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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No. 22, 16 November 1990

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Strengthen Party Building in Institutions of Higher Education, Train Successors to the Socialist Cause

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[Article by Li Tieying (2621 6993 2503)]

[Text] Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the party Central Committee has, centered on Comrade Jiang Zemin, adhered to the basic line of "one focus and two basic points" and put great efforts into strengthening party building, and ideological and political work. Thus, a new juncture has appeared on the political and ideological front and a great mood for grasping party building in a concerted way is gradually being formed at all levels of the party. We should grasp this beneficial opportunity, seriously implement the spirit of the "CPC Central Committee Circular on Strengthening Party Building" and, proceeding from the strategic position of opposing the "peaceful evolution" being engaged in by hostile forces both within and outside the country and by fostering builders of and successors to the socialist cause, sum up the experiences and lessons in party building in institutions of higher education, raise our understanding of the importance and pressing nature of strengthening party building in institutions of higher education, study the problems in a down-to-earth way, and resolve those problems which urgently require resolution.

1. Maintaining the Party's Leadership and Strengthening Party Building in Institutions of Higher Education Are the Basic Guarantee for Running Socialist Universities With Chinese Characteristics Well

Schools are places where people are trained, while education is the process by which people are trained. In a class society, education has a class nature. The establishment of socialist political and economic systems in our country determines the socialist nature of our country's education. Socialist education is essentially different from feudal education and from capitalist education, and this difference is centrally manifested in adherence to the party's leadership in education work, in adherence to the requirement that education serve modernization, in the combination of education and productive labor, and in the fostering of builders of and successors to the socialist cause, who have developed morally, intellectually, and physically. The influence of the tide of bourgeois liberalization on our country's education is prominently manifested in the negation of the class nature of education and the negation of the socialist orientation of education. The political disturbances which occurred in spring and summer last year rang the alarm bell for us. We must soberly recognize that the sort of person we are to foster and whom education is to serve, are basic questions in education. The continual development of our country's education requires adherence to reform. However, educational reform is self-perfection and self-development of our country's socialist education system.

Its goal lies in implementing, in an overall way, the party's policies on education and in raising the quality of education, so that education can better serve socialist construction. Educational reform requires adherence to leadership by the party and adherence to the socialist orientation.

Our country's socialist modernization is an unprecedentedly great and arduous undertaking which requires the unremitting efforts of people of several generations, and requires struggle by millions of new socialist people who have ideals, morals, culture and discipline. Youth are the country's future. The current university students and research students will, in a few years or a few decades hence, become the backbone forces on various fronts in our country's socialist modernization. Whether success can be achieved in our country's socialist modernization and whether the socialist banner will continue to flutter generation after generation over the great land of China will, to a certain degree, be determined by how we educate and train the young generation of today. Strengthening leadership by the party and running socialist universities well is our historical responsibility.

Over the history of our party's leadership in institutions of higher education are very many experiences which should be summed up. In the 1950's and early 1960's, our party achieved and adhered to correct leadership over institutions of higher education and fostered a large number of skilled persons suited to the demands of socialist revolution and construction. Today, these people have become backbone and core elements in many areas. During the 10 years of turmoil, institutions of higher education were "disaster areas" which resulted in the waste of a whole generation and brought to our cause of socialist education losses of a magnitude difficult to estimate.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the development and reform of our country's higher education has realized major achievements. Under the new situation of reform and opening up, the struggle between bourgeois liberalization and the four cardinal principles has become extremely acute and complex. The "peaceful evolution" activities being unleashed against our country by domestic and foreign hostile forces have not stopped even for a day. They have colluded together, linked up with forces inside and outside, and focused their attention on fighting us for our younger generation. At one time, because the major responsible comrades of the party Central Committee at that time did not adhere in a clear and firm way to the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization, it led to a flood of the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization, resulting in the student unrest at the end of 1986. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, which had Comrade Deng Xiaoping as its center, through work on many fronts the student unrest was finally quelled. However, the problem was not resolved. Later, Comrade Zhao Ziyang "diluted" leadership by the party, "transformed" ideological and political work, relaxed the building of socialist spiritual

culture, and adopted a tolerant and supportive attitude toward the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization. This resulted in these mistaken ideas spreading even more wildly. In such a situation, the political-core status of party organizations in institutions of higher education and the leading role of ideological and political work were seriously weakened, some party organizations were in a weak and dispirited state, and the political views and value concepts of some Communist Party members were seriously distorted. In the political turbulence in spring and summer last year, these problems were revealed in a very centralized way. In the face of that rigorous test, the responses by the majority of party organizations and the broad number of CPC members in institutions of higher education were good or quite good. Under very difficult circumstances, they positively and actively did a great amount of work. However, it must also be recognized that the party organizations in some institutions of higher education and especially quite a few basic-level party branches and some party members did not play their due role when the struggle was at a vital juncture. Some party members, including a very small number of leading party cadres joined in the turmoil to differing degrees and some individuals even became plotters, organizers, or backbone elements in the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion. There were also some party members who, although they did not participate actively in the turmoil, ideologically were very deeply influenced by the tide of bourgeois liberalization.

Facing the complex and turbulent international situation, a real Communist will be drawing experiences and lessons from it, and strengthening his own political stand and communist faith. A very small number of people who obstinately adhere to a bourgeois liberal stand may also, as a result, strengthen their conspiratorial activities to oppose leadership by the party and to oppose the socialist system. The fluctuations in the international situation will inevitably exert an influence on institutions of higher education, and will put forward more topics and higher demands in party building in institutions of higher education.

In summing up the experiences and lessons of the last 40 years and especially since the beginning of reform and opening up, we have come to a basic understanding that if we are to run socialist universities well, the leading position of the party in institutions of higher education must be strengthened, and its position must not be allowed to waver or be weakened. Why must we strengthen and improve leadership by the party and why must we strengthen the building of party organizations in institutions of higher education?

First, our institutions of higher education shoulder the essential task of training builders of and successors to the socialist cause. In carrying out this task, moral education must be placed in prime position in all aspects of work in these institutions. In this moral education, adherence to a firm and correct orientation must be seen as the primary issue. It is necessary to implement the principle of economic improvement and rectification and to

deepen reform so that education accords with the needs of socialist modernization. The crux in resolving this question is strengthening party building in institutions of higher education and fully correcting the very major mistake of ignoring ideological and political education. In implementing the basic line and the education policies of the party, we must fully bring into play the role of party organizations and political cores and the advanced model role of party members, and bring into play the political guiding role of teaching, and especially the role of party-member teachers in their education of students.

Second, our institutions of higher education should become firm strongholds safeguarding leadership by the party, safeguarding the socialist system, opposing bourgeois liberalization and opposing "peaceful evolution." In today's world, the question of who will win between the two political systems and the two ideological systems of socialism and capitalism has not been finally resolved. Hostile forces both within and outside the country are using the economic, scientific, and technological advantages of the international monopoly capitalist class, and, relying on the influence of decadent capitalist culture, are doing all they can in the ideological field to advocate and propagate the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization and to negate leadership by the Communist Party, the socialist system, Marxism, and the outstanding cultural traditions of the Chinese nation. They have placed their vain hopes for achieving "peaceful evolution" in China on the younger generation and are vying with us for influence over those who will succeed us. This battle will be long-lasting, acute, and complex and may even be quite intense at times. Party organizations in institutions of higher education will have to strengthen ideological, organizational, and work style construction and raise combat effectiveness, as only thus will it be possible for them to unite and spur on the broad number of teachers, students, and staff and workers to carry out to the end the struggle to uphold the four cardinal principles, oppose "peaceful evolution," and oppose bourgeois liberalization.

Third, our institutions of higher education should become strong fronts in propagating Marxism and building socialist spiritual culture. The institutions of higher education are places where intellectuals are centralized and, in the building of socialist spiritual culture, they shoulder a heavy task. Only by strengthening party building in institutions of higher education will we be able to ensure that institutions of higher education can organize theoretical contingents with fighting capacity, strengthen education in and propagation of Marxist theory, and guarantee the political orientation in reforming and researching the teaching of philosophy and the social sciences, and use Marxism to capture the ideological and cultural front. Only then will we be able to raise high the banner of Marxist criticism, bring into play the great power of Marxist theory, reveal the poisonous and befuddling nature of anti-Marxist propaganda, resist corrosion by decadent bourgeois ideology, and not allow bourgeois liberal ideas to occupy the

forums and publications of institutions of higher education. Also, only thus will we be able to seriously study the new situations and resolve the new problems which appear in real life, and make a contribution to upholding and developing Marxism.

Fourth, our institutions of higher education should become major forces in maintaining a political situation of stability and unity and in maintaining a stable social situation. Practice has proven that stability in institutions of higher education directly affects the stability of the whole society. It must be recognized that the flood of bourgeois liberalization is the major factor of instability. The broad numbers of young students are actively making progress and the main trend is good. However, under the new situation, we need to strengthen our education of them. That is, we must both show them great concern and also place strict requirements on them. Education is the greatest way to show concern for young people.

As long as our policies are correct and the methods appropriate, we will be able to ensure that young students play a more positive role in socialist modernization. Only by strengthening leadership by the party and tightly unifying the broad number of teachers and students around the party, will it be possible to powerfully resist corrosion by the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization and maintain a political situation of stability and unity.

To sum up, if we want to achieve a change in the weak situation of ideological and political education, so that it becomes a strong front supporting and safeguarding leadership by the party and the socialist system, and becomes a cradle for training the builders of and successors to the socialist cause, the basic measure is to strengthen party building in institutions of higher education and strengthen party leadership in institutions of higher education. This is a common understanding gained through summing up historical experiences and is an important political task of party organizations in institutions of higher education.

2. Uphold the Leading Position of the Party Committees of Institutions of Higher Education, Strengthen the Building of Leading Groups, and Guarantee That Leadership Powers Are in the Hands of Loyal Marxists

In his "Speech at the Meeting Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the PRC," Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "Our party is a great Marxist political party, a defending force in maintaining the long-term stability of the political situation in China, and a strong core leading the people of all nationalities in building socialism with Chinese characteristics." Party leadership of institutions of higher education includes political, ideological, and organizational leadership. This is manifested primarily in the correct line, principles, and policies formulated by the party Central Committee and manifested in decisionmaking on major issues such

as educational development and reform. It is also manifested in the strengthening of the building of leading groups in institutions of higher education and in the bringing into play of the leading role of party committees, the guaranteeing and supervisory roles of general party branches, the fortress role of party branches, and the vanguard and model roles of party members in institutions of higher education.

The central authorities' circular on strengthening party building clearly stipulates the implementation, in institutions of higher education, of the system of school-director responsibility under party committee leadership. This accords with the actual conditions in our country. In future, institutions of higher education will, in principle, implement the system of school director responsibility under the leadership of the party committee. Since 1985, school director responsibility system experiments have been conducted in some institutions of higher education. In future, such experiments can continue to be carried out in a small number of schools. Those schools which can continue the experiments will be decided through consultation between the local party committee and the responsible departments.

In implementing the system of school director responsibility under party committee leadership, the party committee is in the leading position in the school. The party committees will put the majority of their energies into studying and resolving the major problems in the work of the school, strengthen party building, and strengthen ideological and political work. They must improve work systems and work methods, and respect and support the administrative leaders in carrying out their work independently and responsibly, but must not take on the administrative duties. This is a higher requirement which the new situation has placed on party committees of institutions of higher education in their work. The school director must implement the party's educational policies in an overall way and persist in placing moral education in prime position in all work in the school, seriously implement the collective decisions of the party committee, and take overall responsibility for teaching, research, and administrative work. It must be clearly understood that doing well in ideological and political work is an unshirkable duty of the heads of socialist universities. The secretary of the party committee and the school director should center on the common goal of running their socialist university well. While each will carry out his own duties and shoulder his own responsibilities, they will support each other and closely coordinate with one another.

In correctly bringing into play the leading role of the party committee, it is necessary to adhere to the party's mass line, trust the masses, rely on the masses, come from the masses, and go back to the masses, so as to motivate the enthusiasm and creativity of all sides in the schools. The broad number of teaching staff and workers are the main forces in the work of teaching, research, and reform. They warmly love the cause of education, concern themselves with the development of their schools,

are very familiar with the situation and work in their schools, and have rich knowledge and experience. Before the party committee takes decisions on major questions, it should seriously seek and respect the opinions of these staff and workers. The school administrative affairs committee, academic affairs committee, specialized teaching and research committees, and the teaching staff and workers representative committees are effective organizational forms for bringing into play decision-making democracy, academic democracy, and implementing democratic supervision, and the party committee must fully bring the roles of these committees into play. The trade unions, CYL [Communist Youth League] and student union are bridges and links between the party and the masses. The party committee must strengthen its leadership over and concern for these groups and support them in independently carrying out their work in accordance with the law and in accordance with their own rules and regulations. Under the precondition of adherence to the four cardinal principles, they should implement the "double hundred" policy, enliven the academic atmosphere, expand the democratic channels, enliven campus life, and create a lively and vibrant political situation. The key to running socialist universities well is having a good leading group. Collecting together many years of practical experience, the leading group in an institution of higher education should be a strong leadership collective with a high Marxist theoretical level, able to firmly implement the party's line principles and policies, good at doing ideological and political work, very familiar with the pattern of work in the school, rationally structured, unified and cooperative, and tightly linked with the masses. Both the party committee secretary and the school director should make efforts to become socialist educators.

Over the last few years, the leading groups of institutions of higher education have, through readjustment and enrichment, realized major successes in implementing the policy of achieving "four changes" in the cadre ranks. In the political disturbances which occurred last year, the vast majority of leading organs in institutions of higher education withstood the test. However, because of the influence of bourgeois liberalization and mistakes in our work, there still exist some problems which cannot be overlooked in the building of leading groups. Some groups have been biased in the guiding ideology they employ in running schools. Some, facing the situation of complex political struggle, have lacked the capacity to discriminate and lacked firmness and, at the crucial time, even wavered. The members of the first-level leading groups in some schools have actively encouraged bourgeois liberal viewpoints and supported or participated in the turmoil. Also, a problem which exists quite widely among the leading groups is that their level of Marxist theory is not high.

In order to further strengthen the building of leading groups in institutions of higher education, while arranging leading groups, it will be necessary to place in prime position the task of making these groups more

revolutionary. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "In future, when we are arranging leading groups, whom should we select? We should select those persons who have seriously studied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and have passed the test of struggle. We should select those persons who are strong in party spirit, who can unite, and who refuse to be taken in by fallacies. We must select those who are hardworking and plain-living, seek truth from facts, speak honestly, act honestly, and are good people, and those who are honest and upright in their ways. We must select those who work hard, who link up with the masses, who concern themselves with the masses, who concern themselves with the hardships of the masses, who are bold, who have real experiences, and who can handle work."¹ We must do things in accordance with this demand by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. On the basis of carrying out overall examination of cadres, we must select and appoint to leading groups those who have passed the tests of political struggle, and who have both morality and ability. The selection and appointment of new members of the leading groups can be done from the same school or involve exchanges between schools. Also, some comrades who are strong politically and suited to education work can be selected from other fronts and departments to enrich the leading groups at the two levels of schools and academic departments in institutions of higher education. In consideration of the demands of current work, a small number of party secretaries and school heads who have passed the usual retirement age should, after approval, be allowed to suitably extend their length of tenure.

Second, we must truly strengthen the building of the ideological style of leading groups. If the members of leading groups do not master the basic theories of Marxism, they will not be able to run socialist universities well. It is necessary, through planned training and on-the-job study, for them to systematically read Marxist works, study practical methods, and answer questions by combining theory with practice. We should, among the leading cadres of institutions of higher education, form a marked mood for studying Marxist theory, raise the cadres' consciousness in implementing the basic line of the party, and strengthen their principled stand and creativity in work. We must pay attention to guarding against the trend whereby in our daily work we do not pay attention to major ideological and political questions.

We need, in light of actual situations in institutions of higher education, to seriously implement the spirit of the party Central Committee's decision on strengthening the party's links to the masses. Every party-member leading cadre must set an example; be honest in his duties; closely link up with the masses; frequently go down among the broad number of teachers, cadres, staff and workers and students; seriously listen to their opinions; conduct ideological and political work among them in a targeted way; show concern for their difficulties and hardships; help them to resolve their problems; and become their close friends.

We must perfect the party committee work systems, uphold the principle of collective leadership and firmly implement the system of democratic centralism. This is a systematic guarantee for strengthening the internal unity of leading groups, centralizing collective wisdom, reducing mistakes in work, and realizing democratic, scientific decisionmaking. In implementing the system of democratic centralism, we must guard against patriarchal behavior where one person has the say. However, looking from the actual situation at the present, we must at the same time guard against discussions without decision, decisions without action, irresponsibility, and lack of the necessary collective tendency.

Third, we must build a reserve cadre contingent which has both morality and abilities. In selecting and appointing reserve cadres, we must stress the examination of their political stand, political orientation, and ideological character. In particular, we must stress the examination of people's actions during major political struggles. We need to select for certain leadership responsibilities those outstanding young teachers and cadres who have made a good showing. Then we should put increased pressure on them so that they are tempered and brought to maturity through work practice. We need to create conditions under which planned, target-oriented training can be given to young reserve cadres and organize them to systematically study Marxism; the party's line, principles, and policies; and state's education laws and regulations. In accordance with the different situations, we should arrange for them to separately go to enterprises, villages, organs, and schools to carry out investigative research and occupational training.

In the middle 1950's, when Comrade Mao Zedong was summing up the disturbances that had occurred in some states, he said that the reason we were able to "remain stable regardless of the disturbances which occur," was that our party had cadres who had very wide experiences and who had undergone tests in different revolutionary periods. One of the major reasons the other countries were unstable was that they did not have such cadres. Today, as we face the acute and complex international and domestic struggles, reviewing these teachings by Comrade Mao Zedong is of very great relevance. As long as the leadership powers are in the hands of loyal Marxists, we will be able to pass the tests of any political disturbances and always remain in an invincible position.

3. Building a Backbone Contingent That Is Both Red and Expert, and Making This Into a Hard-Core Force for Running Socialist Universities Well

Many years of practice have proven that building a backbone contingent comprising mainly party members, but including activist elements among the teachers and students, plays a major role in maintaining party leadership over institutions of higher education and in maintaining a socialist orientation in education. If institutions of higher education have a powerful backbone

contingent, they will be able to overcome any difficulty and be able to quite smoothly complete the various arduous tasks. Wherever the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization crops up, this contingent will "put on a rival show" to the mistaken ideologies, use right to overcome wrong, and not allow the wrong trends to constitute the "climate."

In organizing this backbone contingent, strengthening the building of the teaching backbone contingent will have especially major significance. The teaching staff are in the front line of teaching and research. Their words and actions have an important direct guiding effect on students. Much needs to be done in correctly implementing the party's policy on intellectuals; in uniting with, relying on, and improving the broad number of teaching staff; and in strengthening the building of the teaching contingent. An important issue is optimizing the teaching contingent. We must adopt realistic measures and raise the political, ideological, and professional qualities of teaching staff in an overall way. It is necessary to firmly remove those persons who engage in bourgeois liberalization. From now on, those students who remain in their schools as teachers must be outstanding graduate students who have both morality and ability. We must control well the "import" gates. All teaching staff must be worthy of the name of teacher, teach well and educate the students, and carry out ideological and political work for the students.

At present, close to half the teaching staff in institutions of higher education are party members, while the proportion of party members among professors and assistant professors is even greater. This is one of our great advantages. Every party-member teacher and especially the party-member professors and assistant professors must recognize their political responsibilities and use their outstanding work and model activities to spur on and unify the broad number of teaching staff in doing well in their teaching and education work and in guiding students to uphold the correct political orientation. If every party-member professor and assistant professor does well in guiding one young teacher, and if every party-member teacher does well in guiding several young students, then a major change will be seen in the features of the whole school. The age and experiences of young party-member teachers are similar to those of the students and it is easier for them to pass on ideas to the students. We should stress bringing their role into play, place strict demands upon them, and strengthen their training and education so that they become mature on both the professional and ideological levels as quickly as possible and gradually take up the heavy burden of teaching, research, and ideological and political work.

Here, I would like to stress the relationship between teaching and education. Teaching is not only passing on knowledge. A more important aspect is fostering and guiding students on the political, ideological, and moral levels. Teaching and education are indivisible. It must be clearly noted that ideological and political education is the crux and a major part of our socialist education. It is

not an attachment. Teachers, especially party-member teachers, must organically combine these two aspects. Communist Party members have different professional tasks in society, but regardless of whether they are professors, experts, scholars, or people well-known in their field, they must think of themselves first as party members. They must strengthen their concept of party spirit, keep political responsibilities in mind, respect party discipline, and consciously complete the various tasks the party organization has given them.

Although the proportion of party members among the students is small, such student party members should become the core of the student contingent. Party-member students must strengthen their party spirit; actively propagate the party's stand; reflect to the organization, in a timely way, the opinions, demands, and ideological moods of the students; actively do well in ideological and political work centered on their fellow students; and bring into play their model role in all aspects of study and work. An important task of party-member students is to discover and foster activists and have them take the lead in studying assiduously, drawing close to the party organization, raising their consciousness, and, at key times, coming forward to work. If the number of activists can be gradually expanded so that they constitute a certain proportion of in the student body, a new situation will appear in our student work. For quite a time now, the ideological and political situation among students has seen pleasing changes, many people have actively applied to join the party and voluntarily organized activities to study Marxism-Leninism and Lei Feng, and to establish a new work style. The party organizations in schools must grasp the moment, strengthen training, and, in a timely way, draw into the party ranks those activists with the conditions to be party members.

Party workers, in strengthening party building in institutions of higher education, shoulder a glorious and important task. For a long time now, they have worked hard and diligently, willingly borne the burden of the task, and made great efforts to strengthen party building in institutions of higher education. We should fully affirm their work. Party workers, as a backbone force, must continue to bring into play their selfless and hardworking spirit of sacrifice. Party organizations at all levels must greatly stress the building of party work contingents. First, we must concern ourselves with raising their political and professional qualities and create the necessary work, study, and advanced study conditions, so that they continually improve their theory and policy levels and work capacity and participate in the school's work of Marxist theoretical education and ideological and political education, so as to accord with the demands of party work under the new situation. In another respect, we must seriously resolve their real problems in terms of professional titles and the conditions they enjoy. In the appraisal and engagement of specialized party work cadres in specialized technical posts, in accordance with their participation in teaching,

research, and mass ideological education work, they should generally be placed in the teacher's ranks, but some can enter the research ranks. We must, through several years of hard efforts, build a high-quality party work contingent which has crack full-time personnel as its backbone, but which combines both full-time and part-time personnel.

In building this backbone contingent, we must place improvement of political quality in prime position. At present and for some time in future, we must firmly proceed from the fact that the party is the vanguard of the working class, and we must strengthen ideological education of party members in institutions of higher education so that every party member, in the new situation, can resolve their problems about joining the party ideologically, and really become advanced fighters with communist consciousness. We must emphasize resolving four problems: 1) We must firm up our faith in communism, establish and master a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and methodology, and, on the political level, achieve a unity with the party Central Committee. 2) We must uphold the goal of serving the people with all our heart and mind, subordinate personal interests to the interests of the party and the people and all play an advanced model role in our respective posts. 3) We must strengthen our party concept, implement the party decisions, and consciously accept the restraints of party discipline. 4) We must tightly link up with the masses, reflect the masses' calls, accept supervision by the masses, and do well in mass work.

