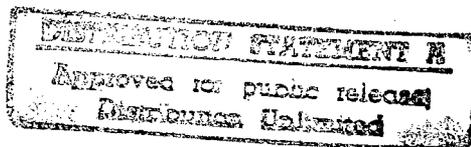


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China

QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 2, 16 January 1991

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Stride Forward Toward New Stage of Development

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in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 91 pp 2-8

[Article by Yuan Mu (5913 2606)]

[Text] In another 10 years, mankind will part from the 20th century and step into a new one.

The Chinese people have spent two-fifths of the 20th century carrying out the great practice of socialist construction on the divine land of China. Despite serious setbacks and distressing lapses, China, this socialist ship, has been sailing forward in the swift current and has achieved glorious successes. This is undeniable to anyone who is unbiased.

Whether China's socialism can radiate more exuberant vigor and vitality in the final 10 years of this century will undoubtedly have a bearing on the fundamental interest of all the Chinese people and the future and destiny of the Chinese nation. The Seventh Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, which was held recently, put forward the operational program for realizing the second-step strategic goal of China's modernization in the coming 10 years and pointed out the correct direction for stepping toward the new stage of development.

I

History is a continuum. To look ahead to the coming 10 years, we must look back on the past 10 years and reflect on the point and basis from which we set off.

In the 1980's, China's theme was building socialism with Chinese characteristics, paying equal attention to development and reform, and promoting economic and social development through reform and opening up. The 10 years of reform and opening up has initiated a new picture of the socialist modernization drive in China.

Let Us First Look at Economic and Social Development

—China's economy continued to grow on the basis of the 10.1-percent annual growth during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. It is estimated that, during the period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the annual growth rate was 7.6 percent, significantly higher than the 3-percent annual increase of the world economy during the same period. In those 10 years, our country's GNP increased 1.3 times. Through 10 years of development, compared with 1980, the comprehensive national strength of our country in 1990 was markedly increased.

—Tremendous achievements were scored in agricultural production. China was one of the countries with the highest rate of agricultural growth in the world. The amount of increase of agricultural output ranked the first in the world. According to World Bank estimates, China's increase in agricultural output in 1988 was higher than that of the United States, ranking second,

by 34 percent, and 1.6 times more than that of India and 4.3 times more than that of Brazil. From 1986 to 1989, the annual growth rate of agriculture (including farming and animal husbandry) in our country was 3.1 percent, higher than the world average of 1.3 percent during the same period. In 1989, per capita cotton output in our country was 3.4 kg, close to the world average of 3.5 kg and significantly higher than the average level of 2.7 kg among developing countries. Per capita meat (including pork, beef, and mutton) output was 21.1 kg, slightly lower than the world average but higher than the average among developing countries by about 70 percent. In 1985, China's per capita grain output was 86.1 percent of the world average and this figure rose to 92.8 percent in 1989, higher than the average among developing countries by 34 percent. This shows that the basic food supply from our country's agriculture has become more abundant and, in this respect, China has entered the stage between developed countries and developing ones and ranks relatively high among the latter.

—Industrial production made great progress. On the basis of the rapid development during the Sixth Five-Year Plan period, industry continued to develop during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, and the growth rate was next only to that of the First Five-Year Plan period. It is estimated that the annual growth rate from 1986 to 1990 was approximately 13 percent, leading the world average of 4 percent during the same period by a big margin. This made China the country with the most rapid industrial development in the world. The industrial strength of our country has further increased: By now, the volume of increase in our country's manufacturing industries has leapt to eighth place in the world.

—Foreign trade expanded rapidly. In 1990, import and export volume in our country reached \$113 billion, nearly triple that of 1980. The annual growth rate over the 10 years was 11.5 percent. By now, the volume of export and that of import have risen from the 24th and 32d places in the world respectively to 14th place.

—Along with economic development, the society in our country made all-round progress and the people's livelihood improved markedly. Through the 10 years of endeavor, the work of science and technology and education development rapidly. In the past 10 years, there have been altogether over 110,000 major scientific and technological achievements, of which more than 1,700 have won state awards and some have reached advanced international standards. Primary education has been universalized in 71 percent of China's counties, and junior secondary education has been universalized in most cities. In 1989, the numbers of secondary and primary pupils in our country registered 45.54 million and 123.73 million respectively, both the highest in the world. There are 2.082 million college students on China's campuses, up 22.3 percent over 1985 and ranking fifth in the world. The average level of consumption of urban and rural

residents nationwide in 1990 was 80 percent higher than 1980 and the annual increase rate was 6 percent. Such indexes as life expectancy and the death rate of newborn babies in our country, which are a barometer of social development, are all better than the average level in the upper-middle-ranking developing countries.

