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FBIS 50th Anniversary Note

To Our Consumers:

This year the Foreign Broadcast Information Service observes its 50th anniversary.

The service, first called the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, was established in 1941 prior to the U.S. entry into World War II. At the time, a number of U.S. Government officials were concerned about the content of foreign radio broadcasts—a relatively new means of conveying information and propaganda across borders. On their advice, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in late February 1941 allotted money from his emergency fund to institute the recording, translating, transcribing, and analyzing of selected foreign broadcasts for the U.S. Government. During World War II the service demonstrated that monitoring was a fast, economical, and reliable way to follow overseas developments.

Today the Foreign Broadcast Information Service provides its consumers throughout the federal government, according to their diverse official interests, with information from a broad range of foreign public media. FBIS information also is available to readers outside of the government, through the National Technical Information Service. Objectivity, accuracy, and timeliness are our production watchwords.

We members of the current staff of FBIS extend our thanks to consumers for their interest in FBIS products. To past staffers we extend our thanks for helping the service reach this anniversary year. At the same time, we pledge our continued commitment to providing a useful information service.



R. W. Manners
Director
Foreign Broadcast Information Service

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CONTENTS

26 February 1991

[This report is a translation of the table of contents and selected articles from QIUSHI (SEEKING TRUTH), a semimonthly theoretical journal published by the CPC Central Committee in Beijing. Notations in the table of contents indicate articles previously published or not translated.]

QIUSHI No 24, 16 December 1990

Raising Product Quality Is an Important Issue in Economic Life—Written To Usher in ‘1991, Year of Quality, Variety, and Economic Results’ [<i>Published in FBIS-CHI-90-245, 16 Dec</i>]	1
The Changing World Situation and China’s Foreign Affairs [<i>Published in FBIS-CHI-91-003, 4 Jan</i>]	1
Brief Discussion on the Chinese Nation’s National Spirit and Cultural Tradition—Also Commenting on the Erroneous Viewpoints of River Elegy [<i>Qian Zongfan</i>]	1
Conduct Positive Intraparty Ideological Struggle [<i>Fan Rongzhi</i>]	5
To Promote Technological Progress Made by Existing Enterprises Is a Significant Strategy [<i>Lu Dong</i>] ..	9
The Key To Improving Economic Results Lies in Efforts Spent on Development of Products—Survey of Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant [<i>Zhu Wenxing and Xie Fengqiao</i>]	14
A Study of Socialist Education in Huaxi Village [<i>Pan Zhenzhou, et al</i>]	18
Several Questions Concerning Reportage Writing [<i>Zheng Bonong</i>]	23
The Debate Among Jurists on the Relationship Between Rights and Duties [<i>Li Maoguan</i>]	27
A Japanese Friend’s Letter and a Taiwanese Writer’s Feelings [<i>Gao Di</i>]	30
Index to QIUSHI No 13-No 24, 1990 [<i>Not translated</i>]	31

Raising Product Quality Is an Important Issue in Economic Life—Written To Usher in '1991, Year of Quality, Variety, and Economic Results'

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 90 pp 2-7

[Article by Bo Yibo; published in FBIS-CHI-90-245, 20 December 1990, pp 40-46]

The Changing World Situation and China's Foreign Affairs

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in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 90 pp 8-11

[Article by Qian Qichen; published in FBIS-CHI-91-003, 4 January 1990, pp 1-4]

Brief Discussion on the Chinese Nation's National Spirit and Cultural Tradition—Also Commenting on the Erroneous Viewpoints of River Elegy

HK2102034191 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 90 pp 12-16

[Article by Qian Zongfan (6929 1350 5400)]

[Text] The Chinese nation has a long history of development and possesses a unique national spirit. Every nation in the world has contributed a great deal to the development of human history and each nation possesses its own national spirit. As the nation with the largest population, and a long history of unifying many nationalities, China has a unique national spirit. This national spirit has been essential to the development of China's historical and cultural tradition during the last several thousand years. Chinese national spirit has also made a positive contribution to the development of world civilization. We must be selective when we acquire our historical and cultural tradition and be extensive in revitalizing the great Chinese national spirit. This is an important task and has a realistic significance.

The National Spirit of the Chinese Nation

The Chinese national spirit manifests itself mostly in the great national ability to create. Chinese people are famous for their diligence, wisdom, courage, growth, and progress. For the last several thousand years the work and inventions of the Chinese nation have made great contributions to the development of human history. The Four Great Inventions are well-known to everyone. Chinese people, since the time of primitive society, have created: Rice planting in water; wood construction; clay pottery; Yin inscriptions on bones; Shang and Zhou bronzeware; Han and Tang silk; agricultural technology; metal farming equipment; handicraft machinery; astronomical almanacs; Ming and China porcelain; Chinese medicine; qi gong [breathing exercises and meditation] and martial arts; bamboo and wooden books; painting and calligraphy; four kinds of studio stationery; and a voluminous amount of books. In the eyes of other world

countries, all these are important inventions and creations, worthy of praise and admiration from all people; these inventions have been influential in the development of human culture. The different nationalities of the Chinese people used their diligent hands and creative talents to build: The magnificent Great Wall; the world's longest canal connecting the north and south; the grand, ancient irrigation works at Dujiang Yan and Ling Qu; the interconnecting wells in Xinjiang which use melting snow from Tian Shan for daily life and irrigation; the largest, grandest imperial palace in Beijing; the majestic Yuanmingyuan, Yiheyuan, and Chengde mountain resort; the towering Budala Palace in Tibet; the mysterious Lama temples in the Mongolian and Tibetan regions; delicate gardens in Suzhou and Hangzhou; the many different-looking pagodas all over China; the biggest and the most perfect set of bells from the Warring Period, which were found in a duke's tomb in Hubei; the terracotta warriors in the Qin emperor's tomb; and so on, and so forth. All these great projects and historical relics have been preserved. They are the result of Chinese diligence and wisdom and are the best treasures in the cultural history of the world.

The Chinese nation is tremendously creative and has great stamina. China is different from other ancient civilizations. Since the nation was born, it has been invaded many times by foreign countries and races. The nation has gone through many wars and was damaged by many rebellions, yet China survives. The 5,000 years of history and culture have never been interrupted. The great Chinese civilization is unique in this world because it has existed for 5,000 years. This shows the strong vitality of the Chinese nation. After the Opium Wars, China was split by feudalists and colonists and bullied and invaded by imperialism. There were the two Opium Wars, war between China and France, the Jiawu War, the War Against the Eight-Country Alliance, and the invasion by the imperialist Japanese after the "September 18th Incident." China met catastrophe after all these battles. Facing national extinction, people of all nationalities in China manifested a most admirable spirit and struggled against these invasions. It was this kind of great national spirit which helped the Chinese people finally defeat the invaders. When we look back at history and think of the past, we always feel proud and are stimulated by this strong national vitality and brave struggle. This is the same spirit that greatly mobilizes the reconstruction and development of our country.

The uniqueness of the Chinese national spirit is manifested mainly in its ability to coalesce. We love our motherland, nationalities, and hometowns. We want all our nationalities to rally together and we want our country united. We oppose breaking up national unity or creating turmoil in our country. These have been the common wishes of all Chinese nationalities and people for the last thousand years. This is the mainstream and the core of the development of Chinese history.

It was unavoidable that, at one time or another, during the several thousand years of Chinese national history,

conflicts, fights, or even wars would break out among different nationalities or within an individual nationality; at times it was to such an extent that the country was divided and individual nationalities were antagonistic toward each other. However, the common wish of the people and the mainstream of historical development maintain that all nationalities should stand together and that the country should remain as one. This is the reason why, in the 2,200 or so years since Qin Shihuang unified China, the country has remained unified two-thirds of the time—even though the country was at times split during the Wei dynasty, the Jin dynasty, the Northern and Southern dynasties, the Five dynasties, and during the periods of Sung, Liao, Xia, and Jing. Later, the period of unification lasted longer and longer and unity became increasingly stable. Since the People's Republic was founded, our government has been able to hold together all regions in the mainland. All, that is, except for Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. This is the first time in Chinese history that the country has been so strongly unified. This proves that the Chinese nation is the great embodiment of all its nationalities.

The people and the masses are the creators of history. All through Chinese history people of all nationalities have opposed splitting up the country. Instead, they want to be united and they want to struggle together. This is the fundamental force that keeps the country united and the power that reinforces this unity. During Western Han, a common girl named Wang Qian (Wang Zhaojun) volunteered to marry a Xiongnu king. The Han Emperor Yuan Di granted her the status of princess and married her off to Khan Hu Han Xie. The Khan became the son-in-law of the Han emperor. This act along strengthened the friendship between the two nations and promoted economic and cultural exchanges. The Taichung emperor of the Tang dynasty married his daughter, Princess Wenshing, to the leader of the Turfan race. This marriage strengthened the friendship between the Han and Tibetan races, promoted economic and cultural exchanges, and consolidated the feudal system with multiple nationalities. After the Qianlong emperor of the Qing dynasty crushed the rebellion in Dzungaria, and the northwest border was peaceful and stabilized, a Mongolian tribe that earlier had been exiled to the Volga River area wanted to come back to the motherland. All 170,000 people managed to overcome many unimaginable difficulties and returned. The central government of the Qing Empire expressed welcome and made proper arrangements for the returnees. In the history of Chinese nationalities, whether the person was Han or a minority, whether he was a king, general, minister, scholar, farmer, worker, or businessman, he would always call himself Chinese. The Yongzheng emperor of the Qing dynasty wrote a book called *Awaken to the Great Justice*. In it he scolded a small group of stubborn people who insisted that the Qing dynasty was built by outsiders who came to central China and who deliberately destroyed scholars. The Manchurian people resided in the Helongjiang area, just as the Han people lived around the Huang He and

the Chang Jiang. They were simply Chinese people with different origins. Every nationality is a Chinese nationality. How could anyone treat the Manchurians as if they were barbarians from outside China? After the Xinhai Revolution, the Nanjing government led by Sun Zhongshan declared that the Chinese national flag would be a five-colored flag, combining the colors of the national flags of Han, Manchurian, Mongolian, Hui, and Tibetan people. The government recognized that the five major nationalities could represent all other nationalities and that all nationalities were members of the Chinese nation. This declaration reflected the reality of Chinese history and the wishes of all nationalities. For several thousand years, Chinese people have always chosen to go back to their roots and return to their homeland. They have always felt strongly about their motherland, their nationalities, and their hometowns. Their feelings are instrumental to the unity of the country and people, and important to the construction of the motherland and hometowns.

Chinese people of different nationalities are the main creators of the great Chinese national spirit. History shows us that the great Chinese national creativity has come from the people and the masses. Fabulous inventions and creations in the old days, thousand of years of productive progress, transformation of nature and society, all were the results of people's hard work, wisdom, and brave struggle. Today the people are the masters of their country. Under the leadership of the CPC, millions of people think with one mind; all want to develop China. The Chinese nation fully demonstrates its great national creativity, its strong vitality, its ability to coalesce, and its solid strength. For 40 years China has been politically independent and has now begun to prosper economically. Its national defense is solid, the country unified, and people united. It is a well-known fact that the status of the Chinese nation has been greatly improved. This fully proves that as long as the people, led by the working class, are the masters of their country, the great spirit of the Chinese nation will continue to develop. It will become an immense material force, a force which plays an important role in the construction of the motherland and enhances the cause of building China.

We Must Thoroughly Criticize National and Historical Nihilism

What is the historical and cultural tradition of China? According to the opinion of many contemporary scholars, the core of the tradition is the emphasis on personal relationships built on harmony, friendship, respect, self-control, devotion to others, mild manners, modesty, mutual help, cooperation, and unity. This is a historical and cultural tradition based on communalism and humanism. This is the exact opposite to the cultural tradition of Western capitalism which advocates the individual first, money first, and self-centeredness. Although feudal rubbish exists in traditional Chinese culture, generally speaking, the combination of traditional culture and national spirit has had, in the long run,

a positive impact on the development of Chinese history. However, the 1988 television series *River Elegy* distorted and transposed the basic historical facts of Chinese and world history. The series totally rejected Chinese culture, calling it the "yellow civilization." Instead it beautified Western capitalist culture by praising it as the "blue civilization" and saying that China has no choice but to go onto the Western capitalist path and join the "blue civilization." *River Elegy* greatly injured the Chinese people's national pride and patriotism. Naturally, it should be criticized and reproached by all patriotic countrymen, inside and outside China.

River Elegy calls Chinese civilization "yellow civilization" and says that it is the "dominant pattern of a continental culture." It says that "this stretch of yellow land cannot teach us what real scientific spirit is about." "The construction of modernization proceeding in accordance with the dominant pattern of a continental culture,... basically cannot offer the whole nation a strong civilization or any vitality." "This culture has irrevocably decayed and collapsed." It is totally subjective, unscientific, and antihistorical to categorize any national cultural tradition as the "dominant pattern of a continental culture" or "dominant pattern of an oceanic culture." Everyone knows that although the geographic environment does have a certain influence on historical development, its effect will not be major or decisive. Besides, the geographic environment does not always stay superior or inferior; it changes continuously throughout history. Primitive people, in order to survive, had to look for places that were warm and had bountiful food because their productivity was too low. In the early days of slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society, people also stayed near rivers and oceans because it was more convenient for them to develop industrially. Today, deserts can be changed into oases. Human beings have extended their boundaries and have begun to conquer space. Uninhabitable places in the past are now turned into industrial and mining centers. Some cities that were famous in history are now desolated. Capitalism was first developed in West European regions near the ocean. By the end of the 19th century, the standard of productivity in Germany, which was in the center of the European continent, surpassed Great Britain, a country on the British Isles in the Atlantic Ocean. Later, the standard of productivity in the United States, a country on the North American continent, surpassed Germany, England, and other capitalist nations. Today, the United States has the most developed productivity and scientific technology. Like China, it is situated in a northern temperate zone. Its land area, coastline length, climate, and the condition of its resources are almost the same as China's. One cannot help but wonder about the superiority of the "coastal civilization" of England and Italy. *River Elegy* puts China in the category of "continental civilization" and puts other capitalist nations, such as the United States and Germany, in the category of "coastal civilization." It then proceeds to reject "continental civilization." What can be the basis for this?

We should look again at our history. Indeed, China is a country built on a large continent, but it also has a long coastline. More important, China is known as the "country with etiquette." It has always been hospitable and has never refused to make friends with any country. Long ago, earlier than the Europeans and Americans, the Chinese started to communicate with the outside and to trade with others by sea. As early as the Han dynasty, China opened up the world-famous Silk Route and developed business and trade with different Asian and European nations. During the Tang dynasty, China was the center of cultural and economic exchange in Asia and in the world. One of the reasons why China was most prosperous during that time was because it absorbed progressive culture from every country. During the Sung and Yuan, China's economic center moved to the coastal region in the southeast. Chinese opened up the "silk route by sea," leading to a most prosperous sea trade with other nations. At that time Quanzhou, Fujian, was one of the biggest sea ports in Asia for international trade. During the Ming, Zheng He sailed to the West seven times. His voyages were by far more advanced than Columbus' voyages to the New World. One only needs to look at the size of Zheng's fleet, the enormosity of his ships, the advanced level of his sailing technology, the distance traveled, the numbers of countries visited, and the timing of his travels. Zeng He advocated the superiority of China while he brought along with him Chinese materials and products. His voyages promoted sea trade and relations with the people of Asia and Africa. And what was Europe doing at that time? Each year the Gulf Stream floated by the British Isles and the Mediterranean waves hit the Italian and French coasts, yet ignorance and barbarianism ruled the European coast for more than 1,000 years during the Middle Ages. No wonder that after Marco Polo—an Italian who grew up in the famous Mediterranean city, Venice—traveled to China and saw the prosperity and progress of the country, he could not help but call China the paradise of the East. This shows us that it is wrong to define China as having the "dominant pattern of continental civilization" and Europe the "dominant pattern of oceanic civilization," because this is opposite to the historical facts. It is pure idealism to use a geographic environment, such as an ocean or a continent, to define "patterns of civilization" and to decide the merits and the fate of a country on the basis of that definition.

Of course, we are not denying the fact that the Chinese cultural tradition has flaws. But so does any national cultural tradition. The *River Elegy* praises all those countries of "oceanic civilization," those that are situated on the Atlantic and Mediterranean. But everyone knows that during the medieval era these countries were most superstitious, ignorant, conservative, closed-up, and backward. They were the exact opposite of China's civilization and progress at the time. This shows that these nations were under the rule of feudal systems and that the flaws in their culture and spirit originated in feudal rule and were connected with the ideology of class

exploitation. Their flaws had nothing to do with geographic environment. On the other hand, Chinese people were hardworking, wise, and brave. Their willingness to open up and improve and their patriotism helped them break through the negative barriers of feudalism. This was the reason China had a strong and prosperous civilization. *River Elegy* does not think that the flaws in the Chinese cultural tradition are due to its feudal system. Instead it denies any positive role for the entire cultural tradition and national spirit in Chinese history. This is a totally wrong presumption.