The ideological education of party members must adhere to the principle of linking theory with practice and, in light of the specific characteristics of institutions of higher education, this education must be brave in concerning itself with and correctly answering the questions put forward in real life. The forms of education must be rich and diverse and stress must be placed on real results. Over the last few years, many institutions of higher education have run spare-time party schools, carried out planned training of party members and activists, and realized outstanding results. We must seriously sum up and propagate experiences in this respect and gradually set up cadre schools in all schools with the proper conditions. The secretary of the school party committee will also be the head of the party school, full-time teachers will be provided and responsible party committee comrades, full-time party workers, and teachers of Marxist theory classes will be invited to teach part-time. By establishing party schools, every party member and especially young teacher party members and student party members will receive systematic education in the basic theories of Marxism, the basic line of the party, and basic knowledge about the party. At the same time, they will also study modern Chinese history, so as to strengthen patriotic education. The training must implement a spirit of rectification and combine the study of theory, the strengthening of party spirit, and the work of improvement. A party member's participation in study should be taken as an important aspect in the appraisal

of that member. In future, all students who stay on at their school as young teachers should pass through party school training.

Improving the quality of this backbone contingent requires the creation of conditions. They should be able to participate in the practice of building socialist material culture and socialist spiritual culture and, by participating in production activities; reform and the propagation of the party's line, principles, and policies; and in the criticism of bourgeois liberalization, they will understand the national situation, become very knowledgeable about workers and peasants, and increase their abilities. At the same time as they transform the objective world, their subjective world will also be transformed.

In building this backbone contingent, the role of the party's grassroots organizations, especially of the party branches, should be brought into play. The reason our party has strength lies not only in its correct Marxist line, but also in its tight organization. In many institutions of higher education, the building of party branches is a weak link. The organizational life of some party branches is not healthy, there is a lack of education, management, and supervision of party members and, at crucial times, they do not have a fighting capacity. This problem must be seriously resolved. Strengthening the building of party branches in institutions of higher education first requires the selection and deployment of a branch leading group and especially the proper selection of a branch secretary. The branch secretary should be appointed from among those comrades who are strong in party spirit, have good political and professional qualities and a proper work style, are responsible in their work, have a spirit of devotion, and are supported by party members and the masses. Party members must see party work as a due responsibility and obligation, not as an additional task. It must be made clear that party members' participation in and work with one of the party organizations is an important principle of the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building. Those who are selected and approved as branch secretaries should feel honored by the trust which the party organization and the broad number of party members have in them, recognize the major responsibilities involved, and strive to do their work well. The party branches should really organize the party members well, develop various types of effective activities, strengthen the management of party member education and encourage party members to go and do mass work. A party member who does not do mass work cannot be considered an up-to-standard party member.

4. Earnestly Strengthening Leadership and Guidance by the Local Party Committees and the Party Committees of the Relevant Central Departments and Commissions Over Party Work in Institutions of Higher Education

If institutions of higher education are to adhere to the socialist education orientation, to deepen educational reform, and to complete the arduous task of training

builders of and successors to the socialist cause, they must rely on the correct leadership of the party Central Committee. Likewise, they must not divorce themselves from direct leadership by local party committees and the party organizations of relevant central departments and commissions, or from active coordination with the various levels of party committee organization and the departments which coordinate theory, literature and art, news, and publishing, and must not divorce themselves from the strong support of industry, agriculture, and other fronts.

Seen from the actual situation in our country, how institutions of higher education are run is closely related to the economic, political, ideological, and cultural situations in society. Institutions of higher education are not outside the world. The macroclimate of society always influences the microclimate of the institutions of higher education, while the microclimate of the institutions of higher education can, in turn, have an effect on the macroclimate of society. If the political and economic situation in society is very good, it will promote the stability and development of the school and, even if a few individuals stir things up, it will be difficult for them to make trouble. Seen from the school's side, if the school is run well and the situation within the school is stable and it is continually providing skilled personnel and new scientific and technological achievements to society, this will play a major role in promoting the stability and development of society.

Guaranteeing the stability of society is a task that overrides all others. Local party committees and the party organizations of relevant central departments and commissions must seriously do good work and strive to eliminate all factors of instability in society and within schools, and maintain the stability of institutions of higher education and of the entire society. The political situation in institutions of higher education at present is, in overall terms, stable. However, there are some ideological trends and elements of instability which are worthy of attention. We should be particularly vigilant toward a very small number of persons who stubbornly adhere to a bourgeois liberal stand and who still try in vain to cause trouble, and even some who threaten to repeat the political disturbances of last year which were long ago concluded. In response, we must maintain sober minds and a high degree of vigilance. At present, quite obvious results have been achieved in economic improvement and rectification, in the deepening of reform, and in the building of clean government. However, many difficulties and problems still exist. We must fully recognize that stabilizing the situation in institutions of higher education and safeguarding the stability and unity of the entire society is still an extremely arduous political task. In order to create a favorable climate, all levels from the Central Committee to the localities need to make efforts and every department, every unit, and every institution of higher education must earnestly shoulder responsibility.

Over the last few years, the local party committees and the party organs of the various central departments and committees have strengthened leadership over institutions of higher education. In the political disturbances of spring and summer last year, many local party committees and party organizations of various central departments and commissions directly grasped institutions of higher education, supported the work of school leaders, and thereby enabled many of the institutions to handle the turmoil problem in a quite stable manner. After the counterrevolutionary rebellion was quelled, the various areas and the relevant departments did a further large amount of work. The party organizations of institutions of higher education are now linked to the localities, and local party committees must strengthen their leadership over the work of these party organizations in institutions of higher education. The party organizations of the various central departments and commissions should closely coordinate with local party committees and, in respect of their subordinate schools, must not only manage professional work, but also manage ideological and political work and manage the assessment and training of the leading cadres of the schools. When major problems are encountered, they must actively assist the local party committees to do good work. When arranging leading groups, the party organizations of central departments and commissions must actively consult with the local party committee and seriously listen to their opinions, and the local party committees should give their support. Seen from the present situation, there is still much work to be done in having the local party committees and party organizations of relevant central departments and commissions further strengthen leadership over institutions of higher education. At regular intervals, they should study major problems of institutions of higher education and get a good grasp of whether or not the educational orientation of the schools is correct, whether or not the leading groups are strong, whether or not the party organizations have fighting capacity and what the ideological mood and ideological orientation of the teachers and students are like, and adopt realistic measures to guide and assist the schools in doing good work.

Many problems still exist at present in terms of educational conditions and other aspects of work in institutions of higher education. The various localities and the relevant central departments and commissions must, in accordance with the actual situation, give necessary personnel, material, and financial support to the institutions of higher education under their locality or department, and help these institutions resolve the difficulties they face when trying to arrange for students to participate in social practice, so as to promote the stability and development of the institutions of higher education. Recently, Shanghai and Guangdong made arrangements in this respect and their experiences can be used as reference.

An important aspect in strengthening leadership over institutions of higher education by local party committees and the party organizations of relevant central departments and commissions is to have major leaders personally take part in the work. Our country has 1,075 institutions of higher education, of which over 100 are key institutions of quite great influence. The provincial party secretaries, ministers, and responsible comrades of the the State Education Commission must personally choose a university, conduct deep investigative research, and guide and assist in the work of the school. If we make unremitting efforts for three to five years, we will be able to effect a basic change in the political situation, spiritual mien, and the educational, research, and management aspects of 100-plus universities, and be able to spur on work in the other institutions of higher education. Thereby, we will be able to gradually travel down a new road in running socialist universities with Chinese characteristics well.

Strengthening party building in institutions of higher education is an arduous and pressing task facing us. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, we must inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of the party and put all our efforts into doing this work well. It is thus possible that through the joint efforts of the party organizations at all levels and the broad masses of party members, we will be able to greatly strengthen the building of party organizations in institutions of higher education, so that they can shoulder the important task of fostering and training generation after generation of builders of and successors to the socialist cause.

Footnote

1. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, 1975-82*, p. 72.

Science and Technology Development Trends in China and the World in the 1990's

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[Text] Man understands nature through a gradual summary of his production practice; it is necessary for one to understand many laws of nature in order to perform this practice. This thus brought about the birth of the first schools, as well as the development of science. For instance, to engage in agriculture, we need a calendar, which thus brought the development of astronomy. In order to measure land plots, we promoted the development of geometry. It is just as Engels said, "Whenever there is a need for technology in society, this need would make science progress more than the result of promotion by 10 universities."¹ In the wake of improvement in production, scientific experiments have gradually separated from being a productive labor and production practice to become an independent social activity of mankind. Later, under the driving force of scientific exploration and economic demand, science and technology developed at a more rapid pace. Meanwhile, it

further helped the development of production. As early as 100 years ago, Marx clearly pointed out that "this development of productive forces, in the final analysis, originates from the social characteristics of functioning labor, from the internal division of labor in society, and particularly the natural sciences originate from the development of mental labor."² Therefore, the development of science and technology is closely linked to the development of social production and the progress of society, and they interact with and promote each other. It is a one-sided or incomplete point of view if one only realizes the role of promotion in the development of science and technology by the production practice or if one only realizes the sharp boost of the development of production and the economy by science and technology. Nowadays, every country in the world has a more thorough understanding about the importance to its integrated development of science and technology. It is a very important factor in pooling together a state's strength. All countries now attach great importance to the development of science and technology. None of them fails to take the development of science and technology as their national policy, nor did they fail to give national support to and make large-scale investment in the development of science and technology. Likewise, in China, the 12th CPC Congress listed science as one of its strategic focal points in the economy's development. The 13th CPC Congress placed the development of science and technology, as well as education, at the top of its economic development strategy. Whether or not we can turn it into a common viewpoint shared by decision-makers at different levels and by the masses is a major issue that determines China's future development.

Though we often use the words science and technology together, science is different from technology. Technology and production are directly linked. Basically, such a link concerns the method of production. Generally speaking, we use the term technology to summarize knowledge that is formed through the solution of practical problems emerging in the course of production (excluding issues of personal relations). The sources of technology are, on the one hand, experience accumulated in the course of production; and on the other, knowledge gained in the solution of production problems under the guidance of a scientific and regular understanding. Unlike technology, scientific studies are activities to understand laws observed by matter and laws governing their movement, that is, exploration of laws governing matter in nature at different levels of composition and different types of interrelations and movement. A scientific theory must solve essential problems concerning a substance's intrinsic quality; whereas such intrinsic quality refers to the composition and movement of that substance. Once such a law is known, we may use it to direct production activities, thereby allowing certain technological knowledge to be useful to production. In many cases, technology is knowledge gained by summing up a repeatedly recurring event in a series of phenomena, and is linked directly to production. When there is a need for production in society, it

will first promote the development of technology. After such development has reached a certain level, technology will not be further developed if we do not have an understanding about its law. Progress in technology requires the development of science and technology. There are quite a number of scientific studies that fail to help production at the present level. Such studies are a part of understanding the world. In addition to giving support to the development of technology, however, a society must support the development of science and technology, even though there is, in the short run, no direct practical application in developing science.

The purpose of understanding the world is to remold it. Only when we understand the laws of the world can we remold it in a better way. After science became independent from production, the scope of scientific practice often exceeds production practice in terms of space, time, and level of that time. At present, mankind's living space is basically within the limits of Earth. However, current scientific studies are no longer limited to Earth. They are studying the origin of the solar system, galaxies, and the entire celestial body. Their area of study is much larger than mankind's living area. The same applies to the composition of matter in the microcosm. It is not until today that electronics and the atomic nucleus are applied to nuclear stations and integrated circuits for production purposes. But our scientific studies now get more profound and cover the internal composition of the proton and neutron. Perhaps, it is still difficult to yield any practical results from such studies. Nevertheless, it is possible that some day there will be unexpected significant application in the production practice. Cases like this are always found in the development history of science and technology. For example, the theory of relativity and that of quantum mechanics, which were discovered in the early 20th century, were results of such laboratory studies. At that time, it was absolutely impossible to understand their usefulness for production. But now we understand that nuclear energy, lasers, semiconductors, microelectronics, superconductivity, and so on are observing the laws of relativity and quantum mechanics. Our understanding of these laws helps us achieve today's technological developments in these aspects. "No person was like Marx, who really felt joyful about every scientific achievement in any area, whether or not it has been put into practical use. However, he first regarded science as a powerful lever of history, a revolutionary force in the most lofty sense."³ Today, such remarks by Engels still carry the most profound implications and play the practical role of guidance. Such remarks tell us how we should understand science and how we should take a correct attitude toward science.

The 1990's Will Be an Era of Large-Scale Information and Intelligence

We are entering an era of information and intelligence. This is a result of the combined development of highly applicable sciences such as microelectronics, optoelectronics, computer science, mathematics, and automatic

precision machinery. In the development of science and technology in the 1980's, there were two events worth noting. The first is the growth of the integrated level of silicon VLSI [Very-Large-Scale Integration] by three to four times per year as a result of the development of very large-scale microelectronic integrated circuits. Hence, computers were upgraded by a new generation every three years, and computing capacity was increased by almost a quantitative step. Furthermore, it has moved from scientific research institutes to production lines in factories and to administrative offices. Its development is just like the development of television for families. The development of microcomputers began in the late 1970's. At that time, the speed of personal computers was several hundred thousand commands per second, and its memory capacity was scores of ten thousand bytes. By the end of the 1980's, the eight-bit computer was replaced by the 32-bit computer, and its operation speed was increased to almost 10 million commands per second. Today, the average operation speed of the world's top-class supercomputer is more than 1,000 million (floating point) commands per second. By the end the 1990's, it is possible that the speed will be further increased 1,000 times. Others event are the use of optical fiber in communication and laser disk storage. The capacity and speed of transmitting information and the size of networking have reached an unprecedented scale. The development in this aspect, as well as rapid progress made in high-definition television, will send information combining sound, image, and text to tens of thousands of households and will be shared by the whole society in the 1990's. Through network systems, as well as central supercomputer and multiuser networks, personal computers and workstations will form an intelligent workstation network for families. This kind of workstation not only has a fast operating speed, but also uses an optical disk with tens of gigabytes of storage capacity, and it will be equipped with functions such as voice recognition, a three-dimensional high-resolution color monitor, and so on. Through satellite systems and optical fiber systems there will be integrated intelligent services such as electronic news, electronic mail, visual telephone, facsimile, laser printing, photocopying, order making, telebanking, and so on. After such workstations are linked to the network of a supercomputer, it will bring fundamental changes to the activities and lives of the family. In the area of production, an integrated automated production system formed by the combination of computers, workstations, and precision machinery took shape in the late 1980's. It will be much more popular in the 1990's. With the aid of computers we may carry out full-scale computer administration and control right from the step of receiving orders; we may design according to the needs of each customer, produce according to the volume of order, and market the products. In factories, it is basically an integrated automated production system formed by the combination of robots controlled by workers through programming. Undoubtedly, such new and powerful productive forces brought about by the development of microelectronics and computers will greatly affect the organization of production in society,

including people's way of working, studying, and living. The only question is that it is now still very difficult to foresee the most profound and long-term significance of such influence. Nevertheless, it is certain that such changes must occur in the world's most advanced countries in the 1990's.

Another important role of the supercomputer is that it has promoted a significant development in scientific computation, and has fundamentally changed the method of industrial design. For instance, in the past, in order to design a plane, we needed to conduct many wind-tunnel experiments before we got a stereotype. After people got a better understanding of the law of aeromechanics and the properties of materials, however, it is absolutely possible that we can use computers to accurately simulate the properties of a plane under different conditions, so that the process of designing is totally different from the past approach, and the time and cost of experiments are thus greatly reduced.

Likewise, the popularity of computers and networking activities in society will bring about many changes. Many people predict that the use of credit cards will become so popular and convenient by the next century that there will be no circulation of banknotes with a denomination over 10 yuan. Purchasing may be done by selecting and placing orders through television sets at home. Therefore, commercial and marketing activities will no longer be the same as they were before. Nowadays, traffic jams always occur here and there. It is possible that in the future, the work of planning and organizing different kinds of labor will be done through optical fiber network systems, and there will be no need for many staff and workers to work at a single location. All these will bring about extensive and profound changes to the organization of production, as well as the way of working and living, in the whole society. By the end of the 1980's, such a situation had already begun in certain trades or regions. It is inevitable that this will be popularized on a large scale in future.

Artificial intelligence brought about by computers is a substitution of mental labor through the use of a machine. People generally called the next generation of computers intelligent computers. But there is no generally accepted definition about what exactly is an intelligent computer. In the 1980's there emerged an expert system which pooled together the experience of many experts and made intelligent decisions through computers. The study on intelligent computers of the 1990's, which has just begun, focuses on a full-scale simulation of a human brain's activities, so that the computer will be able to use human language for dialogue with the user; automatically generate its own program according to tasks; perform self-learning and revise its form of action, in the course of operation, that is, so-called self-organization and self-learning; and will be able to accept scattered, fuzzy, and nonstructured input information. Through self-organization and self-study, it will automatically arrange such information into useful and structured information. This requires a completion of the

steps of cognizance such as recognition, memory, learning, reasoning, decisionmaking, and so on. Therefore, the next generation of computers, or any robot equipped with this kind of computer, will begin to have some thinking capability. In other words, it will be able of judge and readjust itself and adapt itself to the ever-changing external environment. The recently developed parallel neural-network computer has made the first step in this respect. Though computers in the past developed at a very rapid speed and their capacity increased rapidly, there was a world of difference between them and the human brain. A human brain is divided into two parts, namely, the left and right hemispheres. The tasks performed by the two hemispheres are not quite the same. One of them carries out logical reasoning, which can principally be done by the present generation of computer. The other one carries out thinking by images, which is still very difficult for the present generation of computer to process. It is absolutely possible that the intelligent computer that we are developing now will be born in the 1990's. This will be an important breakthrough in computer science.

In mankind's long development history, society rapidly developed and changed because of the substitution of physical labor by the invention of machines. Now, the invention of the computer has started the era of substituting part of mental labor. Of course, we believe that even the best computer will be unable to substitute the entire intelligence development of mankind. This is because intelligence of such a computer is created by mankind after understanding certain laws, and laws relating to new phenomenon are yet to be understood by mankind. However, it is absolutely possible for a computer to pool the knowledge of many experts and to simulate a human brain's activities. In a certain sense, therefore, it is absolutely possible for it to become more intelligent and more experienced than an individual person; and, by proceeding from basic laws, it is absolutely possible for it to discover, through logical reasoning, certain new materials, new compositions, and new phenomena that are yet to be known. In an era of substitution of some mental labor by the computer, the difference between mental and physical labor will be further minimized or even eliminated. The use of natural resources, development of diversified production, and capability to need different levels of demand by all mankind will be sharply improved. Those new mysteries revealed by progress made in science and technology will be a powerful driving force and a challenge for the future development of human society.

Science of Life Is on the Eve of Making Important Breakthrough

The phenomenon of life has long been a very important topic of science. Today, however, people still do not thoroughly understand many phenomena of life and are still in ignorance in respect to the essence of life. If we are able to really understand laws relating to the phenomenon of life, as well as its essence, it will be possible for us to find an effective means to make fundamental

changes in agriculture, pharmaceuticals, and public health and to change our survival environment. This plays a very important role for the survival and development of mankind.

In recent decades, there has been great development in the science of life. Biologists have fully understood the molecular structure of genes, the material basis of heredity, namely the double helical structure of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid). More than 100,000 genes of higher organisms are stored in the form of codes in a sequence of DNA and chromosomes. Individual organisms of the same species may have tens of thousands of appearances that are different among each other. Every person is different from the others. Such difference is reflected by difference in their genes. What is the process observed by an organism's genes in terms of time and space? How are they started? Why does the development process not repeat itself after such an organism has grown up? Why must there be the stages of development, growth, senility, and death? There are also many questions about similar problems. In order to solve these problems, scientists are studying and exploring laws relating to the expression and control of genes. This thus involves the entire process of heredity, sex development, and growth of organisms, in addition to being a hot topic.

There also exists in the science of life another important topic, namely, to understand an organism from the viewpoint of a sophisticated system. Let's take the nervous system as an example. Not only must we understand the development and formation of a nerve at molecular level, but also the way in which information is transmitted. How does it remember and perform thought, and how does it recognize sound, image, odor, and taste of the outside world, and so forth? Therefore, it is not simply a question of a single cell or the genes. Rather, it is a question concerning a system. We must understand the way in which the entire nervous system functions and coordinates, and the way in which the central system is linked to its subordinate systems. The immune system is also very important. As an organism must survive in a sophisticated environment, it must have its own protection system, namely, the immune system. We must understand the way in which it distinguishes alien "enemies," and the way in which it gets rid of these "enemies." Under what circumstances will it become defective? At present, there are many kinds of illness linked to the immune system, which is the failure to distinguish alien cells from the body's own cells, so that these cells are not attacked. This is an important aspect of immune deficiency. Of course, there are still many other significant systems in an organism's body. Simply put, we must, on the one hand, understand the body of organisms at the molecular level and from the genetic viewpoint; and on the other, study the same body from the viewpoint of a sophisticated system. These are the two significant topics faced by the science of life.

Many scientists predicted that there will be a breakthrough in the science of life in the 1990's. This is

because the accumulation of knowledge has laid a good foundation for making such a breakthrough. Meanwhile, development in other sciences has provided more precious instruments and better analytical means for observing the phenomenon of life. For example, computers and many other physical and chemical instruments and equipment have become the advanced experimental means for studying life. The prospects for the science of life are so promising that many countries have now made large investments in this area. Leading plans supported by countries like Japan are centering on the science of the human body. The science of the human body is the most important aspect of the science of life. At present, there is another important international plan, which is to analyze the entire sequence of all human genes stored in the DNA and chromosomes. This is a joint plan participated in by scientists of many countries, involving an investment of several billion U.S. dollars. It is possible that we will have a method to cure many hereditary illnesses if we completely solve this problem and develop a method to remove and put in different genes, so that we can remove the unnecessary ones and put in those that are necessary to change certain characteristics.

In the 1980's, we made many achievements in bioengineering. This has had considerable influence on agriculture and pharmaceuticals. Now, there are plants and animals whose genes have been transformed and there are growth hormones, interferon, insulin, hepatitis-B vaccine, and so on which are produced by the application of genetic engineering. However, the scale is rather small and the history is quite short. More observation is still needed to carry out any large-scale application. For example, an animal can grow to a larger size if the growth-hormone gene is put into its body. It will be possible that we may raise pigs that consume less feed and are more lean if the gene responsible for producing lean meat is put into the pig's body. However, we must conduct a host of experiments to see whether or not the meat of such pigs is consumable, and whether or not such an approach can be popularized on a large-scale. In fully understanding the genetic structure of animals, we must understand the possible effects of such useful genes on other genes in addition to knowing how to put them into the body. For instance, we must consider the possibility that it will activate harmful genes. Through bioengineering, it will be possible to design and create new biological products according to mankind's needs, such as high-yield and disease-resistant grain and crops, as well as top-quality and fast-growing livestock and poultry. Therefore, people pin high hopes on bioengineering, and the demand for agriculture and pharmaceuticals are very great. In developing bioengineering, we must support the studies of basic science, so as to thoroughly understand the laws. By acting in this way, it is certain that we shall find new technology and new methods that do not have any side effects, and are applicable on a large scale.