Let Us Now Look at Reform and Opening Up

- The unitary structure of public ownership is gradually being replaced by a structure with public ownership as the main body and allowing the coexistence of varied ownerships. Under the precondition of adhering to public ownership, an appropriate development of urban and rural individual and private economies as well as "three-capital" enterprises is encouraged. At present, the total industrial output value of the nation is divided among various sectors in the following proportions: State-owned sector takes up 56.1 percent; collective sector, 35.7 percent; individual sector, 4.7 percent; and other sectors, 3.4 percent. In the total volume of commodity retail of the nation, the state-owned sector takes up 38.5 percent; collective sector, 35.7 percent; individual and private sectors, 17.5 percent; and other sectors, 8.3 percent. An ownership structure that conforms with the development level of China's current productive forces and is beneficial to the development of socialist commodity economy is being formed. In terms of operational form, more than 98 percent rural households have so far had a part in the contracted household responsibility system with remuneration linked to output. State-owned enterprises in urban areas are also actively exploring the way to separate government administration from enterprise management and to moderately detach ownership from managerial power. They have adopted various flexible modes of management, including contract and lease, and started to experiment with the stock system, and so on and so forth. More than 90 percent of state-owned industrial enterprises across the country have installed various forms of the contracted management responsibility system. At the same time, mergers and horizontal cooperation of enterprises are also encouraged. So far, over 2,000 enterprises operating at a loss or with low profit have been merged into others and over 1,000 transregional and transdepartmental large enterprise groups and collectives have emerged.
- The unitary distribution system is gradually being replaced by one based chiefly on distribution according to work and supplemented by other forms of distribution. Administrative and nonprofit institutions have implemented a salary system structure characterized by a responsibility-related pay scale. Under the precondition that the gross payroll and rate of increment are authorized by the state, enterprises are now generally able to flexibly decide for themselves concrete forms of distribution, for example, quota wages, piece wages, time wages, base wages plus bonuses, and wage increments linked to economic efficiency. These measures as well as implementation of the important policy of allowing and encouraging some people and some places to get rich ahead of others through honest work and lawful operations have played a significant role in overcoming equalitarianism and bringing into play the enthusiasm of the broad masses of workers and various quarters.
- The highly centralized planning system is being gradually replaced with a new one characterized by the integration of planned economy and market regulation. Today, products produced under mandatory industrial planning of the State Planning Commission have been slashed from 120 to 60, and those under the planning of the State Ministry of Commerce have been reduced from 180 to 20. The goods purchased by the departments handling goods and materials directly from the market all over the country have taken up 72 percent of the total amount. Five to 6 percent of the principal goods and materials needed by many cities are from the market. Chief raw materials of township and town enterprises are almost entirely purchased from the market. In the commercial circulation field, monopolized operation has been changed into shared operation, which has enlivened the consumer goods market. State and collective commerce has played the role of chief channel and individual commerce has also functioned actively. Preliminary reform of the pricing system has created favorable conditions for the gradual expansion of the scope of market regulation. At present, about 50 percent of commodity prices in our country are determined by the market, and this applies to 65 percent of the prices of agricultural and sideline products, 55 percent of the prices of industrial consumer goods, and 40 percent of the prices of the means of production.
- The form in which economic activities are mainly under direct state control is being gradually replaced by the new form characterized by indirect regulation and control with a combination of direct and indirect management. Finance and banking have become two major means of regulation and control over the national economy. In raising and distributing funds for production and construction, the previously preponderant dependence on the financial channel is gradually shifting to that of the banking alternative. Also interest rate system has been improved and monetary markets, including stock, bond, and foreign exchange regulatory markets, have been opened up to a preliminary degree.
- The closed and semiclosed economy is being gradually replaced by an open economy characterized by active participation in international exchanges and cooperation. After the four special economic zones [SEZ's], including Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, and Xiamen, were set up and 14 coastal cities were opened to the outside world, another series of important measures were taken: In the spring of 1988, a decision was made to set up Hainan Province and designate it as the

biggest SEZ open to the outside world; larger experimental zones for reform and opening up were set up in Guangdong and Fujian; meanwhile, strategies for coastal economic development were formulated which emphasized further expansion of opening up and active participation in international economic competition and exchanges. In 1990, a decision was made to open up and develop Shanghai's Pudong area; among the coastal open cities, 14 economic technology development zones were set up where open policies similar to those in the SEZ's have been implemented. The reform and opening up of the 1980's have injected new vitality into China's economy in an extremely remarkable way.

The improvement, rectification, and deepening of the reform in the past two years have brought under control the inflation caused by an overheated economy; good agricultural harvests have been reaped for two consecutive years; industrial production is gradually picking up; the entire economy has maintained a moderate growth rate and is continuing to develop positively. Reform did not come to a standstill during the period of improvement and rectification, but, instead, continued to develop and deepen; the rural household contracted responsibility system with remuneration linked to output is being implemented as a permanent and unchanged means and constantly improves; the contract system and directorial responsibility system practiced in most urban enterprises as well as the lease and stock systems experimentally implemented in some enterprises are continuing and deepening; the number of measures for pricing readjustment and reform put forward in 1990 surpassed that in any other year. In the financial field, the lever of interests has been used frequently to regulate and control economic operations, the restructuring of leadership and management by central and specialized banks is being improved, and experimental stock exchanges have been set up in some cities as part of the reform. In foreign trade, foreign exchange rates have been readjusted twice over the past year and more, and an important reform measure has been adopted recently to shift the entire foreign trade system to one that centers on financial independence. There are many more such examples. All this makes it absolutely groundless to claim that the improvement and rectification have "inhibited" reform and brought it to a halt.