What is *River Elegy's* purpose in twisting and smearing historical facts and rejecting every bit of Chinese cultural tradition? It says: "Europe gradually moved out of its medieval ignorance and barbarism and gone to the center stage of the world. At this God-sent historical moment, oceanic civilization will not hesitate to make use of its vitality and cultural superiority to develop and to expand." "The fate of the Huang He is to run through the loess plateau... and join the great blue ocean." As we can see, the talk about "yellow civilization" and "blue civilization" in *River Elegy* is not really a study of history; it is just asking us to "develop" and "expand" the path toward European capitalism. And the content of the so-called "development" and "expansion" of capitalism is none other than the invasion, enslaving, robbing, looting, and slaughtering of the people of Asia and Africa and the suffocation and destruction of their ancient civilizations. China gained independence by fighting against imperialism and feudalism for more than 100 years. Why should we learn from the European and U.S. powers their "pattern" of developing "civilization" and follow their "path of civilization"? Chinese people will never follow the capitalist path where big countries rob small countries and the minority enslaves the majority. The facts show that even though some Asian, African, and Latin American countries gained independence after World War II, politically, economically, militarily, and culturally they are not yet independent. Neither have they rid themselves of the control and influence of other developed capitalist nations such as the United States. This is because these countries implement the capitalist system. The speed of their development is way behind that of China; to this day some are still very poor. Capitalist powers will let these Asian, African, and Latin American nations develop as long as they stay as subsidiaries and as long as they give up economic, political, and military independence. These countries will never be allowed to become completely independent world powers. China will not and cannot travel the capitalist road.

We Should Advocate the Great Chinese National Spirit and Struggle for the Vitality of China

There is continuity in historical tradition. Confucianism was born at the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. The rulers of the Han dynasty then transformed this ideology. Afterward it became the orthodox ideology of Chinese feudalism for 2,000 years. Buddhism and Christianity came from ancient societies. They are now the

religions for the people in South Asia, Europe, and the Americas. The art and work of ancient Greece and the Renaissance are still valued and praised by people today. Each nation develops its own history and culture. At the same time, it absorbs influences from other cultures. The Four Great Inventions of China were instrumental in ending the ignorance of medieval Europe. When Buddhism came to China from India, it had a great impact on China's ancient culture and art. The core of Chinese history and culture is Confucianism, which has also greatly influenced Japan and the Southeast Asian nations. Meanwhile, we should note that, no matter what the time period, a nation will only inherit and absorb the culture that suits it. People from different classes will take only what is best for them, whether it is from their own civilization or from the outside. Every class thinks in terms of what is good and necessary for its people and selects the parts of culture acceptable to them. Chinese Confucianism changed during the feudal period. The people from European and American capitalist nations believe in Jesus Christ but reject the theocracy of medieval Europe. There is a different culture in each period of time and for each class of people. The substance of culture is not some imaginary thing out of a philosopher's brain, nor is it something sent down by heaven. Culture is what we have inherited from people in the past and from ancient and foreign cultures. We criticize and we digest. This is the historical rule of how culture is created.

People should be in control of their own fate. After we have established our national government, we must follow the policy of carrying on and selecting our historical and cultural heritage. We are aware of the people's benefit. We use a scientific world outlook and we try to be selective when we inherit all the material culture and spiritual wealth from the several thousand years of human history. We then create our own new culture. After our nation was established, our people followed Comrade Mao Zedong's policy which said that we should denounce the feudal garbage but absorb the democratic essence of our historical and cultural tradition. This has helped us a lot in building the new socialist culture. In this new historical stage we must try harder to implement the policy of selecting and absorbing culture. We need to emphasize the excellent cultural traditions of different nationalities as well as educate the masses so they will not be influenced by feudal ideology. We need to study diligently the advanced scientific technology of foreign countries and learn from their experiences in industrial production and management. At the same time we must absolutely resist the influence of Western capitalist decadent ideology and we must oppose bourgeois liberalization. This is the only way to guarantee that we follow the right path in building socialist material and spiritual civilization. The development of the international and domestic situation in recent years has shown us that the total denial of the Chinese cultural tradition and the praise and appreciation of Western cultural patterns in *River Elegy* are a manifestation of historical nihilism. The only correct policy is to continue

with our criticism and inheritance. This is the basis for building a new history and culture for our socialist motherland.

River Elegy concludes that Chinese civilization has "come to an irreversible point. It has deteriorated and collapsed." "What we need to do is to create a new civilization." "The Asian sun has fallen from the sky." But facts say otherwise. More and more knowledgeable people now point out that the dawn of hope has been reappearing in ancient Asia. The western Pacific coast and many countries in Southeast Asia manifest more internal vitality and higher cultural superiority than countries in the West. While some countries are experiencing turbulence, sudden changes, and unstable political situations, from the East, China implements a reform-and-open policy and experiences rapid growth in industry, agriculture, technology, and national defense. The living standards of our people have obviously improved. We believe that the Chinese people, who have been traditionally diligent, wise, and brave, will overcome any obstacles on the road and will succeed in unifying the country. The sun is rising from the East. With its many thousands of years of civilization and vitality, Chinese civilization will no doubt shine in this new era.

Conduct Positive Intraparty Ideological Struggle

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in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 90 pp 17-21

[Article by Fan Rongzhi (2868 2837 2655), Secretary,
Datong City CPC Committee]

[Text]

I

Active intraparty ideological struggle refers to a struggle by which the weapons of criticism and self-criticism are used by party organs and party members to correct and overcome various mistaken ideas and actions which violate the principles of party spirit. Conducting positive intraparty ideological struggle is one of the necessary conditions for developing and strengthening the CPC and is a fine tradition of our party. During the period of democratic revolution, it was through the successful carrying out of positive ideological struggle by our party that the party, whose members were mainly from peasant backgrounds, could effectively counter the influence of nonproletarian consciousness, including small-scale peasant consciousness and feudal consciousness, and guarantee the nature of the vanguard of the working class. In the history of our party, rather major mistakes and errors have occurred on several occasions. It was only through reliance on conducting positive ideological struggle that these mistakes and errors were corrected, and the correct line came into being and was implemented.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "antagonism and struggle between different ideas within the party occur frequently. This is a reflection, within the party, of the contradictions in society and the contradictions

between the new and the old. If, within the party, there were no ideological struggle involving contradictions and the resolution of contradictions, the party's life would cease."¹ Today, our party still needs to conduct positive intraparty ideological struggle.

First, conducting positive intraparty ideological struggle is a requirement if our party is to gain the initiative in class struggle domestically and externally. At present, the struggles between infiltration and counterinfiltration, subversion and countersubversion, and peaceful evolution and counter-peaceful evolution have become even more intense and, domestically, class struggle still exists within a certain scope. This struggle is not only regularly manifested in society, but is also reflected within the party, thus forming acute antagonism and struggle between different ideologies. The situation where, if the proletariat does not occupy the ideological sphere, the bourgeoisie will inevitably occupy it, is a major issue which still faces our party. If our party, in the struggle to oppose peaceful evolution, is to take an invincible position in the class struggle, which still exists within a certain scope domestically, it must adopt the weapon of positive ideological struggle, oppose, and criticize the various anti-Marxist ideological tides, and use Marxism to firmly occupy the ideological front. Carrying out positive ideological struggle and thereby enabling the whole party to realize ideological unity on a Marxist base, will have very major significance for our achievement of victory in the class struggle domestically and abroad.

Second, carrying out positive intraparty ideological struggle is necessary if we are to overcome the various mistaken ideologies which exist within the party and necessary for strengthening ideological construction. Our party now has close to 50 million members and the vast majority of party members can bring into play their role as vanguard forces. However, it should be recognized that 70 percent of our party members joined the party either during or after the Cultural Revolution. The party's ranks have expanded swiftly, making the task of ideological construction even more arduous. Some comrades have joined the party at the organizational level, but ideologically have not really or not completely joined the party. That is to say, various mistaken ideologies and non-Marxist ideologies still exist to varying degrees in many party members. For example, some party members have been affected by the trend of bourgeois liberalization, have put forward various doubts about Marxism and socialism, and have wavered in their adherence to the four cardinal principles. Among some party members, the ideology of selfish departmentalism is serious. They want only flexibility, but not principles; and they stress only partial and immediate interests while ignoring overall and long-term interests. Some even engage in practices where "when a policy is issued above, a countermeasure is devised below." In the ideologies of some party members, liberalism still has not been rooted out. They stress only individualism, and do not stress party character. They want only freedom and do not

want the collective or discipline. With respect to party decisions, they all go their own way and some even overtly agree, while covertly going against them. Among some party members egoism, money worship, and individualism exist to a serious degree and some even use their power to obtain benefits, exchange power for money, are corrupt, accept bribes, and are degenerate. Bureaucratism is very serious among some party members. Their only aim is to be officials and they do not engage in real work. Their work style is superficial, they live in ease and comfort, and are used to putting on bureaucratic airs and acting like officials, but end up neglecting their duties. Among other party members, there exists quite serious factionalism. They stress only their own faction and do not stress principles. They are on good terms with everyone within their faction and oppose everyone outside, and there is even respect for the feudal idea of personal attachments. We have observed these various problems in the practice of our grassroots party building and the broad number of party members and the masses have urgently demanded that these problems be resolved. Cleaning up these problems requires efforts in many areas, but a most important aspect is strengthening ideological construction in the party and motivating all comrades in the party to take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and to develop active ideological struggle.

Third, conducting positive intraparty struggle is a demand if all levels of party organs are, in facing major issues of right and wrong, to maintain sober minds and maintain a stable situation. The political disturbances in spring and summer of last year [1989] caused us to deeply realize this point. During the disturbances last year, Datong City also experienced intense confrontation between correct ideas and mistaken ideas; some mistaken ideas were widely spread for a time and throughout the whole city these elicited very serious anxieties. In such a situation, we conducted education in "stressing the national situation, observing the position of Datong, being clear on the party committee's responsibility and making a special contribution" among party organs at all levels throughout the city. We firmly and steadfastly criticized the various erroneous ideas in society, unified ideas, and implemented strict political responsibility throughout the whole city. In this way, we ensured the stability of popular feeling throughout the city, the stability of production, and the stability of society. In particular, the three major industries of coal, electricity, and railways, which were important to stability in the capital and to the national economy, all achieved their best-ever figures during the second quarter. As to the spirit of contribution of the working class of Datong in maintaining the stability of the overall situation, leading Central Committee comrades, including Jiang Zemin and Li Ruihuan, who subsequently came to Datong on inspection work, appraised their efforts very highly. Comrade Jiang Zemin also wrote an inscription reading "Bravely contributing, first-rate achievers" for the Datong coal workers. If, in the situation at that time, the city committee had been

unable to persist in positive ideological struggle, had not firmly made known what it supported and what it opposed, and had not firmly attacked erroneous ideological trends, it would have been impossible to unify the ideas of the party organs at all levels in the city and it would have been impossible to stabilize the overall situation in Datong.

Fourth, conducting positive intraparty ideological struggle is a pressing demand for strengthening the vigor of grassroots party organs. Whether or not a grassroots party organ has vigor depends to a very great degree on whether or not that grassroots party organization can develop positive ideological struggle. Practice has proved that, wherever a grassroots party organ is able to conduct positive intraparty ideological struggle, the positive influences can overcome evil influences, correct advanced ideologies can become the main stream in intraparty life, popular feeling will be at ease, the enthusiasm of party members will be brought fully into play, and the party organs will be imbued with vitality. At the same time, as active ideological struggle is carried out mainly in the various party meetings, if positive ideological struggle is carried out well, it will spur on the perfecting of the various meeting systems of the party, including the "three meetings, one topic" system, the democratic activity meeting system, and so on. This will ensure that the meetings at the party's grassroots level will be targeted meetings and will not fall into empty talk. Developing positive ideological struggle can also strengthen the consciousness of party members for regularly and correctly utilizing their democratic rights, and then everyone, from the party's leading cadres down to ordinary party members, will be brave in carrying out self-criticism and will also be able to consciously accept criticism by others. This will greatly strengthen the democratic atmosphere within the party. In brief, developing intraparty ideological struggle will inevitably promote the building of the ideological style and the building of organizational systems in grassroots party organs. Thereby, the grassroots party organs will be invigorated.

II

It must be said that, at present, in some party organs, the carrying out of positive ideological struggle is not being done well and in some cases is not being done at all. There are many reasons for this, but a major cause is that some ideological obstructions exist. This was especially so prior to the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, when party building was weakened and ideological obstacles which were disadvantageous to the conducting of positive intraparty ideological struggle could not be effectively overcome and became daily more serious. This greatly harmed the normal environment for carrying out positive intraparty ideological struggle.

The first ideological obstacle was the ideological influence of bourgeois liberalization, which resulted in positive intraparty ideological struggle being seen as the

antithesis of developing democracy within the party, and was thus negated and rejected. Those persons who obstinately adhered to views of bourgeois liberalization attacked positive intraparty ideological struggle in one hundred ways, saying, "ideological struggle is a tool of intraparty autocracy" and "ideological struggle stifles democracy within the party." Their direct aim in opposing positive intraparty ideological struggle was to abolish Marxist principles and make the party a hodgepodge or club of all sorts of ideological factions, intending to thereby change the nature of the party. It can be seen that they did not really want democracy within the party but, under the pretense of developing democracy, they wanted to trample upon the party principle of Marxism. Further, some comrades within our party, including a few leaders, lost their vigilance against the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization and even adopted an attitude of tolerance and support for bourgeois liberal ideologies. On the other hand, they discriminated against, squeezed out, and attacked those comrades who upheld the four cardinal principles. The result was that, for a time, bourgeois liberalization became a flood and there were even open negation and attempts to abolish the party. Within the party there was no leeway to achieve reconciliation on the question of principles. Thus, only by carrying out positive ideological struggle was it possible to clear away the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization. And only by firmly opposing the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization and clearing up the ideological confusion was it possible to really develop positive intraparty ideological struggle.

The second ideological obstacle was that some comrades had negatively received the lessons of the Cultural Revolution and, as soon as positive intraparty ideological struggle was mentioned, they connected it with "leftist" things and thought it involved using the big stick, putting labels on people, and correcting people. Thus, they did not dare to put forward or carry out even normal positive intraparty ideological struggle. Certainly, under "leftist" ideological guidance in the past, especially during the period of the Cultural Revolution, errors occurred in intraparty ideological struggle, and a large number of good comrades were punished or even suffered brutal persecution. We should bear this lesson firmly in mind. However, to remember the "leftist" lesson is not so that we can give up on positive intraparty ideological struggle, but rather so that this struggle can be carried out normally and healthily. We certainly must not repeat the mistaken practices of the past and must not call ordinary criticism "using the big stick" or say that conducting positive intraparty ideological struggle is "leftist." In this respect, Comrade Deng Xiaoping acutely pointed out, "Since the Third Plenary Session, we have spent much effort in correcting the 'leftist' mistakes of the Cultural Revolution and some of the previous political movements and ideological struggles. This is completely correct. We cannot allow those 'leftist' mistakes to be repeated. However, many comrades sum up historical lessons one-sidedly and hold that even the mention of ideological struggle and stern handling are 'leftist.' They

stress only opposition to 'leftism' and do not stress opposing rightism. This is going to the other extreme of weakness and laxness. On the issue of engaging in ideological struggle against and organizational handling of mistaken tendencies, bad people, and bad things in recent years, a mood has spread within the party whereby there has been excessive tolerance, indecision, little thought, and weak actions, and whereby mistakes are glossed over so that people stay on good terms. Party discipline has been thereby weakened and some bad persons have been protected."² The extreme actions in intraparty ideological struggle occurred under specific historical conditions at that time. However, through the setting to rights and the bringing of order out of chaos carried out since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, intraparty life has been gradually normalized. In this normal intraparty atmosphere, there is now no base for extreme intraparty struggle. Seen from the practice of grassroots intraparty life over the last few years, those party organs which have carried out positive ideological struggle well are those that maintain quite high vigilance against "leftism." In general, they can all use the formula of "unity-criticism-unity" to handle problems that appear among party members on the ideological, work style, and discipline levels. Practice has proven that only if we can differentiate extreme intraparty struggle from positive intraparty ideological struggle and clearly set down the border between the two, will we be able to avoid the appearance of "leftist" errors and ensure that positive intraparty ideological struggle is carried out normally and healthily.

The third ideological obstruction is the pragmatic attitude with which the party's principle are treated. Positive intraparty ideological struggle has the party's principles as its standard of right and wrong. However, in recent years a problem has emerged whereby a pragmatic attitude is used in looking at the party's principles. For example, with respect to party policies, some persons implement those that agree with their own wishes and ignore those with which they do not agree, "when they see a red light, they take a detour," and so on. This pragmatist attitude has resulted in the party's principles being interpreted differently in different areas, different units, and different industries, and in the use of various methods to implement the principles in a "flexible" way. In the end, the principles become confused and empty words. This results not only in it being impossible to combine the party's principles with specific situations, but also in the party's principles being distorted and losing their authority. Thus, problems have emerged by which the party documents say one thing, while the local party leaders say and do another, or even use local practices to blur the principle established by the party document and to obscure the division between right and wrong. Thus, if we are to carry out positive intraparty ideological struggle, the first task is to establish the seriousness and authority of the party's principles and oppose the pragmatic attitude of wantonly "interpreting" or "adapting" these principles. On questions of principle involving party members' political orientation,

the party line, and the basic interests of the masses, we must firmly and in a clear-cut way adhere to truth and correct errors. Not stressing principle or "adapting" principles is not the right moral attitude of a communist.