We Must Protect the Environment for Human Survival

The issue of environmental protection will become more prominent in the 1990's, and will become a topic of much concern for the scientific circle and society. Many countries will invest a large amount of money and manpower to conduct scientific studies. Though the production of mankind was, to a certain extent, restricted in the past by natural conditions and resources, such restrictions were not obvious because the size of population and the scale of production were smaller at that time. Man has constantly transformed nature in the course of production. Such transformation is beneficial, and sometimes harmful, to our development. Such transformation was not obvious in the early days. In the wake of population growth, and a larger scale of production, however, the influence of mankind on nature has become greater. Nevertheless, nature's capability to tolerate the influence of human activities is limited. If the influence is within such capability, the natural environment can restore itself. However, once the influence exceeds such capability, there will be permanent destruction to the environment, or we must pay a hefty price in order to restore it. The reason that the issue of environmental protection has attracted extensive attention from everyone across the world is that the transformation of the environment caused by human activities in recent years reaches and affects societal production and people's livelihood to such a level that its harmful results have become obvious. For example, the occurrence of disasters has become more frequent in many countries because of soil erosion and the reduction of vegetation cover, particularly the rapid reduction of tropical forests, caused by human activity. In China, the occurrence of disasters such as drought, floods, sandslides, and so on has been on the increase ever since the 1950's, as has the scale of such disasters. The widespread occurrence of acid rain across the world is another example. All these facts make everyone understand more and more that we cannot exploit nature without any limit. Nature's capability is limited. We must protect the Earth, on which we are living, so as to create a good environment for the survival of later generations. The people's voice in this respect will become louder in the 1990's, so that scientific studies in this respect will become more important.

The factor of environment will also play a greater role in a country's industrial and agricultural production. The same applies to the underdeveloped Third World countries. Take China as an example. In the next decade, China's population increase by about 200 million. Such population growth will bring about a considerable increase in the demand for everything. If each person consumes 400 kilograms of grain on average, the present level of national grain output must be increased by one-sixth to one-fifth in order to feed the newly increased 200 million people. In addition to food, these people also need clothes, housing, and employment. This thus pushes up more demand for raw materials and energy. For China, the per capita amount of resources is scanty. The present output of coal has reached 1,000

million tons. If we increase output to 1,500 million tons by the year 2000, the environmental problems will become more prominent than now. At present, the problem of acid rain in some areas of southern China has become very serious. In areas inhabited by minority nationalities, the pH value has reached four. If we let things go on like this, it will have serious adverse effects on the survival and reproduction of plants and animals. We must proceed from the long-term interest and earnestly deal with the issue of environmental protection. In industrial and agricultural production, we must take into consideration and attach great importance to the work of environmental protection in the same way as we handle other major issues and work out arrangements. Under the present circumstances, where environmental problems have been very serious, any production measures that are taken without considering environmental protection may bring about unexpected, disastrous, and longlasting consequences.

To the world as a whole, there are several interesting problems that have attracted wide attention. One of them is the so-called "greenhouse effect." The "greenhouse effect" is mainly a result of a rise in the density of carbon dioxide in the air caused by human activities. Beginning in the era of industrialization, the density of carbon dioxide has been on the increase. To date, its density has increased by 30 percent. Though scientists are studying the issue of the "greenhouse effect," they have not yet come to a conclusion. Judging from present theory, the world's average temperature may increase by several degrees in the next 50 years. The effect of such an increase would be very serious. It may cause the sea level to rise so that vast areas of land and coastal industrial cities will be flooded, making tens of thousands of people homeless. Weather may also change. The climate of certain areas such as Canada and the Soviet Union may become warmer, so that they may produce more agricultural products. However, places that are producing most of the grain will have problems. There is a prediction that the midlatitude areas may become drier. Of course, this is not a foregone conclusion. The studies are still going on. This is because factors contributing to this issue are very complicated. If such phenomenon occurs, however, it will have serious consequences. In order to avoid such consequences, we must reduce the amount of released carbon dioxide. Moreover, methane may also act in the same way as carbon dioxide does, or even more seriously. There are many sources of methane. Ruminants, natural methane-generating pits, and rice paddy fields are among the major sources of methane. If restrictions are imposed on the amount of released gases that have the greenhouse effect, China's economy will be seriously affected. This is because coal is China's major source of energy, and China is the main producer of rice. If such problems emerge, we must seriously study them and work out the countermeasures. It is not only an issue of science and economics, but also a political issue to which all areas must pay attention.

The other serious problem of concern to the whole world is the destruction of the ozone layer. In the natural atmosphere, the density of ozone in the stratosphere is the highest. Ozone can prevent ultraviolet light from reaching Earth. Whenever the ozone layer is depleted by one-hundredth, the amount of ultraviolet light reaching the surface of Earth increases two percent. Certain gases, mainly freon (CFC) [chlorofluorocarbon], that we are using on a large-scale, consume the ozone when they are released into the atmosphere and chemically react with ozone, thereby forming a so-called "ozone hole." The direct results of having more ultraviolet light reaching Earth are, first, that the number of cases of skin cancer will increase; and, second, that it is not suitable to many plants. When ultraviolet light destroys a high number of a plant's cells so that it cannot restore itself, the growth of that plant will be affected. Therefore, the ozone layer's depletion is an important problem. Of course, there is still no scientific conclusion on the cause of ozone layer's depletion. The scale of changes to ozone by freon and other gases released in the course of industrial production is yet to be known through scientific studies. At present, some countries have signed an agreement stipulating that production of freon gas must be subject to control in the 1990's.

China's environmental problems are excluded from the above interesting problems of the world. China is a populous country with little arable land. Its soil erosion is very serious, and its soil degeneration still continues. All these problems determine the Chinese nation's continued survival and development. In the 1990's, we must devote major efforts to carrying out scientific studies of the environment. In undertaking production and construction, we must first do well in the study and implementation of the work in this respect. Why is it that many scientists take a cautious attitude toward the Chang Jiang's Three Gorges hydroelectric power plant project? This is because this large-scale project will, to a considerable extent, change the ecological environment; therefore, we should carry out serious and long-term scientific studies, we must study the project's effects on the environment, and we must avoid those disadvantages. It is hoped that all areas will not simply take those opinions of scientists as their attitude to oppose a particular item. Rather, they must listen patiently to their opinions and cooperate with them so as to make joint efforts to understand these problems in a thorough manner, which can only be favorable to us. In doing a task, we must not take it too lightly. Instead, we must have careful and scientific observations and studies, raise it to the level of rational knowledge, and conduct experiments and trial runs at experimental units before popularization. This is of particular importance to the environmental problems. The consequences of environmental problems appear only after a long period of time. Once the consequences appear, it is very difficult for us to change them. It is hoped that in the 1990's our governments at different levels, as well as all sectors of society, will pay special consideration to environmental problems in their production and construction, so that

China's economy can achieve a longstanding, stable, and coordinated development; and that we can maintain and create a clean and beautiful environment for our later generations.

Some Questions About the Leading Aspects of the Present Basic Science

Let us take high-energy physics as an example, and discuss certain leading aspects of the development of such science.

At present, high-energy physics mainly studies the basic structures of matter and their interaction. It is known to everyone that the atomic nucleus is formed by protons and neutrons. Both protons and neutrons are useful elements. For example, neutrons may be used to cure cancer and to start chain reactions in a reactor. Both protons and neutrons may be further divided, as they are formed by smaller "quark" particles. An important characteristic of quarks is that they can exist only in a bound state and do not appear in a free form. Unlike protons and neutrons, they cannot be directly observed. Quarks exist only within the atomic nucleus and are a very obvious particle. This is because the applied force among them is different from the electromagnetic effect we knew before. The wider the distance between two quarks, the greater the force pulling them together. It is as though two quarks are linked together by a spring. They cannot exist independently. We must use more and more powerful accelerators to understand their internal structure and interaction through particle collision. At present, we have discovered five types of quarks. The theory predicts that there will be a sixth. Beijing's electron-positron collider is dedicated to the study of one of these quarks, called the can [3503] quark. This accelerator can accelerate the speed of electrons and positrons up to 2.2 billion electron-volts. It is an enormous machine with a 200-meter-long linear accelerator, and a ring accelerator which is also large. Its detecting equipment weighs up to 1,000 tons and is responsible for instantly recording tens of thousands of bits of information at the same time. It uses fully automated high-speed electronic technology. Yet, this accelerator is not at the head of high-energy physical studies. Now, the United States has decided that it will invest \$8 billion in the 1990's in the construction of an accelerator with a circumference over 70 kilometers. Its construction material will be superconductive magnet, and its energy will be 10,000 times higher than that of Beijing's electron-positron collider, or 2×10^{13} electron-volts. In addition to the accelerator, the cost of each detecting device itself will be several hundred million dollars. Its weight will be hundreds of thousands of tons. Of course, it is very difficult to give an answer if one asks what is its practical use. This is because the subject of the study does not exist naturally, and we must produce it before studying it. This plays a very important role in understanding the basic structure and most basic interaction of matter.

It is known that there are four most basic interactions of matter: one of them is "electromagnetic interaction";

another is "weak interaction," such as nuclear radioactive decay; another is "strong interaction," such as the case of quarks, in which the greater the distance the stronger the force; and another is "gravitational force," such as the force between Earth and the Sun. Our studies in high-energy physics will tell us whether or not these basic interactions are under an entity, are produced under a unified principle, or are totally different things. It may be like the case of electricity and magnetism, which appear to be two different phenomena. However, we already knew in the last century that electricity and magnetism come together. While magnetism can generate electricity, electricity can generate magnetism. The theory of electromagnetism is the basis of today's motor and engine, as well as generation, transmission, and reception of electric waves. From our studies over the span of 30 years from the mid-1950's to the mid-1980's, we now know that weak interaction and electromagnetic interaction come together. In order to prove this, we have spent several hundred million dollars to build a large accelerator. Now, we must clarify the relations between gravitational force and strong interaction, as well as between it and weak interaction, whether or not they can be transformed among themselves, and whether or not they are unified. Proceeding from the viewpoint of understanding, as well as the philosophical viewpoint of understanding the world's unity and diversification, the value of knowing the basic interaction and interaction of matter is very high. When production in society has reached a certain level so that we can spare some money to invest in the studies, we shall make great contributions to the work of promoting the development of human culture and science, though the achievement itself does not bring any immediate or practical value. In order to study it, we must create highly complicated detecting equipment, as well as equipment for processing data. It is certain that, in due course, the high-technology so developed will help our production. For example, in addition to military industry, it is the sector of high-energy physics that uses the largest computer and data processing equipment. Development of high-energy physics has cultivated many software professionals. The technology of information processing, which is derived from it, is very useful in every aspect. Even the accelerator itself helps development. The use of superconductivity in the accelerator has brought about the application of superconductivity. A small superconductive accelerator can emit a strong and well-focused X-ray. This kind of X-ray can be used in submicron photoetching, and is an important tool for producing the next generation of very-large scale integrated circuits. Some days ago, scientists successfully did our first photoetching by using the soft X-ray emitted from Beijing's electron-positron collider. Now, Japan has begun producing such superconductive accelerators, particularly for the production of large-scale integrated circuits.

The leading scientific studies play two roles: On the one hand, they promote the development of technology, which is closely related to production; and on the other, they help mankind get a deeper understanding about the

law of nature, which is the most important, and which will exert great influence on the civilization and the world outlook of mankind. At present, the most basic question about scientific studies is to understand more about the essence of life, the origin of the universe, and the characteristics of matter under different extreme conditions, in addition to studying the laws of basic structure and interaction of matter. In the 1990's, there will be considerable progress in some basic studies. But, because these studies require an enormous amount of investment and equipment, as well as a lot of time, progress will not be rapid. For example, even though the construction of an \$8 billion superconductive collider in the United States has started, it will not be put into use until the turn of this century.

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels* Volume 4, p. 505.
2. *Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 25, p. 97.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume 19, p. 372.

A Brief Discussion on the Historic Significance of the National Salvation Movement of the 1930's

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[Article by Hu Sheng (5170 4939); text of speech delivered by the author at the commemoration ceremony of the 95th birthday of Zhou Taofen (6760 4470 1164)]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Taofen [6760 4470 1164] was one of the leaders who started the National Salvation Movement in the area controlled by the KMT [Kuomintang] in the 1930's and was also the principal propagator of this movement. Because in the days both before and after the anti-Japanese war he had firmly insisted on unity to resist Japan, advocated democratic progress, and opposed capitulationism, he was constantly persecuted by the KMT authorities and subsequently died of illness and in great distress. He did not seek private gain, was not afraid of brutal force, did not attend to his personal safety, and his spirit of firmly insisting on seeking truth and struggling for the liberation of the Chinese people earned for him the respect of tens of millions of people during his lifetime. Before the anti-Japanese war, the circulation of the magazine he edited reached 200,000 at the highest point, far exceeding any other publication of his time or before. Sincere in heart and wielding a skillful pen, he wrote in popular and easily understandable language answers to readers' questions and spoke out about what the people wanted to say, thus winning the trust of the extensive masses of readers. Originally he was a journalist not affiliated with any party or clique. Through the actual practice in the anti-Japanese and National Salvation Movement, he came to the understanding that success in the liberation enterprise of the Chinese people depended on the extensive masses of people and that the Chinese Communist

Party could lead the people forward to open up China's bright future. Writing his will in his death bed, he earnestly applied to join the Chinese Communist Party. Taofen was firm in his belief that, led by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people could certainly come out victorious in the anti-Japanese war and could set up an independent, autonomous, and happy New China. After his death, all his beliefs were realized. He was a great warrior who had dedicated his whole life to the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people and the establishment of a New China. As a patriot infinitely faithful to the people and a cultural warrior propagating to the masses, encouraging, arousing, and leading the masses to progress, Comrade Taofen will forever be thought of and respected by the people.

Here I wish to express a few ideas concerning Taofen's ideological development.

The time from which Taofen began to express his opinions in order to influence society by means of publications, all the way up to his death was nearly 20 years. In this period, his ideology went through a development process. His basic starting point was patriotism and national salvation. His understanding of the problem of how to save China from poverty, backwardness, and oppression from imperialism differed in the initial period from the subsequent period. The key period for developing the change was 1931-32. Before this, he said, "Striving for political clarity and cleanliness" and "industrial development" were the "basic and essential political policies." By July 1932, against the facts of the KMT militarists' disregard for the existence of the people and the nation and the continued waging of the civil war, he avowed, "The people, for the sake of protecting their own interests, opposing the military cliques fighting each other, and opposing suppression from imperialism, have no other convenient road to take besides taking political power and military strength in their own hands or placing them definitely in the hands of a group which really can struggle for the people." Obviously, at the time Taofen had found that KMT rule was hopeless and believed there was no possibility of placing hope for clearness and brightness in politics and development of the industries by this band of reactionary rulers.

Having obtained this new understanding, the direction of Taofen's thinking and writing turned to arousing the consciousness of the masses to consciously throw themselves into the struggle for national liberation and the country's progress. Summing up his life's experiences, Sun Yat-sen's conclusion was that he had "aroused the masses." People have called the May 4th Movement the initial movement and the word "initial" implied that its purpose was to arouse the masses. In the several years before the actual outbreak of the anti-Japanese war, the propagandists of the National Salvation Movement exerted great influence, with Taofen as its representative and comprising principally the young intelligentsia urban citizens and including the national capitalist class and the upper-level minor capitalist class. Of this portion

of the masses, after the failure of the 1927 revolution and in the several years of internal unrest and external pressure under KMT rule, the majority of people individually felt confusion, distress, and remorse about the country's future and their own destiny. Taofen's enormous success was in helping these people to be gradually awakened and to arouse and refresh themselves and this was also his great contribution to the formation of the anti-Japanese national united front and the crystalizing of the anti-Japanese war by the whole people. It should be said that the National Salvation Movement of the 1930's also embraced the content of the initial movement and it is entirely wrong to treat the two as if opposed to each other. Naturally, the May 4th Movement had its own special historical position; but the National Salvation Movement of the 1930's far surpassed the May 4th Movement.

Some people said that the initial movement was antifederalist while salvation referred to anti-imperialism. This conception is also baseless. In semicolonial China, for a long time any kind of initiative could not but touch on the problem of the existence or survival of the nation. Not only the Wuxu (1898) reform but also the Xinhai (1911) revolution was like this. By the time of the early 1930's, Taofen said, "What the whole Chinese people were painfully thinking of and could not forget even in their dreams was the people's attainment of equality and freedom and the avoidance of the tragedy of being slaves without a country." At that time, the Chinese people, in order to avoid becoming slaves without a country, knew they must rise in unison to oppose the enormous military invasion by Japanese imperialism. Hence, it was called the National Salvation Movement. The National Salvation Movement opposed imperialism's aggression and oppression and at the same time opposed China's backward feudalism which was in collusion with imperialism; it not only sought the survival and existence of the nation but also struggled for the nation's progress, a country cannot survive for without progress. Speaking from actual life, a large number of youths broke through the feudalist network of the family and society to cast themselves into the National Salvation Movement. From actual practice in the anti-Japanese war they gradually came to understand the direction of China's forward progress. With the passing of the anti-Japanese war, the Chinese people won a great victory in the struggle against imperialism, and their antifederalism struggle also accomplished a great advance.

In 1935, ZHONG SHENGHUO magazine, edited by Taofen, was initially published. This followed the long list of publications, published by him and his friends, which had been banned by the authorities. In the editorial of the inaugural issue of the magazine, Taofen pointed out that "striving hard for realization of the people's liberation" was the "main objective to which attention should be given." At the same time, he brought up two other objectives, namely, "complete elimination of the feudal remnants and overcoming individualism."

At the high tide of the National Salvation Movement, his advocacy of these three objectives of a guiding nature was very significant.

The problem of individualism may perhaps be worth a mention. The inaugural editorial believed that "semicolonial China could not follow the road of capitalism." Taofen proceeded in this manner in his opposition to individualism. He said, "How is it possible to jointly struggle for freedom if we take the individual as the nucleus and neglect to unify the masses? He opposed advocating feudal morals and breeding the slave character. he advocated that the individual must be "a member of the fighters' group" and the use of collectivism to conquer individualism. In the early years of the May 4th period, writers of XIN QINGNIAN magazine had thought individualism could be employed to oppose feudalism, but this was thinking had already been banished by the advanced people of the theoretical circles. Taofen once said: "Be it behaving in life or doing work, one should use his brain, do a little thinking, not always agree with others, not follow others blindly, but one must possess a self-motivating spirit and creative desires." At the same time, he strongly suggested the desire and spirit of forsaking one's self for the public's benefit." And he actually followed all this. Regarding this problem, Taofen's overall concept was: "Overcome individualism but in the course of collective struggle, display the initiative and creative character of the individual." That 50 years ago in the National Salvation Movement Taofen already advocated such an overall concept is, in my opinion, well worth our attention.

Taofen was a theorist of the same breath of the people. He led the populace but also copied from the populace. He expressed in a simple way the many ideas and thoughts acquired in actual practice and through independent thinking, but all of them had valuable content. All of us should treasure the legacy of the thoughts of the many patriotic vanguards of the revolution, including Taofen, and the successful records of their struggle and in the practices in the realization of socialist modernization succeed and display their thoughts and enterprises.

The Relationship Between the Road to Modernization in China and the World

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[Article by Liu Danian (0491 1129 1628)]

[Text] [Editor's note] *This article was the text of an address delivered by the author at the inauguration of the "Modern China and the World" international scholastic discussion meeting organized by the Modern History Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. [end editor's note]*

Modern China and the world is an enormous topic. Regarding this big topic people have full reason to demand us to answer the following questions: Does China have the ability to stand by itself among the forest

of world nations as seen from the various aspects of modern history? And in only what way can it stand by itself among the multitude of world peoples? This liaison between China and the world can be traced to a long time ago, but such liaison, though it has comprised both the cultural and the material, never caused important or large changes in China's social life. However, upon entering the modern era, the situation was radically changed. China has been dragged into the whirlpool of the world, particularly that of the contradictions between the world and the Orient, and has become the crucial point of the contradictions of the Orient. Powerful countries have stretched their strength into China's social life. On one side is China and on the other side is the world. In modern times in China who, after all, is playing the leading role? I think we cannot avoid making a reply to this question.

The basic special point in modern China is nothing else but industrialization, that is, what is usually termed modernization. Adapting to the world tide and progressing toward modernization are the inevitable trend of China's social development. This trend of the outside world and that of China's society are closely linked. The deep and drastic evolution of China's social life displays everywhere the influences of modern industrial production. The nucleus of the so-called question of whether or not China can stand among the peoples of the world and how it has come to stand in the forest of the world's peoples is the problem of whether or not China's society can proceed toward modernization and can prosper and stand by itself in the modern world.

Generally speaking, modern China refers to the period from the Opium War to before the birth of the PRC. During this period, the world's history underwent enormous changes. In this period, the world did not exist unilaterally. Seen from the main flow of history, the First World was the Western capitalist world with Britain as the leading power. The Second World was the socialist world after the October Revolution of the Soviet Union. The world with which China has a liaison is not a single one but is two in number—a capitalist world and a socialist world. They stand opposed to each other. This basic special feature of the pattern of the modern world determines the basic special point of how China can go on the road to modernization.

From the start, the First World appeared before China with aggressive and compulsory force. It changed China from an independent country into a non-independent or semi-independent country. China's society was changed into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. The crisis of the Chinese people worsened increasingly, and the country was on the verge of being partitioned and exterminated. Proceeding from the demands of its own interests, this world propagated the capitalist way of production to China and caused the appearance in China of certain conditions and possibility of starting on the road of modernization. Just like what Acheson wrote in the preface of the "White Paper," it was not entirely fictitious that the West brought science and technology

to China while certain national industries began to appear in the country. But out of its own demands this world did its utmost to suppress the growth of China's national capital, prevented China's national independence, and blocked China's road to modernization. The former and the latter were entirely different in meaning and significance. For the sake of squeezing the blood and sweat of the Chinese people, the former was objectively unavoidable, while the latter was what must be earnestly striven for subjectively.

In the existence and strong influence of the strength of capitalism, progressive Chinese, in endeavoring to modernize China, have no other selection but to learn from the West. But facts have shown that this feasible. Take the case of Sun Yat-sen. When he overthrew the Qing Dynasty in the 1911 Revolution, he limited France and the United States and formed a revolutionary provisional government. With full confidence he sought recognition from the Western countries, but the latter paid no heed to his request. On the contrary, they unanimously supported the "strong man" Yuan Shih-kai, who opposed the revolution, to seize the political power and to continue the maintenance of the semi-colonial rule. This world all along ravaged China for a period of some 110 years. In the 1930's, Japanese imperialism started the aggressive war against China and seized the largest portion of the rich and fertile part of the country. After Japan's failure, the United States started its military intervention and gave full support to the Nanking KMT [Kuomintang] government to carry out a civil war on an unprecedentedly large scale. According to Lattimore who Roosevelt recommended to Chiang Kai-shek to act as his advisor, the logical result of the continuation of this type of intervention would make China become the India of the United States. At that time, what China needed to resolve was how to continue to exist and absolutely not how to enforce or attain modernization.