When looking back on the past 10 years, one must draw this conclusion from a host of facts: The modernization drive and reform and opening up in the 1980's brought vigorous vitality to China's economic and social development, laid a solid foundation for our effort to realize the development goals for the 1990's, and added to our confidence and strength in overcoming difficulties and continuing to make progress.

II

Looking back on the past is more for the purpose of drawing inspiration from it for the future than anything else. We accumulated abundant experience in China's

construction and reform in the 1980's. The most important experience is: While holding on to reform and opening up, it is necessary to adhere to the socialist orientation of the reform and opening up. Firmly and correctly carrying out reform and opening up is key to implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies on building a socialism with Chinese characteristics. Reform is necessary for socialism because, without reform, it will be impossible to show its superiority and increase its magnetism to a fuller extent. Under socialist conditions, if the economy stagnates for a long time and is incapable of healthy development, the people, having no substantial benefit, will lose confidence in socialism. Without reform and opening up, it is impossible for the economy to develop well. In China, reform and opening up must be carried out under the precondition of upholding the four cardinal principles, otherwise we will be unable to maintain political stability and unity, social disturbance or even serious turbulence may occur, and it will be the end of the reform and opening up and the modernization drive.

As proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, our party put forward the general proposition of building a socialism with Chinese characteristics. This proposition, together with the basic line and a series of principles and policies that have gradually evolved from it, embraces two intrinsic implications: 1) We should never go against the Marxist theory of scientific socialism. 2) We should earnestly study experiences in world history and the features of our times, earnestly study the reality of China, and study and solve new problems according to the changing circumstances and develop Marxism in practice. In a word, we should realize the integration of Marxist universal truth with China's specific reality. Good integration guarantees progress and success, whereas poor integration spells setback and failure.

Based on the foregoing understanding, we should both uphold the four cardinal principles and adhere to the reform and opening up. We must grasp the above-mentioned general spirit on an overall scale and decide what is to be done without restraint and determine what should not be done. Now I would like to make some personal comments on political, economic, and ideological fields.

—We must unshakingly adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Under this precondition, we should keep improving the People's Congress system, establish and develop the system and procedure of democratic legislation, democratic supervision, and democratic decisionmaking, but never copy the parliamentary democracy of the Western bourgeoisie. It is imperative to fully carry forward democracy and take substantial measures to strengthen the building of socialist democratic politics within the people, and, in the meantime, bring the hostile elements who sabotage socialism under effective dictatorship. Such a people's political power should by no means be weakened, still less subverted, or else there

will be neither socialism nor the prosperity and powerfulness of the Chinese nation to speak of.

—We must consistently and unremittently treat the development of social productive forces as the fundamental task of socialist construction; uphold the principle of developing the national economy in a sustained, steady, and coordinated way; do a good job in the modernization drive with single-hearted devotion; and constantly improve the people's material and cultural life. All our work should center on and serve this focus. We should spare no effort in promoting the development of social productive forces. The gains or losses, success or failure, of our work in various fields will be measured with the yardstick of whether our work contributes to the development of productive forces. In the meantime, we cannot simplify or vulgarize the "standards of productive forces" to the neglect of the important effect of production means and superstructure on the development of productive forces. Otherwise, we will also commit serious mistakes.

—We must continue to establish and develop the relations of ownership with the socialist public ownership as the main body. Two points must be clarified on this issue. First, replacing private ownership with public ownership of the means of production is the natural requirement and law of the replacement of capitalism by socialism. Therefore, we should never practice privatization at the expense of public ownership, or else we will be unable to hold on to socialism. Second, such a replacement will not be accomplished in one move, especially in the initial stage of socialism. We should, under the precondition of maintaining public ownership as the main body, allow other economic elements, including individual and private economies, to exist and develop to an appropriate degree to give play to their role as a beneficial supplement to the economy under public ownership. In the meantime, we should strengthen guidance and management to restrain their negative effect.

—We must fully understand that socialist economy is planned commodity economy established on the basis of public ownership. We should adapt ourselves to what is required by the development of such commodity economy and continue with the construction of a new economic structure and operational mechanism through the reform in accordance with the principle of integrating planned economy with market regulation. It is incorrect to dichotomize between socialist economy and commodity economy. At the same time, we should make it clear that there are intrinsic differences between the socialist commodity economy and the capitalist commodity economy, the most important of which lies in the different foundations of ownership between the two. In reform, we should, on the one hand, make great efforts to get rid of the disadvantage of the overconcentrated, overcontrolled mode of the traditional planned economy and give full play to the active role of market regulation

under the overall restraint of state plans and legal regulations. On the other hand, we should be fully aware that to practice total market economy is neither plausible nor feasible in China.

