in a complete range, in a variety of specifications, and of high quality, and which enjoyed good reputation, to greatly develop financial and material cooperation with all fraternal enterprises, institutes, units, and departments across China in accordance with the principle of "overcoming shortcomings, achieving diversification, mutual benefit, and joint development." Over the past few years, it concluded more than 80 agreements for fund-raising relating to rolled steel, and raised 1.2 billion yuan for technological transformation. Not only did this provide a steady source of rolled steel to relevant units, but also opened new financial sources for Anshan Iron and Steel. For example, it restored its blast furnace No. 5 and completed the construction of joint casting machine No. 3 with the sum of 110 million yuan received from Liaoning Province. Moreover, we raised 209 million yuan among the workers of Anshan Iron and Steel. In early 1989, we changed the method of wage distribution from cash to "credit card," and guided the workers to spare part of their income to help the corporation ease its financial problems.

Second, we reformed the internal investment mechanism. In such reform, we assigned some personnel to be responsible for planning, pooled funds, made investment on a contract basis, raised funds for a special project, earmarked funds for the designated purpose only, allocated special funds for loan repayment, and took the risks of investment by making use of the economic results of that project. In the past, Anshan Iron and Steel's investment mechanism was an overall control of purchase and expenditure by the corporation. As the corporation was in charge of everything, including investment by the grassroots, the return on investment was out of line with the investment sum. Under this kind of investment mechanism, the grassroots were, on the one hand, under rigid control, so that their initiative was hampered; on the other hand, this was a practice of "eating from the same big pot" of the corporation in terms of investment in technology because the corporation was responsible for the performance of the grassroots. In 1988, Anshan Iron and Steel reformed its investment mechanism on the basis of undertaking all of the state's contracts, so that whoever made an investment should repay the funds and keep the returns. For example, its cold-rolling plant needed a total investment of about 300 million yuan for its two projects, namely the purchase of four joint rolling mills and the shallow-tank hydrochloric acid wash line. The corporation, on the one hand, located the funds by means of international and domestic bank loans, compensation trade,

fund-raising, issuance of shares, and so on. It earmarked the funds for designated purposes only, and used the profits yielded by such projects to repay the funds. On the other hand, it contracted out the cold-milling plant as a whole. This thus solved the problem that funds for transformation and production capital were mingled together, and safeguarded that neither production nor transformation would adversely affect the other. Furthermore, this helped an investor carry out its responsibilities, helped it overcome the disadvantage that the returns of investment were out of line with the investment sum, and strengthened the reliability of loan repayment.

Third, in reforming, we picked a breakthrough point, and spent our limited funds on the most important project relating to transformation. Facing the challenge of new technological revolution in the modern world, Anshan Iron and Steel must, in order to survive and develop, make use of the advanced technology as soon as possible. However, its production pattern, as well as its actual capability, which were developed over the decades made it impossible for us to act indiscriminately, or to throw away everything and start it all over again with new technology and new equipment. Therefore, we had to proceed from the reality of Anshan Iron and Steel, uphold the principle of coexistence of different levels of technology, and spent our limited funds on the most important production lines. We must make the best use of foreign advanced technology without blindly pursuing modernization or speed. We must import, assimilate, and transplant foreign advanced technology while developing our own. At the same time, it was inevitable that we had to keep certain technology and equipment that did not affect the overall situation or that we were temporarily unable to replace. After a transitional period of "coexistence of four generations," there gradually came an overall modernization of technology and equipment of Anshan Iron and Steel. For example, in terms of the overall processes of Anshan Iron and Steel from top to bottom, the old technology and equipment were temporarily kept in the number one smelting and rolling system, while the number two system was at the stage of replacement of the old technology and equipment by the new one. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we made major efforts to technologically transform the number three system, and to make it reach the world's advanced standards. In terms of lateral links, Anshan Iron and Steel became a technology-equipment complex in which the traditional ore dressing techniques coexisted with the technique of "heavy-magnetic-flotation" joint ore dressing; sintering hot materials coexisted with cold materials; primary rolled cogging coexisted with joint casting, computer control coexisted with manual control, liao guan [2436 4984] and liao zhong [2436 6988] coexisted with wu liao zhong [2477 2436 6988], which were new and old technology and equipment coexisting among the blast furnaces.

2. We should uphold the integration of "short-term, inexpensive, and quick" projects with core projects, speed

up the circulation of funds to increase value, and realize a healthy cycle in which short-term transformation projects support long-term ones.