The fourth ideological obstacle is that the relationship between comrades within the party is treated in a vulgar way. Interpersonal relationships within the Communist Party were originally a healthy relationship between comrades where the party's interests were taken as common interests. However, in recent years, a phenomenon has appeared whereby, within the party, the relationship between comrades is treated in a vulgar way. This has been manifested as: 1) The relationship between party members has become either a money relationship whereby they have formed alliances to obtain private benefit, or an interests relationship whereby they have formed alliances to obtain position and power. 2) In the relationship between party members, there is mutual purchase of favors and mutual use of relationships. Thus, they close one eye to mistaken things and, in party-life meetings, they criticize themselves for their handling of matters and criticize others for their expectations, but they never touch upon the essential problem. There are even people who, at the meetings, speak in set phrases and phoney statements, while what is really in their minds is discussed only behind the scenes. 3) Groups and factions are formed. People stay on good terms with persons from their own faction and they see even the bad aspects of such persons as good. Often the actions of fellow faction members are not examined to see if they are good or bad, right or wrong. However, they face those outside their faction with scowling looks, and even the good aspects of persons in other factions are seen as bad. 4) In the relationships between party members, small benefits are sought and principles are ignored. Some party members do not concern themselves with major questions of principle with respect to right or wrong, but when confronted with questions of personal benefit and authority, they engage in great struggle, both open and veiled, and they will not budge an inch. This vulgar style seriously harms the principle of party spirit; conditional unity becomes unconditional accommodation, and principled struggle changes into unprincipled disputes. This vulgar style has spread within the party and seriously obstructs the carrying out of positive intraparty ideological struggle. It must be firmly eliminated.

At present, an overall atmosphere in which the whole party stresses party building and grasps party building has already been initially formed. We should grasp well this beneficial opportunity, adopt effective measures to overcome these various ideological obstacles, create a fine public opinion and ideological environment to carry out positive intraparty ideological struggle, and actively develop a positive intraparty ideological struggle.

III

Through our practice, we have come to realize that, if we are to really develop positive intraparty ideological

struggle, apart from overcoming the various ideological obstacles, we should stress the following several points:

1. We must uphold the principled nature of positive intraparty ideological struggle. What is meant by this is that in this struggle, we must adhere to the Marxist principle of party spirit. That is, we must take whether or not we are adhering to the Marxist principle of party spirit as an important aspect in deciding whether or not we are correctly carrying out positive intraparty ideological struggle, so as to prevent ideological struggle from becoming a struggle between personal loyalties or becoming unprincipled disputes. We must take the Marxist principle of party spirit as an indicator in assessing the correctness and the advanced nature or otherwise of what goes on within the party, so as to prevent personal likes and dislikes from being used to assess these things. We must take Marxism as the theoretical weapon in carrying out positive intraparty struggle, so as to convince people through reason and encourage them to deep thought. To sum up, only if we adhere to the Marxist principle of party spirit in intraparty ideological struggle will we be able to attain the goal of consolidating and developing the party.

2. The principle of unity-criticism-unity. That is, we must proceed from hope for unity and, through criticism or struggle, ensure that contradictions are resolved and thereby achieve unity on a new base. Adherence to this principle requires on the one hand that unity be taken as the point of departure and the point of return in positive intraparty struggle.

This is because such struggle is mutual help between comrades and the aim of ideological struggle is to strengthen the fighting capacity, unity, and appeal of the party, not so that the power of party organs is sapped or discord is sown between party members. Thus, we cannot engage in intraparty struggle divorced from party unity. In another respect, we want, on the basis of unity, to maintain positive ideological struggle. Only unity based on adherence to positive ideological struggle is unity based on the party's principles, and only thus can we prevent party members from falling into inescapable personal debts of gratitude or resentment. Only such a unity is a firm unity. Adherence to the principle of unity-criticism-unity also requires that, when carrying out criticism and self-criticism, we must ensure the following: 1) Criticism must be just. The assessment of comrades' achievements and transgressions, rights and wrongs, strong points and weak points must be carried out in a way that seeks truth from facts. Right is right and wrong is wrong. As for mistakes, the nature of the mistake must be clearly stated. It must not be continually raised to higher planes of principle, and neither can it be covered up. As to achievements, the degree of achievement must be clearly stated. It must not be obscured; neither should there be unlimited praise. 2) Criticism must observe principles. In carrying out intraparty criticism, there must be adherence to principle, but criticism must be mild and gentle. There must be both frankness and attention to method, so that the person being

criticized takes note of the criticism. In recent years, we have realized in practice that, regardless of whether we speak of the situation within party organs or within leading groups, as long as there are great efforts to implement the principle of unity-criticism-unity, everyone will greatly cherish friendly affection between comrades, will pay attention to stressing understanding and unity, and they will remind each other of shortcomings and will regularly engage in work of "face-washing" and "cleaning out the dust." On major questions of right and wrong within organs, within the leading groups, and in our work, we should adhere to the practice of face-to-face discussion and clarification of such matters in party meetings so as to attain a unity of opinion. In this way, it will be possible to maintain unity within party organs and within the leading groups, and the fighting capacity, unity, and appeal of the party will be strengthened.

3. Perfecting intraparty democratic activity meetings and various other systems. The party's democratic activity meetings are a major organizational form for conducting positive intraparty ideological struggle. Doing well in holding democratic activity meetings is an organizational guarantee in conducting positive intraparty organizational struggle. Thus, if we want to develop positive intraparty ideological struggle, we must perfect the democratic activity meeting system for party committees at all levels. These meetings must be regularized and systematized and must stress ideology, democracy, and principles, so as to truly raise their efficiency in resolving problems. The leading cadres must pay attention to doing well in dual organizational activities. That is to say, they must do well in holding democratic activity meetings for the leading group and also for the party branches in which all party members participate. In this way, they will receive criticism and supervision from both their own level and from below. We have realized that, in doing well in holding democratic activity meetings and conducting positive intraparty ideological struggle, the example set by the party secretary is extremely important. As "group head" of a leading group, the party committee secretary must first be unselfish and magnanimous, fair, and upright and be brave in upholding principle. He must be democratic in style, generous to people, and good at unifying comrades with different views and even those who oppose them. He must be modest and prudent, be glad when people point out errors, and be brave in taking on responsibility. He must discipline himself firmly, set an example, and proceed from fairness in all matters. Apart from perfecting the intraparty democratic activity meetings, it is also necessary to stress the perfecting of the system of reports by the whole party committee and the system of democratic appraisal of party members. The party committee, through report writing, can be subject to supervision and criticism from all sides and promote the development of a democratic style within the party. The democratic appraisal of party members can produce an environment in which achievements and mistakes are made clear and an atmosphere by which there is active

striving for progress. This will promote positive ideological struggle between party members.

4. The carrying out of positive intraparty ideological struggle must be combined with positive intraparty education. Carrying out positive education and developing positive intraparty ideological struggle are two major measures for carrying out the party's ideological construction. Carrying out positive education mainly involves educating party members in the basic theories of Marxism; in the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session; and in basic knowledge about the party, so as to raise the political quality of party members. Only carrying out positive intraparty ideological struggle will mean that mistaken ideas will precipitate in the party and it will not be easy for positive education to see results. If we only stress positive ideological struggle and do not pay attention to positive education, it will not be possible to basically, deeply, and systematically resolve the problems that exist within the party. These two measures permeate each other because within positive education is criticism and struggle against mistaken ideas, and, in ideological struggle there is positive stress on principles and convincing people through reason. Thus, only by consciously combining positive intraparty ideological struggle with positive education of party members will it be possible to obtain twice the results with half the effort.

During the period of the democratic revolution, our party relied on positive intraparty ideological struggle to strengthen its own body and continually develop its strength. In the new historical period, if we rely on positive intraparty ideological struggle, we will certainly be able to root out the causes of problems within the party and ensure that our party sees more prosperous development. To this end, every true Communist who has a sense of historical responsibility should consciously take up the weapon of positive intraparty ideological struggle.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, one-volume edition p. 281.
2. *Building Socialism With Chinese Characteristics*, revised edition, p. 24.

To Promote Technological Progress Made by Existing Enterprises Is a Significant Strategy

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[Article by Lu Dong (0712 2639)]

[Text] Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party confirmed the guiding principle of invigorating the economy by relying on science and technology, and it adopted a series of significant policies and measures; it has effectively promoted enterprises to make technological progress and

helped China's industry raise its standards to a new level in production and technology.

The planned and systematic implementation of technological transformation among existing enterprises has strengthened China's economic strength, as well as its reserve development strength. Over the past 10 years, as many as 450,000-odd upgrading projects and technological transformation projects were carried out by enterprises owned by the whole people, involving an investment of approximately over 500 billion yuan. Although technological transformation projects in the past were fewer in number and were done in a scattered manner, the enterprises are now undertaking an overall transformation within their trades. Also, although it was carried out mainly by medium-sized and small enterprises in the past, it is taken as the focal point by more and more large and medium-sized enterprises. In addition, they organized those relevant enterprises to carry out the corresponding transformation in a planned manner by focusing on their major products or on the large and medium-sized enterprises. As a result of large-scale transformation of technology by enterprises, China's industrial enterprises have gradually put an end to their backward situation, and the vitality of enterprises has been markedly strengthened.

Large-scale imports of advanced technology from abroad have raised the point where enterprises started making technological progress, and have strengthened China's capability to develop the economy through self-reliance. Over the past 10 years, more than 20,000 projects were imported to transform the existing enterprises, and the turnover reached more than \$15 billion, so that a number of factories, workshops, and production lines installed with the advanced technology were available to many trades. As the number of advanced technology projects imported from abroad was in the tens of thousands, the pace of upgrading products was quickened. This thus initially ended the situation where the specifications of a product remained unchanged for a decade. Today, depending mainly on ourselves, we can provide a whole set of equipment with better quality for the development of the national economy, and many industrial products are about to reach, or have reached, the world's advanced standards.

The amount of effective supply was increased as a result of technological progress made by enterprises, so that prosperity in both urban and rural markets reached an unprecedented scale. According to statistics, the 1989 volume of retail commodity supply in society was 913.2 billion yuan, which increased by 4.4 times compared to 1978. This included the portion realized by enterprises through technological progress, which accounted for a large share. Today, the variety of commodities on China's market is so rich that they can satisfy the diverse consumption demand of the people. As luxury and near-luxury durable consumer goods have entered the houses of urban and rural residents in large numbers, gone are the days of inadequate industrial consumer

goods, and many products which were available only upon presentation of coupons or only after queuing are now readily available.

Technological progress made by enterprises has become a major way to increase the fiscal revenue of the state and a major way for enterprises to increase economic results. Judging from their experience over the past 10 years, technological progress and technological transformation made by existing enterprises could quickly bring about output and yield high profits with little investment. Every yuan of input in the funds for technological transformation might bring about approximately 1.5 to 2 yuan in output value, and might deliver 0.4 to 0.5 yuan in taxes. It took roughly three to five years to build the facilities, put them into operation, and start normal production. In 1989, China's fiscal revenue totaled 291.9 billion yuan, an increase of 179.8 billion yuan over that in 1978, which was 112.1 billion yuan. A rather large share was realized by enterprises through technological progress. About 60 percent of the newly increased output value and taxes was brought by existing enterprises through technological progress and technological transformation.

The quality of workers was improved following the promotion of technological progress by enterprises. In particular, extensive international economic and technological exchanges were conducted following implementation of the principle of opening up. Technology, funds, management skills, and qualified personnel were imported on large scale. Therefore, both cadres and workers of China's enterprises have widened their field of vision, and gained more experience. Through joint ventures, joint development, and joint production, many enterprises ran and managed their business according to internationally accepted practices and organized their production according to international technical standards. Thus, the professional knowledge of cadres and workers was continuously updated, and both their technical and professional skills were remarkably improved.

In promoting technological progress by enterprises over the past 10 years, we closely linked technology development; technology import; assimilation, absorption, and innovation; and technological transformation. We gradually focused on the upgrading of products, and continuously grasped the work system concerning technological progress made by enterprises. Moreover, teams of specialists were initially formed. This is the basis for further promoting the technological progress made by enterprises. Of course, we must recognize that while China's enterprises have made remarkable achievements in technological progress, some problems exist. For example, certain unnecessary or low-level technology projects were imported and constructed in duplication. We must seriously improve our work in this respect.

In the next 10 years, the basic way to realize China's second strategic target of economic development is still the efforts of enterprises to make technological progress. To give play to the roles of existing enterprises and to

vigorously promote their technological progress are still significant strategic issues in China's economic construction. Starting from the beginning of this year, we visited eastern, south-central, southwestern, and northwestern China for inspection and examination. We deeply felt that, in general, China's industry still had not put an end to the situation in which product quality was poor and the consumption of materials was high. It has become an urgent historical task for us to switch our operation strategy from the extensive one to the intensive one. From now on, we must, according to the state's industrial policies and the criteria of the state to readjust the composition of products, work out meticulous planning, readjustment, and organization by focusing on technological progress; give play to the economic advantages of particular trades and regions; and gradually narrow the gaps between China and the developed countries to maintain long-term, continuous, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy. Both the situation and tasks before us require us to vigorously push ahead the technological progress made by China's enterprises. For this reason, it is necessary that the following problems be solved:

We must work out a far-sighted, long-term business department strategy to promote technological progress, on the basis of the current situation. At present, there is some express doubt about the capability of enterprises to tackle this issue because they have been plagued by sluggish sales and find it difficult to run their business. Upon careful examination, however, one sees that sluggish sales are closely related to the work of these enterprises, which was done superficially in the past. We have visited many enterprises that did a good job in technology work, and their sales were not sluggish. Therefore, whether they proceed from the viewpoint of overcoming the current difficulties or from the viewpoint of promoting long-term development, they should devote major effort to promoting technological progress of enterprises, which is their basic way out. Industrial enterprises are the "carriers" of modern technology. Development of an enterprise is always closely linked to its technological progress. For its business to thrive, an enterprise must continuously carry out technological development, technological transformation, and import of technology. It would be foolish for it to think that it can take a breather and avoid pursuing new technology standards because it has increased its production or because it has just been transformed. In due course, such an enterprise will inevitably fall behind the new age of technology, which is developing by leaps and bounds. As an industrial enterprise, it will prefer short-term actions to acts of pursuing technological progress. One will stand the test if he is prepared; he will fail the test if he is not. Enterprises must proceed from realities, and work out their long-term business development strategy according to macroeconomic development and the demand in the overseas and domestic markets. They must work out their long-term development plans by focusing on the production of luxury, good-quality, and marketable products making use of technology and with a high

added-value. Their plans must specify in detail the requirements for improvement of quality, production of goods in a greater variety, reduction of energy and material consumption, input of technology, assimilation and absorption, technological development, technological transformation, and so on. In the plans, they must integrate their present work with their long-term development objectives, implementing them in a systematic and planned way so as to realize, after working hard for a certain period, a rapid development in their technological standards.

We should study and work out technological policies for various trades and policies concerning technology and equipment for the next 10 years and specify the direction and objective of technological development. We must combine trade technology with electronics technology, and use electronics technology to transform traditional industry. As a sector providing equipment for the national economy, the machine-building and electronics industries must take the lead in this respect and actively provide to various economic sectors top-quality, low-cost, and highly efficient advanced equipment. At the same time, we must issue express and strict orders restricting and eliminating the production of backward equipment, so such "antiques" will no longer be made. From now on, an enterprise, be it newly established or recently transformed, must apply advanced and appropriate technological achievements. Under no circumstances should technological transformation become an extension of outdated technology, old equipment, and outdated products. Moreover, no one is allowed to use funds for expanding investment involving low-level production capacity. The direction of investment must favor technology in areas in which progress has been made. Popularization of new technology must be accomplished in stages. In China as a whole, we must popularize large-scale new equipment and new technology which have become mature, can produce goods with guaranteed quality, can improve economic results, and can save energy and conserve material consumption. Localities and enterprises must determine their focal points in accordance with the actual situation.

We should control the extent of importation, assimilation and absorption, localization, and centralization and expedite the pace of assimilating imported technology while making innovations more quickly. Importation itself is not our goal. Rather, it helps us to make innovations at a higher starting point to strengthen our ability for independent development. We must overcome the tendencies to favor hardware over software and to favor using it for production purposes over the process of assimilation and absorption. From now on, we must focus on software and technology, and on the necessary equipment and qualified personnel. We must take importation, as well as assimilation and absorption, as integral parts of the process. Before importation, relevant competent departments must arrange scientific research and design units, as well as enterprises, to jointly study and work out plans for importation, assimilation and absorption, and localization. Nevertheless,

we must pay attention to observing relevant laws of China on the protection of intellectual property, our international duties, and obligations stipulated in contracts executed by the parties concerned. So-called localization should include localization of products, localization of raw materials and component parts necessary for the production of such products, and localization of equipment using import technology. In the process of localization, we must try to make innovations. We must stop importing generation after generation of a single product. Rather, we should continuously make innovations on the basis of importation. It must be emphasized here that: First, after a product has been imported, we must find the necessary raw materials and component parts. This is a kind of system engineering. All major products that are imported must complete a series of stages of localization arranged by the competent departments or the relevant regions. Second, although we have imported several thousand production lines in recent years, the extent of localization of much major equipment and software and technology has not been extensive enough. The departments and regions concerned must carry out by steps the localization of the above production lines and major equipment according to demand in both the overseas and domestic markets. This is a significant measure for promoting technological transformation of old enterprises. From now on, we must use China-made equipment whenever its quality is really up to the standard. Of course, we must pay attention to following the development of the world's advanced standards. All levels from the central to the local must be determined to allocate a certain amount of foreign exchange for the import of technology. The work of importation must be carried out in a systematic and planned way to avoid duplicating the work and importing the unnecessary. In the interior of China, they must attach great importance to utilizing technology available to them in China and abroad. First, they should use the imported advanced technology to transform existing enterprises. Second, they should attract technology, funds, and qualified personnel from other parts of China. By acting in this way, they can save foreign exchange while promoting exchanges of experience among them, as well as helping them gradually narrow the gap of development among themselves. This is a good move which will have multiple advantages.