—In the field of distribution, we must adhere to the distribution system with the socialist distribution according to work as the main body and allowing the existence of other distribution forms. We must firmly fight against egalitarianism, continue to allow and encourage some people to get rich ahead of others through honest work and lawful operations. In the meantime, we should encourage those who have become rich to help those who have not, resolutely suppress unlawful moneymaking, regulate excessive income mainly through taxation, alleviate uneven social distribution, prevent polarization, and gradually attain collective prosperity. It must be made absolutely clear that the ability to lead the whole society to collective prosperity is one of the important features that manifest the tremendous superiority of socialism.

—We must consistently place Marxism in a guiding position in the ideological field and in the meantime strive to carry forward our country's fine traditional culture and assimilate all fine cultures in the world, including every positive thing in capitalist society that benefits us or can be used by us. While holding on to economic construction as the focus of work and the strengthening of the building of material civilization, we should pay full attention to the strengthening of the building of socialist spiritual civilization. In handling the relationship between the building of material civilization and that of spiritual civilization, we must constantly guard against repeating the mistake of "hard on one hand but soft on the other."

—In order to keep to the socialist road and the people's democratic dictatorship, we can never do without strengthening and improving the CPC's leadership. This is most important. In China, it is necessary to maintain and constantly improve the CPC-led system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation. This is a new type of socialist party system in conformity with China's historical development and its current national conditions. We should never copy the two-party or multiparty system of the West. Democratic parties in China are not opposition parties but ones that participate in and discuss government and political affairs. They maintain a cooperative relationship with the CPC. There is absolutely no legitimate status for opposition within the Communist Party. In order to constantly strengthen and improve the party's leadership, we must, in accordance with the requirement of the CPC Central Committee, stick to the nature of the party as vanguard of the working class; keep to the ultimate goal of serving the people wholeheartedly; hold on to Marxism as our theoretical basis; maintain and carry forward the work style of integrating theory with practice, keeping close links with

the masses and carrying out criticism and self-criticism; adhere to the organizational principle of democratic centralization and strengthen party discipline.

Our experiences in the past 10 years of practice have fully indicated that as long as we adhere to the above-mentioned principles well, society will remain stable, the economy will develop, people's living standards will gradually improve and, in a word, the superiority and magnetism of the socialist system will be given better expression.

III

In order to further promote China's economic invigoration and social progress in the final 10 years of this century, we should first align the ideological understanding of all the comrades in the party and the people of the entire nation with the spirit of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee. Next, I would like to talk briefly about the basic points of the Seventh Plenary Session spirit according to my comprehension through study.

1. The final 10 years of this century are a decade of vital importance to China's socialist modernization drive. At present, despite political, economic, and social stability in our country, many contradictions and problems still exist in economic and social development, and there are still some destabilizing factors that cannot be overlooked. Since the second half of 1989, the international situation has gone through drastic changes. The old structure is smashed, the new one has not yet formed. Socialism met with a serious setback. The turbulent situation, changing political climate, and more heated economic competition have dominated the world scene. Domestically and internationally, we are faced with severe challenges as well as good opportunities. Difficulty and hope are side by side. The rise or fall, success or failure, of our country's socialism and the future and destiny of the Chinese nation will hinge upon whether or not we can, in the coming 10 years, further promote economy and maintain a further steady development of the entire country so that socialist China can stride into the 21st century with more pride and confidence. Domestic economic development and social progress and the continued changes in the international situation in future all require us to better carry forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle in the 1990's so we can cope with more complicated situations in the coming 10 years.

2. The strategic plan made by the CPC Central Committee a long time ago dividing our country's modernization drive into three steps is correct. The first-step strategic goal was doubling the GNP and guaranteeing people's food and clothing. This step has been realized. The second-step strategic goal is to be realized in the coming 10 years, which means redoubling the GNP and bringing people's livelihood to the level of comfort. To reach this goal, the annual economic growth rate in the

coming 10 years will be kept up to about 6 percent, which is significantly higher than the expected rate of world economic development. According to forecasts of many economists in the world, the world economy in the coming 10 years can maintain only a 2-3 percent growth rate. It is no easy job to keep an average 6 percent annual economic growth, even though it is slightly lower than its counterpart in the past 10 years, because the base in the coming decade is much greater than that in the last. Moreover, the issue is not only one of speed. What is more important is the need to make energetic efforts to improve the economic structure, enhance economic efficiency, promote advancement in science and technology, and lay a better material and technological foundation for the economic and social development of our country early next century through our efforts in the final 10 years of this century. This is a more demanding task. Therefore, it is possible to reach the goal of struggle for the coming 10 years by making efforts, but the task is grand and challenging.

3. Further implementing, enriching, and developing the line, principles, and policies for building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the fundamental guarantee for accomplishing the second-step strategic goal. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, through the 12th and 13th CPC Central Committees, our party, as proposed and initiated by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, has gradually formed a series of effective principles and policies for building socialism with Chinese characteristics, formed the basic line of "one center, two basic points," and consequently opened up a new scene for the socialist modernization drive of the 1980's. Into the 1990's, we must continue to implement and maintain the stability and continuity of the basic principles and policies in an all-round way. We should, as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, uphold what is correct, improve what is inadequate, and put right what is wrong. As long as we can do so consistently, we will have the most reliable guarantee for accomplishing the second-step strategic goal.