The Second World came from the internal breakthrough of the capitalist world. Its existence revealed that the capitalist system was not a spotless golden vessel. The value concept of socialism was like a powerful magnet strongly drawing China's progressive elements to search for liberation of the Chinese people and a road out for China's modernization. The founding of the Chinese Communist Party cast a new countenance on China's revolution and made the revolutionists of democratism attain a new understanding of how to go on the road to modernization. Take again the example of Sun Yat-sen: Before the 1911 Revolution, he strongly emphasized the purpose as being the slogan of the French Revolution, namely, "freedom, equality, and universal love." In the 1920's, he resolutely changed his views and advocated that China's Revolution should take "the Soviet Union as the teacher and example." However, at that time the birth of the Second World had taken place only recently and its actual relations with China were then rather limited. Its relations with China were principally on the side of ideology. The big mountains of imperialism and feudalism were heaped on the heads of the Chinese

people. At the time the urgent tasks which could not afford any waiting by the Chinese people was not to spare any bloodshed or sacrifice to pull down the two huge mountains of imperialism and feudalism which had obstructed China's road to modernization and not how to enforce modernization.

From this it can be seen that China's relations with the world have been complex and that the road of China's modernization is especially complex. The roles of the First and Second Worlds are different but also enormous. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people have won, after repeated struggles, the great successes of the national democratic revolution. China has obtained national independence and removed the big mountains obstructing the realization of modernization. Nevertheless, regarding the realization of modernization, history could only leave it to the following era, that is, the present socialist era. This is the basic special feature of China's modernization road formed by modern history. It is not a matter of one's wishes. It is a matter of compulsion. There is no other way out for China.

The day of China's fulfillment of national independence and the democratic revolution is also the day for China's modernization to sweep aside the impediments to the road of progress and also the first step taken toward independence and autonomy. In March 1949, Mao Zedong said: "Attainment of national victory was only the first step taken after completion of the Long March." The what will be the second and third steps? Naturally, they are to devote all efforts to solve the problem of China's modernization. Hence, Mao Zedong followed up with making another exposition. He said: If this first step was worthy to be proud of, then indeed it would be a very minor one. When we looked back several decades later we would feel that it was only the prelude of a long drama. A play should begin with a prelude and the prelude could not be the high tide. In the world's modern environment and in the struggle for China's modernization, modern China after all has finished the first step and opened the curtain for the prolonged drama. Today, people may say that after having spent so much time and only the first step has been completed, is not the progress too little? Actually, the problem is China is not the only actor on the stage, since a number of other actors are in action. They may be called the world powers. To have overcome the obstacles placed by the world powers and complete the step was quite an incomparable victory.

The two forces of foreign countries' aggression and oppression and of the Chinese people's struggle against aggression are locked in battle, being inextricably involved. China has not become colonial and has avoided becoming semi-colonial. Between the outside world and China, who, after all, is playing the leading role? This problem has been raised not only by the Chinese people but also early by the academic circles of the outside world. For example, modern China's relations with the world has been a topic fervently discussed and disputed by scholars in the United States doing

research on China's history. They have also hoped to find an answer to this or similar problems.

According to research and discussions in American scholar Orman's publication, *Discovery of History in China—Writing in the United States on China's Contemporary History*, their viewpoints may be split into several cliques: 1) The "pounding and echoing" clique. Fei Zhengqing and Livanson were the two scholars who first expressed this thought. Its central idea was that the inroads of the West played the main role or leading guideline in China's modern historical development. 2) The "traditional and the modern" clique. This believed that capitalist society was the ultimate ending of the different streams of the countries of the world. China's traditional society has lagged behind, and only through sharp lessons taught by the West would China copy the style of the West and enter the ranks of modernized society. 3) The "imperialism's determination" clique. This clique believed that imperialism was the evil source and the main cause of the various kinds of changes in contemporary China and of Chinese society's collapse and inability to advance. 4) The "China center" clique. This clique believed that the source of China's historical changes came from China's internal factors. Orman himself was a staunch supporter and propagandist of this clique. In his own writings he began with asserting that all along the most important problem of American scholars studying China's history consisted of the distortions caused by racial centralism. The three patterns of the "pounding and echoing" and others had a common point and this was the "Western central pattern" or racism. Seen according to this pattern, all the changes in the 19th and 20th centuries that China passed through and that had some historical significance could only have been changes of the Western type, and these changes could have arisen only through pounding by the West. "Western centralism" has blocked the road of self-change in China's modern society through China's own internal probing and this has led the study of China's contemporary history up a dead alley of extreme shallowness. "China's central viewpoint" upholds that in the study of China's modern history emphasis should be given to China's internal factors, and not to factors from the outside. "China's native society is by no means an extremely lazy structure, or acceptable only to the West's pounding which has changed heaven and earth but is itself an ever-changing entity in possession of its own capacity of movement and of a strong and forceful innate feeling of direction,"¹ and so on.

American scholastic circles called their debate on modern China and the world the debate on the "main theme of the play" in China's history. To conclude, it was a Western mainstream determinism, and a Chinese mainstream determinism. Their discussions covered a rather wide scope and repeatedly revolved around the problem of Western civilization and Chinese tradition. They endeavored to the utmost to explain what after all was the relation between China's modernization and the

outside world. The Western mainstream theory contended that "the West manifested civilization while China manifested barbarism." The demarcation between civilization and barbarism was whether or not there was a high level of development of science and technology. "Inside China's society from beginning to end there has been no way to generate the precondition for industrialization and it requires inroads by the West to provide such a condition." Without the West, one cannot imagine China being able to generate the changes for modernization. "Similarly, what cannot be imagined is that, aside from changes in modernization, there can be any change worthy of being called an important historical change."² Livanson, well-known for his study of China's ideological history, said that all China's problems have come from the West and New China's reform also has its source in the West. He employed one sentence to embrace his own view on this problem: "The Chinese revolution is a revolution to oppose the West and to participate in the West."³ Participating in the West naturally implies participating in the West's modern civilization or modernization. At the end of the 1960's, a number of relatively young American scholars like James Baker and others created and organized the "Committee of Scholars Concerned With Asian Affairs." They offered opposing views. Baker said that imperialism was not fabricated by the Chinese people, and the consequences it brought along were real and could be measured. Over the past 100 years, imperialism has transformed and distorted China's economy, forced it into an undeveloped state until the revolution led by the Communist Party which drove out imperialism "removed the shackles which had tied China to imperialism's structure and only then was China extricated from this unhappy state." The discussions and disputes between the two sides noticeably reflected the final point of attention paid by American scholars in discussing modern China and the world. This is because, in the final analysis, the reason that the West could undertake aggression and oppression on China and that China became the victim of aggression and oppression was that one side had achieved modernization while the other still lagged in modernization.

How to treat the dispute between the American scholastic circles of the two opposing main lines in the study of China's contemporary history is, in reality, the same as treating the dispute on the relationship between China's modernization road and the world and the relevant views thereon. I would like to make the following comments:

If there are people who believe that, regarding these two main lines, either one or the other is right and there is only one that holds, then they will fall into a pit and have no way to extricate themselves. To say that the inroad from the outside has not played a determining role is tantamount to saying that China dragged itself into the state of being semicolonial and becoming an oppressed people. Nobody will believe such ridiculous and baseless words! To say that China's internal strength has not

played the determining role is equivalent to saying that China's national independence has been gracefully bestowed by external aggressive force and was not attained by the Chinese people fighting against and winning victory from all the strong opponents. Similarly, nobody will believe such ridiculous and baseless words. History is a process that involves movement and changes. Static and absolute views cannot scientifically procure an understanding of history. With changes in the situation and conditions, history will likewise change in countenance and conclusion.

Proponents of the Western mainline theory have seen the basic facts of the various powers' inroads into China and have seen that these inroads caused changes in China's social life and violent contradictions and struggle. They described the certain concrete historical facts in this connection. But the formula of "pounding and echoing" could never be a formula anywhere near to the reflection of the historical truths. Regardless of the subjective wishes of the proponents or inventors, this formula first of all conceals the concrete quality of relations between the West and China. It resorted to pounding by the West to make China do the echoing or response and to force the latter to accept Western culture and technology in place of actual quality in the relations between the aggressor and the oppressor and the victims of the aggression and oppression. China actually has been converted from being the aggrieved to becoming the beneficiary. "Echoing" may be said more clearly to be a passive response. Even though it can partially describe certain phenomena erupted in Chinese society through Western aggression, it cannot fully denote the attitude of the Chinese people's opposition to foreign aggression, nor can it estimate the power and strength of the Chinese people. If the theory of "pounding and echoing" can explain history, then why does the West not totally continue the pounding but instead lowers its banners, stops, and retreats from China's great earth? After meeting with the Western world, the social system of this "central kingdom" of China has obviously been found to be too rotten and antiquated. But the power and strength of the Chinese people still can enable them to stand amid the forest of the world's peoples. In the early part of the 1970's, the viewpoints of Fei Zhengqing and others received sharp criticism from another group of American scholars. For example, in the opinion of Baker, American specialists on China problems are the accomplices and originators of the formation of the views of the U.S. Government on the real world in Asia. What the actual facts are should be discussed and decided upon by U.S. scholastic circles.

Professor Fei Zhengqing's views on the relations between the West and China may be said to have been "pursued throughout." In his book *The Great Chinese Revolution* published in the 1980's, he pointed out that the Chinese people, after having traversed many paths, "have now continued for a long time to devote their fervent efforts to national rehabilitation and the goal seems to be in sight." He thus expressed his sympathy for

China's revolution. On the scholastic side, he still maintained the "pounding and echoing" theory. He said, "The West had effected two poundings on China's ideological circles: One was liberalism and one was Marxism, both being the highest stage of the development of imperialism in Western culture." China's adoption of Marxism was a necessity. China's socialism had its merits. Generally speaking, it has made daily living tend to the collective and the group body and not toward the individual. He further compared Mao Zedong with Hong Zhouchuan and said that both of them in the beginning had been influenced by outside theories, but subsequently both extricated themselves from outside control. Hong freed himself from the missionaries, while Mao extricated himself from the Third International. Perhaps we shall not say that the comparison between Mao Zedong and Hong Zhouchuan is utterly incompatible, but regarding his many words about the West's pounding twice on China's ideology, the author on the one hand created much confusion and on the other hand contradicted his own views. For a long time since, the word "West" has not denoted a geographic concept, but has referred to the capitalist social system, including ideology and culture; otherwise Japan, located in the western part of Asia, can hardly be properly considered a "Western nation." The theory of Marxism was the product after the world's entry into capitalism and was also on the opposing side of the West's civilization, that is, the civilization of capitalism. Hence, it was blocked and attacked soon after its appearance by the Western world which was only too pleased to have it exterminated. After socialism's appearance in the world, the two ideologies of "liberalism" and Marxism stood against each other, and in essence what it reflected was the contradiction and opposition of the two systems of capitalism and socialism. The author made no distinction between them, but said "it was the highest stage of the development of imperialism in our Western culture," and seemed to express in an amusing and sarcastic manner that the theory of "pounding and response" did have a definite base. However, when lifting the "West's" mask and revealing the fact that the two are dissociated from each other and oppose each other in ideology, it can be found that their meaning and implications are contrary and that the author was contradicting himself. Since the "West," that is, capitalism, pounded twice on China's ideology, why was it that 1) the response was not capitalism and 2) the response was not colonialism but socialism in opposition to capitalism, and particularly socialism under the unanimous and firm opposition of the Western World? Hong Zhouchuan and Mao Zedong both sought in their respective eras a way out for China, were representatives of China's modernization, and both had been subject to Western influence. Why was it that they shook off the control and failed to respond in accordance with Western influence? All of these were self-contradictory. The theory of the Western main line had no way to rationally explain these contradictions.

The "China center view" appears to have looked rather lightly on the role of the outside world and has not

sufficiently estimated the poisonous influences generated by outside forces entering deep into the internal social structure of China. Its proponents' concept of "internal direction" is not clear, or perhaps it has become an antiquated psychological historical view. But China's principal-line theory is correct and convincing in its criticism that the West has played the active role and China has played the pessimistic and passive role on the modern historical stage and also in their criticism of the remnants of the viewpoints of colonialism. They have strongly contended that China is an entity with its own operational power and China's contemporary history is formed by the various enormous forces generated by the internal structure of this entity of China continuously exerting their role, continuously selecting their own direction, and opening up the road to proceed forward. In other words, the evolutions and changes in China's contemporary history are ultimately determined by China's internal forces. Undoubtedly, this is in line with the essence of historical movement.

Scholars of the "China center view" have exerted their efforts to find out China's internal conditions. It is reasonable to pay attention to the characteristics of the Chinese race itself. But in Orman's research and commentaries these cannot be entirely seen. They have collected extensive materials and their discussions covered from top to bottom and from the ancient ages to the present, but, of the views and comments on the Chinese people's characteristics and culture expressed by certain Western historical or notable personages such as Hart, Lattimore, and others, they have not made any mention at all. At the time of the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion or Yihetuan movement, Hart had served for 37 years as chief commissioner of the Chinese Maritime Customs, then under the control of imperialism, and he was well conversant with China's affairs. At that time, foreigners believed that the "Chinese people lacked patriotism and love for their own race and were rich in the quality of subordination!" And the talk of carving up China was very prevalent. Hart believed that carving up China was not workable. He said, "The Yihetuan was a sort of national uprising, the Chinese people possess a patriotic spirit. They demand resistance, and so can resist foreign aggression." "If China were to be carved up, the whole country would jointly resist those foreign rulers responsible for the carving up work." Hart expressed here the characteristics of the Chinese race. The stronger the force of oppression and aggression from foreign countries, the increasingly fierce would be China's struggle against aggression and oppression and the stronger would be its strength. If foreign countries wished to divide up China, China would become united and carry out the struggle against aggression. In today's world, it would be impossible for one or several aggressive nations to conquer and rule China and its 400 million people. The Boxer Rebellion or Yihetuan Movement has proved the correctness of this point. Lattimore lived for a long time in China and was well versed in China's traditional culture. He said that no other nation in the world has as large a population as China with its high degree of

unanimity in bodily structure and culture. "Several thousand years ago, Confucius invented a formula like this: Let those willing to wear foreign clothes be foreigners and those willing to wear Chinese clothes be Chinese. In other words, if your behavior is like that of a foreigner, you will be treated as a foreigner; and if your behavior is like that of a Chinese you will be treated as a Chinese." Lattimore's stress on the unanimity of Chinese people's culture is a fact. Over the past 2,000 years, the history of China's society has developed. The Chinese people's culture naturally has not remained fixed or unchanged, but has become all the more enriched. But from various examinations, the point of their unanimity and their common feeling in ideology and concept have not been unimportant. This definitely is one of the outstanding characteristics of the Chinese people's culture. The books of Orman and the like have not mentioned this point. Hart and Lattimore have pointed it out. This serves to show that certain people in the West have acquired an understanding of the Chinese people's nature and the characteristics of the people's culture. Their observations have gone deep and are not like passing images.

At this point we are in a position to answer people's questions about whether or not China has the ability to stand in the forest of the world's peoples and how to stand among the world's peoples.

First, China can stand by itself in the forest of the world's peoples. Contemporary China has not realized the kind of modernization of the West, but by its own strength it has opened up the door of the modernized world and has taken the first step.

Second, China will take the large road of human civilization coming from the forest of the world's peoples. China's taking the socialist road to realize today's so-called modernization has come from a historical choice. That the people of a nation with 5,000 years of civilization and a population which is one-fifth that of the world have taken the road selected by history is in itself a forceful illustration that it is not a deviation from the road of world civilization but is suited to it. As for what kind of accomplishments have been made in China's modernization now and why it is still in the ranks of the developing countries, these are questions not for discussion here.

The kind of relations between old China and the world have been terminated for over 40 years. But history and reality, after all, cannot be entirely cut apart. They and the social life of present-day China and the world have been in liaison via many channels. Today, after 40 years, the world is going through the most drastic changes since World War II. There are people who greet these changes with joy and highly appraise them and there are people who consider them as having gone backward or feel them to be unexpected. At the beginning of the 20th century, people made forecasts on the prospects of the coming century which may be of interest to researchers in history. Let us review them here.

According to materials collected by some people, the principal magazines and newspapers of that time in the West reflected a basic feeling of satisfaction and content. For example, the 1 January 1900 issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES declared: "In the United States, we are progressing and unlimited prosperity is anticipated. This will place our country in the front rank of the world." On the same day, THE WASHINGTON POST reiterated the mission of the U.S. colonies abroad, saying, "They are ours; all the anti-expansionist talk is like the chirping of magpies, which is meaningless and laughable." Britain's THE TIMES published an article saying, "We have reason to believe that at the end of the 20th century, as at the end of the 19th century, Britain and her children will have weathered the tests with flying colors, and by that time, as the people of a united empire, they will have lived and prospered generation after generation and become the rampart of mankind's enterprises." Papers in France and in Germany likewise expressed optimism regarding their culture and people. Suddenly, in 1917 a group of Bolsheviks appeared on the scene; and Russia, which occupied one-sixth of the world's area, overthrew the capitalist system and set up a socialist system. In the two world wars people killed each other on an unprecedented scale. After World War II, socialism erupted in Europe, Asia, and Latin America. A heavy blow was dealt to capitalism, which soon fell into great chaos. Who of the optimistic forecasters early in the century could have anticipated such consequences?

Society's fixed contradictions have continued to exist. With the increasing development of society's productive forces, changes in the world's history and replacement of the old order and relations by a new order and relations have become increasingly rapid. China has a saying to the effect that "being the river's eastern bank for 30 years, it may become the river's western bank in the next 30 years," meaning the unpredictable changes in the river's water flow. History's long river likewise flows endlessly and its main flow has its stages. It is only hoped that capitalism is not the peak of development of man's civilization. If indeed it has reached the peak, then like the report of the Roman Club had said about the limitations of world development, there would be no hope for mankind. Anything that reaches its pinnacle implies its imminent death and destruction. In such a case, the stream of mankind's civilization, regardless of how it has turned and twisted, will ultimately reach its end. Several years ago and recently, forecasting views on the 21st century frequently appeared in newspapers and magazines. Political commentators and social activists like Nixon, Taisaku Ikeda, and others have separately published their writings on the "prospects of the 21st century." There is no doubt that the 21st century will be one of the fastest changes in the world. The whole course of procedure between contemporary China and the world has told us that in the past China assumed the status of a semicolonial and colonial state to liaise with the world. Today's China is an independent country and one of the world's great countries. Its status in the liaison

with the world has changed and its views on the treatment and understanding of the world have changed completely. China will proceed on the existing road to make itself and the world more closely related in the new developments to push forward the state's modernization program. In talks about history, it is permissible to link yesterday, today, and tomorrow. What has been said here consists of the wishes of a history researcher. As for making any predictions and descriptions, this is the task of the futurist scholars.

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Footnotes

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Negation of China's Constitution or of the Basic System Under the Constitution Is Not Tolerated—Refuting Viewpoints Favoring Bourgeois Liberalization on 'Amending the Constitution'

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[Text] Amending the Constitution is a state affair of great importance, as well as normal legislative work. Article 62 of the Constitution provides that to amend it is the first function and power of the NPC [National People's Congress]. In order to perfect the Constitution, it is permissible for some constitutional scholars and people to propose, through the proper channels, their opinions on amending it. For some people who uphold bourgeois liberalization viewpoints however, reforms conflicts with the current Constitution. They have widely discussed the "constitutional crisis," attacked the Preamble of the Constitution, opposed the attitude of taking the four cardinal principles as the basic guiding ideology of the Constitution, opposed the state's basic system prescribed by the Constitution, advocated the capitalist political and social systems, totally negated

China's current Constitution, and urged that the Constitution be put under an "overall amendment." If we amend the Constitution according to their intentions, the nature of China's current Constitution, as well as the basic systems of the state prescribed by it, will be completely changed. Therefore, to safeguard the authoritativeness and solemnity of China's current Constitution and guarantee smooth progress in implementation of the Constitution and in China's socialist modernization, we must clearly distinguish the right from wrong confused by them.

I. The Guiding Ideology of the Current Constitution Must Be Upheld

The four cardinal principles are the guiding ideology for China's current Constitution, the common political basis upon which all nationalities in China make united progress, and the basic guarantee for carrying out reforms and opening up, as well as socialist modernization. There would be no socialist constitution in China without the guiding ideology of the four cardinal principles. Therefore, for those who uphold bourgeois liberalization viewpoints, they must first "break through" or negate the guiding ideology of the Constitution. In order to negate the guiding ideology of the Constitution they criticized the Preamble. In this article, I am going to refute some of their major viewpoints.

First, it is said that the Preamble of the current Constitution is one that "praises political declaration." It means that a person "sings the praises of somebody." This is simply a statement without regard for the truth. Generally, the so-called act of praising carries a bad connotation. It refers to intentional acts of exaggerating or boosting a person's deeds out of nothing. We all know that to proceed from reality and to seek truth from facts are a basic viewpoint of Marxism. It is also a basic criterion observed by China's legislation. Thirty-six years ago, when China drafted the 1954 Constitution, Liu Shaoqi clearly pointed out from the very beginning in his report on the draft constitution that "the draft constitution is a summary of history and experience," and that China "drafted the constitution on the basis of facts." He also explained in detail China's history and experience over the past century and more. One reason why the 1954 Constitution was a good one is because it was based from start to finish on the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts. The 1982 Constitution carried forward such a fine tradition. After studying problems developed after adoption of the 1975 and 1978 Constitutions, and by proceeding from reality, we correctly summed up China's experience since the beginning of the 20th century. In particular, we drew bitter lessons from the Great Cultural Revolution, and explained that the four cardinal principles, as well as reforming and opening up, must be upheld; it was prescribed that, from then on, the basic task of the state was to centralize its strength to carry out socialist modernization. This is an absolutely correct summary and an advantage of China's current Constitution. It is irrefutable that, under the leadership of the party over the past 50 years and more,

the people of China have won the victory of the revolution and made great achievements in construction. It was absolutely necessary to make a truth-seeking analysis in the Preamble of the Constitution. Nevertheless, our party is still plagued by many problems for a variety of reasons, including the influence of bourgeois liberalization. It is wrong to say that we paid no attention to this issue. Anyone who is not prejudiced may see that our party always takes a serious and earnest attitude toward its own problems. For those who uphold bourgeois liberalization however, on the one hand they take our party's current problems in certain aspects as general problems and negate the greatness and correctness of our party as a whole. On the other hand, in an attempt to negate the Preamble of the Constitution, they confuse the successful past experiences in the party's leadership of the people, which was summed up in a truth-seeking manner, with the act of singing the praises of somebody. This is simply untenable, whether in terms of theory or in terms of logic. Furthermore, as a matter of fact, they simply cannot give an example illustrating that a historical event cited by the Preamble of the Constitution was not a fact or was exaggerated. Clearly, the purpose of using this means to stir up confusion is to simply gag other people's mouths to attain their goal of negating the guiding ideology stated in the Constitution.