With enterprises as the subject, and industrialization and mass production as the objective, we should promote an integration of scientific research with production. At present, in a given year, the number of the state's key tasks undertaken by scientific research institutes under the industrial departments generally accounts for 20 to 30 percent of total number of tasks at hand. The percentage is generally 10 in the case of design institutes. Most of their efforts are spent on their own productive enterprises, and "short-term, low-cost, and quick" lateral cooperation projects contracted to them. It is shown in our investigation that there were several thousand

research institutes undertaking the development of products and techniques, and an absolute majority of them were not linked to industrial enterprises. This is favorable neither to turning achievements of science and technology into industrial use or mass production nor to the introduction of high technology in traditional industries. There are two solutions for this issue: First, we may treat such research institutes in the same way we treated the No. 1 Automobile and Xian Aircraft Industry Companies—link them to large key enterprises and enterprise groups, and make them subject to a centralized control system with respect to production and scientific research. Second, we may adopt the approach taken by Shanghai Municipality, which took enterprises as the subject, took key projects as the links, and took application of scientific achievements to industry and mass production as the goal. Through bidding, the municipality adopted policies to encourage various scientific and technological forces to join hands on major battlefields to break away from the old system of separated departments and regions, and to promote technological progress in various trades. This is a new way of linking scientific research to production, and it is worth learning from it and popularizing the experience. In order to fundamentally solve problems concerning the separation of scientific research from production, and the weak basis for industrial enterprises to develop technology, we should consider readjusting China's system of science and technology development. By taking measures regarding the system, administration, and policies, we should turn enterprises into the major force for science and technology development. Scientific research and design institutes, as well as universities and colleges, must be geared to the needs of and serve productive enterprises.

We should strongly strengthen the work of technological development among enterprises. To enterprises, technological development and investment in equipment are two indispensable pillars for achieving technological progress. Therefore, enterprises must give top priority to the work of and create plans for technological development; strive to design a generation of products while test-producing another generation and manufacturing yet another one; and get the necessary technology as a reserve. According to investigations conducted by relevant departments, only 49 percent of large and medium-sized state-run enterprises are linked to technological development institutions, while over 50 percent of them are still short of any development in this respect. We must promptly put an end to the present situation where many enterprises find no funds, are not linked to institutions, or have no plans for technological development. All large and medium-sized state-run enterprises must set up and perfect their own institutions of technological development. Small enterprises which temporarily lack the necessary conditions to do so must depend on scientific research units, as well as on universities and colleges, for their technological development work. We must increase the proportion of engineering and technical personnel engaging in technological development.

Today, about 20 percent of personnel employed by China's enterprises to undertake technological development are engineers, whereas the figure is generally about 50 percent in developed countries. Since both science and technology are the first production force, they should be reflected in the cost of production in the same way as other factors of production are, and should account for a certain ratio in the cost of a product, thereby ensuring that enterprises are capable of continuously making innovations. We should, in accordance with the situation of different trades, allow enterprises to retain at a certain part of their sales revenue as technological development funds to be deducted from the cost of production.

We should uphold the principle of giving priority to variety and quality, popularize modernized management, and perfect the administrative system for making technological progress by enterprises. Both variety and quality are vital to enterprises. It is inevitable that technological progress made by enterprises is reflected in terms of variety and quality. The level of quality indicates not only the technological level of the enterprise concerned, but also the quality of its workers. When tackling the variety and quality issues, we must adopt the state's quality-control standards, as well as international technological standards. If a low standard is set, the technology involved will be outdated and the quality will be poor. The adoption of both the state's quality standards and international technological standards helps us regulate and standardize our large-scale quality control, helps us safeguard product quality, and intensifies full-scale quality control in enterprises. A modern enterprise is required not only to make continuous technological progress, but also to make continuous progress in management skills. The role of advanced technology hardly works without corresponding advanced management skills. Likewise, scientific management skills cannot function well without the use of advanced technology. Similar to the case of wheels, both technology and management skills should function at the same time. The focal point of management work among enterprises is to safeguard the production of top-quality and marketable goods, and to safeguard the continuous production of new products needed by the market. Enterprises must set up and perfect their management system for making technological progress. Chief engineers, as well as deputy directors and deputy managers of factories, should, under the leadership of factory directors and managers, be responsible for implementing their enterprises' plans for making technological progress. They should also constantly perfect the system, thus safeguarding the process.

We must devote major efforts to improving the quality of workers in order to promote technological progress among enterprises. The level of political awareness, ideological level, educational background, and technical skills of workers have a great bearing on an enterprise when making technological progress. The key to improved quality rests with the work of education. We must

uphold the approach of simultaneously educating them in ideology and politics, cultural knowledge, professional knowledge, ethics of a particular profession, and discipline. Through varied channels, we should do well in the work of training to help them develop the spirit of working hard for making progress and develop a strong sense of making technological progress. In improving the quality of workers, we must also intensify our reform of the labor wage system and further overcome the egalitarian thinking that the conditions remain unchanged whether or not one has acquired a skill or has done a lot of work. We must make the labor wages of enterprises have a mechanism that encourages workers to learn a skill or receive vocational training, so their wages and income will be commensurate with their level of vocational proficiency, and their degree of contribution; their rewards are related to their innovations and creations, and achievements of technological innovation; their vocational proficiency meets the requirements of the posts assumed by them; and technological progress of enterprises is linked to the immediate interests of workers. In addition, we must train and develop a number of socialist-minded and vocationally proficient engineering and technical personnel, and train a number of experts. The technological progress of enterprises will be out of the question without these engineering and technical personnel and experts.

War industry enterprises must give full play to their advantages and make greater contributions for promoting technological progress. Generally, the war industry possesses rather advanced technology and equipment. With a strong work force, it is hiring a galaxy of qualified personnel. Take Shaanxi Province as an example. Scientific and technological personnel of various disciplines in the province's war industry enterprises account for one-quarter of the province's total number of scientific and technological personnel. The industry has much equipment and many instruments which are up to the 1980's international standards, and are at an advanced level in China. Many products made by the enterprises for civilian use have filled the gaps in China's markets and have entered the international market. At present, China's war industry enterprises are changing from a limited approach of producing for military purposes into one involving the masses. In a certain sense, this is an expansion of business by the war industry enterprises for the second time. How do we smoothly realize such change? On the one hand, we should avoid duplicating the production of low-level goods for civilian use. Rather, we must, on the basis of adopting similar technology and techniques, carry out importation, assimilation, and absorption; make innovations at a higher starting point; and carry out technological transformation in a planned way. We must develop in the direction of pursuing technology when producing military goods and pursuing economic results when producing goods for civilian use. We must take technological progress as the major factor for promoting economic growth among war industry enterprises, and further popularize in all directions the advanced technology of the enterprises to

promote technological progress among local industrial enterprises and to make more contributions for invigorating the economy.

We must solve problems concerning sources of funds for enterprises to carry out technological transformation. A host of investigation materials indicates that there are two alternatives available for us to safeguard the input into enterprises for technological transformation. First, we should continue to perfect the system of contracted responsibilities to guarantee turning over revenue to the central government and the investment in technological transformation. Second, if we adopt the method of repaying loans after payment of taxes, it is necessary that the tax burden should be a light one, the fixed assets should be evaluated again, and the depreciation rate should be increased appropriately to guarantee that tangible and intangible losses sustained by the fixed assets are made up and to ensure that the techniques of enterprises are continuously upgraded. It is also worth studying a suggestion to retain energy and transportation funds from the depreciation after the readjustment of energy and transportation prices. Simply put, under no circumstances must we kill the goose that lays the golden eggs, or the sources of the state's fiscal revenue will gradually become dry. Instead, we should uphold the principle of invigorating enterprises to make them run a thriving business and continuously develop their production, thereby boosting the sources of the state's fiscal revenue and increasing the volume of effective supply on the market.

The Key To Improving Economic Results Lies in Efforts Spent on Development of Products— Survey of Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant

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[Text] Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant, which employs 8,072 workers, is a large first-class enterprise established 46 years ago. Its net value of fixed assets is 53.8 million yuan. Before 1979, this plant was capable of producing only 10 types of ordinary and precision horizontal machine tools in two categories. Its annual output value was 22 million yuan, and it earned \$95,000 of foreign exchange per year. Today this plant can produce more than 80 types, 282 models, of ordinary, precision, digital-display, and digital-control machine tools in 11 categories, and is a processing center. All of its major products are listed quality ones. Some of them have reached the world's advanced standards of the 1980's. When markets were sluggish, it achieved an output value of 150 million yuan in 1989, an increase of 25 percent compared to 1988. It earned foreign exchange worth \$10.02 million, an increase of 1.4 times compared to 1988. Also, its realized profits totaled 27.01 million yuan, an increase of 38 percent compared to 1988. From

January to August this year, its realized output value was 112 million yuan, an increase of 11 percent compared to the same period last year. The amount of foreign exchange earned was \$16 million, or 2.66 times of that in the same period last year. Thus, it ranks among the top ones in China's electric machinery industry. An essential point indicated by the summary of this plant's experience is that it focused its work on production and had an assortment of high-class and top-quality products that could meet market demand.

To Improve Product Standards in Three Aspects

Advanced products are vital to socialist enterprises, and the key to surviving keen market competition. With advanced products in hand, an enterprise can garner a share of the market and develop reserve strength. If the products made by an enterprise are outdated, the enterprise will have no future. Therefore, Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant always took the development of highly perfected advanced products as its prime task. It improved the standards of products in three aspects so that every area achieved development of products and improved product standards.

First, it made far-sighted strategic decisions and constantly upgraded the traditional products. Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant was a core enterprise engaged mainly in the production of ordinary machine tools. Over the years, its traditional product, C616 ordinary machine tool, was ranked top of its kind in China in terms of volume and quality. However, as early as 10 years ago when C616 machine tool was still very popular, they understood that it would be difficult for them to survive the keen market competition by relying simply on a single ordinary product, and that, by seizing the opportunity to open up, they had to widen their field of vision to cover the international market, to set goals to reach the world's advanced level and to upgrade their traditional products. In 1979, this plant entered into an agreement with Yamazaki Mazhake [7456 2089 0344] Company of Japan to cooperatively produce and then market Mazhake machine tools with drawings and samples supplied by Yamazaki. The plant devoted major efforts to tackling technical difficulties by acting in accordance with the technical requirements, as well as the quality standards, of the product. Thus, it produced within a short time the Mazhake machine tools up to the then international advanced standards and quickly gained a share in the international market. In exporting Yamazaki's new products alone, the plant earned \$5.61 million in foreign exchange in 1989, thus accounting for 56 percent of the plant's gross foreign exchange earned in that year.

Second, it always kept an eye on the world's advanced standards and developed new technology and products by setting high goals and acting promptly. The status of being an advanced product is only a relative perception and is strongly marked by the sense of timing. Particularly in today's world, where knowledge is updated with each passing day and the new technology revolution is

spreading far and wide, it is very difficult to predict changes in the international market, and the life cycle of products is getting shorter. It has become necessary for an enterprise to project the new world standards, while producing products that are advanced at that time. It should make far-sighted projections, as well as study and develop advanced products of the next generation. Only thus can it take the initiative amid keen international competition. On the basis of such understanding, the leadership of Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant promptly analyzed the world's situation regarding the production of machine tools, when its supply of Mazhake machine tools could barely meet the overseas demand. The leadership understood that, though the Mazhake machine tool was up to the world's advanced standards, it was a new product moderately better than those inferior to it; and that in today's situation where most countries had mastered digital-control technology, the gap between their standards and the world's advanced standards would be further widened, and, if they failed to quicken the pace of producing digital control machine tools, there would be the risk that their market share of traditionally advanced products would be taken away by someone else. After acknowledging the difference between their standards and the world's advanced ones, they made resolute decisions and put forward "four switches," namely, to switch from low-class products to high-class ones; to switch from a focus on machine tools to a focus on machine tools and on development of processing; to switch from focusing on the domestic market to focusing on the international market; and to switch from large-scale production of a single product to small-scale production of a variety of products, to development of products with high added value, and to participation in the international division of labor. In 1986, the plant successively cooperated with three companies from the FRG and Japan to import technology to produce two types of digital-control machine tools that were up to the world's advanced standards of the early 1980's and to develop processing centers through which products were bought back by those countries. In 1988, in view of the finding that the United States was the largest importer of machine tools and that it needed machine tools which utilized high and new technology because the automobile industry was the basic pillar of its industries, they cooperated with a U.S. company to produce the MJ-50CNC digital-control machine tool. As this product was designed to meet the needs of the automobile industry, it found its market from the time it was first produced. While cooperating with the foreign businessmen, the plant strengthened its self-development capability by continuously assimilating and absorbing the imported technology. It successively developed four high-precision machine tools, as well as four digital-control machine tools, that were up to the advanced level.

Third, it readjusted the composition of products to meet market demand, adapted itself to international competition, and quickened its pace of upgrading. In the past, C616 ordinary machine tool had always been the major product of Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant and had

dominated the domestic market. By analyzing the international and domestic markets, the leadership of Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant understood that, although this product was popular in the domestic market, it was inferior because it was an old product of the 1950's, and in the long run such products had no future. Therefore, they were determined to make a decision to replace C616 with J1 as their major product. At the same time, they thoroughly modified this product and developed a new machine tool, C6132. As a result, the new machine tool not only attracted attention in China, but also received compliments from foreign businessmen. Many of them, who visited the plant for inspection and business negotiations, placed their orders once they had seen the sample of C6132. In 1991, the output of this machine tool will reach 1,500, including 1,000 intended for export. This thus meets demands in both the international and domestic markets.

Recently, Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant, in view of the keen competition in both the international and domestic markets, has taken the development of advanced products as its key task and has greatly emphasized it. In addition, it has put forward the principle of "quicken in three aspects," namely, to quicken the process of making business decisions, quicken adaptation to changes, and quicken the pace of readjusting production. This thus made the C6132 horizontal machine tool, MJ-50CNC digital-control machine tool, and high-precision machine tool as the three major foreign exchange-generating products of the plant. These products enjoy high prestige in both the domestic and overseas markets, and are exported to industrialized Western countries such as the United States, Japan, Germany, Australia, as well as the Soviet Union, East Europe, and Iran and other Mideast countries.

To Improve the Quality Standards of Products by Taking Quality as the Core and Taking Technological Progress as the Major Direction

Upon summarizing the experience of Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant, they concluded that the key for enterprises to survive in competition lay in their products; the key to the products lay in the achievement of high quality; and the key to achieving high quality lay in technology. Therefore, they emphasized from start to finish the major issue of improving quality, grasped technological progress as the major direction, strengthened business management, and safeguarded the high position of the products.

First, they strengthened the sense of emphasizing quality among the whole staff. They understood from their experience that quality was vital to an enterprise; and it not only represented the image of such enterprise, but also the key to successfully running a business. In 1981, their products were returned by foreign businessmen because of poor quality, so the enterprise was forced to suspend its production in order to carry out rectification. They were shocked by this heavy blow. From then on,

everyone from top to bottom in the plant firmly established the thinking of giving top priority to quality, placed quality before quantity, and adopted the practice that the downstream section was responsible for checking the quality of work done by the upstream one. Any product failing to pass the quality check was not allowed to leave the plant. This thus enhanced the awareness of the workers about product quality.

Second, they set up systems and perfected the system of quality inspection. While implementing full-scale quality control, they gradually set up three systems, namely, the quality guarantee system, the quality inspection system, and the quality information system. They upheld the approach of taking preventive measures secured by the practice of maintaining quality standards. They switched their focus from the production process to the factors by listing their quality problems in terms of priority, and classifying the spare and component parts in terms of importance. Further, they set up 124 quality-control posts and perfected documents on quality procedures, cards giving operational guidance, and a daily checklist of equipment at sites where the major component parts were involved in production. At the same time, a product generally had to pass three tests before leaving the plant, that is, the quality-guarantee section was instructed to conduct on-the-spot quality control and to solve quality problems in the process of production; they set up commodity departments in import-export companies and systematically inspected in the same manner the quality of products by foreign businessmen, so any product that failed to pass the tests would not be packed; and, as the final means of examination, they conducted irregular sample surveys on the work of quality-inspection posts. As a way of strengthening the examination and inspection of product quality, they settled problems found unaddressed by the above two departments according to regulations, thereby improving and maintaining the product quality under the strict criteria.