4. The key to implementing the line, principles, and policies for building socialism with Chinese characteristics in an all-round way lies in the unswerving and correct practice of reform and opening up. First, we should practice reform and opening up firmly and unshakably, for without reform and opening up, China will have no hope. Second, it should be done in a correct way without deviating from the correct direction. The reform is a self-perfection and self-development of the socialist system. In the political field, we should stick to the people's democratic dictatorship, constantly improve the People's Congress system, improve the CPC-led system of multiparty cooperation and political consultation, constantly consolidate and develop the most extensive patriotic united front, and refrain from the Western multiparty system and parliamentary democracy. In the economic field, we should develop the socialist planned commodity economy based on public ownership, establish a structure of ownership which has

public ownership as the main body and encompasses varied economic elements, establish an economic system and operational mechanism that integrate planned economy with market regulation, and refrain from privatization or total market economy of capitalism. In the coming five years, we should deepen the economic restructuring mainly in the following two respects: First, we should continue to deepen enterprise reform, handle well the relationship between the state and the enterprises, and further raise the vitality of enterprises. Second, we should develop the macromanagement system and use the economic means of regulation and control to better effect in strengthening macromanagement. In the ideological field, we should not only continue to keep Marxism in a guiding position, but also carry forward our nation's fine culture and learn and draw on all the fine cultural achievements of the world, including the advanced technology, managerial experience, and all worthy things produced in capitalist society.

5. We must act firmly in the spirit of the principle of developing the national economy in a sustained, steady, and coordinated way. This is a summary of both the positive and negative experiences in China's 41 years of socialist economic construction, and a true reflection of objective economic law. We cannot afford ever to deviate from this. Sustaining means keeping an appropriate development pace every year. Steadiness means resolute prevention of big fluctuations. Coordination means that the various major ratios in the national economy should be made rational, which is the basis of sustained, steady, and coordinated development. Therefore, in the entire economic work in the coming 10 years, we must stick to the integration of speed with efficiency and truly stress the optimization of economic structure and enhancement of economic quality and economic efficiency.

6. The focuses of economic development in the coming 10 years, especially during the period of the Eighth Five-Year Plan, are as follows. The first is agriculture. Whatever the situation, be it a crop failure or a good harvest, or even successive good harvests, we should, taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy, constantly strengthen it and increase investment therein. The second is basic industry and the construction of infrastructure. This is a relatively weak link. If it fails to measure up to the demand of development or is not changed, it will be difficult to increase the stamina of economic development. Therefore, efforts should be made to this end. The third is the processing industry. It should be reorganized and transformed. The focus is to improve technology rather than expand the scope. The direction of development of processing industry is focused not on further expansion of scope, but on reorganization and transformation to achieve rationalization of structure and technological advancement. We should concentrate principal forces on giving better play to the potentials of some enterprises that were established during the period of the Seventh Five-Year

Plan, and give better play to the potentials of all existing enterprises. In the meantime, we should do a good job in rationally distributing regional economy.

7. In the entire course of economic construction, we must consistently place science and technology and education in a very important strategic position, make energetic efforts to push forward scientific and technological advancement, and lay special stress on training useful personnel. Domestically, economic and social development cannot do without scientific and technological advancement or the development of education. Internationally, economic competition is in essence scientific and technological competition and that among capable people. Faced with the vigorously developing new technology revolution around the world, we should not, in the slightest degree, relax our efforts to develop science and technology and education.

8. We must further strengthen national defense building. In the coming 10 years, which will see a changing political climate worldwide, many unexpected things may occur. We must do a good job in consolidating and raising our defense capabilities, so as to guarantee a safe environment for the modernization drive against any contingency. We should reinforce education on national defense for the whole people and raise their consciousness of it.

9. We should make conscientious efforts to handle well the relationships between the central and local authorities and those between centralization and decentralization. It has always been our policy to give play to the enthusiasm of both central and local authorities and of all quarters. In the meantime, we should also regard the whole country as a chessboard, establish awareness of the overall situation, and emphasize overall interests. The phenomenon of decentralization now exists in some aspects of economic life. The proportion of state revenue in the national income has shrunk excessively, and so has the proportion of central revenue in the entire revenue of the country. The state is short of necessary financial means to handle some affairs that concern the overall situation and that cannot be handled well without the effort of the central authorities through centralization. For example, the major watercourses must be harnessed in order to strengthen agriculture, basic industry and infrastructure need strengthening, national defense building also needs consolidation, and so on and so forth. These are not possible until the central authorities get around to centralizing necessary financial and material resources. Solving the problem of economic decentralization is, in effect, an issue of structure. In tackling this problem, attention should not be given solely to how to share the "pie." Instead, the central and local authorities and enterprises should make concerted efforts to increase income and reduce expenditures. They should first make the "pie" bigger and then share it more rationally, so that the central authorities can have a somewhat larger portion to facilitate the concentration of necessary financial and material resources to accomplish some major matters that conform to the overall

interests of the entire nation, and give better expression to the superiority of socialism and push forward the modernization drive of the whole country.