Second, it is said that "a constitution is a party's manifestation of its account of achievements and wishes." Such criticism fails completely to tally with facts. History is created by people. This is a basic viewpoint of Marxist historical materialism. The Preamble of the Constitution sums up China's history and experience over the past century and more according to Marxist historical materialism and is imbued from start to finish with the viewpoint that history is created by people. The Preamble first points out: "The people of all nationalities in China have jointly created a splendid culture and have a glorious revolutionary tradition." "After 1840... the Chinese people waged wave upon wave of heroic struggles for national independence and liberation, and for democracy and freedom." It also states: "In 1949... the Chinese people of all nationalities led by the CPC with Chairman Mao Zedong as its leader... won the great victory of the new democratic revolution and founded the PRC. Thereupon, the Chinese people took state power into their own hands and became masters of the country." "Under the leadership of the CPC... the Chinese people of all nationalities will continue to... turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy." The Preamble also states: "The PRC is a united, multinational state built jointly by the people of all its nationalities." "This Constitution affirms the achievements of the struggles of the Chinese people of all nationalities..." Thus, we can see that every part of the Preamble, as well as the current Constitution as a whole, reflects the viewpoint that history is created by people. The Preamble of the Constitution also clearly points out, "In the long years of revolution and construction there has been formed under the leadership of the CPC a

broad, patriotic united front that is composed of democratic parties and people's organizations and embraces all socialist working people, all patriots who support socialism, and all patriots who stand for the reunification of the motherland. This united front will continue to be consolidated and developed." To assert categorically that "a constitution is a party's manifestation of its account of achievements and wishes" is simply a subjective assumption. Indeed, the Constitution details the leadership of the Communist Party, about the victory won, as well as achievements in construction, by all nationalities under the leadership of the Communist Party. Since it is a historical fact, it must be stated clearly. Only under the correct leadership of the party could the masses win the victory of revolution and make achievements in construction. If a constitution does not reflect such facts, it does not tally with history and fails to illustrate the historical background for developing the current Constitution. If we do not sum up such experience, the people will lose their development direction.

On the issue of how to draft provisions concerning the leadership of the Communist Party, all localities across China, as well as democratic parties and nonparty personages, put forward many proposals in the course of amending the 1980 and 1982 versions of the constitution. One of their major proposals was to manifest and embody the leadership of the Communist Party in the Preamble, but make no specific provisions in the constitution's clauses. The then committee for amendments to the constitution adopted this opinion and embodied the wishes of various democratic parties and the masses, including nonparty personages. Those provisions of the current Constitution on party leadership are at an appropriate level and are consistent with the provisions in the Preamble of the 1954 Constitution. If one holds that "a constitution is a party's manifestation of its account of achievements and wishes," it is a blasphemy of the Constitution and the wishes of the masses. The current Constitution embodies the history and wishes of the Chinese people, including various democratic parties and nonparty personages, to seek and build a good socialist country under the leadership of the Communist Party. It is a perfect match between the correct stand of the CPC and the common wishes of all nationalities, rather than the history or wishes of a single party. The so-called statement that "a constitution is a party's manifestation of its account of achievements and wishes" is a view forced onto the current Constitution. This is a groundless charge against the party leadership, and an act that aims to sow dissension between the party and various democratic parties and non party personages, and between the party and the masses. Its purpose is also to use such excuses to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party.

Third, it was said that the Preamble of the Constitution embodies an autocratic doctrine that "with power in one's hands, one owns everything," and that "power is above and determines everything." This is again an

intentional misinterpretation of the Constitution. Marxists attach great importance to political power and clearly state that the basic question of revolution is the question of political power. However, what the party stresses is the political power of the people, and that the people must seize and establish their political power and must build their political power. The people's interests are above everything. The party does not have its own interests. The basic interests of the people are the interests of the party. The interests of the people are consistent with those of the party. One of the party's tasks is to struggle for the establishment and consolidation of the people's political power. Only when the people have their political power can they determine their own destiny and the destiny of the state. It is this basic viewpoint of Marxism that determines that China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship, that all power in China belongs to the people, that the organs through which the people exercise state power are the NPC and the People's Congresses at different levels, and that the People's Congresses at different levels are responsible to the people and subject to their supervision. These clearly indicate the relations between state power and the people. Although many shortcomings and problems in the construction of China's regime are yet to be overcome and rectified, they have never changed the socialist nature of China's political power nor its relations with the people. Those people who uphold bourgeois liberalization totally misinterpret the current Constitution and the nature of China's state power, saying that "the Preamble of our Constitution sings the praises of somebody and is not 'democratic politics.' Rather, it is an autocratic doctrine that 'with power in one's hands, one owns everything,' and that 'power is above and determines everything,' so that the Constitution has become a tool of the strongmen for making decisions." With the use of distorted facts, this thus calls the new democratic political power of the people in China's history a feudal and autocratic doctrine. In addition, it is one in which "the power of a class, a party, or a person 'determines everything.'" This reflects that they were disintegrated with the people's democratic dictatorship, about the working class, and about leadership by the Communist Party. Nevertheless, facts are facts. Nobody is able to wipe out the democratic nature of China's Constitution or the fact that China's political power is held by the people.

On the one hand, people who uphold bourgeois liberalization defame the guiding ideology of China's Constitution; and on the other, they put forward their "guiding ideology." First, they hold that "a constitution is a kind of promise, which the parties concerned must observe on the basis of equality; it is a kind of contractual relationship between those who govern and the governed." In fact, there is nothing new in this viewpoint. Rather, it obviously bears the mark of the theory of social contracts proposed by the school of natural law on the origins of state and laws. Even this theory of "contractual relations" has long been regarded by some bourgeois jurists as nonscientific and obsolete. Marx held that, in the

wake of the development of private ownership and classes, and the rise of conflicts of interests between classes, its purpose was to safeguard social relations and social order which were favorable to the ruling class. That the ruling class formulates the constitution and laws is simply because it needs to safeguard its rule. It is simply impossible for those who govern to reach any "agreement" or "promise" with the governed. Under no circumstances do laws become "promises" observed by opposing classes on the basis of equality. Rather, they embody the relations between those who govern and the governed. It is impossible for a bourgeois constitution to embody the basic interests of the proletariat and other working people, nor has one ever been "observed" by both the bourgeois and proletariat "on the basis of equality." Over the past century and more, Chinese people waged wave upon wave of struggles, shed blood, and sacrificed their lives because they wanted to overthrow the rule of imperialism and the class of feudal landlords to become masters of their country. Never were they after this kind of "promise" "observed" by those who rule and the ruled "on the basis of equality!" In order to meet their political needs, people who uphold bourgeois liberalization do not even spare such an obsolete and supra-class theory as "contractual relations." Second, they held that "absolute power should not exist and a balance of different types of powers should be maintained." This criticizes China's Constitution, saying that it safeguards the so-called "absolute power" and that it is not one that "puts restrictions on power," so that it should no longer be there but should be replaced by "a balance of different types of power." Such a balance of different types of power refers to the division of executive power, legislative power, and judicial power. In other words, it is a practice of diversifying power and mutual constraints among them. The theory of the division of three powers was a product of the struggle against feudalist dictatorship in the early days of bourgeois development, and it has played its historical role. Later, its status was affirmed as it suited the internal struggles among factions of the bourgeois and the need to oppose the proletariat. This is a bourgeois constitutional principle known to every man. The fact that some people want to negate the guiding ideology of China's current Constitution and strive to advocate such things, simply reveals that they are the promoters and supporters of the bourgeois constitutional principle.

II. The Basic System of the State Under the Current Constitution Must Not Be Changed

China's "state system," "political system," and socioeconomic system are the basic systems prescribed by China's Constitution. These systems are the basic symbols indicating that China is a socialist country. Any change in such systems means changes in the nature of China. It is because of this that those who uphold bourgeois liberalization, in order to negate the socialist system, spare no effort in propagating the bourgeois political and economic system, while they wantonly attack the basic system of the state prescribed by the

Constitution. We must criticize intensively such bourgeois liberalization viewpoints and resolutely safeguard all kinds of basic systems of the state prescribed by the Constitution.

1. The nature of China's political power must not be changed. Article 1 of the Constitution prescribes China's state system as the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. This clause has clearly indicated that the nature of China's political power is the political power of the people, which is essentially different from that of the bourgeoisie as well as the exploiting classes in other countries. In order to oppose the people's democratic dictatorship and to change the nature of China's political power, those people who uphold bourgeois liberalization describe the party as an embodiment of the autocratic doctrine, as mentioned above. In addition, they even openly propose abolition of party leadership in the constitution, saying that "no party name should appear in the constitution," and the like. We all understand that the people's democratic dictatorship can only be, and must be, under the leadership of the working class; in the course of implementing the people's democratic dictatorship, the working class realizes its leadership over political power through its vanguard, the Communist Party. This is one of the basic symbols and distinctive features of the people's democratic dictatorship and is a fundamental difference from the bourgeois dictatorship. The CPC equipped itself with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, has stood many tests, and is the only party which could lead the Chinese people to materialize their basic interests and to proceed toward a happy future. History and facts have shown that, without the party's leadership, there would be no core for the people's democratic dictatorship, no direction for development, and nature would be changed. In addition, without the people's democratic dictatorship, there would simply be no such thing as the construction of socialism, and the historical mission of the proletariat would never be completed. Therefore, we must see through the intention of those who advocate bourgeois liberalization to abolish the party leadership from the constitution, and we must resolutely safeguard the leading role of the party in the political power of the state. In order to change the nature of political power, those who advocate bourgeois liberalization also said that there are "no restrictions on power," that no "emphasis is placed on the prevention of despotic rule and harsh persecution of the people," and so on. This means that the people's democratic dictatorship simply ignores democracy and does not take the masses as the basis. Such statements turn things completely upside down. Another prominent characteristic of the people's democratic dictatorship is that it takes the worker-peasant alliance as the basis and has an extensive patriotic united front. It refers to the dictatorship of the masses against hostile elements and it has an extensive base in the masses. China's governments at different levels are governments of the people themselves. The authority of such governments is entrusted by the people

and is exercised according to their wishes. Facts have shown that, under the leadership of the party, China's governments at different levels, as well as their personnel, have been, over the past 41 years, responsible to the people, and have submitted themselves to supervision by them. As they did well in performing their duties of serving the people, they have been given support and are trusted by hundreds of millions of people. Of course, due to various historical and social reasons the phenomena of bureaucratism, dishonest behavior, and even corruption among certain government organs still exist in varying degrees. Both the party and the people have always used a variety of measures to rectify and overcome them. Those people who advocate bourgeois liberalization criticize, saying that there are "no restrictions on power," that no "emphasis is placed on the prevention of any despotic rule and harsh persecution of the people," and so on. This only reveals that they are hostile to the people's democratic dictatorship, and reveals their actual goal of replacing proletariat dictatorship by bourgeois dictatorship, which is a vain attempt.

2. We must resolutely safeguard the system of people's congresses. China's political structure is the system of people's congresses. It is the basic political system of China. The system of people's congresses adopts the principles of democratic centralization, about which Article 3 of the Constitution has made detailed provisions. In order to negate the system of people's congresses, those who uphold bourgeois liberalization openly declared: "The 'system of democratic centralization' should be limited to the clauses of the party charter, and we should not take it as the generally acknowledged truth of the community." "Article 3 of the Constitution should be amended to say 'all state organs in the PRC shall implement the system of democratic optimization.'" "The authority in charge of the optimization is the NPC." They even talk nonsense, saying that, at present, "the most important imperfections are, first, the engulfment of democracy by centralization, and, second, the usurpation of rights through the use of power; and in most cases, democracy is replaced by centralization." According to their viewpoint, democratic centralization cannot be written into the constitution. It seems that now there is only centralization and no democracy, and there is only usurpation of the rights of citizens by state officials, so that the rights of citizens are not protected. Obviously, those who advocate bourgeois liberalization have confused bureaucratism, abuse of power, and similar acts in certain state organs with the democratic centralization prescribed by the Constitution. They take democratic centralization as a scourge, and attempt to abolish this principle. Their purpose is to abolish democratic centralization. In other words, they want to negate the system of people's congresses, which carries out this principle. What they want to implement is the so-called "system of democratic optimization." In fact, it is the same old tune of the division of three powers and the parliamentary system adopted by the West. They spare no effort to advocate the bourgeois parliamentary system, and hold that only the parliamentary system of

the West is a democratic political system and that China's system of people's congresses is not a democratic system and embodies neither any restrictions on power nor any constraints. We hold that as a political system of capitalist countries, the parliamentary system of the West is established on the economic basis of private ownership of the means of production, and serves the purpose of safeguarding the rule of the bourgeoisie in the area of economics and politics. In the final analysis, the so-called "division of powers" and "constraints" under that system cannot hide the class nature that they are but an instrument for safeguarding the interests of the bourgeoisie. China's history and experience in the past century showed that the bourgeois division of three powers, the parliamentary system, and multipartyism are simply impractical in China and incompatible with China's socialist system. On the contrary, China's system of people's congresses which adopts democratic centralization embodies the socialist democratic nature of China's political power and is a much more superior system: First, deputies to China's People's Congresses at different levels are elected on a democratic basis and are subject to supervision by the people. This indicates that the People's Congresses are truly representative institutions of the people. That they practice collective leadership shows that they are highly democratic institutions. Second, deputies to the People's Congresses at different levels elect and supervise other state organs and collectively exercise, according to law, the authority of the state organs at various levels. This shows that the congresses are highly centralized and efficient institutions. Our experience over the past decades has proved that the system of people's congresses has reflected the unanimity of basic interests of the whole people under the socialist system, that it is a socialist political system marked with Chinese characteristics, and that it receives sincere support from the masses. Any attempt to replace the system of people's congresses with the parliamentary system of the West is an act that is against the wishes and interests of the masses. It will be opposed by hundreds of million of people.

3. We must uphold the socioeconomic system prescribed by the Constitution. Upon summing up China's experience in economic construction, China's Constitution prescribes that public ownership of the means of production is the basis of China's socialist economic system, that the state-owned economy is the major force of China's economy, and that the socialist property owned by the public is sacred and inviolable, and so on. All these are the basic symbols that differentiate China's socialist economic system from the bourgeois economic system. At the same time, the Constitution prescribes the development of a varied form of economy, as well as the role of market readjustment, thereby reflecting the spirit of reform and opening up and the spirit that integrates highly principled acts with flexible ones. By making progress in this direction as prescribed by the Constitution, it is certain that China will build and develop a socialist economy marked with Chinese characteristics.

In an attempt to negate ownership by the whole people however, those who advocate bourgeois liberalization hold that ownership by the whole people, which is the major force of China's socialist public ownership, had brought about an "economy of speculation by officials" and "a drop in productive forces, poverty, and backwardness." In fact, China's economy rose sharply because we have practiced the public ownership of the means of production. As for the phenomenon of "official speculation," it is true that it exists. But it is because, in the course of substituting the old system with the new one, some socioeconomic relations are yet to be readjusted, the legal system is yet to be perfected, and because there were mistakes and shortcomings in our work, and so on. Under no circumstances was it because of ownership by the whole people that is prescribed by the Constitution.

Furthermore, there is a viewpoint advocating an amendment to Article 6 of the Constitution, which governs the basis of the socialist economic system, to "ownership by the whole people, collective ownership by the working people, and ownership by individuals." This does not tally with the provisions of Article 6 of the Constitution, which reads that, in China, "the basis of the economic system is socialist public ownership of the means of production, namely, ownership by the whole people and collective ownership by the working people," and the provisions of Article 11, which reads that "the individual economy of working people is a complement to the socialist public economy. The state protects the lawful rights and interests of the individual economy. The state guides, helps, and supervises the individual economy by exercising administrative control." The purpose for China to insist on the principle of developing various economies by taking public ownership as the principal part, is because this would give better and full play to the superiority of the socialist economy, and China's economy would develop in a faster, better way. Under no circumstances does it want to weaken or eliminate the major role of public ownership, still less does it want "privatization" of the economy. While China encourages the individual economy, within the scope permitted by law, to develop in an active manner, it uses economic, administrative, and legal means to supervise the economy and give guidance. The Constitution has properly prescribed the mutual relations among various forms of the economy. It is absolutely correct that its purpose is to make each form of the economy play its proper role within its own legal position.

But the worst is that some viewpoints hold that we should amend Paragraph 1 of Article 13, which prescribes that "the state protects the right of citizens to own lawfully earned income, savings, houses, and other lawful property" to one that reads "private property owned by citizens is sacred and inviolable." This is an open way of advocating the principles of a bourgeois constitution. It is known to everyone that the spirit as well as the basic content of the constitution of a capitalist country is based on private ownership. The bourgeoisie

takes the sacredness and inviolability of private property as the most basic principle of its constitution. This is purely because of its purpose to safeguard capitalist private ownership and protect the situation that a few owners can own the means of production in society and that they can exploit and suppress the laboring people. In a socialist society, the system of exploiting a person by another person is eliminated, and the socialist public ownership of the means of production is established. This is the economic basis on which depends the political power under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance and the constitution. Therefore, China's Constitution expressly provides that the publicly owned socialist properties are sacred and inviolable. Obviously, those who advocate bourgeois liberalization encourage us to make China's constitution provide that "private properties are sacred and inviolable." This means their desire to negate the socialist system, to make China's constitution become completely a bourgeois constitution, and to make China take a step back to the road of capitalism. This simply goes against the interests and wishes of all nationalities in China.

III. China's Current Constitution Is a Good One

While criticizing the Preamble of the Constitution and the basic system of state prescribed by it, those who uphold bourgeois liberalization openly claim that the Constitution is "plagued by so many problems that they cannot be settled just by making a few changes." They advocate that "the current Constitution should be amended on a large scale, and a new one should be drafted from scratch." After all, it is a significant question whether China's current Constitution is a good one, whether we should maintain it, or if it is not good, as bourgeois liberalization advocates, whether it needs an "overall amendment." We hold that the current Constitution is a good one, which is reflected in the following points:

First, it is formulated by taking Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the guide. In his report on the amended draft of the constitution, Comrade Peng Zhen explained in detail that the general guiding ideology for amending the draft was the four cardinal principles, and that it is based substantially on the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and that of the 12th CPC Congress. The current Constitution was adopted in 1982, and was another good one following the 1954 version. The fact that China was able to adopt such a good constitution following 10 years of turmoil, having just accomplished the work of bringing order out of chaos in terms of guiding ideology, is because it upheld the correct guiding ideology.

Second, it integrates theory with practice. The current Constitution, while insisting on taking Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology, gives consideration to the actual situation in China. We did not copy indiscriminately from another

model of a foreign country. In view of the fact that China is a large, populous country where the development of economy and culture is uneven and the situation is very complicated, and that China's economy is rather backward, the provisions of the current Constitution appear only in the form of principles. The provisions do not address any problem that cannot be settled within a certain period. Therefore, the current Constitution is one that conforms to China's reality and embodies China's characteristics.

Third, highly principled acts are integrated with flexible ones. The Constitution upholds such principles as the four cardinal principles, system of democratic centralization, socialist legal system, equality and unity among nationalities, and so forth. At the same time, it is marked by flexibility. For instance, in order to realize the unity of the state and the integrity of its territory, Article 31, which enforces the principle of "one country, two systems," was added to the constitution, thereby reflecting a high level of flexibility.

Fourth, it integrates China's experience with that of foreign countries. In addition to summing up China's history and experience over the past century and more, particularly our experience during the Great Cultural Revolution, the current Constitution was drafted by referring to the constitutions of foreign countries.

Fifth, the Constitution is relatively stable and tallies with reforms. By stability, we mean that the content of the Constitution is able to conform to the situation of the state and society for a rather long period without making any major amendments. Upon taking into consideration the authoritative nature of fundamental laws, and, following the 1975 and 1978 revisions to the Constitution, the unstable effect on the masses that another constitutional revisions might have, we strived to keep the current Constitution stable. At the same time, the current Constitution attaches great importance to policies of reform and opening up, which are reflected in the Preamble, general principles, and various constitutional clauses.

Sixth, it integrates the opinions of the leadership with those of the masses. It took two years and more to formulate the current Constitution. It was done under the auspices and leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the NPC. The Central Politburo and the Secretariat held eight meetings to discuss the amended draft of the constitution. Opinions on the draft were solicited across the state on three occasions. This includes a four-month discussion on the draft by all the people. The volume of opinions collected during this period was so large, the scope of areas covered by such opinions was so wide, and the content was so rich that they reached an astonishing level. The current Constitution is a product of wisdom of all people across the state under the leadership of the party.

Seventh, it is proved by practice. It has been more than seven years since adoption of the current Constitution.

Though China has seen great changes in its political and economic situation, our practice has proved that the content of the Constitution is correct, feasible, and tallies with China's actual situation. It encourages and promotes the development of China's socialist undertakings, particularly the socialist legal system, which is based on the Constitution and is taking shape.

Completely ignoring the above-mentioned facts, those people who uphold bourgeois liberalization attempt to conduct the so-called "overall revisions" of the current Constitution. In fact, they want to totally negate the current Constitution so that they may start their own one. What is their own constitution? What is the appearance of the "new constitution" they are going to draft? We may find the answer by reading a host of remarks made by them. Just as has been mentioned above, the major features of the so-called "new constitution" are: First, to substitute the guiding ideology of the current Constitution with the viewpoint of a bourgeois constitution; second, to make fundamental changes in the basic socialist systems prescribed by the Constitution, to advocate implementation of capitalist political and economic systems. Simply put, the so-called "new constitution" is an out-and-out bourgeois constitution.

The emergence of the "overall revisions" theory is by no means accidental. It is known to everyone that a constitution is the fundamental law of a state. Any change in the nature of the constitution indicates changes in the nature of that state. It is because of this that it is natural for those who uphold bourgeois liberalization to request that the Constitution, which is the most sensitive realm of law, reflect their wishes and desires. The "overall revision" theory is just an inevitable product of the thinking of bourgeois liberalization, which flooded the country several years ago.

Though there are a few people who attempt to insist on totally negating the current Constitution as well as the basic system of the state prescribed by it, their viewpoints are extremely harmful. Therefore, in order to further implement and enforce the Constitution, we must thoroughly criticize this bourgeois liberalization that negates the current Constitution, as well as the basic system of the state prescribed by it, and other erroneous viewpoints, to safeguard the authoritativeness and solemnity of China's current Constitution.

Strategic Position of and Measures for Developing Western Regions in the 1990's

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[Article by Ma Hong (3456 3163)]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country has enforced the correct guideline of internal invigoration and external opening and, be it in the eastern coastal regions or the central or western regions, economic development has made enormous progress. At present, our country is formulating the

Eighth Five-Year Plan and the medium-term plan for the next 10 years. An important problem regarding them is how, concurrently with carrying out the coastal regions development strategy, to speed up development of the western regions.

Strategic Position of Opening Up the Western Regions

Speeding the opening up of the western regions is beneficial to the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of our country's national economy.

Since the founding of the Republic, after many years of effort, we have set up an independent and relatively integrated system of industry and national economy. Nevertheless, for a long time there has been a list of structural contradictions in existence, such as weakness in the agricultural foundation, weakness in the basic industries, redundant development of the processing industry, and many industries and trades showing a surplus in production capacity; as a result, this has attracted periodic economic fluctuations of large proportions.

The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee resolved to shift the major work of the party and the state to the side of economic construction, carry out the guideline of reform and opening and, at the same time, make a big and important shift in the strategy of economic development, putting in first place the coordinated development of agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry. Beginning at the end of 1978, our rural areas successively put into operation the system of contracted responsibility on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, agricultural production increased on a large scale, and the rural commodity economy developed rapidly. At the same time, the shift in the agricultural labor force to nonagricultural occupations was made, while township and town enterprises flourished. Seen from industry itself, beginning with the "Sixth Five-Year Plan," the guideline of the "six priorities" for light industry has been enforced and in reality the priority development of light industry was in effect up to the last stage of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. However, the "bottlenecked" state of the basic industries in economic development was further aggravated. So far as the regions are concerned, the major points of opening to the outside world and state investment were principally placed on the eastern coastal regions and in these regions the major point of development was basically the various kinds of processing industry. Thus, during the whole of the 1980's light industry and township and town enterprises based mainly on light industry attained a rapid development while the basic industries relatively lagged behind, and energy and mining resources of the western regions sorely needed by the national economy did not attain the needed development.