Third, they set high standards and strict demands in quality tests. In order to maintain high quality, they set their own internal criteria that were higher than the international standards, in addition to following those standards in all aspects. For example, the technical requirements of the Mazhake machine tool were up to the international standards, and its precision was 40 percent higher than those of the JISB6202 made by Japan. This year, in view of the quality problem arising from a loose requirement of work rather than backward technology, they put forward the measures of "safeguarding product quality through work quality," set strict requirements for and stopped up loopholes found at any stage of work that affected the product quality.

Fourth, they improved and maintained a high level of product quality by quickening the pace of technological transformation and perfecting the means of processing. Advanced production technology is an important guarantee for making advanced products. On the basis of this understanding, Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant attached great importance to making technological progress. It

insisted on importing and transforming technology at the same time, on integrating assimilation with innovation, and on devoting major efforts to popularizing new processes and new technologies. As a result, in a span of 10 years, it made progress with big strides in three aspects. First, they solved problems concerning the rate of precision in processing by importing key equipment such as a grinder and by purchasing and making by themselves special combined machine tools for boring, grinding, and milling. At the same time, they quickened the transformation of basic processes, prepared scores of documents on the work, and designed and made 1,982 kinds of work clothes. Moreover, they carried out work to tackle a series of major technical difficulties, so the technology standards of the plant were ranked top of its kind in China, thus becoming the first model plant of China's machine tool industry. Second, they invited Japanese experts to evaluate the enterprise in order to improve its processing flexibility. Eventually, it imported a resin sand-molding line and five processing centers, thereby safeguarding rapid development of digital-control machine tools, and an optimization of product composition. At the same time, it focused on importing "software" as well as intellectual strength from abroad. It recruited Japanese experts to serve at the plant on a long-term basis to give technological guidance and to introduce advanced technology from abroad. Third, they developed a whole set of technology. They successively developed projects on designing, processing, and production management with the aid of computers; and imported OIR [online information retrieval] software, computers, CAD [computer-assisted drawing] workstations, and so forth. This helped the plant make headway in terms of modernization of management, thereby providing a reliable technology and a secured basis for improving the product quality.

Through the above-mentioned measures, the plant improved product quality and standards. All of its major products were winners in quality appraisal contests, including three at the national level, four at the ministerial level, and nine at the provincial level. Its rate of winning such contests was more than 90 percent. Its products were praised by German businessmen as the "Mercedes-Benz of China."

To Correctly Handle Relations in Several Areas and To Safeguard a Continuous Improvement of Product Quality and Standards

In developing new products, and improving its product quality and standards, Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant encountered problems such as shortage of funds and qualified personnel, and a low production capacity. Over the years, it had to settle in a better way such contradictions by correctly handling relations in several areas.

Funds are a prerequisite for developing new products and improving product quality and standards. As Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant exported most of its products overseas, its shortage of funds was more acute under the "austerity" and "control" environment. This was

because, when a product was sold in China, it usually took 20 days for payment for the product to be received. If this product was exported, however, remittance was needed, and it usually took about 180 days. Therefore, the more the plant exported, the larger the amount of funds it needed, the slower the revolving cycle, and the more intense the shortage of funds. Based on the amount of foreign exchange, that is, \$23 million, earned by the plant this year, it was calculated that the shortage faced by the plant would amount to 60 million yuan. In order to ease such a shortage, they adopted the following measures. First, they strengthened control and planning over the use of funds to make the best use of the money available. In order to maintain product standards, they saved money to develop products and transform technology by not constructing their office building and by building fewer quarters. At the same time, they kept their inventory of raw materials as low as possible and basically kept some of them out of stock, so they spent less in this area. They also strengthened the internal banking mechanism and boosted the idea of auditing and the concept of conservation among workshops and work teams. They managed not to spend extra money on anything that was not worth spending, and included such savings made by workers in cost accounting. Third, they devoted major efforts to tapping internal potential and made the best use of its idle money. For this reason, an office in charge of conservation was set up in the plant. In the first half of this year, they saved funds amounting to 6.4 million yuan by revising the export quota of spare and component parts by changing the size of export packages to make them fit in a container, by disposing of overstocked commodities, and by taking other measures.

When product sales were doing well in both the domestic and overseas markets, market share was growing, and production capacity had become insufficient, how did they further improve product quality and standards? They made their choice by developing lateral economic links and by forming large-scale enterprise groups. In the early 1980's, when joint production with Japan had just started, they formed a Jinan Machine Tools Industrial Company, which was not a closely integrated one, with six enterprises that had already formed economic links in Jinan. The major purpose was to distribute to member factories spare and component parts for the old models. As a result, not only did it double the number of brand-name and quality products, but it also increased the economic results of other member factories by 100 percent. In the mid-1980's, the plant needed to further expand the scale of cooperation because it wanted concentrate its efforts on studying and developing new products. Therefore, with the support of the local government, it established a transregional "Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant Joint Venture" engaging in a variety of trades, and gradually formed an enterprise group consisting of 50 factories from 21 cities and prefectures in eight provinces, thereby further boosting the strength of the combination. In the wake of further expansion in the domestic and overseas markets, and stricter demands on product quality, a loosely formed joint venture was

no longer viable. In order to give full play to the advantages of the group and of the economies of scale, Jinan No. 1 Machine Tool Plant took the lead to form in May 1987 "White Horse Machinery Enterprise Joint Corporation" which was joined by 67 units from 20 prefectures in 11 provinces and cities under the prerequisite of mutual benefits and equality. These units included ones engaged in electric machinery, metallurgy, finance, and scientific research, as well as universities and colleges. Later, the plant worked out plans for S&T development, division of labor, and joint operations regarding export. This thus optimized the factors of production and developed a wider scope and an in-depth economic cooperations among the enterprises. Between 1987 and 1989, the plant annually distributed to the member factories as much as one-third of its output value of spare and component parts. This had greatly improved the technological transformation, as well as the product development capability of the main plant, thereby providing a reliable basis for sharply improving product standards.

In order to develop advanced products using high and new technology, and to enter the international market, there must be a team of highly skilled technicians. Nevertheless, for a variety of reasons, the shortage of technological forces faced by the plant was very acute. In the early 1980's, engineering and technical personnel only accounted for about four percent of its total number of workers. Plagued by the serious shortage of technological forces, they found a solution through recruitment, training, and so on. As they increased the number of experts and technical personnel while improving the technical skills of the whole staff, they made remarkable results. At present, the number of engineering and technical personnel has been increased to about nine percent. Their main approaches were: First, to train their own engineering and technical personnel on the basis of self-reliance. Over the years, they selected 160 workers with high school and higher education background, and sent them to study at several well-known universities; upon completion of the studies, they returned to the plant and became the core of technological personnel. At the same time, they ran a part-time university for the workers. The content of the courses was prepared by proceeding from the realities of the plant. As they ran two classes each year, several hundred workers were trained. At present, many responsible persons in its design, processing, and other departments were trained by the part-time university. As for the training of young workers, they have run a technical school for workers for six years. Today, workers at all key production positions have basically received professional training. Second, they joined the technological forces of universities and colleges and research units to develop new products and solve technological difficulties. In the past five years, they jointly solved difficulties in 13 areas, some of them reaching China's and the world's advanced levels. Third, they recruited qualified personnel from abroad. Several years ago they recruited two senior technology experts

from Japan as honor staff of the plant to give technological guidance. This played a significant role in assimilating and absorbing advanced technology.

A Study of Socialist Education in Huaxi Village

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[Text] Huaxi Village, Jiangyang City, Jiangsu—an advanced unit known throughout the country—is only a small Jiangnan village extending over only 0.96 km, with 320 households, a population of 1,200, and over 600 mu of fields. Over the last 30 years, the party organ in Huaxi Village has led the cadres and the masses of the whole village in adhering to the socialist orientation, in developing the collective economy, in traveling the road to common prosperity, and in undergoing all sorts of tests. Particularly since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they have unwaveringly implemented the party's line, principles, and policies, and firmly grasped the "one focus and two basic points," thereby enabling Huaxi Village to follow the correct orientation and develop in a healthy and vital way. Those factories and workshops with their chimneys tall and upright and the homes of the peasants with their flower gardens and villa designs, compete to outshine the peasant's parks among the stands of green trees and the twisting covered walkways within the village. These present a vital scene of a socialist new village which has achieved initial development.

In May and July this year, we made two visits to Huaxi Village to conduct surveys in order to answer the question of how to conduct education in patriotism and socialism in the villages. What impressed us most was that the Huaxi Village party organ had firmly and unwaveringly carried out education in patriotism, socialism, collectivism, and arduous struggle for several decades and had put great effort into raising the socialist consciousness of the cadres and the masses. A common faith was thereby forged and conscious efforts and joint strengths were mobilized so that the whole village, united as one, struggled hard and made common efforts to build a socialist new Huaxi. Great changes have occurred in the spiritual features of Huaxi Village and in its people.

I. Organically Unifying Education in Socialist Ideology With the Practice of Construction, Thereby Ensuring That Socialist Education Has Powerful Persuasion and Appeal

The basic goals in carrying out socialist education at the basic village level are: Firming the socialist faith of the peasants, clarifying the socialist orientation, centralizing strengths, and firmly and unwaveringly building socialist new villages. When peasants receive education, they pay

great attention to the realities and often understand the superiorities of socialism from the angle of their own immediate knowledge gained through experience. Thus, whether or not socialist education at the basic village level is persuasive and has appeal is not determined by whether or not the logic is explained fully and in a thorough way. It is, to a major degree, determined by whether theory and practice are combined and whether words and actions are consistent with each other.

1. Socialism must be established on the basis of developing the productive forces, so that the people can live happy lives.

The Huaxi party committee held that in engaging in socialism, it was necessary to strive to develop production to change the backward features of Huaxi Village and to enable the people to live prosperous and fruitful lives. In close to 30 years of building the village, the party organ has persisted in using this idea to educate the peasants. Regardless of what disturbances have been encountered, the people of Huaxi have continued to stress economic construction and have adhered to arduous struggle, the development of production, and strengthening the collective economy. On this point they have never wavered.

In 1961, when Huaxi became a production team, it only had one old diesel engine and the output value of the entire village was 57,000 yuan. There was no industry or sideline production. The collective economy thus had a weak base and poor conditions. Also, this was in the early 1960's, a time of difficulties. The village party branch held that in such a situation, if it wanted to educate and spur the peasants to travel the socialist road, the first requirement was to resolve the peasants' needs in terms of food, clothing, and shelter. Otherwise, any talk about the superiority of socialism would not be very convincing. In 1964, on the basis of analyzing the actual situation of the village in an overall way, the village party branch formulated a 15-year development plan for building a rich and prosperous Huaxi new village. At that time, many people were dubious and said that Huaxi was a "boastful" team. The party branch was not affected by the skepticism and, on a grand scale, used the plans and goal of building a socialist new Huaxi to educate, motivate, and encourage the cadres and masses of the whole village, so that they would struggle to realize this goal.

In 1968, the party branch gave prominence to education in arduous pioneering work and working energetically for socialism, to encourage and lead the cadres and masses of the whole village, with iron shoulders and two hands, a carrying pole, and two legs, to shift mounds of earth, fill in old creek beds, smooth old hollows, and greatly engage in field construction. Through more than 10 years of such work, over 320,000 man-days were put in and 1.16 million cubic meters of earth were moved, in order to change over 1,300 scattered fields which had previously varied in height by more than three meters, into 400 stable, high-yield, ton-output grain fields that are flat, square, well irrigated with irrigation channels,

and that vary in height by very little. The whole village also built residential areas and the peasant households moved into new houses. The people of Huaxi have received practical education in socialism and, through their arduous pioneering work, they have seen their own wonderful prospects and felt the value of their own labor.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party branch correctly propagated and implemented the party's rural policies, liberated minds, set hands and feet free, readjusted the industrial structure, stabilized agriculture, developed industry, promoted sideline production, and created a new situation whereby agriculture, sideline production, industry, and commerce saw comprehensive development. In 1989, the gross value of industrial and agricultural output of the whole village was 120 million yuan. This was more than 100 times more than the figure of 1 million yuan in 1978. Current fixed assets and their own floating assets amount to over 50 million yuan. For 10 consecutive years grain output has exceeded 1 million jin, and 280,000 jin of commodity grain has been handed over each year. There are over 20 village-run enterprises, and, for seven successive years, per capita distribution has exceeded 1,000 yuan and 820 yuan per capita has been handed over in taxes. All these factors have provided a firm material base for the whole village to improve production and living conditions and strengthen the building of spiritual civilization.

2. Consolidating and developing the collective economy, to travel the road of common prosperity.

For a long time, the Huaxi Village committee has continually inculcated socialist ideas into the peasants and, in accordance with the characteristics of the peasants, has grasped the following three basic aspects:

In the production process, they have brought collective superiorities into play, strengthened the collective consciousness, adhered to collective production and operation modes, and strengthened the collective economy. By engaging in large-scale basic construction of fields and by realizing the rearrangement of Huaxi's land, Huaxi's people have seen the might of the collective. Through the development of village-run industries, the Huaxi people have seen the real power of the collective, and through the provision of various services in the village, the Huaxi people have seen the warmth of the collective. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, villages implemented the output-related responsibility system, but the collective economy in Huaxi did not fall apart. The party committee proceeded from the realities of the village and, in accordance with the great power of the Huaxi collective economy and the base already laid down by village-run industry, put forward the "seven centralized and eight dispersed" idea and demand, whereby heavy and intensive grain production was carried out by the collective, while individuals engaged in supplementary and additional planting and animal-raising. In the agricultural and sideline production of the village now, very little labor is organized into

specialized teams while the majority of labor is centralized in village-run enterprises. Collective production and operation modes are good conditions for strengthening the peasants' collectivist consciousness.

In distribution, they have adhered to distribution according to work to manifest common prosperity. In employing the principle of distribution according to work, the Huaxi CPC Committee, at the same time as using the idea of common prosperity to educate the peasants, has adhered in actual distribution to the principle of giving more to those who put in more work and thereby recognizing income differentials. However, they have not allowed the differentials to grow too wide, thereby preventing too great a disparity in incomes. Thus, there are no extremely wealthy households and no very poor households in the village. All of the households are 10,000 yuan households.

Regarding living standards, through development of the collective economy, various types of services have been provided to the peasants and they have obtained real benefits. Today, all peasant households in Huaxi have moved into new houses and realized the "six haves and six do not haves": When small, they have teaching (education), when old they have support (pensions), in housing they have guarantees (the peasants' houses are built through collective contracts), when sick they have medicine (publicly funded medical treatment), when shopping they have things to buy (there is a large commercial building), and when relaxing they have venues (a library, theater, and a flood-lit sports field); they do not have to tote their grain (it is delivered to their home by the collective), they do not have to draw their water from a well (they have piped water), they do not have to use straw to cook (they have coal-gas stoves), they do not have to heat water for washing (there is a hot-water pipe), they do not have to carry out their night soil (they have flush toilets), and they do not have to run around to pass on messages (every house has a telephone). The Huaxi peasants have tightly linked together the collective economy and individual interests and have come to feel deeply that the road of common prosperity is the happy road to rural socialism.

Since Huaxi has become prosperous, it has continued to educate the peasants in the "three do-not-forgets." That is, they are taught that, when developing a socialist commodity economy, they must not forget the state, the collective, or their neighbors, and they must open their field of vision with respect to common prosperity. Over the last 10 years, Huaxi Village has handed over 8.7 million yuan in taxes to the state, has sold the best grain to the state, and collective accumulation has grown 40 percent annually. Yet the village has still helped several nearby villages to develop collective production and set up collective enterprises. Traveling the road of common prosperity is becoming the joint aspiration of these other villages.

3. Raising the ideological and cultural qualities of the peasants and forming a healthy, cultural atmosphere in the village and among the people.

At the same time as the Huaxi CPC Committee spurred the masses to build Huaxi into a new village, they persisted in jointly grasping the two civilizations. They have thereby achieved concurrent development in building socialist spiritual and material civilizations. They hold that the happiness that socialism brings to people is not only manifested as "prosperity in life" but also as "spiritual pleasure." On the basis of inheriting and developing the fine traditional morality of the Chinese nation, they have formed a new style of interpersonal relations. They have used this basic viewpoint to educate the peasants and, in various forms, create a civilized atmosphere in the village and among the people. Huaxi has combined education in the observance of discipline and the law with education in observing village regulations, thereby strengthening the village people's consciousness of the legal system and concept of law. Now, all of Huaxi's production, operations, and supply and marketing observe the law, respect discipline, and respect contracts, and the village people are strict in their discipline. Huaxi has stressed education in socialist morality and included education in the fostering of fine acts and practices. They have encouraged the study of cultural and scientific knowledge and the collective has shouldered the study fees of all the primary and secondary school students in the village. For the last few years they have given economic rewards to those who passed their examinations, enabling them to enter senior middle school and university. Work was not arranged for those who did not graduate from junior middle school. This year, there has been a switch to rewarding those who gain skills through self-study. Huaxi has initiated healthy and cultured lifestyles, built a cultural hall, developed cultural facilities, built peasant parks, set up the Jiangnan Countryside Travel Center, connected close-circuit television to all houses, thereby enriching the peasants' cultural lives. In the village, a new visage has appeared whereby there is no gambling, no superstitious activities, and no criminal offenses; where people respect the old and look after the young; where families are friendly toward each other; and where neighborhoods are unified. For five years running, it has been assessed as a civilized village by both the province and the city.