10. We should correctly handle the relationship of improvement and rectification with the implementation of development plans. This is a question that deserves particular attention at present. Of the targets of improvement and rectification set by the Fifth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, some have been well accomplished, some not, and some are still far from being well accomplished. In 1991, the first year of the Eighth Five-Year Plan, or even for a longer time, we should continue to carry out improvement and rectification and seek development along with it, which means we should carry out improvement and rectification while implementing the development plans of the Eighth Five-Year Plan. After the tasks of improvement and rectification have been basically accomplished, the focus may be shifted to development, but it is necessary, along with development, to continue to finish some unaccomplished tasks in improvement and rectification. Handling well the relationship between the two and making various aspects of economic work dovetail will help to better realize the benign cycle and a sustained, steady, and coordinated development.

In sum, it is perfectly foreseeable for us that, as long as the basic spirit of the Seventh Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee is grasped by the comrades of the whole party and the people of the entire nation, we will definitely be able to bring China into a new stage of development in big strides and successfully reach the second-step strategic goal of the socialist modernization drive.

Correctly Implement Industrial Policy, Do a Good Job in Economic Structural Readjustment

HK0602064591 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 91 pp 9-13

[Article by Gui Shiyong (2710 0013 6978), vice minister, State Planning Commission]

[Text] Readjusting the economic structure and increasing economic returns is a main task for China's economic work in the Eighth Five-Year Plan period and the next decade. It is also a long-term strategic task. How to ensure the smooth progress of economic structural readjustment and reach the desired purpose by working out and implementing the industrial policy is a very important matter, which should be brought to our serious attention.

Structural Readjustment Is a Major Task for Our Economic Work at Present and in the Future

Structural readjustment, including readjustment of the industrial structure, product mix, and organizational structure of enterprises, is a major task for our economic work at present and for a considerably long period in the future. Judging from the current situation, doing a good

job in structural readjustment is the key to extricating us from the difficult economic situation. Over the past two years or so, as a result of economic improvement and rectification, we have achieved remarkable successes in mitigating overall contradictions and effectively curbing inflation. The retail price increase index of commodities was 18.5 percent in 1988 and dropped to 17.8 percent in 1989. It was originally forecast at 14-16 percent in 1990, but the actual result may be only 3 or 4 percent. We must fully affirm this achievement. However, while successfully controlling price increases, our country is still faced with many difficulties. The main difficulties are the weak market, falling returns, and financial difficulty.

The main reason for the dropping of economic returns and our financial difficulty at present is the weak market and uncoordinated marketing. How do we solve the problem of the weak market? It is first necessary to make an analysis of the reasons for the weak market. In my opinion, apart from the implementation of certain measures during the economic improvement and rectification, which are aimed at reducing production and consumption demands, a more important reason is the irrational industrial structure and product mix. Therefore, although it is necessary for us to appropriately and timely readjust the strength in reducing these demands to start the market, it is more necessary for us to open up new markets. In this regard, we must, on the one hand, try a thousand and one ways to enliven circulation and, on the other, readjust the production structure so the variety and quality of our products can be improved in accordance with the changing needs of the market and so our production structure can suit the new consumption structure. It is necessary to closely combine starting the market with readjusting structure and combine loosening credit conditions with technological transformation and enterprise reorganization aimed at promoting structural readjustment. Only thus can our economy be gradually developed on the track of a benign cycle. If we only adopt measures to start the market, loosen credit conditions, and expand demands without making efforts to readjust structure, transform technology, and increase economic quality and returns, we may possibly give rise to more inflation. We should not say that such a latent danger does not exist. The scale of credit is expected to reach 250 billion yuan in 1990, an increase of more than 20 percent over the previous year, which is much higher than the level of economic growth and price increase. As there is a big gap between monetary supply and materials guarantee, there exists the hidden danger of inflation. To avoid this kind of danger and enable industrial production to grow again step by step or even grow more rapidly, it is necessary to work hard to readjust structure and increase economic returns and to combine the practice of loosening credit conditions and readjusting the strength in reducing demands with structural readjustment and technological transformation. It is necessary to increase effective demand while increasing effective supply.