In the course of technological transformation during the Seventh 5-Year Plan, Anshan Iron and Steel explored a trend of reconstruction and expansion that integrated long-term development with the short-term one, used old technology to support the new one, and simultaneously developed the old and new ones. On the one hand, it overcame the tendency to simply strive for short-term goals, firmly grasped some large-scale core projects that were favorable to its long-term development, and worked hard to put them into operation as soon as possible. We firmly grasped the work of tackling tough issues concerning the technology of mining and ore dressing, as well as the transformation of mines. We upheld the principle of applying high-quality materials and placed our focal point of transformation on the processes before the casting pig system. We have built a pellet project with an annual capacity of 2 million tons, and a new three firings [san shao 0005 3599] project with an annual capacity of 5 million tons; and are now overhauling the No. 11 blast furnace, thereby laying a solid foundation for the long-term development of Anshan Iron and Steel. Taking it as a modern smelting technology, we firmly grasped the joint casting engineering, and installed in the No. 3 smelting plant a large plate joint casting machine imported from overseas. This would further ease the tension of demand for the product, would improve the rate of products, and would create conditions for developing new processes for combining the stages of smelting, joint casting, and joint rolling. On the other, we started some "short-term, inexpensive, and quick" projects that required little investment and a short construction period that yielded quick profits. We also gave full play to the production capability of our existing equipment, sped up the circulation of funds to increase the value, and realize a healthy cycle in which short-term transformation projects support the long-term ones. In April 1988, when we overhauled the No. 2 hot sheet rolling mill, we made use of the opportunity, invested 9 million yuan in the plant, and turned it into a silicon steel plant in 18 days, so that the amount of realized profits for that year increased by 40 million yuan. It is expected that its annual output of silicon steel will reach 120,000 tons by 1990, and it will make an additional profit of 100 million yuan. The phi-100 diameter tubing unit of the seamless steel mill succeeded in raising its own funds, making its own designs, developing its own equipment, and building its own construction. It formally started construction work on 1 February 1989 and completed construction of its experimental hot rolling mill on 20 June. In other words, the construction of the project, whose annual capacity was equal to a 100,000-ton seamless steel tubing mill, was completed in less than five months. In 1989, it increased the output of seamless tubes by more than 20,000 tons, and increased the amount of realized profits by more than 30 million yuan.

Therefore, it succeeded in completing the construction, production, and recovery of investment within the same year.

3. We should uphold the practice of "using reforms to promote transformation," and adopt the "four-in-one" contracting system.

In order to safeguard the overall economic results of projects under technological transformation, and to promote the progress of projects under such transformation, in 1986 we adopted the system of contracted responsibilities with respect to design, construction, goods and materials supply, and production units. Our principal implementing measures were: We determined the construction period and contract term of a project in a scientific and rational manner before construction work was started. Then, a contract was concluded between the corporation as one party, and the engineering headquarters (including the designing, construction, supplies, and production units undertaking such a project) as the other party. In the contract were provisions governing such items as the agreed quality, safety standards, term, consideration, and methods of assessment, as well as the method and proportion of profits distribution as a result of completion prior to the expiration of the term. If, subject to the provisions of the contract, a project of technological transformation was completed on schedule, the corporation would give awards to the entity formed by the said four parties. But if a part of the project was not completed in accordance with the provisions of the contract, the interests of such an entity, which undertook such a project, would be adversely affected.

Facts have shown that the "four-in-one" system of contracted responsibilities was an effective method of technological transformation management. First, it put an end to the situation where design units, construction units, and production plants "stood like three legs of a tripod." Under the system, they were a community sharing the same economic interests, so that each of the parties undertaking the project cared not only about their part of the work, but also the progress of the project as a whole. There formed the relations of mutual support, as well as mutual coordination, among different parts of the project, thereby forming a mighty force of cooperation, and promoting the progress of the project. Listed by Anshan Iron and Steel as a core project of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, the 500,000-ton wire project imported all the second-hand equipment it needed from the Feirlisi [6313 1422 0448 2448] Mill under the U.S. Federation of Steel. The total investment in this project was 150 million yuan. As it made a "four-in-one" contract, it took only 13 months to complete the task, which would otherwise generally take a foreign plant 30 months to accomplish. Therefore, the project was put into operation five months ahead of schedule. According to international practice, the installation of those four joint rolling machines, which was just put into operation, took more than 24 months. But the installation period was shortened to nine months, and it took only two

months for trial production, because of the "four-in-one" contract. This thus boosted our installation skills to the 1980's world standards. As the project produced 20,000 tons of cold-rolled sheet in that year, it increased the realized profits by 20 million yuan and made it possible for us to recover all of the investment in this year.