II. Proceeding From Reality and Educating Peasants in Ways Which They Will Easily Accept, So That Real Results Are Achieved in Socialist Education

In conducting socialist education of the peasants, it is necessary to establish a correct guiding ideology and also to find an appropriate method. The Huaxi Village Committee, in developing socialist education, has persisted in proceeding from reality and strived to use methods which the peasants would easily accept, so that socialist education is persisted in throughout the year, sees real effects, and achieves real results.

1. Transforming the major goals of socialism into small goals which accord with Huaxi's reality, so that the content of socialist education is concretely manifested.

The Huaxi Village Committee proceeded from the situation in the village and that of the residents, and changed the major long-range goals of socialism into specific 15-, 10-, five-, and three-year development plans for building Huaxi new village, so that the content of socialist education is given concrete form. In the 1960's, in accordance with Huaxi's realities, they put forward a 15-year development plan which they summed up as "five ones." They would build one electric pumping station, dredge one river for the dual use of irrigation and drainage, transform one batch of fields into stable-production, high-output grain fields, achieve per mu output of one ton of grain, and build one new Huaxi Village. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they put forward the goals of struggle as "jointly grasping the two civilizations, achieving an annual growth of 8 percent, ensuring that all party members and cadres are up to standard, and striving to achieve the four modernizations to realize glory for the country." In 1985, the industrial structure was readjusted and Huaxi also formulated new development plans and advocated hard struggle for three years to achieve the goal of "a 100 million yuan village which has seen three changes and has three gardens." The "three changes" refers to greening, beautification, and cleaning. The "three gardens" means that, from afar, Huaxi would look like a forest garden; seen from nearby, Huaxi would look like a park garden; and, close up, it would be seen that the peasants lived in a garden of happiness.

In brief, in every period, Huaxi has put forward a target of struggle and led the masses in struggling to realize these goals. The goals, at every stage, have been realized. This has made people realize that socialism is with them and can be seen and touched and, further, that it is a process of continued progress and continuous realization.

2. Using concise and popular language to express the content and requirements of socialist education, so that the peasants understand, remember, and use what they have been taught.

When Huaxi conducts socialist education, it is not empty principles that are used. Rather, socialist principles are converted into the language of the peasants and then propagated among the peasants. When they speak of what socialism is, they use a "local standard" and hold that "the happiness of the people is what constitutes socialism." The people's happiness includes the three aspects of "a prosperous life, a happy spirit, and a healthy body." Although they do not provide a theoretical explanation of socialism, they grasp the essential points of socialism and proceed from Huaxi's realities. Thus, it has a fresh village character and rich local flavor which accords with the peasant's capacity to accept change and suits the psychological characteristics of the

peasants. For example, in 1984, Huaxi proposed education in the "six loves": Love the party, love the country, love Huaxi, love one's relatives, love one's friends, and love oneself. The following elements were included in this education: Adhering to the socialist system, warmly loving the socialist motherland, warmly loving the collective, and building socialist spiritual civilization. The goals and calls put forward by the Huaxi Village party organization are well known by everybody and have become a strong force spurring and encouraging them to struggle to build socialism.

3. Using forms that agree with the village production and livelihood modes and that suit the ideological and cultural level of the peasants, to develop socialist education.

When Huaxi carries out socialist education, it does not engage in formalism. Rather, it proceeds from the realities of the village, grasps a few effective measures, and persists with them. In accordance with the village's characteristic whereby the majority of the labor is centralized in village-run industries, they adopted the method of having the factories spur on the village, the factories combine with the village, and, by having the staff and workers of village-run enterprises spur the people of the whole village, carried out education activities. Proceeding from the realities of Huaxi's collective production operations, they have persisted with the practice of holding meetings before and after work and, after working hours, they hold collective-run training and study classes. Thereby, they have engaged in positive inculcation and systematic education. They have used the method of comparison in firmly carrying out education in revolutionary traditions and have stressed the practice of the masses educating themselves. They have adopted all sorts of forms beloved by the peasants, such as organizing performances by cultural propaganda teams and arranging sessions for the singing of village songs. They have used blackboards, closed-circuit television, videos, and slide shows to cause socialist education to permeate every vibrant activity, so that it plays a subtle influencing role.

4. Persisting in taking positive education as the main part and supplementing this with necessary restricting measures, so that socialist ideological and moral principles gradually become behavioral standards which the peasants voluntarily observe.

At the same time as persisting in taking positive education as the main part in safeguarding and stimulating the peasants' enterprising spirit, they have formulated village rules and regulations and disciplinary regulations for factories and schools, to bring collective superiorities into play. They have comprehensively used legal, administrative, and economic measures to guard against actions which violate the law and discipline. This has played a role in educating the majority.

5. Eliminate the early thoughts, ideas, and activities which violate socialist principles at the sprouting stage. Resolve these problems while they are in germination stage.

In the last few years, under the influence of the existing social atmosphere, a few people in Huaxi Village began to play poker for cigarettes. The village committee held that if this "minor matter" were not given attention and it was allowed to develop, it might well lead to gambling. They thus grasped this sprout and "made a big thing of this small game." The several people who participated in the poker games were brought together to engage in study; party members and village people were mobilized to discuss the matter, and village rules and regulations were applied to implement restrictions. The committee also posted notices in nearby townships and villages noting that if anyone reported a Huaxi person gambling anywhere outside the village, a big reward would be given. So far, no one has claimed the reward. Over the last few years, every education program which Huaxi has carried out has been in response to ideological problems which have appeared and has been carried out in a targeted way. The party committee has always paid great attention to analyzing the ideological trends of cadres and the masses and, whenever they discover problems, they engage in education so as not to allow mistaken ideologies to spread. They have thereby achieved twice the results with half the effort.

III. The Party Committee Has Stressed Its Own Construction and It Has Become a Firm Core Which Seeks Benefits for the People and Educates and Leads the People in Following the Socialist Road

The basic-level party organization in the village is the leader and organizer which leads and educates the masses in engaging in socialist practice. The quality of the socialist consciousness of the leading group will directly affect the results of socialist education. The key reason socialist education has been successful in Huaxi Village is because of the basic-level party organization which has the members of the party committee as its core and has firm fighting capacity and unifying force.

1. The members of the committee must first have a firm socialist faith, a quite high socialist consciousness, and must be able to educate and lead the peasants in following the socialist road without wavering.

The road ahead for Huaxi has not been a smooth one during the last 30 years. However, regardless of the situations encountered, the determination of the members of the party committee to adhere to the socialist road did not waver. Their socialist consciousness was centrally manifested in three aspects: First, they stood high, looked far, and had a clear orientation and firm goals. When they met difficulties and disturbances, they did not retreat or waver, but led the masses in firmly traveling the socialist road. Second, they did not leave everything to the upper levels, they did not rely only on books, they did not stir up movements, and they did not go to extremes. Rather, in a way which sought truth from facts, they tightly combined the principles and goals of socialism and the principles and policies of the central authorities with the realities of Huaxi, implementing

them in a creative way. Third, in favorable and successful times, they did not get hot-headed and did not become conceited. Rather, they advanced carefully and, not claiming credit for themselves, always set themselves new and higher requirements. This leading group has become a mainstay in the great development of socialism by the Huaxi people.

2. The members of the party committee have tightly linked up with the masses, put all their efforts into seeking benefit for the people, and sincerely and wholeheartedly done much for the peasants, resulting in socialist education gaining the endorsement and support of the peasants.

The members of the Huaxi Village CPC Committee have the peasants of the whole village in their hearts. In setting down plans and doing things, they always proceed by looking at whether something accords with the basic interests of the peasants. They think about what the peasants think about, worry about what the peasants worry about, and do what the peasants want done. They take seeking benefits for the people as their point of departure and seek this benefit primarily by developing production and strengthening the collective economy, so that Huaxi Village has the power to improve production and living conditions and so that they can do real and good work for the masses. They place great emphasis on motivating the enthusiasm of all sides, on meticulous organization, and on rational arrangements so that everyone in the village has work to do, everyone has his place, and work is even appropriately arranged for retired party members, retired cadres, and sick and disabled personnel. For many years, the members of the Huaxi Village CPC Committee have been concurrently fulfilling many duties. They have not become divorced from actual work nor from labor. The cadres do not sit around in an office. They are with the masses all day, and, when there is something to be done, they can do it immediately. In the mornings, they go to the fields; during the day they are in the factories; and in the evenings they have discussions. They do not even take Sunday off. They have no holidays and they contribute their youth and their vigor to the socialist construction of Huaxi. The members of the party committee live among the masses and have a firm understanding of the masses' aspirations and demands. They do what they say they will do and their actions accord with their words. Therefore, they have very high prestige among the masses. Thus, when they engage in educating the masses, the masses have great trust in them.

3. The members of the party committee are fair in handling matters, serious in their work, and honest, and thus set an example for the masses in the cause of socialist construction. The leading group of the Huaxi Village CPC Committee has a powerful fighting capacity and is strongly principled. At all times, the members of the party committee concern themselves with the masses, respect and understand people, and refuse to give way on matters of principle. They indicate that they will not be taken in by soft approaches and do not fear

the hard approach. They will handle things in accordance with principle. They require people to be both moral and skilled. An important standard in being "moral" is whether one works seriously and handles matters fairly. Important indicators of "abilities" are people's policymaking, management, and technical levels. They hold that cadres should have authority. They know that they will be able to obtain the trust of the people only if they are honest, and only if they have the trust of the people and understand things and are able to bring their abilities into play, will they really have "authority." There will be no beneficial results without honesty. The members of the village party committee are strict in disciplining themselves, are pure and honest, and seek no personal privileges. They have set down the "six forbiddens" for party members and cadres to safeguard honesty and these rules have been respected by all. The masses all say that the cadres in the village have good party style, are able to pass the harshest tests, and "have backs so broad that horses can run across them."

4. The key to having party committee members capable of passing the harshest tests lies in having a leader who adheres to the socialist road.

The party secretary, Wu Renbao [0702 0088 1405], was born and raised in Huaxi. Since liberation, he has been a cadre in the mutual-aid teams and in the elementary agricultural producers' cooperative, village head, party branch secretary, a national labor model, and a delegate to the Sixth and Seventh National People's Congresses. The practice of socialist construction and reform has tempered and trained him into a peasant man of action with firm convictions, keen ideas, a staunch character, and rich experience. He has a firm faith in socialism, deep feelings for the people of Huaxi, and strong confidence in building Huaxi. Wu Renbao has stressed the study of the party's line, principles, and policies and has put efforts into combining the line, principles, and policies of the central authorities with Huaxi's realities, putting forward realistic ideas on implementation. As the "group leader," how has he gained the trust of the cadres and masses of the whole village? Wu Renbao feels that it is necessary to grasp two aspects: First, one must be honest, and, second, one must know the job. Wu Renbao practices what he preaches. He is honest and he knows the job. He has really become the core of the leading group; and the cadres and the masses accept him fully.

Through our investigation, we have come to understand that socialist practice is a long, arduous process and socialist education must be persistent. What Huaxi enjoys today was not achieved overnight but is the result of long-term efforts. Socialism is a process of practice, and socialist education must develop and deepen together with it. Changing the small-scale production consciousness of the peasants and establishing advanced socialist ideas cannot be done in one step. Rather, socialist education of the peasants must be carried out continually and repeatedly. Socialist education should be the main thread, running through and permeating all

activities and all regular ideological and political work. In light of the different requirements put forward by the situations in different periods, through arduous and painstaking ideological and political work, we must help the peasants firm up their socialist faith and raise their socialist consciousness.

Several Questions Concerning Reportage Writing

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[Article by Zheng Bonong (6774 0130 6593)]

[Text] Reading *Her Chinese Heart* was a most touching experience. It gave me not only spiritual purification but also artistic enjoyment. Many comrades said they read it with tears in their eyes. "Who has shed the most tears? The magistrate of Jiangzhou has cried so much that his gown is soaked with tears." I dare not compare myself to "the magistrate of Jiangzhou," but there is no denying that I have shed a lot of tears over it. This piece of writing naturally calls to my mind a masterpiece by Comrade Wei Wei [7614 1550], entitled *Who Is the Most Lovable Person*. Comrade Wei Wei wrote about the most lovable person of the early 1950's, while *Her Chinese Heart* is about the most lovable person of the 1980's and 1990's. Can we find the most lovable person in real life? What sort of person can be considered the most lovable? Some people think that "others are hell" and that only "I, myself" are the most lovable. Others think that the most lovable are those who are loaded with money and are good at spending. Times have changed and concepts have to change with the times, but not to the extent of confounding beauty and ugliness, right and wrong, good and bad. The socialist era needs its own new people. These new people have to march in the vanguard and push the times forward. All those who arduously engage in labor, boldly engage in pioneering work and devote themselves selflessly to the socialist cause are lovable. Advanced personages like Lei Feng, Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389], Jiang Zhuying [5592 4591 5391], Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], Li Yuan [2621 3768 1344], and Lai Ning [6351 1337] are the most lovable persons of our times. Miss Wu Yun [3527 0061] is also one of them. *Her Chinese Heart* has found and depicted the most lovable person of our times. It describes not only her deeds but also her spirit. Reportage must concern itself not only with "events" but also with "people." *Her Chinese Heart* has touched the hearts of a wide readership because it has successfully portrayed the person's heart.

A large-scale improvement and rectification drive has been going on in the literary and art arena over the past year and more. Though with the best of intentions, some comrades are worried about the possible effects of this rectification on literature and art. Some people even predicted that the opposition to bourgeois liberalization and the criticism of erroneous trends of thought will bring about the withering of literature and art. It seems to these people that literature and art will lose their spirit and will not be able to survive once they are removed

from the handful of "cultural elite" and "the new trend." The publication of outstanding works like *Her Chinese Heart* has dispelled the misunderstanding and doubts on the part of these well-intended comrades and has crushed hostile predictions. Facts have proved that rectification promotes rather than hampers the prosperity of literature and art. If the direction of literature and art had not been put right and the tradition of plunging into the thick of life had not been restored, and if various evil trends had not been checked and a marked change had not occurred in the ideological mood in the literary and art arena, could outstanding works like *Her Chinese Heart* have emerged? Even if they have indeed emerged, would they have gained access to the reading public so smoothly and attained such widespread attention as they have now? In recent months, inspiring masterpieces of reportage like *Her Chinese Heart*, *The Survival Test*, *His Heart Is With the Green Hills*, *The Backbone of Yimeng*, *The Road to Wuji*, and *The Exemplary Model* have made their appearance. They are immensely welcomed by the readers for their successful portrayal of socialist new people, each with their distinctly different characters and rich and colorful life. Over 100,000 copies of *His Heart Is With the Green Hills* have been put out in a single reprint. *Her Chinese Heart* was carried in more than a dozen newspapers and magazines when it was published. We may say that they represent a new change in literary creation. They tell us that: First, the principle for literature and art formulated by the party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is correct. Provided that we firmly uphold the four cardinal principles, oppose bourgeois liberalization, follow the orientation of serving the people and socialism and adhere to the "double hundred" policy, our literature and art will flourish and our creations will be full of vitality. Second, the overwhelming majority of our literary and art workers are good people willing to take the road of integration with the masses. "Each generation has its own distinguished persons." Even if there are a few people who stubbornly cling to the wrong, they will not be able to change the overall situation or affect the prosperity of China's socialist literature and art.

The arena of reportage writing is an "arena of contention" because of its special influence over the masses. Reportage not only has artistic appeal, it is also factual and convincing. A few years ago when the bizarre and grotesque "new trend" literature became more and more divorced from the masses and was faced with a dwindling market, factual literature was still warmly received by the readers. At that time, many writers of reportage fought against the erroneous trend and continued their hard work along the direction of serving the people and socialism. However, bad works also gained prominence. Representatives of bourgeois liberalization in the literary and art arena, such as Liu Binyan [0491 6333 7159], Su Xiaokang [5685 2556 1660] and Zhang Zuwei [1728 4371 1983], are all writers of reportage. A fierce contention has always gone on in this arena, sometimes over

important questions of principle, sometimes over questions of artistic expression. *Her Chinese Heart* and other works answered the questions raised in the contention with their respective publications. In the following section, I will briefly discuss some questions concerning reportage writing with reference to *Her Chinese Heart* and other works.

I. On Eulogy and Exposure

Thirty-four years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong had this to say in praise of advanced personages among workers and peasants who contributed their share toward building New China: "In China, there are tens of thousands of other heroic people like them, but our men of letters have yet to find them." (*Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside*, Volume 2, p. 544.) A few years ago, the following situation emerged: Men of letters—only some, of course, not all—are disinterested in advanced personages in everyday life and are interested only in the petty joys and sorrows of individuals. A handful of people even made a point of looking for and exaggerating the seamy side of life. They not only did not praise the socialist new people, but jeered at and uglified them. People who worked quietly and devoted themselves selflessly were depicted in some literary works as pitiful and backward creatures without any "individuality" or "sense of the present age," while despicable and selfish people became "heroes of our time" in some literary and art works. Did not Liu Binyan describe a traitor as a towering and perfect patriot in his *Another Kind of Loyalty*? In a certain province, a person who traded in melon seeds made a fortune by violating law and discipline. Despite his reckless behavior and corrupt lifestyle, he was described in a good number of reportage works as a "reformer" who embodied the trend of historical progress.