In the last 10 years, the strained state in energy, communications, and raw materials has become increasingly aggravated. Although quite a large portion of the state budget was earmarked for such "bottleneck" sectors as

energy, communications, transport, and raw materials, the ratio of the financial revenue which can be centrally employed by the state has been decreasing yearly; therefore, it has not been possible to greatly increase the amount of investment in basic industries. Consequently, it has not been possible, as in the past several five-year plans, to make large investments in the western regions. Furthermore, the artificially low prices of "upper reach products," such as energy and raw materials, created by mandatory plan are incurring losses, while the prices of "lower reach products" of the processing industry are regulated by the market and tend to be high in price and profits. Practically all of the funds outside the budget held by local governments and enterprises have been invested in the processing industry, particularly the light processing industry. Naturally, seen objectively, since the amount of funds held by the localities and the enterprises is rather limited, decidedly there are difficulties in their being invested in the basic industries and trades such as energy, communications, transport, and raw materials, which generally require a long period of turnover and recovery. This has thus led to inflation in the production capacity of the processing industry, to the over-introduction and over-importation of equipment for the processing industry, particularly the over-introduction of production lines for durable consumer goods, with the introduction and importation structures of the various provinces and regions being all alike in this regard. On the other hand, there are few or no resources left to purchase the advanced technology and equipment sorely needed by the extraction and raw materials industries, thus causing the basic industries to lag behind in development in comparison with the development of the processing industry.

Proceeding from the actual conditions of our country's industrial structure, we must make major efforts in the 1990's to solve the problem of imbalance in the industrial structure, that is, placing importance on developing the basic industries and facilities such as agriculture, energy, raw materials, communications, and transport and, based on the principle of comparative benefits according to trends, devoting effort to developing and supporting those newly rising industries with a strategic significance, augmenting the industrial structure's ability to transform, and also augmenting the stamina of economic development, thus making good preparations for the realization of the third strategic target of the 21st century.

Since the geographic location of the energy and raw materials industries is restricted by the geographic distribution of resources, the major trend of the state's industrial policy, so far as locality is concerned, should be to shift to the western regions with the two riches (rich in energy and rich in mining resources). If we can speed up development of the western regions in the 1990's this will have an important significance for resolving the structurally imbalanced state of our country's industries. The western regions should consciously and of their own accord contribute more to the state in this regard.

The western regions have the best conditions for the overall development of our country's energy and raw materials resources. For example, the areas in the upper reaches of the Huang He may take the lead in the development of hydroelectric power and become an overall production region for energy and raw materials, combining water power and fuel power. Because of the discovery in the Tarim Basin of large strata of "sea-type crude oil," there is a great possibility of the discovery of a large or extra-large oilfield there. Our principal crude oil development region may gradually be shifted to the Xinjiang region and we may then proceed to set up a petroleum and chemical industrial base region in the northwestern areas. The Wu Jiang valley has rich water power resources. Here coexist mining resources such as aluminum, phosphorous, coal, and so forth and resources of living materials and conditions for overall development are excellent. If it is possible to establish a new base area for energy and raw materials, it will be tremendously significant for the economic development of the southwestern region of our country. The valleys of the three rivers (Jinsha Jiang, Yalong Jiang and Dadu Jiang) of Sichuan Province and the valley of the Hong Jiang in Guangxi Province all possess superior conditions for the establishment of a comprehensive development base area for energy and raw materials.

In the 1990's, we shall face the tasks of further developing and gradually upgrading the industrial structure as well as supporting strategic industries (such as large-sized electric machines in the electrical machinery industry, electric power conveyance and transformer facilities, mining facilities, trunk-route aeroplane building in the aviation industry, the spaceflight industry, the motor vehicles industry, and so forth). Development of the particular strong points in these industries and trades of the western regions and speeding up development of the western regions play an exceedingly important role in the realization of these targets.

In the 36 years from 1953 to 1988, the state's capital construction investments in these regions amounted to over 350 billion yuan, fixed assets formed amounted to over 240 billion yuan, and a rather large industrial structure, complete in all the necessary sectors, has been formed. Among the industrial enterprises doing independent accounting above the county level in the western regions, the ratio occupied by engineering and technical personnel among the total number of staff members and workers has exceeded the national average by 19.2 percent. These heavy productive forces, the principal constituents of which are basic industries producing goods for civilian use, the defense industry, and heavy processing industry, and which possess the strong points of having heavy and important basic equipment and rather strong scientific and technical facilities, constitute the precious wealth of our national economy and also the important constituent part of China's equipment industry. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan period and the subsequent 10 years, the technical transformation of large and medium-sized backbone enterprises should be

speeded up, quantitative increments should be employed to readjust and increase existing volume, and the existing idle assets should be converted into actual productive forces. Much use can be made of the possession in the western regions of big and important production equipment in the large and medium-sized backbone enterprises, whole-set equipment, product categories good for investment, and high-tech products available for earning foreign exchange and replacing import goods. At the same time, in the course of the readjustment of the product structure of the large and medium-sized enterprises subordinate to the central government, their dispersed and scattered effects may be utilized to lead and guide development of local medium-sized and small enterprises, infiltrating the energy and raw materials industries and developing and enlarging the deep processing of energy and mining products.

The western regions are mostly inhabited by our country's minority nationalities. Speeding up the opening up of the western regions and promoting and facilitating the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the economy of the western regions have an important bearing on the unity of our country's nationalities and on the stability of the border areas and the consolidation of national defense.

Throughout the 1980's, the differential increased between the economic development of the eastern regions and that of the west. This was manifested in the daily increment in the differential rate between the eastern and western regions in such aspects as the increase in fixed assets, enhancement of gross production volume, and growth in per capita output value. The western regions have a vast territory and enormous resources and together form an area inhabited by minority nationalities, of whom over 20 nationalities reside on or across the borders with other countries. Whether or not unity exists among the various nationalities in the western regions and whether or not social stability exists there have an important bearing on the security of the country as a whole. The foundation of nationality unity and social stability is economic development. Only when the economy is developed can there be coprosperity among the different nationalities of the regions and only then can there be a border region which can consolidate the unity, stability, and security of the nationalities. Hence, from a strategic standpoint we should closely watch the development trend of this differential between the two regions and should adopt adequate measures to prevent the overenlargement of this differential. Indeed, in considering and planning the economic development of the western regions, we should adopt the strategy of maintaining a sustained, stable, and coordinated development and firmly insist on the principle of the coprosperity of the different nationalities.

Following the opening up in the western regions, certain unstable factors have crept in from across the border such as subversive activities of enemy forces beyond the border, drug trafficking, smuggling, and other kinds of criminal activities. Against these we must take the

highest precautions and adopt the relevant preventive measures. This is an important problem in ensuring the safety and security of our border areas and the political and social stability of the western regions. We should absolutely not look at it with the slightest carelessness. Of course we cannot literally "give up eating for fear of choking," and stop the reform and opening once a problem arises. On the contrary, we should adopt active measures to strengthen control and exterminate the particular passive factors that may arise in the course of the reform and opening.

Deepening the Reform; Promoting Development of the Western Regions

Seen from present conditions, in the national budget the capital construction investment volume directly held by the central government occupies a ratio that has dropped to about 10 percent of the gross capital construction volume of the whole country. From now on, the development of the energy and mining resources and construction in communications and transport in the western regions cannot depend solely on state investment, the steps in the reform must be accelerated, and a new road must be found.

First, it is necessary to carry out price reform. Due to the irrational price system, the western regions are at a disadvantage in the exchange of raw materials for the processed products of the eastern regions. Such conditions are not beneficial to the development of the western regions, nor to the long-term coordinated development of the whole national economy. In the long run, the gradual readjustment of the too low price structure of the resource products is a necessary condition for ensuring the priority development of the basic industries. Smoothing out the prices can, on the one hand, enlarge the accumulations of the basic industries of the western regions and strengthen their self-development ability, and, on the other hand, attract investment from the eastern and central developed regions in the development of the energy and mining resources of the western regions and transform the situation of overdependence on direct investment from the central government. Before smoothing out the prices, it is necessary to carry out a fixed price subsidy and refund of profits on the energy and raw materials products of the western regions and support the reproduction of these industries. Subsidies of this kind should, as far as possible, be made directly to the enterprises and to their reproduction procedure and must not be converted into consumption funds.

Second, it is necessary to deepen reform of the enterprises and invigorate the existing large and medium-sized enterprises in the western regions. There are already a considerable number of large industrial backbone enterprises there, and these enterprises have two special features: 1) belonging separately to different central departments in charge; and 2) movement of

funds following the production needs of specially fixed-use value. We should carry out reform in the management system of these large enterprises so as to enliven the funds bound by the administrative walls and ramparts and by specially fixed-use value. The earmarking of ownership rights, enforcement of the improved organization of assets, formation of enterprise groups, and piloting of the shareholding system in enterprises under the system of public ownership are the important roads to the improved organization and centralization of funds. Seen from the concrete conditions in the western regions, the inevitable nature of the pilot stock and share system is that: 1) It is beneficial to absorbing and fully utilizing the funds of the eastern regions as well as funds from abroad and various kinds of idle social funds (including floating funds of the masses, temporarily idle production funds, and social consumption funds). 2) It promotes and breeds "enterprises generating enterprises," forming a new main investment body for the development of the western regions and promoting enhanced the quality of enterprises. 3) It provides beneficial conditions for structural readjustment of the industries of the western regions, particularly the structural readjustment and amelioration of the structure of the existing volume of assets.

Third, in the development of the western regions, the principle of "enriching the people" should be firmly insisted on and a more flexible policy embracing many kinds of ownership system should be implemented. The facts that we must look at squarely in the economic development of the western regions are the low level of population concentration, the extensive area of the natural economy, and the large number of minority nationalities. Hence, the socioeconomic relations and the foundation of the ownership system in the western regions should have their own special features differing from those of the eastern regions. Seen from the existing structure of the ownership system, in the western regions the ratio of the system of state ownership is higher than the average level in the eastern regions and in the whole country. This provides a relatively large space for the development of many forms of ownership. Under the precondition of firmly insisting on the socialist public ownership system as the main body, and in conformity with the development level of the general body of productive forces in the western regions, various forms of ownership such as the collective, individual, and private should develop even more rapidly. This will aid development of the productive forces and absorption of "the population movement of an opening up nature" from the eastern regions.

Steps To Speed Up the Open Door in the Western Regions

Enforcing the open door guideline has been firmly insisted on for a long time by our country. Apart from Guangxi Province, the greater part of the western regions are far from the coast, and opening to the outside in an eastern direction is rather greatly restricted, but opening to the west and developing relationships with the Soviet

Union, East Europe, West Asia, South Asia, and the Arab states does offer superior regional conditions. In the 1990's, on the foundation of consolidating and expanding the achievements of the coastal opening to the outside world, our country should not lose the opportunity to accelerate steps in opening the western regions, and as soon as possible should carry out the open door policy and strategy already enforced along the coast. Not only can the ordinary exchange of goods be expanded, but also the policies and measures which have been implemented with success and effect in the eastern regions should be implemented in the western regions. The western regions can also consider employment of the preferential policies used in the coastal areas to absorb foreign capital and at the same time to absorb capital, technology, talents and so forth from the developed areas in the eastern and central regions. For example, it may be possible in the western regions to test the establishment of economic development areas, frontier trading stations, high-tech industrial areas, and so forth.

The Eastern, Central, and Western Regions Support and Coordinate With Each Other in Development

Since the reform and opening up, concurrently with the enhancement in the general level of development of the country's economy as a whole, there has appeared the tendency for the differentials between the regions to enlarge increasingly. Over the last 10 years, the economic growth rate in the eastern regions has clearly been higher than the national average. The majority of the provinces and districts in the western regions, as well as certain provinces and districts in the central regions, do have an understanding of this, but still have expressed a sense of discomfort and concern. For this reason, the state, simultaneously with pushing and implementing a development strategy of slightly tilting to one side, has adopted many measures to reduce the size of the differentials in development between the various regions and has thus achieved certain results. In the 1990's, it is necessary to continue to adopt certain effective measures to suitably control this trend of expanding differentials so as to ensure coordinated, stable, and balanced development of the whole country's economy. Naturally, these currently existing regional differentials are problems arising in the course of development and should be solved in the course of development. For the sake of preventing the overenlargement of the differentials between the regions, on the one hand we should not artificially restrict the economic growth of the eastern regions which have enjoyed a relatively high level of development, but, on the other hand, we cannot "try to help the shoots grow by pulling them upward" and all at once greatly enhance the economic growth of a backward region. Rather, we should basically remove the drawbacks of the system, reduce the policy's irrational tilting to one side, create conditions of equality for competition, promote inward expansion, dispersal, and radiation of the economy of the coastal regions and bring about the coordinated development of the regions.

In the 1990's, we should still insist on the overall strategy in the economic development of the coastal regions, but the form and degree of the tilting to one side should be suitably readjusted. We should consider all sides, make overall arrangements for the regional and industrial development policies, and develop cooperation in economic technology between the regions. The economic and technological levels are relatively high in the eastern regions of our country, but natural resources are relatively scarce or lacking. In the west, the levels of the economy and technology are rather low, but natural resources are comparatively plentiful. Development of the processing industry (particularly the light processing industry) in the eastern regions is precisely the weak link of the western regions, whereas the superior state of the national defense scientific and technological industry and possession of strong points in scientific and technical talents in the heavy processing industry by the western regions comprise their superior points. There are excellent transportation, communications, and news conveyance services in the eastern regions, all of which makes it easy to communicate with the outside, while in the western regions, due to the low degree of economic development, communications and news transference are relatively closed, but they still possess relatively good prospects in further opening up to the West and to the outside world there. In short, between the economies of the eastern and western regions, there exists a sort of mutual balance and supplementation. Therefore, it is necessary to encourage the two regions to develop various forms of lateral combination so as to realize the coordinated development of the eastern, central, and western regions and seek joint prosperity.

At present, for the coastal region there is already a clear-cut economic development strategy and, with entry into the 1990's, there will be a new high tide of economic development in the region. Under such conditions, the urgent task is to formulate as soon as possible the economic development strategy for the western regions in coordination with the development of the coastal areas.

Naturally, the coordinated development of the three large regions of the east, center, and west has as a precondition the gradual enhancement of economic benefit in the western regions. It should be recognized that, because of technology and management, the economic benefits from the eastern regions are higher than those from the central and western regions. It cannot be denied that, although they possess certain structural benefits, in regard to the same industry and trade and the same kind of products, there are certain differences in production costs, product quality, and so forth, in comparing the western regions with the eastern regions. If this problem is not solved, there will be no way for the western regions to compete on equal terms with the eastern regions, thereby making it difficult for the western regions to realize long-term stable development. Hence, for a certain period from now on, the western regions must not only introduce capital funds from the eastern regions,

but also learn both technology and management experiences from the eastern regions. They should take enhancement of the economic benefits of their existing enterprises as a major task. By so doing, there will be a reliable foundation for invigorating and developing the western regions.

Summing up, economic development in the western regions must be incorporated into the general body of the whole nation's economic development for consideration. Correctly handling the relationship in economic development between the western regions and the central and eastern regions is important for ensuring the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of our country's economy.

Enlightenment Gained From the Industrial Structural Readjustment of a Province—Survey of Yunnan's Machinery and Electronics Industries

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[Article by He Guangyuan (0149 0342 6678), minister, Ministry of Machine Building and Electronics]

[Text] Since the second half of 1989, the national machine-building and electronics industry's production has gone downhill, accompanied by a drop in effects; and thus far there has been no improvement in the situation of the weakness of the market in electrical machinery products and in the enterprises' failure to operate sufficiently. However, the electrical machinery industry of Yunnan Province has been able, in the course of economic readjustment, to maintain a sustained and stable growth rate in production and benefits. From 1980 to 1989, the annual growth rate of Yunnan electrical machinery was 13.4 percent, higher by 1.3 percent than the country's electrical machinery industry. In 1989, compared with 1988, Yunnan's machine-building industry's growth rate increased 8.6 percent; the scale of increase also exceeded the average growth rate of the machine-building industry of the whole country and the economic effects were also better. From 1979 to 1989, the output value of Yunnan's machine-building industry grew by 210 percent while realized profits grew by 490 percent. In 1989, the output value of Yunnan's machine-building industry occupied 23d place in the whole country, but the whole staff labor productivity rate, interest and tax rates on funds, and profit rate from sales, respectively occupied 16th, 9th, and second place in the whole country.

Wherein lies the basic reason for the steady growth realized by Yunnan's electrical machinery industry? We visited Yunnan to make an on-the-spot survey. We discovered the causes for the development of Yunnan's electrical machinery industry were many-sided, but the one of key importance was that in the readjustment they could do the work in accordance with the demands of the party and government regarding improvement, rectification, and deepening the reform. They could proceed

from market needs and could see and fiercely grasp readjustment of the structure and, through readjusting the structure of the industries, trades, and products, they were able to clearly improve the organizational and technical structures. Their experiences are well worth careful watching.

I

The principal methods employed by Yunnan Province in readjusting the structure of the electrical machinery industry were as follows:

First, proceeding from Yunnan's realities, they set their sights on putting into full play Yunnan's strong and special points and on formulating correct development strategies. 1) On the model of the development of the industries and trades, they firmly planted their feet on the existing foundation, displayed their strong points, created development guidelines with special characteristics, and would not set up enterprises that were "large and comprehensive," or "small but comprehensive." 2) In the development of products, they firmly insisted on proceeding from market demand and they took as the major points the expansion of exports and earning of foreign exchange and serving the opening up of Yunnan's resources. They took as targets the expansion of market share both inside the country and outside the country, and they changed the past practice of pushing the sales of whatever they produced to following user demand in organizing the development of products and, while suiting user demands, still maintaining and developing the strong points and special characteristics of the products. For example, the Yunnan Lathe Plant, in improving the C-model lathe, the Yunnan Second Lathe Plant, when producing the hand-operated planer and bench vice, and the Kunming Milling Machine Plant, in turning out No. 4 and No. 5 milling machines, all followed the clients' demands to improve the products, and the products very soon became easily salable goods in the international markets. 3) Reform of the organizational structure was carried out according to the principles of promoting development of the productive forces, firmly insisting on internal liaison and reliance on the outside, strengthening lateral combinations, encouraging enterprises to demolish their surrounding walls, going out of their own "systems," letting the industries and trades break through the boundary lines, and, by means of organizing syndicates and groupings and extensively joining and cooperating with each other, promoting formation of a specialized and dimensional economy and realizing the improved union of the essential factors of production. For example, the Yunnan Automobile Plant was encouraged to cross the border and join hands with the Dong Feng Motor Vehicles Jointly Operated Company (Automobile Plant No. 2) in close operations, thus forming the Dong Feng Highland Motor Vehicles Group and changing the subordinate relationship from belonging to the locality to belonging to the central government. This change brought about the conversion of this huge losing proposition which had suffered a deficit of four million yuan last year to an enormously

rich plant enjoying profits amounting to 17 million yuan a year. 4) Regarding the growth rate and benefit-earnings relationship, the plant refrained from seeking a high place among the provinces and cities in output value but planted its footing on reducing the differential between the coast and inland in technological level and internal quality and devoted efforts to enhancing the economic benefits.

Second, the management department put onto full play the functions of management and guidance of industries and trades and actively pushed structural readjustment. The notable effects in structural readjustment of the Yunnan electrical machinery industry were indivisible from the efforts made by the departments in charge of the electronics and war industries. They firmly insisted on the principles of taking the rendering of services as the management target of industries and trades, advocating the spirit of cooperation and doing down-to-earth work, merging and incorporating services in planning, coordinating, and supervising and doing a good job in effectively performing the functions of management over the industries and trades and pushing forward readjustment of the structure.

1. Displaying the spirit of opening up, facing the international market, and pushing forward readjustment of the product structure of the industries and trades. At the end of the Sixth Five-Year Plan period the annual export volume of Yunnan's electrical machinery industry was only about \$3 million. In the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, the industry put expansion of export volume in a strategic position and in 1989 exports increased to over \$37 million. Thus, the increase rate in four years' time was 1,200 percent and this should be attributed to the results of a great readjustment in the product structure of industries and trades. For the sake of opening up the export situation, they handled in a down-to-earth manner the work in four aspects: 1) They fiercely grasped the change in concept, augmented the ideas and understanding in export, and aroused the enterprises' enthusiasm for exports. 2) In investment and technical transformation they enforced an appropriate degree of tilting to one side, nurturing and training backbone enterprises, creating and setting up export bases. In the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, 100 million yuan of funds were invested in the Kunming Lathe Plant, Kunming Milling Machine Plant, Yunnan Lathe Plant, and Kunming Electric Cables Plant. This amounted to about one-fourth of the total amount spent on technical transformation of industries and trades. These enterprises have become large units in export and in earning foreign exchange. 3) They devoted efforts to grasping coordination of industry and trade and coordination in trade and to setting up principal channels for export. At present, both the provincial machinery export-import company and the machinery equipment export-import company are subordinate to the Machinery Bureau, which did a great deal of work in coordinating the relations between these two export-import companies. It set up three principles in competition, namely, "not damaging the

state's interests, not damaging the enterprises' interests, and not damaging the proper interests of friendly companies." This served to make them compete on the one hand and cooperate on the other, jointly endeavor to provide good-quality services to export enterprises, and to form the principal channel for the export of electrical machinery products. 4) They actively organized the opening up of international markets, collected information and news via various means for the enterprises, and helped them solve difficulties and problems encountered in producing the export products and executing the contracts. After several years of effort, not only have a large number of backbone export enterprises been enabled to plant a firm footing in the international market, but a number of small enterprises and town and township enterprises have also been able to open the road to export.

2. Actively promote cooperation, improve the organization of labor forces according to production factors to promote enterprise structural adjustment. In Yunnan's electrical machinery industry, there exists the phenomenon of redundancy and scattering of enterprises that are "large and comprehensive" or "small but comprehensive." In order to solve this problem, they actively pushed specialized transformation and various other forms of combination and achieved notable results in this regard. Take the case of the CY Machine Tool Group, formed with the Yunnan Lathe Plant as its principal body: It started with breaking up the "large and comprehensive" and "small but comprehensive" enterprises, broke through the restrictions imposed by the departmental ownership system and regional demarcation, and, based on the principles of specialization, gradually scattered the production processes which could be borne by society to the constituent members of the combination bodies and thereby converted the principal plant into the product development center, precision processing center, assembling center, and export base area. In 1989 in comparison with 1981, the output value grew from 6.918 million yuan to 26.808 million yuan, profits and taxes increased from 515,000 yuan to 12.065 million yuan, foreign exchange earnings from export rose from \$196,000 to \$5.699 million yuan, the staff's labor productivity rate grew from 4,103 yuan to 17,000 yuan, and among the constituents of the united bodies the output value and profits also increased steadily from year to year. This shows that readjusting the enterprise structure and improving the grouping of the essential factors of production can relieve the latent strong points of the enterprises and put them into full play and can also put the enterprises occupying an inferior position in a superior position and thereby produce enormous economic benefits.