In those areas where the processing industry makes up a larger proportion, there is a more urgent demand for

readjusting structure and increasing economic returns. Moreover, for a rather long time, effort in this respect cannot be relaxed. The reasons are: First, the prices of agricultural products will increase gradually. As China has a big and increasing population but insufficient arable land, per capita possession of land is decreasing. This is an unavoidable trend, though it should be controlled with great effort. To obtain as many agricultural products as possible from the limited land, it is necessary to increase agricultural input if no significant breakthrough is made in science and technology. Thus, the costs of agricultural products will increase. In addition, as the peasants want to improve their livelihood, they will also increase the prices of agricultural products. As a result, there will be greater pressures on industry—the increase of the prices of agricultural raw materials and the increase of the subsidies and wages for workers due to the increase of the prices of agricultural products. Second, the prices of coal, crude oil, and other basic products and the charges for communications, transport, and other basic facilities will also increase gradually. In the past, the prices of products of these trades and their standard charges were on the low side. But because of the continuous increase in their production costs, some of them are suffering great and increasing losses. In addition, there is also a lack of construction funds. Thus, the readjustment of the charges for using basic facilities and the prices of the products of basic industries is also an objective trend. As we cannot and should not return to the past situation of an overheated market, it is impossible for the processing industry to rely merely on the market in shifting the factors for price increases which must be absorbed more and more by the enterprises. A big problem remains how to increase the enterprises' absorption capability so they can still retain the necessary accumulative funds for development after the prices of agricultural and basic products are increased. Therefore, if we do not make up our minds to firmly grasp quality and structural readjustment and improve our technology and management in various fields, it will be very difficult for us to extricate ourselves from the difficult situation. In some areas, where the processing industry makes up a larger proportion, economic development may have reached a turning point. The environment of the past decade, which was characterized by making use of the overheated market demand and certain time differences between various areas to achieve a high-rate increase, no longer exists. If we do not change the guiding ideology and strategy of our economic development, we will be thrown into passivity and will not be suited to the new changes. On this question, the earlier we understand this and the more resolutely we grasp the work, the more we will have the initiative in hand. Hesitation and waiting spell passivity.

Judging from long-term development, structural readjustment is also a big problem. The main reasons are: 1) Before we entered the 1990's, there was already a seriously irrational economic structure in China, which

obstructed the sustained, steady, and harmonious development of the national economy. At present, the agricultural basis is still very weak in China, the basic industries and facilities are still weak links in our economy, and the processing industry is overexpanded and still at a low level, resulting in high consumption and low quality. In this situation, it is very difficult for us to ensure a sustained, steady, and harmonious economic development in the 1990's and to attain the strategic goal for the end of this century. To change the situation, we must readjust the economic structure while maintaining the overall balance. This is a long-term task for us. 2) In the 1990's, the people's livelihood will be gradually improved from the stage of having food and clothing to a stage of being comparatively well off. Once the people's consumption level becomes higher than the level of merely having food and clothing, they will make more choices, choose better clothes and electrical appliances, and set higher demands on product quality. During this period, as great changes have taken place in the consumption structure, there must also be corresponding changes in the industrial structure. If the industrial structure cannot suit the changes in the demand structure, there will be no market, no competitiveness, and no development. 3) As the worldwide technological revolution is being accelerated, trade protectionism is rising and there are signs of economic recession in the Western countries, competition in the world market will become even sharper. Although all this will provide us with many opportunities, it is also a great challenge for us. Under this new situation, we are required to make use of the opportunities provided by the international market and the contradictions there and to firmly grasp the important link of structural readjustment so we can improve the quality of our economic growth, increase economic returns, and improve our economic structure while maintaining an appropriate growth rate. Only thus can we increase our competitiveness and open up a new situation in the world arena. If we continue to one-sidedly pursue a high-speed and quantitative expansion to the neglect of structural readjustment, we may lose the opportunity of development, weaken our competitiveness, and fall behind.

In a certain sense, the industrial policy is a policy concerning the readjustment and rationalization of the economic structure. In order to promote readjustment of the economic structure, a very important task is to work out a correct industrial policy and adopt measures to implement it.

The Policy of Integrating Planned Economy and Market Regulation Should Be Implemented in Order To Do a Good Job in Structural Readjustment

According to our experience, to carry out readjustment of the socialized production structure, which is becoming more complicated and larger in scale, we must not rely merely on a high degree of centralism or administrative measures and mandatory planning, especially after great changes have taken place over the past few years. At present, the budgetary investment directly

controlled by the state is only 35 billion yuan, and what the state is able to control is no more than 80 billion yuan. The state can control only 20 percent of the more than 400 billion yuan of investment in the fixed assets of society as a whole. The output value of industrial production under mandatory planning is only 18 percent of total industrial output value. In the mechanism for price formation, 50 percent of the prices are regulated by the market and the other 50 percent are controlled by the state. The state controls 45 percent of the foreign exchange, and the proportion of materials under unified distribution has been reduced. Of course, to suit the needs of economic development and the demands of structural readjustment, while promoting the development of production and increasing economic returns, it is necessary to appropriately readjust distribution relations and concentrate some financial and material resources on certain matters that should be done in a unified way. However, this kind of centralism does not mean a return to the old path of state monopoly for carrying out structural readjustment. Then, can we rely entirely on the market in carrying out structural readjustment? Some people hold that the state should take care only of matters concerning overall balance and monetary and financial policies so as to create a necessary market environment for competition on an equal basis and to prevent monopoly. The economic structure can be selected and regulated by the market itself. It seems that this is the most effective and most rational mechanism. In my opinion, this is inapplicable and unacceptable in China, because, in the long-term allocation of resources, if we do not give play to the superiority of the socialist system and the role of planning, we can only incur heavy losses. At present, the markets in China are still not perfected or well developed. Even in the future when the markets are perfect and well developed, it will still be inapplicable. We must recognize that, because China's development is still at a low level and per capita GNP is still rather low, the state cannot accumulate enough money. If the economic structure is separately regulated by the market, many small enterprises will be established. Then, through market competition, many of them will close down and funds will be accumulated to establish bigger enterprises. Thus, we will surely pay a higher price and waste more time and bring about social instability. By doing so, a small number of people may become very rich through competition. They may become millionaires. But the great majority of people will continue to be in a state of poverty. If things develop like this, it will not be merely a question of economic structure, but a question of our fundamental system. In China, structural readjustment should be carried out by combining the planned economy with market regulation. Some important structures and trades should be put under the state's unified planning. China is a developing country. It can make use of its superiority as a developing country, and it need not start from the very beginning and explore the market. Provided it does well in opening up to the outside world, it can develop faster on the experience of other countries. For example, in the auto industry, we can just choose