A writer cannot be without his own sense of aesthetic judgment. Whatever his stand, he must necessarily affirm or negate various social phenomena. It is not only wrong, but also hypocritical, to say that reportage can only expose and cannot eulogize. The difference between us and those who engage in bourgeois liberalization lies not only in whether or not we should eulogize the bright side. It only lies in what we should eulogize and what we should expose, and in what we consider the bright side and what we consider the seamy side. They glibly talked about opposition to eulogy, but in fact they had never stopped doing exactly that. What they eulogized was "the self," people who undermined socialism, and the "blue civilization" of the West, while the party, socialism, the motherland and the people all became targets of their exposure and attack. These people prided themselves as "the elite" and regularly wrote "impressions" and "interviews" for one another. Some articles even had Liu Binyan described as the social "conscience" and the "most sincere" person among the entire intelligentsia. Was this not a kind of eulogy? A few years back, the eulogy of the bright side was looked upon with indifference. There were even attempts to confound eulogy and exposure. Works like *Her Chinese Heart* and

His Heart Is With the Green Hills reversed this kind of reversal. They do not avoid contradictions. Neither do they describe life as a song. *His Heart Is With the Green Hills* depicts how Yu Jie was attacked and persecuted during the "antirightist campaign" and the Cultural Revolution. *Her Chinese Heart* outlines Wu Yun's life and ambitions against the backdrop of poverty and backwardness. They make no attempt to hide our errors and mistakes. Rather than putting the blame on this or that and showing sentiments of pessimism and despair, they show the noble and militant spirit of the advanced personages in the course of complex and intricate contradictions and struggle. They enthusiastically sing the praises of these backbone elements of the socialist cause. Through the depiction of typical personages and events, they show the progress of the times. "Daring to put the warmth of spring to pen" is a famous line from one of Lu Xun's verses. A writer of reportage must "dare to put the warmth of spring to pen." While it takes courage to criticize what is ugly, affirming what is good also requires courage. This is particularly true when confusion reigns the ideological realm and efforts to eulogize the bright side are ridiculed as "singing songs of praise" and are therefore to be shunned at all costs. The authors of *Her Chinese Heart* and *His Heart Is With the Green Hills* have courage. They have the courage to eulogize the party, socialism, the people and those who still demonstrate the "indigenous work style of the 8th Route Army" because they know they are doing the right thing. Naturally, courage and enthusiasm alone are not enough. They must also have plenty of material to work on and must be adept at artistic pruning and expression. The success of works like *Her Chinese Heart* tells us that our reportage must give prominence to the heroic and advanced personages of the socialist era. It is something required by the people and the times. This will not take away the artistic appeal of reportage, rather, it is an important source of this appeal.

II. On Reality and Artistic Fabrication

Can reportage be fabricated? This has been a long-debated question. The renowned poet Guo Xiaochuan [6753 1420 1557] noted in the mid-1960's: "Reportage must contain nothing but the truth. We are opposed to empty talk and fabrications. We have fought a protracted struggle in defense of truth in journalism, and now is no time to make allowance to reportage, as if it were something that can tolerate 'imagination within reasonable limits,' even untruthfulness. This is a question of principle which concerns the prestige of our party's newspapers. Moreover, real people and events have their own special publicity effects that cannot be replaced by fabricated tales." ("Several Questions Concerning Reportage," XINWEN YEWU, Nos 7-8, 1965.) Ye Yiqun [0673 0110 5028], a leading theorist on literature and art, maintained that there are two types of reportage, one which brooks no fabrication whatsoever and another which tolerates necessary imagination and fabrication. (See *The Basic Principles of Literature*, p. 413.) Since the new period, this question has been hotly debated among

those involved in reportage writing. Some people maintained that a little fabrication should be allowed, but others held that there should be nothing of the sort. Liu Binyan was in favor of fabrication. He even argued that some "totally fabricated" reportage should be allowed. His writings have always been inseparable from fabrication. If we say that *Between Man and Demon* has some elements of truth despite major lapses, his subsequent writings, such as *Another Kind of Loyalty*, have gone much farther down the road of fabrication. They will fully fabricate personal history, confound the relationship between characters, and even make mistakes regarding people's sex and life or death. Through fabrication, people who engaged in bourgeois liberalization wantonly conjured up stories, confounded right and wrong, and attacked the party and socialism. But even so, we cannot equate fabrication in reportage with the practice of bourgeois liberalization. People who promote and engage in fabrication do not all come from the same cast. As academic issues, the treatment of everyday life in reportage and whether elements of fabrication should be allowed can still be further discussed in future.

I am against introducing elements of fabrication into reportage. Some people say that we cannot have unreasonable fabrication but should allow reasonable fabrication. The fact is, writers usually think of their fabrication as reasonable. If the 72 changes in the persona of the Monkey King can be interpreted as reasonable, what reason do we have to say that Guan Yunxiang's [7070 0061 4382] battle against Qin Qiong [4440 8825] is unreasonable? If fabrication is allowed, it will be very difficult to draw a clear line of demarcation between what is reasonable and what is not. There are also people who say that basic facts cannot be fabricated, but details can. We also find this hard to accept. The life of narrative literature lies in its details, and characterization is built up by details. A person's unique character is expressed not only in what he has done, but also in how he goes about it. If details such as thoughts and facial expressions can be fabricated, the character of the heroes or heroines will not be consistent with the prototypes in life. Reportage is concerned not so much with "what might have occurred" as with "what has actually occurred." As in the case of other literary genres, efforts will naturally be made in reportage to polish and refine life and to mold typical images. However, the typical characters and circumstances expressed in reportage are based on discovery, selection, and pruning, not on fabrication and exaggeration. Leo Tolstoy said, "We should draw from a particular person his major and representative characteristics, supplemented by representative characteristics observed in other persons. Only then will the characterization be typical." (See *Translations on Theories of Classical Literature and Art*, Volume 11.) This is a method employed in novel writing, but it cannot be used in reportage writing. In future generations, people will read reportage not only as stories, but also as history. Without authenticity, reportage will lose its credibility and, hence, its value of existence.

Many comrades put great emphasis on the description of mental states in reportage. While agreeing that a work of reportage must show the soul of its characters in great depth, I consider mental description in reportage to be a very arduous task. It requires the writer to fathom the inner world of the people involved in addition to grasping the development of events. Something will definitely go wrong if he thinks that he can leave the mental description to imagination and fabrication after getting a rough idea of his hero's or heroine's experience or the course of events. I once read at a vendor's stand a piece of reportage on the pursuit of escaped convicts. Some works on this subject are very factual, but this particular piece could not but arouse my suspicion. Although no one had ever spoken to the two murderers from their escape to their execution, the reportage still contained lengthy passages on the mental state of these two convicts. How did the writer find his way inside the heads of these two people? In *Sacrifices to Utopia*, Su Xiaokang took great pains to describe the "mentality" of Comrade Zhu De during his first visit to Lushan. According to Su Xiaokang's "account," Marshal Zhu had "sensed the stench of 1927" in the "fresh morning air." This was sheer fabrication. In which memoir had this been noted? Which person who worked with Comrade Zhu De at the time had ever said that? There was nothing of the sort. Su Xiaokang invented people's mental reaction simply because he wanted to uglify the party and the party's leaders and hint that intraparty political life was like a reign of terror. We may say that the willful fabrication of people's mental activities was a common phenomenon in reportage a few years' back. It is anyone's guess what the consequences would be if this method were employed in the description of major political events.

Works like *Her Chinese Heart* and *His Heart Is With the Green Hills* put great weight on authenticity. Rather than resorting to fabrication, they strive to move the reader by presenting life as it is. The author of *His Heart Is With the Green Hills* had been following his protagonist for 15 long years and had gathered a lot of material on him. When a seminar on this particular piece of work was held in Beijing, many of the late protagonist's good friends also took part. They all agreed that the author had given an honest account and had not added unnecessary color or emphasis to the story. After receiving the manuscript of *Her Chinese Heart*, the editorial department of ZHONGLIU specially assigned someone to pay a visit to Zhelimu League in Inner Mongolia to check out the facts. It decided to have the manuscript published only when all the facts had been verified. At a time when fabrication was in vogue, the publication of works like *Her Chinese Heart* put a brake on this trend. I think this is a very meaningful thing to do. Lafarge had this to say in memory of Marx: "Marx always worked seriously and with great care. Every fact or figure he cited must have been verified by the most credible authority. He was never content with indirect sources, and he always insisted on going to the original for the true answer even though it involved a lot of trouble." (*In Memory of Marx*)

and Engels, p. 11, People's Publishing House.) This attitude is also applicable to reportage writing. Not resorting to fabrication does not mean discounting the subjective initiative of the author. On the contrary, it requires substantial investigation and study to gather information, painstaking effort to select and prune the materials gathered, as well as meticulous artistic description. This is much harder than mere fabrication on the basis of a little information. The latter is the easy way out, and it is the former which really requires skill.

III. On Narration and Arguments

Several years ago, reportage on so-called "social issues" saw rapid development. Literature and social issues are inseparable, but reportage on "social issues" has its special significance. On the whole, it does not center on people and events, but rather on social issues of concern to the public, with people and events revolving around social issues. The capacity is usually larger than reportage of a general nature. In addition to the depiction of real people and events, it also unavoidably mixes with the author's views on particular social issues. The emergence of this type of reportage one after another shows, on the one hand, writers' concern for social issues. It also raises a new question concerning reportage writing, that is, how to handle the relations between narration and arguments in a piece of work?

People engaged in bourgeois liberalization made use of reportage on so-called "social issues" to wantonly stir up political trouble. The writings of Liu Binyan and Su Xiaokang are full of arguments which may confuse and poison people's minds. Su Xiaokang's writings, in particular, have an alarmingly high percentage of personal arguments. He would choose events from everyday life and give us an account of these, after which he would indulge in his own arguments, usually on the most sensitive and acute issues. *Sacrifices to Utopia*, ostensibly about what had taken place before and after the Lushan Meeting, in fact asserts that the Chinese revolution was an exercise to create a utopia. The piece begins with long passages on Thomas More, Robert Owen, Karl Marx, and Mao Zedong. It says that, after the founding of New China, Mao Zedong regarded the 960,000 square kilometers of the sacred motherland as the "'New Harmony' which he had once sought in vain." "New Harmony" was an experimental commune set up by Owen in the United States for his utopian socialism. In another piece, entitled *The Living Hell*, he began with a lengthy discussion on Jung's idea of "personality mask," praising Jungian teachings as "a lamp in the dark night of the human mind." He cited a number of mental patients in his article. What he was trying to do was to use the sick as the epitomy and foil of our society. As alleged by Su Xiaokang in this piece, our society had twisted the minds of its people, and mental patients were the only sane ones left. He said, "Are they insane or are

those living in the world outside (beyond the walls of the mental asylum, that is) insane? We are a bit confused." His *Glancing Back at Century's End* is, in fact, more a political commentary than a work of reportage. It is permeated with the notion that "salvation has overriding importance over enlightenment." Su himself said it was his "comments on the rise and fall of regimes during the past century." In his reportage written in recent years, he not only spread views against the four cardinal principles, but promoted a very undesirable style of writing, namely, a style of exaggeration, sensationalism, argumentation instead of narration, and subjective thinking. We must realize the effects of his literary style on reportage writing. One may not subscribe to his political views, but may very well admire his "literary talent" and see his "chatterbox" style of voluble talking as a new trend in reportage writing, thinking that it represents "breadth of vision" and "magnanimous feelings."

We are resolutely opposed to voluble talks by opponents of socialism. But does this mean that if our stand is correct we can engage in endless arguments in reportage writing? In general, reportage allows the author greater liberty to argue his points than in novels. For certain categories of reportage, arguments are even indispensable. However, this by no means suggests that a writer must take reportage writing as an excuse to show off his or her eloquence. As in all other literary genres, reportage appeals mainly through artistic images. The author's ideological level should find expression mainly through the molding of such images. A piece of reportage with flat characters and lengthy arguments cannot be a masterpiece. Shattered images and wild arguments were the common drawbacks of certain works of reportage published over the last couple of years. While the author may stand out and state his views directly in his writing, the general rule is that he should only add a word or two to make his point. He should use imagery and poetic language, and his arguments should be made through the use of images and must not have nothing to do with these images. As Guo Xiaochuan said 25 years ago, "After all, reportage must be based on facts. The author's arguments should mainly serve the purpose of pinpointing certain ideas. Moreover, his arguments must be correct, original, profound, and to the point. They must also show feelings." (*Several Questions Concerning Reportage*.) In my opinion, these remarks still hold true today. Readers find works like *Her Chinese Heart* and *His Heart Is With the Green Hills* down-to-earth and natural because they contain no fabrications or hypocritical comments. These works do include a few arguments, but they are the authors' feelings for the characters and events described. Rather than taking a condescending posture and telling the reader how they should react, the authors just try to share their feelings with the reader as equals. This style of reportage writing is, in my opinion, a much wiser approach than making declarations and simply "chatting" away.

The Debate Among Jurists on the Relationship Between Rights and Duties

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[Article by Li Maoguan (2621 5399 4619)]

[Text] In recent years, jurist circles have engaged in heated debate centered on the question of the relationship between rights and duties. The basic views can be divided into three: "the idea that rights are the primary aspect," "the idea that duties are the core aspect," and "the idea that both rights and duties are primary aspects (or that neither rights nor duties are primary)." The general situation is introduced below.

A. The Origin and Current Situation of the Debate

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, jurists have been engaged in intense debate on some major theoretical and practical questions in legal studies. Of these debates, that on the essential nature of law has drawn particular attention. During the debate, some people have said that it is necessary to gain a new understanding of the nature of law and, to do this, it is necessary to extend the antennae of thought deep into the profound structure of law theory. They said that rights are the most basic concept and category of law and that the study of law should be the study of rights. Some people held that "the most universal essence of law is that it is rights oriented" and proposed that the basic theory of law should be changed from the traditional "theory of class will" to the "theory of the will toward rights" and, using this as a center, to spur reform of all law. Some scholars, in exploring the reform of law, in order to examine and think about law from a new angle and with new concepts and to provide theory and measures for building socialist democracy and a socialist legal system, have put forward the idea that "both rights and duties are the core of law." They propose taking rights and duties as the basic categories in the study of law and engaging in the reconstruction of the theory of law. At the "Conference on the Basic Categories of Law" held in June 1988 at Changchun, some participants said that "law should be the study of rights" and proposed that we should reconstruct our country's theory of law with rights and duties as the basic categories, and proposed that, in choosing between rights and duties, we should take rights as the primary aspect. They held that there have always existed two major shortcomings in our country's legal theory: 1) Class theory has been seen as the key link and the theory of class struggle has always been very inappropriately implemented in all areas and the whole process of law. 2) Regulations are seen as the core category, and complex, lively social phenomena are summarized in lifeless regulations. The most effective avenue for overcoming these two shortcomings is to draw in a theory of rights. The modern study of law, one which is in accord with the commodity economy and democratic politics, should be the study of rights. After

this conference, some persons wrote articles that continued to explain the viewpoint that "the study of law should be the study of rights" and proposed the idea of the primacy of rights. Some others people felt that the point of stress of law should be obligatory restrictions (the idea that duties are the core aspect). Others did not agree that either rights or duties should be the primary aspect, feeling that it is better to see rights and duties forming a unity ("the idea that both rights and interests are primary" or "the idea that neither rights nor duties are primary.") At the fourth annual China Law Society conference on the basic theory of law held in May 1990 and at the "Democracy, Law, Rights, and Duties Conference" convened by relevant units in Dalian in October of the same year, the participants also engaged in intense discussion on the question of the relationship between rights and interests and, at these conferences, there were still basically the three viewpoints comprising "the idea that rights are the primary aspect," "the idea that duties are the aspect," and "the idea that both rights and duties are primary."

B. An Introduction to the Various Viewpoints in the Debate

1. The idea that rights are the primary aspect. This view holds that in the relationship between rights and duties, rights are primary and are the basis and precondition for the existence of duties. The aim of law in establishing duties is to guarantee the realization of rights. Duties should come from, serve, and be subordinate to rights. Rights are limited only by law and the aim of limitation is to ensure that these rights can be realized. In a sphere of activity when the law is unclear, rights can be used to infer and decide matters. Thus, it is recognized that an appropriate action mode already exists as a right. Only by recognizing that rights are the precondition of duties is it possible to realize the unity of rights and duties. The idea that rights are primary desires to answer the question "What should law be?" rather than the question "What is law?"

Some scholars propose that the idea that rights are primary requires that the relationship between rights and duties be explained as follows: As far as duties are concerned, rights are the aim and these rights are situated in the key position. As far as rights are concerned, the duties are the means, extension, and derivatives of rights. A major component of the idea of rights as the main aspect is equal rights. Taking rights as the main aspect means seeking a free society. Taking rights as the main aspect is an affirmation of plural interests and a confirmation of the richness of the ways of the world. Taking rights as the main aspect is not a universal principle in the history of law and is not a permanent value standard which is applicable to all times. It does not give primacy to individual interests and does not discard state intervention. The real significance of taking rights as the main aspect is that it can free people from their traditional bonds of obligations, restrictions of status, and fetters of autocracy, and can thereby create a free, equal, tolerant, and vigorous society ruled by law.