3. Emphasize technological progress, set higher standards as the goal, and promote enterprise structural adjustment to enhance opening up and development. The Yunnan electrical machinery industry, simultaneously with utilizing the existing foundation to provide products for both the domestic and external markets,

laid its eyes on raising the level of the products and increasing their adaptability to the international market and earnestly grasped the construction of the enterprises' ability to open up. 1) Introducing advanced equipment and technology to arm the major backbone enterprises. For example, the Kunming Lathe Plant and the Yunnan Electronics Equipment Plant have already acquired the capacity to independently study and develop products of an internationally advanced level. 2) Let export products set the standard. Let foreign merchants bring in sample machines of an advanced level or provide blueprints; then, through the introduction of necessary foreign technology develop higher grade products which can compete in the international market. Until now, several processing centers have been developed which can produce high-grade products from the milling plants in preparation for producing export products in the future. 3) Revolving around the theme of servicing the resources of the province, carrying out the digestion and absorption of the large volume of advanced equipment and technology already imported. 4) Organizing a concerted attack on problems and opening up electrical machinery products of a unitary or uniform design. The Machinery Bureau, Electronics Bureau, and Kunming City have jointly formed a unitary electrical machinery coordination group and are now organizing their forces to tackle the problems surrounding the needs in production coordination of the processing center, the numerically controlled lathes, and the three measuring lathes.

Third, the enterprises have set up a rather strong market concept and from operations and management have initially become suited to structural readjustment. In our survey, we found that the Yunnan Lathe Plant and the Kunming Milling Machine Plant and several other large foreign exchange-earning units have, through export, all readjusted the product structure and organizational structure to change their operational outlook and to gradually form new conditions to cope with the changes and all have their own operational plans and management methods. Certain enterprises have already acquired the quality and capability to compete in the international market.

1. Actively opening up the market and extensively cultivating contacts with international clientele. While extensively collecting market information and news from various domestic channels, they have also improved their plants and, with a definite purpose, dispatched personnel to certain countries to conduct on-the-spot surveys; or they have invited foreign guests, merchants, and specialists to come to their plants to give advice. On the basis of market surveys, they promptly made a fixed analysis and forecast of market trends, determined the markets for major nurturing and building up, formulated export strategies for different products, depending on different agencies, effecting entry into different countries or regions at different opportune times, and taking the initiative in conducting exports and earning foreign exchange. For example, take the case of the Kunming

Milling Machine Plant: After the turmoil of 4 June 1989, foreign merchants canceled their orders in large amounts; but under such conditions the plant followed its original program and promptly opened up new markets. As a result, foreign exchange earnings from exports not only did not drop, but actually increased by 21.8 percent over 1988 and for the first time broke the record of \$10 million.

2. Emphasize the need to raise economic results and standards, and be skillful in organizing suitable readjustments. When enterprises entered the domestic and international markets, severe market competition demanded that they expedite production and keep up product development; as a result, difficulties increased in operation and management. Facing such conditions, the enterprises, though knowing the difficulties, continued to advance. While coordinating with the leadership department in doing a good job of making a strategic readjustment, they also proceeded from the enterprises' actual conditions, actively carried out suitable readjustment, discovered a way out, solved difficult problems, and helped in raising the enterprises' production effects and technological level. If certain enterprises urgently needed to develop new products but suffered from the restrictions of being short of capital funds and technical force, they would adopt the method of "borrowing the hen to lay eggs," and would actively proceed to contact large and specialized institutes and academies and scientific research institutes for advice to develop various kinds of scientific and technological cooperations, thus greatly expediting the steps in the development of the products. As a result, they used a relatively short period of time and relatively little outlay to build up a product structure comprising many varieties, many specifications, and a combination of low, medium, and high grades of products. This helped to strengthen the stamina of the enterprises.

3. Firmly insisting on the principle of the client being first and of rendering good service. In 1984, an American merchant, when carrying on negotiations on purchasing a B-type lathe, offered over 20 suggestions for improvement. The plant accepted all these suggestions and the resultant machine became highly salable in the international market. Under the enlightenment from this experience, it has become the custom for the Yunnan electrical machinery industry to respect the improvement suggestions and wishes of its customers and do their utmost to carry out the suggestions. This opened a road of success for its electrical machinery products to enter international markets. In rendering services to clients, the industry not only respected their reputation, strictly observed the terms of the contract, and delivered the goods on time, according to quality specifications and also according to the amount ordered, but it also gave special attention to postsales service. This has helped to build up a good reputation with the clients, formed a large number of clients who were trustworthy in their

dealings with each other, and played an important role in promoting and expanding the export of Yunnan's electrical machinery products.

That Yunnan's electrical machinery industry, by managing structural readjustment, was able to realize a steady and healthy development may be attributed entirely to its faithful collaboration with the provincial and city leadership cadres, obtaining their concern and support, helping each other from top to bottom, and continuously doing solid, down-to-earth work. Structural readjustment must continue even with the changes in the situation. In the progress, there may be still new problems and contradictions. Yunnan has already formulated a new set of readjustment procedures and is currently proceeding in the direction of a new target.

II

The successful experiences of Yunnan's electrical machinery industry have given us deep enlightenment and made us further understand that grasping the structural readjustment well is the only road and urgent task for the electrical machinery industry to solve its problems and renew its development. We must continue to firmly insist on taking this road in going forward. Viewed from the country as a whole, we should grasp the following points well:

1. Further advance the significance and understanding of the role of structural readjustment of the electrical machinery industry. At the moment, the principal difficulty facing the electrical machinery industry is its inability to increase production. On the one hand, funds are tight and, on the other hand, sales have lagged. There are two choices in solving these problems: input more capital funds or readjust the structure. Because of the general demand of effecting improvement and rectification to realize the national economy's sustained, stable, and coordinated development, we definitely cannot expect the state to much increase credits and loans or to expand the scale of the foundation of capital construction. Rather, we should set our sights on readjusting, improving, and ameliorating the industry's own structure. Each and every enterprise and each and every locality must exceptionally and clearly understand that grasping structural readjustment not only is the way to overcome difficulties and seek development, but is also the basic road to help our entire electrical machinery industry extricate itself from its difficulties and enter the circle of benign development. Regardless of whether it concerns the enterprise itself or the situation of the whole industry or trade or even the country, and regardless of whether it aims at overcoming the difficulties of the moment or at achieving future and long-term development, performing the job of structural readjustment well possesses a decisive significance.

2. Maintain the special features of local strong points and do not blindly seek to set up one's own system. We should correctly understand and grasp the characteristics of the locality's economic structure, the strong points of

its geographic location and its technical superiority, uphold its strong points, downgrade its weak points, make a major breakthrough, and strive hard to develop superior products with local characteristics, fighting to attain the same advanced level of the country. Avoid blindly copying and taking over in entirety the products encouraged for development by other localities and thus bring about similarity in the development of the various localities; take the road of "we have what other people do not have," and "what we have is better than what others have." Firmly insist on banning the search for all-around development of a low level, earnestly make a deep analysis of the present condition of our locality's product structure, arrange the order for improving product quality, determine a list of products selected for major development, correspondingly adopt certain preferential policies and encouraging measures, support the development of products with especially strong points, and effect the improvement of the product structure.

3. Readjusting the product structure faces the two markets—domestic and external. It requires increased effective supply and demands not to seek unrealistic increases in output value or speed. In adjustment of product structure, market demand should be the direction; to increase effective supply should be the goal. We should not demand an unrealistic increase in output value and speed in order to prevent a new or comeback of the "long line." It is necessary to strengthen market investigation and research, closely watch the demands of the state's major regions and the empty points, "short-line" supply, shortages, and hidden or potential demands of both the domestic and external markets to open up and develop products, increase product variety, expand production, and generally observe the objective of hitting a definite target. Yunnan's successful experiences have proved that, in readjusting the product structure, we must definitely and firmly insist on facing the market; and, in production, the products must be marketable. Seeking funds from the treasury and increasing stockpiling will only cause one's own disruption and failure. On this point the various localities and enterprises must take a high degree of precaution. At present, despite serious stockpiling, there is the tendency in certain localities of maintaining production at top speed, but drastically cutting the prices of the product. Such a state of "drinking poison to quench one's thirst" must be promptly rectified.

4. We should, surrounding the theme of readjusting the product structure, correspondingly readjust the organizational structure. Under the pattern of our country's existing economic structure, many difficulties face the realization of rationalizing enterprise organization. Even in the same locality, concrete organizing of enterprise groups and industrial companies must also overcome difficulties from various sides. However, in Yunnan's various localities, innumerable instances have shown that, in order for readjustment of the product structure to be successful, it is necessary to make the necessary

improvements in the enterprises' organizational structure. Backward enterprises must first be eliminated and the volume of marketable products must be expanded, thus forming a dimensional economy. On this question, we must pay note to observing the state's industrial policy and the rules and regulations of the industries and trades, strengthening guidance over helping the enterprises overcome difficulties in the course of cooperation, smooth out the various channels, and promote the improved organization of the essential factors of production to proceed more rapidly and develop in a healthier manner.

5. In readjusting the product structure, it is necessary to establish it on the foundation of scientific and technical progress and focus on strengthening the enterprises' development stamina and improving their quality. Pushing forward technical progress is an important tactic for the successful readjustment of the product structure and is also the source of strength for the readjustment of the industrial structure and the organizational structure of the enterprises. Hence, in the period of readjustment, extreme attention should be paid to pushing scientific and technical progress and to greatly and firmly grasping a number of products known for scientific and technical improvement and progress. From now on, it is necessary to place emphasis in the development of science and technology on the digestion, absorption, and renovation of technologies that have been introduced, on organizing forces, and on the high-level digestion, copying, and transformation of key technologies and major equipment that have been introduced. Concurrently, regarding the top-notch products currently made in the major backbone enterprises of the country, we should improve their technology, raise their grades, enhance their level, and expand their markets. We must continuously and in a sustained manner offer to the world new technologies and products and gradually form a group of new products supported by continuous technical improvement.

The work in structural readjustment is a long-term measure; it is of a mobile nature and is, in fact, complex systematic engineering. It requires joint efforts from all sides and all stages. If the road taken is correct, then firm persistence will in the end achieve the desired effects. We should earnestly learn from the advanced experiences of Yunnan Province, push advanced experience in structural readjustment of the electrical machinery industry of Yunnan Province, make joint efforts, and enable our electrical machinery industry to truly go on the road to healthy development.

Commenting on the 'De-ideologizing of Literature and Art'

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[Text] Over the last few years, some commentators have put great effort into advocating the de-ideologizing of

literature and art, basically denied the ideological nature of literature and art, and vainly tried to throw off or deviate from the socialist road. Their argument is absurd and also hypocritical, and it is necessary need to analyze and criticize it, so as to eliminate its influence.

I

The antagonism between the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art and the de-ideologizing of literature and art is an antagonism between historical materialism and historical idealism. It is an antagonism between a Marxist viewpoint of literature and art and a non-Marxist viewpoint.

Marx, at one time made classical summation of historical materialism in which he said: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness... With the change in the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations, a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."¹ Here, the position of literature and art in the overall social structure is defined. They are specific ideological forms in the superstructure above the economic foundation of a certain society. This understanding was a scientific discovery of historical materialism and is a basic theoretical principle in the Marxist viewpoint of literature and art.

However, some commentators have placed the so-called "philosophy of subjective practice" in opposition to historical materialism. They say that "Marxist philosophy is subjective philosophy which has the theory of practice as its base." This philosophy basically repudiates the idea that "social consciousness reflects social being" and holds that "both social being and social consciousness are activities of man's practice" and are both the foundation and point of departure of philosophy. According to this philosophy, explanation of the essential and aesthetic characteristics of literature and art cannot be sought in economic relationships. Rather, explanation can be sought only from man's "spiritual practice," from his "innate demand for freedom, which transcends practical relationships." Thus, literature and art are not social ideologies. Rather, they "break down the bounds of ideology and manifest the free consciousness of all mankind." And so on and so on.²

Is such a philosophy really Marxist philosophy? It certainly is not. In the passage in which Marx summed up the major principles of historical materialism, he clearly pointed out: "The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general."³ When discussing the achievements of Marx and Engels in establishing the theory of historical materialism, Lenin said: "Their basic idea was to divide

social relations into material relations and ideological relations. The ideological relations are but the superstructure of material relations, which are formed independently of man's will and consciousness."⁴ And it was on the basis of this viewpoint that Marxism put forward the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art, thereby raising the study of literature and art to the level of a science. It is thus very clear that the "philosophy of subjective practice" completely departs from the philosophical stand of Marxism when it basically denies that "social consciousness reflects social being" and essentially denies that literature and art and their development are, in the end, subject to the restrictions of the economic relations.

Actually, the "philosophy of subjective practice" is nothing more than a rehash of modern Western philosophy's practical monism. Because it takes practice as the basis and point of departure of philosophy and stresses that "both social being and social consciousness are activities of man's practice," it completely ignores the question of the relationship between thought and being, the highest question of all in philosophy. That is, it throws itself completely into the arms of the philosophy of practical monism, which claims that it transcends the antithesis between materialism and idealism. It assumes that the essential and aesthetic characteristics of literature and art "absolutely cannot be understood from economic relationships" and that it must be sought in people's "innate demand for freedom" or in "the free consciousness of all mankind." Actually, when people occupy different positions in "economic relationships," their "innate demands for freedom" are very different. In capitalist society, does a big shot who frequents nightclubs and an unemployed person who wanders the streets have a common "innate demand for freedom"? Which of these represents "the free consciousness of all mankind"? If literature and art want to really show their different "innate demands for freedom," they cannot divorce themselves from the economic relations that produce these "demands." Completely discarding "economic relationships" and just going round in circles in the "consciousness" which they have determined, is certainly not a new, fashionable viewpoint, but rather a manifestation of the idealism which we know so well.

Literary and art works are indeed the products of subjective, dynamic creation by writers and artists. Thus, the Marxist viewpoint of literature and art does not deny the importance of the subjective will and consciousness of the writers and artists on literary and art creations, nor does it deny the dynamic role of the spirit on literature and art and its development. However, the Marxist viewpoint of literature and art stresses that literature and art are not purely spiritual phenomena, subjectively produced and independently existing. For example, idealism sums up the essence and source of literature and

art as being man's spirit. It encourages so-called self-regulation by literature and art, the return of literature to the self, internal laws, and so on. All of these seal literature and art into the spiritual realm, making it a tree without roots or a spring without a source. Engels criticized this, saying, "In the realm of history, the old materialism becomes untrue to itself, because it takes the ideal driving forces which operate there as ultimate causes, instead of investigating what is behind them, that is, what are the driving forces of these driving forces."⁵ This is, in principle, a criticism of idealism and, in the same way, is suitable as a criticism of the idealist viewpoint of literature and art. In fact, regardless of whether we speak of the past or present, China or abroad, if one does not link things to a certain economic base, there is no way to fully understand the rich and ever-changing phenomena of literature and art. It is only the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art put forward by Marxism that not only stresses the characteristic of literature and art as products of the spirit, but also, with a wider field of vision encompassing the overall social structure and its changes, that reveals that a certain economic base determines the nature, features, and development of literature and art. Only this is a reliable foundation stone for scientific literature and art studies. The so-called "philosophy of subjective practice" denies the Marxist materialist analysis of the social structure and advocates the de-ideologizing of literature. This can only lead people into confusion and error.

II

The antagonism between the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art and the de-ideologizing of literature and art manifests the difference between whether or not we want to serve the people and serve socialism. Thus, their antagonism is essentially an antagonism on the literature and art level between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

The theory of the ideological nature of literature and art provides a theoretical basis on which our literature and art can serve the people and serve socialism. This is because it holds that the deepest nature of literature and art, and the most basic patterns of literature and art's development, are that literature and art are finally restricted by a certain economic base, and that literature and art, through various media, actively influence the economic base. Thus, our literature and art are, in the end, definitely restricted by the socialist economic base and will certainly serve the masses who created and developed the socialist economic base, and serve the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist economic base. The theory of the ideological nature of literature and art also holds that the various ideologies of the superstructure permeate each other and affect each other, and eventually have an effect on the economic base. Thus, our literature and art will inevitably be subject to the permeation and effects of Marxist philosophy, proletarian politics, socialist morality and law, and other socialist ideologies. In another respect, our literature and art will permeate and have an effect on these

socialist ideologies and, through them, will indirectly have an effect on the socialist economic base. Thus, our literature and art must be essentially consistent and mutually harmonious with socialist ideology. They must serve both the people and socialism. In this way, our literature and art will naturally adhere to the socialist orientation and socialist road, and be distinguished from capitalist literature and art.

However, the advocates of de-ideologizing literature and art propagate the "theory of convergence" between socialism and capitalism and do their best to eliminate the socialist ideological nature of our literature and art.

Some commentators have said that "'socialism' is a political concept and it is very difficult to merge it together with the specific characteristics of 'literature.'"⁶ Some commentators stress that the times have changed and that we can no longer stress class struggle. "At a time when we are moving toward a world culture, in which contacts are daily becoming more frequent and closer, how China's traditions are to draw in the painful and tragic experiences of Western religion and art to supplement and strengthen their own vitality is... a modern question which should be given great attention."⁷ Here, what is being spoken of is actually the relationship between socialism and literature, and the relationship between Chinese literature and Western literature. In the 40 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the main current in our country's literature has coincided with the socialist cause, which has seen thriving development. A large number of outstanding works have, under the guidance of Marxist literature and art ideology, described and reflected the life of intense struggle by the masses, and this has played a very great promotional role in socialist construction. Even works on history or that represent social realities only indirectly are also created under the guidance of the Marxist materialist view of history. How can they say that it is very difficult for "socialism" and literature to "merge together"? Indeed, there are works that oppose socialism, but they are continually spurned by the people. Their existence not only cannot prove that literature and socialism are incompatible but, on the contrary, they prove that, in this socialist country of ours, if literature is to develop healthily and take root among the masses, it must adhere to the orientation of serving socialism. Indeed, in our unprecedented building of socialism, we have made mistakes of one sort or another, but we have not held that capitalism does not have anything worthy of critical reference or of drawing from. Thus, the reform and opening up in which we are now engaged includes studying things of value from the West. However, it should be recognized that this is a clear manifestation of socialism's great vitality. If we look squarely at this objective fact then we will strengthen our faith in socialism and we will use our literature and art to serve the people and serve socialism.

Some commentators have stated, "A powerful economy needs a culture that can flow outward and such a culture must appeal to economically quite backward places..."

This determines that the situation which China's literary world faces at present is actually not one of China's literature flowing to the world, but one of world literature flowing into China, and when we say world literature, we are actually talking about Western literature."⁷ Thus, they hold that "modernism is the direction of the development of literature."⁹ Here, they are claiming that advanced productive forces must have advanced literature and art, and that this represents the direction of development of literature and art. This is directly contradictory to the previously mentioned viewpoint which holds that there is no relationship between literature and art and "the economy," and is also incorrect. Historical materialism holds that the level of development of the productive forces determines the relations of production, and that the sum of the relations of production form the economic base and determine the superstructure, including the nature and features of literature and art. However, the level of development of the productive forces cannot simply determine the nature and features of literature and art. This is because, once certain relations of production are formed, they will play an active, dynamic role and they can accord with and promote the development of productive forces. Also, under certain conditions, they may clash with the development of the productive forces. However, one of the basic contradictions innate in capitalism is the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production. This contradiction still exists today and is becoming more acute. As for the high degree of development seen in capitalist productive forces today, this has been gained mainly through reliance on a high degree of development of science and technology, management experiences accumulated over a long period, exploitation of laboring people in their countries, and plunder of developing countries. Not only has this not resolved the contradiction with the capitalist relations of production, but it has actually made this contradiction more deep-going. In capitalist societies, modernist literature and art manifest the social crises and spiritual crises that are growing daily deeper in Western capitalist countries, while such literature and art itself is also in a precarious state. In the West, it is at most nothing more than a school which cannot be ignored, and certainly not the whole or entirety of Western literature. Even less is it likely to become the direction of development of Western literature. How then can people speak of it as the orientation of development of socialist literature and art? How can they avoid social contradictions and just use a high degree of development of the productive forces to fabricate the fairy tale that capitalist literature and art represents the direction of development of literature and art? Marx once stressed, "If we are to study the relationship between spiritual production and material production, we must first examine material production itself, not as a general category, but as a certain historical form... For example, capitalist production and some spiritual production sectors, such as art and poetry, are mutually hostile."¹⁰ In fact, looking at the increasingly acute and irresolvable clash between the productive forces and relations of production under capitalism, are

not capitalist literature and art a dead end which repeatedly raises the topic of "alienation," plunges into a mood of pessimism and hopelessness, and lapses into irrationality and formalism?

III

The theory of the ideological nature of literature and art is a powerful theoretical weapon for us in deeply exploring the nature of literature and art. The attempt to de-ideologize literature and art can only lead us astray and spell an end to the flourishing cause of literature and art.

The theory of the ideological nature of literature and art refers not only to the fact that the economic base determines the superstructure and not only to the common characteristics of literature and art ideology and other ideologies, but also points out that literature and art are special ideologies and stresses the study of the special characteristics of literature and art. In fact, the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art holds that as compared to politics, law and morality, literature and art belong to "the realms of ideology which soar still higher."¹¹ They are "still higher ideologies, such as are still further removed from the material economic base."¹² That is to say, literary and artistic thought, by reflecting ideology, indirectly reflects the economic base and, by directly influencing other ideologies, has an effect on the economic base. In other words, literature and art reflect total social life and, by influencing people's spiritual forms, have a reactive effect on the economic base. Thus, literature and art are different from politics, law, morality, philosophy, religion, and other ideologies. They mainly employ thinking in terms of images and, through the reflection of real beauty and the creation of artistic beauty, they form an imagic system in which there is a unity between the rational and the perceptual, between cognition and emotion, and between reality and ideal. They educate people in aesthetic perception and through their enjoyment of beauty, people are willing to be educated. Thereby, through subtle influence, their sentiments are affected and molded. These are special characteristics of the specific forms of ideology constituted by literature and art. This is the irreplaceable role of the specific ideologies constituted by literature and art. Thus, upholding the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art allows us to consciously grasp the specific patterns of literature and art and to promote the prosperity of literature and art.

However, those who advocate the de-ideologizing of literature and art say that "the essence and value of literature and art... lies in the aesthetic consciousness which transcends ideology." This is, they claim, because "literature and art manifest man's demand for freedom... and this demand for freedom is the aesthetic ideal."¹³ Also, other commentators say, "The aesthetic activities of art are a process by which, in this free environment, the essence of the self is realized and the value of life is understood. This is a wonderful and unparalleled spiritual phenomenon by which mankind

leads itself toward the goal of excellence. It is difficult to explain clearly using general ideological theories."¹⁴ Here, two questions are raised: The first is the relationship between the aesthetic consciousness, the aesthetic ideal and ideology. The second is the relationship between the spiritual freedom of literary and artistic creation and enjoyment, and ideology. However, their answers to both of these questions are wrong.

First, in literary and art activities, do aesthetic consciousness and aesthetic ideals "transcend ideology"? No, they do not. So-called aesthetic consciousness is the aesthetic understanding, by the subject, of an objective thing and its development. This includes aesthetic ideals. The formation of aesthetic consciousness firstly cannot be separated from the objective basis of beauty. However, this is inevitably influenced, in a major way, by the subject. For example, the aesthetic capacity and aesthetic attainments of a subject can influence aesthetic consciousness, even to where "as far as a tone-deaf ear is concerned, the most beautiful music is of no significance."¹⁵ Also, the major influence affecting the formation of aesthetic consciousness is the social nature and world view of people. This is because people, as the subjects in aesthetics, are essentially social, and are real people who live under certain social and historical conditions. Thus, people's aesthetic consciousness is inevitably historical, social, and class aesthetic consciousness, and must permeate or combine with people's political, moral, social, and even religious concepts and hopes. In this way, aesthetic consciousness not only cannot essentially "transcend ideology," but is in fact an important and characteristic form of manifestation of ideology. As far as literature and art are concerned, the song, *Ode to the Huang He*, expressed the indomitable fighting will of the Chinese people who, despite repeated setbacks, opposed imperialism and feudalism and strove for national liberation and revival. However, the film *Heshang* [*River Elegy*] trampled on the realities and history of the Chinese nation in a hundred ways and cursed the Huang He as a symbol of wildness and autocracy. Here, the ideological tendencies of the aesthetic consciousness are clear and strong. How are they "transcending ideology"?