Second, we changed the construction management from static balance into a dynamic balance emphasizing overall network planning. With coordination through network planning, each of the parties to the "four-in-one" contract had its own obligations and objective, so as to ensure that the overall goals of network planning were realized. Moreover, we worked out subnetwork planning on the basis of the overall one, so as to ensure that the overall network plans would be realized. When there were changes in a certain point of the overall network plans, headquarters still took the overall network planning as the goal while readjusting the subnetwork plans. For example, it was provided in a contract that computer-controlled equipment should be delivered to the site of the No. 4 cold rolling project before 15 July 1989. However, for a variety of reasons, the shipment was delayed by more than a month. In order to keep progress on schedule, the purchase department tracked the route of the shipment from the point where the equipment was loaded on board, and took prompt measures to solve any new problems whenever they occurred. Under the circumstances where the equipment was not delivered to the site on time, No. 3 Metallurgy Company, which undertook the construction work, immediately sent personnel to pick up, undergo the procedure of commodity inspection for, deliver, and install any parts of the shipment once it arrived at the port. Therefore, it succeeded in guaranteeing the progress of construction.

Third, we changed the method of delivery of projects from a simple delivery service to the delivery of a package of services. The process of delivery and tuning of capital construction projects as well as transformation projects is often the process of revealing and solving contradictions. It is the key point that determines when the operation will commence and how profits will be made. In this process, whether or not the construction unit and production plant can cooperate in a flexible manner is very important. Following implementation of the "four-in-one" system of contracted responsibilities, both the construction unit and production plant shared the same goals, and their economic interests were inter-related, thereby becoming an integrated entity. In particular, during the delivery and tuning period, the construction unit might make full use of its knowledge about the specifications of the newly installed equipment, and assist production personnel in taking delivery of such equipment, so that these personnel could master it quickly and could very soon put it into normal production. Since they shared the same interests, the construction unit was still concerned about the production situation even after the equipment was delivered. Whenever the equipment broke down, it immediately went to the

site and solved problems. As the production personnel started their work ahead of schedule and took direct part in the construction work and installation of the project, they learned and trained themselves in the process of tuning equipment. This helped them master the mechanism of equipment and improved their skill in using the equipment for production, as well as repairing and maintaining the equipment. Hence, there was a smooth process of transition from construction to production, and production capacity was quickly formed to yield economic benefits.

4. We should uphold the principle of "neither ceasing nor reducing production, but increasing output while carrying out the transformation."

The technological transformation of an old enterprise is an internal expanded reproduction. It is marked by three characteristics: First, its investment is to fully boost and accumulate its existing production capacity. Second, during the period of transformation, the new production capacity must be formed quickly, without jeopardizing existing production capacity, and it should accumulate more funds for technological transformation like a snowball. Third, it must take into consideration the production and economic capability of the enterprise as a whole. In accordance with these characteristics, and in light of the actual situation of Anshan Iron and Steel, we adopted the following key measures:

First, throughout the process of technological transformation, we upheld the principle of "neither ceasing nor reducing production," so that we succeeded in quickly forming new production capacity without undermining our original one so as to safeguard a steady growth of production and economic results. In order to accomplish this, we adopted the following practices. We made production and the process of transformation overlap each other, so that one was not affected by the other. We allocated and organized manpower, material resources, and financial resources in a scientific manner; divided them into two lines, one for production and the other for transformation, so that neither of their processes was delayed. We also systematically trained workers prior to the commencement of production, thereby ensuring smooth production of the project upon completion of transformation.

Second, we adopted the method of "transplanting," and used the imported advanced technology and equipment to transform some principal equipment, as well as their key parts, in a scientific and systematic manner, so as to quickly improve its standards and production capacity. The experience of Anshan Iron and Steel in technological transformation showed that if there was potential in certain production lines or equipment, the capacity of these production lines or equipment, as well as that of related production lines or equipment, would be enhanced when we improved the technological standards and equipment of certain key processes. Their production would attain a new equilibrium at a higher plane, so there would be quick results and more output with little

investment, and the technological transformation would yield the best economic results. For example, by using the imported AGC automatic control device, the semirolling plant accomplished the task of transformation and installed an automatic controlled finishing mill in only 24 days, which would otherwise take a foreign

plant 50 days to complete. Primary Rolling Plant No. 2 imported from the FRG an alternating-current frequency-conversion generator. During the overhaul period, it transformed part of its principal generator, so that it got rid of a "sore point" of Anshan Iron and Steel, and improved its production capacity.