Some scholars hold that taking rights as the primary aspects is a conceptual combination rich both semantically and in terms of actual significance. Its major facets include: 1) It is a simple formulation by which "law takes (should take) rights as its starting point, axis, and focal point." 2) It succinctly expresses the characteristics of a legal system which has rights as its main aspect. 3) It manifests the special relationship between rights and duties and also clearly expresses the mutual referential roles of the concepts of rights and duties. 4) The whole body of laws and regulations of any society (state), that is, the system of legally stipulated rights and duties, shows whether rights or duties are the starting point, axis, and focal point. It is not, or is not mainly, about the relationship between rights and duties in a specific legal standard or legal relationship. 5) It represents an equal horizontal interests relationship. 6) It expresses a value stand and a requirement of law. The change from duties as the main aspect to rights as the main aspect was historical progress in law. In order to accord with the demands of the socialist commodity economy and socialist democratic politics, our country's system of law and state legal activities should take rights as the main aspect.

Scholars engaged in this area have expounded on the idea that "moving from duties as the main aspect to where rights are the main aspect is a pattern of the development of law," and held that law of slave and feudal societies which had the natural economy, a patriarchal clan system, and autocratic dictatorship as the economic, moral, and political base, had duties as its main aspect. The law and legal concepts determined by the capitalist commodity economy and democratic politics have rights as their logical point of departure and axis. Socialist law is the newest type of law to emerge following capitalist law. It does not negate rights as the main aspect, but combines this with socialist principles, thereby bringing it to a new stage, the stage where socialist rights are the main aspect.

Some scholars hold that taking rights as the main aspect of law is actually a product of the development of the commodity economy and is a reflection of the common nature of demands on the law by the commodity economy. If socialist society is to develop a commodity economy, in its legal system it must inevitably adopt the concept of rights as the main aspect and this is essentially a demand for the affirmation of interests on the legal level. Taking interests as the main aspect and essence of law is an expression, in law, that sovereignty lies with the people, and thus this is a major characteristic of a country ruled by law and of a democratic society.

2. The idea that duties are the core aspect. This view holds that in the relationship between rights and duties, duties are primary. This is because in the realization of social value, rights and duties have equal value and it is only from the angles of actual law enforcement and law interpretation that the question of which is the substance and essence is touched upon and, in terms of real effects, duties are more important. The focus of law lies in

restraining, and rights must have duties as a guarantee. Law is required primarily to stabilize social order, and to achieve this it is necessary to distribute duties evenly. Also, as duties have a clear semantic sense that these are things which people must do or are prohibited from doing, these provide better information conditions than rights in getting people to respect and implement the law. Discussion of the main aspect of law should discuss mainly the question "What is law?" and not the question "What should law be?"

Some scholars hold that the idea that duties are the core aspect refers to the fact that law is a means of social control and standardization, and it attains these goals through obligatory standards. Seen in terms of state control of society, the law's protection of social relationships is realized by rectifying the activities of those persons who violate duties. Thus, the core aspect of law must involve clearly setting down duties in accordance with the objective demands of social relations and stipulating the results of not carrying out these duties. Seen from the angle of opposition to control by society, laws are direct and clear stipulations, and they require that the state does not intervene in the citizens' freedom of action in this respect or that respect. They can thus play a clearer and more effective restraining role on state organs.

Scholars engaged in this field have pointed out that the emergence and development of prohibitions and duties are indicators of the ordering of human society. The very earliest legal stipulations were formed mainly through obligatory standards. The advocacy and stipulation of legal rights was mainly a criticism and negation of the duties prescribed in history. Just advocating legal rights is alone insufficient to safeguard individual interests and freedom of action which society intended to protect.

Regarding the debate between rights as the main aspect and duties as the core aspect, some scholars have pointed out that these two viewpoints both stress the unity of rights and duties and that the difference between them lies in: 1) They both have their own theoretical preconditions. The former stresses the "should be," the question of the orientation of social value targets, whereas the latter stresses the "really is," the question of rights guarantees after setting the orientation of the overall value targets. 2) The former stresses legislative principles, while the latter stresses the effects of laws. There is actually no essential divergence between the two. Thus, these are two mutually supplementing theories.

3. The idea that both rights and duties are the main aspect (or that neither rights nor duties are the main aspect). This view holds that rights and duties are both essential manifestations of the law. The two emerge at the same time, exist at the same time, are mutually dependent, are inseparable, play mutual roles, and engage in mutual change. They form a dialectical unity and thus neither can be considered a main aspect and there is no need to consider either as primary. Some scholars hold that the founders of Marxism, in their

analysis of the law, stressed the "sanctification of the status quo" and the "inviolability of order" and saw these as the real essence of law and as the mission of law. Regardless of whether we speak of the stipulation of rights or the stipulation of duties, in neither case can this be divorced from the central aim of maintaining the "status quo" and "order." Rights and duties are inseparable. Where there are rights, there must be duties and where there are duties, there must be rights. Regardless of what sort of society we speak of, none is an exception to this. Forcibly splitting that which should not be split not only will prevent the results that each aspect should bring, but if it is done poorly, it may produce negative results, which move in the opposite direction.

Some scholars hold that the theory whereby either rights or duties are seen as the "main aspect" is clearly flawed in terms of thought methodology: 1) The advocates of a "main aspect" want to forcibly find whether rights or duties are primary, which is the core, which is the root, and which determines which. Such an absolutist thought mode will inevitably lead to ossification. 2) Grasping the main aspect in the contradiction between rights and duties is correct. However, the "idea of a main aspect" moves towards polarization, with people deciding the major aspects of the contradiction between rights and duties on the basis of their own understanding. Afterward, this is fixed and becomes static. 3) Neither just rights nor just interests can become a basis for the relationship between the two. The basis of a unified relationship between rights and duties lies outside the relationship between rights and duties. It certainly is not and cannot be found within the relationship between rights and duties. Because of the mistakes in terms of thought method, if either rights or duties are claimed as the "main aspect," it will be impossible to correctly answer the question of the relationship between the individual and the state, the question of the relationship between the protecting function of law and the restraining function of law, the question of whether contemporary Chinese society should stress rights or interests or other such questions.

Some scholars hold that in different times and under different state systems, the specific forms of rights and duties differ, and that discussing which is the main aspect in law divorced from essential questions such as to whom law gives rights and on whom it places duties, is meaningless. Under the socialist system where the exploiting class has already been eliminated and people are the masters, to continue to ardently advocate the idea that rights are the main aspect is not in accord with the times and may bring disadvantageous elements to society. Only by stressing the unity of rights and duties is one in harmony with the spirit of the times. Our country's Constitution clearly says: "Every citizen enjoys the rights stipulated by the Constitution and the law, and at the same time must fulfill the duties stipulated by the Constitution and the law." This affirms, in the basic law, the unity between rights and duties. The unity between the rights and duties of citizens in a socialist state is

manifested mainly in the fact that no citizen is allowed only to enjoy rights and not be subject to obligations, and no citizen is subject to duties without enjoying rights. At the same time, various rights which citizens actually enjoy are often concurrently duties (such as the right to work and the right to education), while some of the duties citizens carry out are concurrently rights (such as military service and participating in militia organizations). In such a situation, it is impossible to say whether rights or duties are the main or core aspect.

Others scholars hold that taking rights as the main aspect will not necessarily overcome the abuses produced by the integration of "officials as the main aspect" and "duties as the main aspect." Therefore, in coordinating the interests of the various interests groups under socialism, there should be a unity between rights and duties, and there must not be any bias. Some scholars hold the view that the idea that rights are the main aspect negates the theory of historical materialism and claim that modern bourgeois law does not have rights as its main aspect because, as far as the laboring people are concerned, this claim is just a hoax and a swindle. Socialist law thus cannot take rights as the main aspect. Other scholars, in response to the idea of taking rights as the main aspect, have expounded on their view that in Western capitalist countries, "the manifestation of freedom, equality, and democracy in law" is not just rights, but also duties. They hold that, in those places, not only are rights and duties given equal stress, but sometimes the duties cancel out or negate the rights. Still other scholars hold that the idea that rights are the main aspect of law existed long ago in old law and is an outdated legal theory. Still others hold that in law there exist many basic categories, and they consider the question of whether the concept of rights as the main aspect can assist in the study of other basic categories to be a question worthy of serious thought.

Some scholars have tried to use the philosophical focal point theory in assessing and analyzing the debate on the relationship between rights and duties and to prove the correctness of the idea that rights are the main aspect. They hold that, if one does not endorse the concept of a "main aspect" on the methodological level, then one is not being scientific. The concept that rights and duties have "equal importance" ignores the philosophical focal point theory. The "theory of equal importance" is equivalent to the philosophical theory of equilibrium. The theory of equilibrium and the theory of a focal point are two basically antagonistic world views. The class interests of the bourgeoisie instinctively spur them, in their building of a legal system, to take rights as the focal point. The materialist view of history requires that socialist law also takes rights as its focal point.

At present, debate continues between these three viewpoints. This is a manifestation, in the law field, of the principle of "letting one hundred schools of thought contend" and indicates that exploration in legal theory is being carried out.

A Japanese Friend's Letter and a Taiwanese Writer's Feelings

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[Article by Gao Di (7599 3695)]

[Text] Some time ago I received a letter from a Japanese friend. This Japanese friend is a small entrepreneur dealing in cars. His letter made me think of many things.

His letter reads in part: "The destiny of the small entrepreneur is that he must leave home early and go home late. I have always thought how wonderful it would be if our economy were not a competitive one. Although everyone says that Japan is an economic power, we ordinary citizens feel nothing of the sort. As you know, a salaried man does not have a house of his own. He travels in packed commuter trains every day and will not be able to afford his own house in his lifetime. How can we call ourselves an economic power? When we look at reality, we sometimes wonder where the problem lies?"

Yes, where exactly does the problem lie? The problem lies with the social system.

Capitalism is a system where fingerlings are eaten up by big fish. We can call it a society where man eats his fellow man. In this society, money means everything and in order to make more money, men bitterly compete and jostle against one another.

All capitalist countries have their own army of unemployed. What are the reasons for this? Because there are bound to be enterprises going under when competition is keen, when there is a bankruptcy, not only the workers but also the entrepreneurs themselves will lose their jobs. When an enterprise is hit by hard times, some of its personnel will have to be made redundant. When an employee is disabled or taken ill, he is likely to be fired by the capitalist: An enterprise is not a charity and can ill afford to sustain one who takes money but cannot work. When he is fired, there is no fear of lacking a replacement. An entire army of unemployed is waiting out there.

Such is the capitalist system which compels people to work like dogs. If you do not do that, you are likely to find yourself in the ranks of the unemployed. If you lose your job, you lose everything. It is true that some developed capitalist countries do have social security, but it is there only to keep people from starving and out of harm's way.

Entrepreneurs are afraid of bankruptcy and workers are afraid of losing their jobs. This suggests that everyone lives in constant fear in capitalist countries. Of course the multimillionaires do not have to worry about losing their jobs, but there are only a handful of these people around. Only this handful of people think of capitalism as "heaven."

There is no denying that, by and large, life in the developed capitalist countries is more affluent. Does affluence in terms of material life mean happiness? Certainly not. Japan is considered one of the most well-developed capitalist countries, but it is also a country with a high suicide rate.

Under the capitalist system where everyone has to work and labor for all they are worth, efficiency is naturally high. High efficiency is the long suit of capitalism. However, such efficiency is unfair and therefore unreasonable, even against human nature. Human rights in capitalist countries are a sham. Where are the human rights for the homeless? From the Marxist point of view, we can only talk about man's rights when exploitation has been wiped out.

Socialism has wiped out the system of the exploitation of man by man. Under the socialist system, everyone has the right to work. Man has a guaranteed life and a sense of security. The capitalist societies are no match for this fair and reasonable system.

There is also a problem, however, and that is the great number of people muddling along: You cannot sack me in any case, as socialism will not let its people starve. Thus, efficiency is lacking.

A famous Taiwanese writer had this to say after his visit to the mainland: "I envy the mainlanders for their good life. They enjoy low prices and their lifestyle allows one's needs to be satisfied without having to try too hard." Comparing life in Taiwan with that on the mainland, this Taiwan writer said: "The average income of a university-educated couple is 400 yuan (renminbi) on the mainland and NT\$100,000 (new Taiwan dollars) in Taiwan. The rent of a house is only three yuan on the mainland, but NT\$10,000 in Taiwan. Half a kilo of rice costs 0.13 yuan on the mainland, but NT\$120 in Taiwan. Income in Taiwan is 100 times higher, but expenses there are 1,000 times more. By comparison, life on the mainland is a lot easier, but the mainlanders always complain about their poverty and say the Taiwanese are rich."

We should say that it is true that Taiwanese people are richer than their mainland counterparts. However, it would be wrong to draw the deduction from the figures cited by this Taiwan writer that life on the mainland is 10 times better than in Taiwan because, in the final analysis, livelihood is determined by the level of economic development. Some of the figures cited by this writer do not quite tally with the actual case. Moreover, on the mainland, rent and rice are subsidized by the state. There are certainly things which are cheaper in Taiwan. Besides, livelihood in Taiwan is definitely not as high as some people claim. It is also beyond doubt that there is much unfairness in the Taiwanese society.

That aside, the Taiwanese writer was still mindful of the pitfalls on the mainland. He said the mainland "stifled many outstanding people and fostered a group of lazy men who wasted their lives away." He concluded that the problem with the mainland was one of "overpopulation."

Overpopulation is indeed a serious problem on the mainland. In the past, our policy was to have five persons do the work of three and also share the food of three. This policy still cannot be completely changed because we will not be able to achieve social security otherwise. "Socialism cannot let its people starve." This is what we have been doing and is what we should do. In terms of fairness, socialism is the most humane social system.

Having a large population is an accomplished fact. The mainland has a large population but so has Taiwan. After World War II, population increased by more than 100 percent on the mainland and by over 200 percent in Taiwan (for some strange reason, people seldom take Taiwan to task on the question of population but are always ready to hit out at the mainland). In fact, Taiwan has a larger population in per unit area terms.

Is there nothing the mainland can do about its overpopulation? When there are spears, there are shields. When there are problems, there must be ways to resolve these problems.

The overwhelming majority of the mainland population live in the countryside. The countryside is a vast area which is fully capable of accommodating this large population. China sustains 22 percent of the world's population on 7 percent of the world's land by means of intensive farming, which requires a large labor force. The countryside can make use of our abundance of manpower and material resources to produce all kinds of products for society, thereby enriching the peasants. In many economically developed regions, peasants can "leave the land without leaving their villages and work in factories without having to go to cities." If we continue in this direction, we will be able gradually to eliminate the distinction between town and country and between workers and peasants. This is no doubt a great enterprise without precedent in any part of the world.

Cities are faced with more problems. There are many problems, but here are also many ways to solve these problems.

China is an economically underdeveloped country. There are many things which should be done but which are still left undone. In the developed countries, the majority of the population is engaged in tertiary industries. In our country, only a fraction of the population works in the tertiary industry, which can in fact accommodate a large labor force. Our enterprises are overstaffed but it is by no means true that there is nothing for people to do. We produce a lot less than in the developed countries. Much can be done in the way of developing new products.

Some people say that there is no pressure, nor any drive, under the socialist system. In my opinion, the contract system embodies both pressure and drive. "The heavy burden is shouldered by all concerned, each having a target to fulfill." If the target is fulfilled, personal income increases; if not, income drops. This compels people to do their best. If this objective is not realized, it is because the contract system still has room for improvement. Who says

that efficiency is destined to be low under socialism? The Shoudu Iron and Steel complex has achieved a labor productivity much higher than that achieved by their counterparts in developed capitalist countries in West Europe and North America. The crux of the problems lies in finding a mechanism that can unify the interests of the state, the collective, and the individual.

What can be done about overstaffing? We could develop new arenas of production and service and assign people to conduct investigations and study at the grassroots level and to replenish the grassroots units. Young comrades should be allowed to take up full-time study and encouraged to achieve all-round improvement. This is a type of strategic investment that will have great importance in the long-term development of all our undertakings.

These are the content and objectives of our reform. Socialism has changed the production relations, liberated the productive forces, and made it possible for people to display their wisdom and resourcefulness. "Fostering a group of lazy people" is not the result of the socialist system but rather the outcome of egalitarianism and the practice of "everyone eating from the same big pot." The socialist principle is "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." Distribution according to work has as its premise the principle of from each according to his ability. Egalitarianism goes against socialism.

Let us stop grumbling and think more about the reform. Where socialism is concerned, the way out lies in reform. When the socialist system is perfected and developed, we will have both fairness and efficiency. People will work and study hard but will not have to jostle against and cheat one another, or be weighed down by an unbearable amount of work.

We must see our strong points and strengthen our faith in socialism. On the other hand, we must also see our shortcomings in order to increase our resolve to reform. We should not blame everyone and everything for our shortcomings. Rather, we should try to overcome these shortcomings. After the above comments, the Japanese friend apologized for "having grumbled." Under the capitalist system, ruthless competition is unavoidable. What else can one do except grumble? Fairness and efficiency, development and progress are interrelated issues with which the socialist system is perfectly compatible. We should broaden our minds and look farther ahead. Let us not "eat and curse at the same time." We should remember what Comrade Mao Zedong taught us: "Too much grumbling makes one sick. We should look farther ahead."

Index to QIUSHI No 13-No 24, 1990

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