Second, does the spiritual freedom of literature and art transcend ideology? Likewise, it does not. This is because there is no unconditional, absolute, abstract freedom. Freedom always has knowledge of the inevitability of things as a base and certain social and historical conditions as a premise. The spiritual freedom of literature and art are also thus. In general, creative imagination and aesthetic ideals are seen as prominent manifestations of the spiritual freedom of literature and art. However, regardless of whether we speak of creative imagination or aesthetic ideals, they both have "What is reality?" as a basis and "What should reality be?" as a point of return. Writers and artists use the specific forms of literature and art to look at these two questions and thus, in a certain sense, their answers are manifested as products of a free spirit. However, writers and artists are

concrete persons in real society and thus their handling of and answers to these two questions must proceed from their own social nature and world view. They inevitably, either covertly or overtly, manifest a certain ideological tendency; thus, literature and art, as free spiritual products, must also be historical and specific. There is no doubt that when socialist writers, filled with ardor, eulogize Daqing persons, praise the aspirations of the Chinese nation, or soberly and optimistically describe socialist reform or manifest the arduous and unbending push for national revival, they are not only engaged in the building of socialist ideology, but also are carrying out free spiritual production. However, the spiritual freedom espoused by the advocates of de-ideologizing literature and art is an abstract "people's demand for freedom." It is an unconditional, absolute freedom. Using their words, it draws in "the spirit of modernism—and seeks the affirmation of the value of the individual and the freedom of the spirit."¹⁶ One phrase reveals the mysteries. Actually, all they are advocating is the extreme individualist values of Western capitalist literature and art. This is "spiritual freedom" centered on the self. This sort of "spiritual freedom" is truly incompatible with socialist ideology. Is such spiritual freedom really worth respecting? In Western capitalist literature and art, this "spiritual freedom" long ago collapsed into all sorts of spiritual crises where one person could not communicate with another, where other persons were considered one's own prison and where mankind had no future. Also, in our country, in the works of various "elite persons," this "spiritual freedom" has already degenerated into wild nonsense, decadent sentiments of loss, and disgusting and scatological spiritual filth. These facts clearly demonstrate that the theory of de-ideologizing literature and art can only sidetrack our exploration of the special nature of literature and art and spell an end to the great flourishing of socialist literature and art.

IV

In the above examination and analysis, we can see that the attempts to de-ideologize literature and art are erroneous and hypocritical. They are a manifestation in the literary and art sphere of the tide of bourgeois liberalization. In order to promote the flourishing of socialist literature and art, we need to eliminate the influence of the efforts to de-ideologize the literature and art field.

Of course, it should be stressed that the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art is not the final truth, but rather that it opens up roads along which we can continue to explore truth. The theory of the ideological nature of literature and art is the theoretical foundation of Marxist literature and art studies, but does not constitute their entirety. We should take it as a base on which to further explore related questions in Marxist literature and art studies. Further, the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art itself needs further deepening and development. This is particularly so in response to the fact that in literature and art work in the past, we understood or misunderstood this theory in

a very narrow sense and ignored exploration into the special characteristics of literature and art. Thus, using a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method, and tightly linking up with the realities of literature and art in order to develop and deepen the theory of the ideological nature of literature and art are still an important theoretical task facing us. In this process of exploration involving development and deepening, it is possible that different opinions will emerge. For example, there may be different opinions on the nonideological elements. In response, through debate and exchange of views, we should continually correct mistakes and seek the truth. Even persons who have put forward the mistaken view of de-ideologizing literature and art will, provided that they do not intentionally engage in bourgeois liberalization, be able to clearly understand right and wrong on the theoretical level. To sum up, persisting in and developing Marxist literature and art studies and promoting the flourishing of socialist literature and art should be the goal for which literature and art workers should struggle.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, pp 82-83.
2. "On the Full Subjectivity and Transcendence of Literature and Art" in WENXUE PINGLUN [LITERARY REVIEW] No. 4, 1986.
3. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 82.
4. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 1, pp. 131, 120.
5. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 244.
6. "The Literary Critic Answers the Editor" in LILUN YU CHUANGZUO [THEORY AND CREATION] No. 3, 1988.
7. *Four Lectures on Aesthetics*, Joint Publishing Company, 1989 edition, pp. 31, 169-170.
8. "Chinese Writers and the Contemporary World," RENMIN RIBAO, 5 March 1988.
9. "A Critique of 'Socialist Realism'" in WENYI PINGLUN [LITERARY CRITICISM] No. 2, 1989.
10. *Marx and Engels On Art*, Volume 1, China Social Sciences Press, 1982 edition, pp. 205-206.
11. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 484.
12. *Ibid.*, Volume 4, p. 249.
13. "On the Full Subjectivity and Transcendence of Literature and Art" in WENXUE PINGLUN No. 4, 1986.
14. "Literary and Art Theory in Our Times" in DUSHU [READING] No. 12, 1986.

15. Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, People's Publishing House, 1979 edition, p. 79.

16. "A Critique of 'Socialist Realism'" in WENYI PINGLUN No. 2, 1989.

The Replacement of Capitalism by Socialism Is an Objective Pattern Governing Historical Development—Commenting on the Historical Idealism of the 'Theory of Choice'

HK2112032490 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 90 pp 45-48

[Article by Zhang Wei (1728 1218)]

[Text] Marxist historical materialism holds not that social consciousness determines social existence, but rather that man's social existence determines social consciousness. Using this viewpoint to examine the history of human society, Marx and Engels considered the production of social material goods as the basis of mankind's social existence and development, and as a precondition for mankind to engage in all other activities. On this basis, the founders of Marxism scientifically proved that human society develops through the contradictory movement between the productive forces and the relations of production and between the economic base and the superstructure. They explored the objective pattern by which human society proceeds from primitive society to slave society, to feudal society, to capitalist society, and then enters socialist and communist society, and revealed the inevitable historical process by which human society develops from a low to a high level. This tells us that socialism's replacement of capitalism is not the subjective will nor the hope of people, but the inevitable result of the movement of the basic contradictions in capitalist society. It is an objective pattern of historical development independent of man's will.

However, for some time now there have been people who have denied this pattern, denied the historical inevitability of socialism replacing capitalism, and claimed that the history of society is consciously chosen and created by people themselves. They advocate the use of the "theory of choice in history" to replace Marxist historical materialism. They proceed primarily from philosophical epistemology and, by censuring and negating the dialectical materialist principle of the theory of reflection, they deny the principle of objective determinism and negate the objective patterns and historic inevitability of social development. Instead, they say that social history is the result of choices made by people themselves. In the view of some people, "The emergence, existence, and development of human society have been accomplished through the practical choices of the subjects. All social activities can be maintained and developed only through choices taken by the subjects. A certain social structure is one thing under some particular conditions and something else under different conditions. This is, to a great degree, determined by the value orientation of the choices made by the subjects.

Whether the economic relationships and systems of a society are unitary or plural and whether the political structures are democratic or autocratic or even a constitutional monarchy, is not and cannot be completely inevitable... In a certain sense, the history of human civilization is a history of choices by the subjects."¹ As history is consciously chosen by people, the replacement of capitalism by socialism is in no way historically inevitable and is completely the product of man's subjective will: "We have for a time seen communism as the inevitable result of the contradictory movement in human society and as an ideal to which the reality of mankind must adapt. We have not understood that man's future has many possibilities. Communism is just one of the possible directions. In the end, the possibility that is realized will be completely determined by the choice of mankind itself."² In this way, the "theory of choice" completely negates the objective patterns of social development and the historical inevitability of socialism replacing communism, and it violates the basic viewpoints of historical materialism. This is erroneous on the theoretical level, extremely harmful in practice, and is classic historical idealism.

First, understanding the relationship between society and man in an abstract manner and denying the objectivity of sociohistorical existence and its determining effect on man's consciousness are the theoretical basis of the "theory of choice" view of history. Man is the sole subject of social history. Society is man's society. Man is social man. Society and man are unified. However, how are they unified? Is it a dialectical unity or is it a metaphysical unity? What is the basis of the unity? There are different understandings of man and different understandings of the relationship between society and man. The "theory of choice" understands man in a solitary, abstract way, sees man as an abstract capacity for choice, and directly sums up sociohistorical development as the result of man's activities of choice. It also negates the objectivity of social existence and the determining role it plays on man. Thus, under this theory, society and man are directly unified. Some people believe: "Natural patterns have always existed, but social patterns came into existence only after the emergence of man. Thus, we cannot make the philosophical theory of reflection absolute or place one-sided stress on it. We must not dissociate social patterns from man's will and must not hide social patterns behind the activities of choice by man, who is society's subject. Essentially, social patterns are the result of actions of choice by man, the subject, and they form an innate unity with the patterns governing the activities of choice by the subjects."³ That is to say, the patterns of nature are objective and independent of man's will, but social existence and its patterns lie within man, cannot be placed beyond man's will, and cannot be separated from man's activities of choice. This violates the basic viewpoint of historical materialism toward social existence determining social consciousness, denies the differences and antagonism between man and social existence and its patterns, and it ignores the objectivity and relative independence of sociohistorical existence.

The founders of Marxism, in exploring the question of social existence and its patterns of development, did not divorce themselves from man. Marx clearly pointed out: "It would seem right to start with the real and the concrete, with the actual presupposition; in political economics, for example, to start with the population, which forms the basis and the subject of the whole social act of production. Closer consideration however, shows that this is wrong. Population is an abstraction if, for instance, one disregards the classes of which it is composed."⁴ That is to say, in his view, man is not an abstract subject acting in an isolated way, but a social, historical subject, a subject engaged in practical activities. As the creation of social, historical man, sociohistorical existence and its patterns of development, on the one hand, are realized and developed through man's creative nature. However, on the other hand, as soon as they are produced they have, as far as man is concerned, an objective, external existence. They have an independence and a distinctiveness which is different from that of the subject man, and, as the targets of man, they are the antithesis of man who created them. Thus, that social existence determines social consciousness has become the basic viewpoint of Marxist historical materialism. Recognizing that sociohistorical existence has an objective independence not determined by man's will is one of the basic preconditions for the establishment of historical materialism.

If we take the formation and development of the productive forces, for example, as the product of activities by social man, they are not the sum total of the capacity for action of innumerable individuals. Rather, they are an objective material force jointly created by people through mutual linkage. They are independent of the will of any individual and even of the joint will of all people, and they have an objective course and objective trend of development. As the result of actions by historical man, the productive forces not only refers to the instant bringing into play of the capacity for action of individuals, but is also an accumulation of the results of actions by generation after generation of people in history. Through the forms of tools of labor and knowledge and skills, these become independent of man's practical activities and are passed down, giving material form to and proving man's essential strengths. They thereby become perceptual, material strengths, which can be described using the precision of the natural sciences. They determine the nature of the relations of production in every age, meaning that the relationship between man and man becomes an objective, inevitable relationship. This is what forms the link between persons in the past and those in the future, and it is this which constitutes the social history of mankind. Marx pointed out: "History does not end by being resolved into 'self-consciousness' as 'spirit of the spirit,' but rather each stage contains a material result, a sum of productive forces, a historically created relation to nature and of individuals to one another, which is handed down to each generation from its predecessor; a mass of productive forces, capital funds, and circumstances, which on

the one hand is indeed modified by the new generation, but on the other also prescribes for it its conditions of life and gives it a definite development, a special character. It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances. This sum of productive forces, capital funds, and social forms of intercourse, which every individual and every generation finds in existence as something given, is the real basis of what the philosophers have conceived as 'substance' and 'essence of man.'"⁵

From this, we can see that social existence and its historical development are indeed the result of creative activities by people. However, they are the creations of social historical man, not the product of activities by abstract individuals. Relative to existing people, socio-historical existence is an objective existence, a real base which determines the nature of man and his various activities. Only by understanding this can we thoroughly eliminate the idealist view of history which explains history as the will and hopes of man, and can we provide a fully scientific explanation of social history. Here, between society and man, and between the social subject and the social object, there always exists a relationship of mutual restriction and mutual determination. Without a social object as the target of man's activities and without the special nature which the sociohistorical environment gives to man and which allows man to achieve a certain development, the social subject could not become the subject and man could not become man in the true sense—real man. The "theory of choice" understands the relationship between the social subject and the social object in an abstract way, denies the objective independence of sociohistorical existence, and, at the same time, eliminates the existence of the social subject. It is unable to scientifically explain the phenomena of social history and is unable to scientifically explain man himself. Real man and human society are abstracted away.

Second, they distort Engels' ideas on the theory of "combined forces." The use of the pattern of man's choices to replace the pattern of the contradictory movement between the productive forces and the relations of production is the core content of the "theory of choice" view of history.

As sociohistorical existence is equated with the existence of abstract man, the pattern of social development is equated with the pattern of choice by the subject constituted by man. How then is the choice pattern of man formed? The "theory of choice" uses modern science's systems theory and statistics theory to distortedly understand Engels "combined forces" theory, and it tries in vain to use a "theory of combined forces" involving random choices by man to replace the "motive theory" by which the productive forces promote social development. Thereby, they deny the inevitability of the patterns of social development and they change the pattern of social development into the pattern of subjective choice by individuals. In the view of persons who hold to the "theory of choice": "The evolution of the social system involves four choice modes: Technological

choice, economic choice, management choice, and cultural choice... These four types of choice are, in the evolution of the social organization, mutually enriching and maintain the vitality and vigor of the organism. The 'combined forces' formed by the mutual enrichment of these four choices is the innate motive power in the development of the social organism. Thus, in the study of sociohistorical development, we must pay attention to these four choices and the comprehensive effect of their mutual enrichment."⁶ That is to say, the nature and patterns of the social organism exist only in the mutual relationship and mutual roles between the various elements of the unified system, and studying any single one of the parts will not reveal the patterns of the system. In support of this, some people have censured some of the basic methods of the materialist view of history, holding that they stress only the seeking of the ultimate causes in historical movement and ignore the mutual roles of the various factors in historical movement, and they attack the pattern of contradictory movement between the productive forces and the relations of production as being linear cause-and-effect determinism. According to their view, the role of the productive forces in social development is just one of the factors that must be placed on a par with other coincidental factors such as geography, climate, and other natural conditions; political systems, states, laws, morality, and such superstructure; as well as the consciousness, temperament, and disposition of people. They do not see the productive forces as playing any so-called final determining role. In this way, on the one hand, the "theory of choice" denies the objective pattern and historical inevitability of the contradictory movement between the productive forces and the relations of production promoting social development. On the other hand, it ignores the qualitative stipulation specific to human society, and it abstracts, formalizes, and quantifies sociohistoric existence and its patterns of development. Vibrant, real social history disappears, and all that is left is a pile of mathematical formulas and geometric figures.

Does sociohistorical development have a decisive final cause then or not? Is it possible to proceed from various basic facts in making a scientific stipulation and explanation of social history? How was the theory of historical materialism established? Marx said that "the first premise of all human history is, of course, the existence of living human individuals. Thus, the first fact to be established is the physical organization of these individuals and their consequent relation to the rest of nature."⁷ This first fact is human life, the demand for, and the production of demand. At the same time, there coexists with this fact two others: The continuing growth, expansion, and renewal of demand, resulting in production becoming a permanent and continually expanding necessary sphere; and the production of people themselves, that is reproduction. Following this, Marx logically proceeded to the fourth-level analysis: Material production and the production of man are immediately manifested as cooperation, and through certain common activities is produced the power of man to transform the natural

world—the productive forces; and the material links between people which are determined by the productive forces—the relations of production. Only after this did Marx talk about consciousness and so on.

That is to say, in the movement of human history, there is something that can be called an ultimate cause which plays a determining role. These are the activities of material production. All other major promotional forces of history are produced from these and play their mutual roles on the basis of these activities of material production which play a determining role. As long as human society exists, it is necessary to continue production, as otherwise human society cannot exist and develop. This is an objective fact independent of any person's will, and is the point of departure for us in examining all phenomena of social history. If we divorce ourselves from this basic content of social history and study only so-called mutual roles, we will be befuddled by various coincidental phenomena and unable to recognize the essence and patterns of historical movement. The "theory of choice" one-sidedly stresses that "the material bearers of social movement are people with targets, consciousness, and passions." They do not recognize that man also has material needs. It is thus not strange that they ignore the real situation of sociohistorical movement and negate the basic position and decisive role of material production activities in social development.

As to Engels' "combined forces," his deep meaning was in that, on the one hand, sociohistorical movement is a natural process and is subject to control by objective patterns which are like natural laws. At the same time, he pointed out that historical events and progress had to be realized through the activities of people with ideology, will, and passion. However, people's ideology and will cannot create the patterns of historical movement. On the contrary, the patterns restrict the struggles and activities of people with different wills and different aspirations. Engels clearly pointed out: "According to the materialist conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted... The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure also exercise their influence upon the course of historical struggles, and in many cases are preponderant in determining their form... There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid the endless host of accidents (...), the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary... We make our history ourselves, but in the first place under very definite assumptions and conditions. Among these, the economic ones are ultimately decisive."⁸ The meaning Engels' words are extremely clear and leave no room for misunderstanding. The "theory of choice" denies the ultimate determining role of the activities of material production, and they use combined forces formed from various fortuitous phenomena to negate the innate patterns and inevitability of

social movement. This is clearly an intentional misrepresentation of Engels' ideas. It obliterates the difference between the movement of social history and natural movement, unanalytically copies the methods of systems theory, and uses the patterns of statistics to replace the patterns of contradictory movement between the productive forces and the relations of production. This is very wrong, and it distorts the real features of the movement of social history.

Finally, the historical view involving the "theory of choice" denies the historical inevitability of socialism replacing capitalism. This is a major ideological and theoretical basis for people who oppose the socialist road and advocate following the capitalist road.

The "theory of choice" denies the objective independence of sociohistorical existence and denies the motive theory which holds that the contradictory movement between the productive forces and the relations of production promote historical development. In the end, it inevitably denies all the objective patterns and historical inevitability, independent of man's will, of social movement, and advocates the idealist view of history, under which heroes create history. Some people have openly declared that "the patterns of social development are the patterns of conscious voluntary activities and choices by the social subjects. This human characteristic of social patterns determines that the innate mechanism of the role they bring into play is inevitably targeted choice by the subjects."⁹ Some people, on the basis of this idea, have, on the one hand, said that the historical fact of China's building of socialism was the result of the subjective choice of the people, and hold that the fact that we engaged in socialist revolution and construction at a stage when we had not gone through the full development of capitalism and were in a situation where the level of the productive forces was very low, proves that social development patterns can be transcended and that the social system which a state adopts is determined completely by subjective choice. On the one hand, they see this choice as having been a mistake, claiming that "socialism has already lost the rationality of its existence" and holding that "the experiment with socialism and its failure is one of the two major legacies of 20th century man." This denies the objective pattern of the historical inevitability of socialism replacing capitalism and it seems that, as our engaging in socialism was a fortuitous choice, we can easily abandon it.

How then should we view the historical fact by which, when our country had a relatively low level of productive forces, we followed the socialist road? Was our engaging in socialist construction a subjective choice or an inevitability of sociohistorical development? On this subject, Comrade Mao Zedong provided a scientific answer 50 years ago: "From this it can be seen that there are two kinds of world revolution, the first belonging to the bourgeois or capitalist category. The era of this kind of world revolution is long past, having come to an end as far back as 1914 when the first imperialist World War broke out, and more particularly in 1917 when the

October Revolution took place. The second kind, namely, the proletarian-socialist world revolution thereupon began. This revolution has the proletariat of the capitalist countries as its main force, and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semicolonies as its allies. No matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, their revolution becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution and they become its allies."¹⁰ Here, Comrade Mao Zedong, while analyzing the prospects for China's social development, did not restrict himself just to the situation in China. Rather, he proceeded from the historical process throughout the world and he placed China's social development on the track of world development. This was very correct and manifested a dialectical viewpoint of universal relations. This is because, following the emergence and development of capitalism, the breaking down of the barriers between the various countries and regions of the world, and the daily expansion and strengthening of linkages and contacts, it has become impossible for any country or region to develop alone, independent of the track of world development. Thus, when considering the prospects for China's social development, we have to pay attention to the mutual influences and mutual restrictions between the various states and regions, and between the various types of social system. If we look from the development of China's internal contradictions, following the gradual raising of the level of the productive forces, China might have slowly moved toward the capitalist road. However, the development of Western capitalism and the invasions of the imperialist powers interrupted the road of independent development of China's society, resulting in China losing the opportunity to develop capitalism and forcing it along the socialist road. That is to say, in examining the historical inevitability of China following the socialist road, not only do we have to take the level of development of China's productive forces as the base, but we have to consider the level of development of the productive forces of the whole world as a precondition. That China is engaged in socialist revolution and construction is the inevitable result of the contradictory movement of the modern world's productive forces and relations of production. If people want to engage in capitalism in China, then China will inevitably become just a source of raw materials and a dumping market for the surplus products of Western capitalist states. In this way, China will again become a semicolonial and semifeudal society and it will be unable to build capitalism. The repeated losses suffered by the bourgeois revolution led by Sun Yat-sen are the best proof of this.

To sum up, that China is following the socialist road is not the subjective choice of a particular person, nor a question of people being willing or unwilling. Rather, it is the inevitable result of the contradictory movement between the productive forces and relations of production of China and the world. It had to be thus. Some people deny the objective patterns of social development, deny the inevitability of our traveling the socialist road, and attempt in vain to artificially push capitalism in China. This is only a wish. The result will not only be that they cannot establish capitalism, but will mean a return to semicolonial, semifeudal society, and we will again become an appendage of the major Western capitalist states. The experiences and the practical lessons of history fully demonstrate this point. In a speech at a meeting commemorating the May 4th Movement, Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out: "Socialism is the historical choice of the Chinese people, the inevitable road in China's modernization. Today, the whole body of socialist laborers and patriots who safeguard socialism are becoming more consciously aware that only socialism can save China and only with socialism can we develop China."¹¹ We must uphold a Marxist, scientific world view and methodology, clearly recognize the objective patterns of social development, deeply understand the history and present situation of China and the world, and, under the leadership of the CPC, must strongly struggle to build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Footnotes

1. Heilongjiang University's QIUSHI XUEKAN [SEEKING TRUTH MONTHLY] No. 3, 1989, p. 6.
2. Changsha Hydroelectricity Teacher's College's SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO [SOCIAL SCIENCES] No. 4, 1988, p. 14.
3. Heilongjiang University's QIUSHI XUEKAN No. 3, 1989, p. 6.
4. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 12, p. 750.
5. *Ibid.*, Volume 3, p. 43.
6. ZHENGMING [CONTENDING] No. 3, 1988, p. 95.
7. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 23.
8. *Ibid.*, Volume 37, pp. 460-61.
9. Heilongjiang University's QIUSHI XUEKAN No. 3, 1989, p. 9.
10. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, pp. 631-32.
11. RENMIN RIBAO, 4 May 1990.

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