some internationally well-accepted and brand-name automobiles by comparison and verification and produce similar products in light of our real conditions, so that we can achieve better social and economic results. In producing large-scale integrated circuits, we do not need to start from the very beginning either. In these sectors, it is entirely possible for us to make correct choices through scientific and democratic policy decisions.

Therefore, in order to readjust the economic structure, it is necessary to integrate the planned economy with market regulation. Then, how do we successfully integrate the planned economy with market regulation in structural readjustment? An important form and channel is to work out and implement the industrial policy. The policymaking departments of the state may determine the main projects for development and the orientation and tasks of structural readjustment in light of the current economic situation and changes in demand and work out corresponding policies to support industries that must be developed and restrict those that should not be developed. In this way, they can guide the enterprises to readjust the orientation of their investment in accordance with the demands of economic development, realize the shifting of resources in storage among various sectors, and improve their organizational structure. The role of market mechanism can also be brought into full play on this basis. For example, we can invite tenders for some construction projects and select building companies according to their work efficiency. For some important production tasks, the state can also invite tenders. For example, it can entrust the most capable iron and steel works with the production of certain kinds and quantities of steel products by inviting tenders. The development and production of large-scale integrated circuits can be managed by the state in a concentrated way. But the concrete matters in development and production can be regulated by the market. In short, the industrial policy can be implemented by both direct administrative means and economic and legal means such as credit, interest rates, taxation, and prices, which serve as signals to the enterprises, making them understand what is to be encouraged and what is to be restricted. On the other hand, some parts of the industrial policy can also be regulated by the market.

The industrial policy is also the point where reform and development are connected. It is necessary to change the situation in which reform and development are separated. Development must rely on reform, and reform must serve development. How does reform serve development then? An important thing is that it must serve the implementation of the industrial policy. A correct industrial policy usually has certain demands on various reforms. For example, the current price system runs counter to the demands of the industrial policy in many aspects, and many industries that should be restricted are usually those gaining high profits. How can the economic structure be rationalized in such a situation? Thus, in order to ensure the smooth progress of structural readjustment, it is necessary to rationalize prices so

all enterprises can generally compete with one another on an equal basis. Reforms in all other fields must also be conducive to implementation of the industrial policy and readjustment of the economic structure. Reform of the financial structure must be conducive to harmonizing the relationship between the central and local authorities and between the state and the enterprises. Enterprise reform must help enliven the vitality of large and medium-sized enterprises and enable them to take the road of professional coordination and association. Reform of the social insurance system must be conducive to readjustment of the funds in store.

The Main Tasks for Working Out and Implementing the Industrial Policy at Present

What are the main problems to solve at present and in the next period in working out and implementing the industrial policy?

1. The problem of readjusting the order of the primary and secondary industries. "The Decision of the State Council on the Current Industrial Policy" was worked out in light of the situation at the time it was issued. Judging from the current situation, although many regulations of this decision should continue to be carried out, along with changes taking place in our economic conditions and the fulfillment of some tasks for economic improvement and rectification, and along with changes in both domestic and international markets, contents of some regulations should be readjusted and substantialized. In this connection, there are several questions to study. First, the question of defining the main industries for future development. Some foreign experts said that we should not merely proceed from the status quo to decide what to restrict and what to develop, but should also point out our needs in the future. There are three criteria for Japan to select leading industries, namely, the interrelationship, economic returns, and development prospects of the relevant industries. These views and practices can be taken as our reference. But we must base ourselves on studying China's situation while absorbing good experience from abroad so we can put forth suitable criteria for selecting the leading industries. Second, the question of implementing the supporting policies and ensuring the industries to be developed in good order. These policies include the investment policy, price policy, credit policy, tax policy, and financial policy. On the question of how to promote the development of basic industries such as agriculture, energy, and transportation, and how to reorganize, transform, and improve the processing industry, and the question of what road we should follow and what measures we should take, it is necessary to make a concrete study and work out feasible methods. Third, the question of how to maintain balance between the accumulation and input of funds while carrying out structural readjustment. At present, because of distorted prices, a longer period is required for the development of various industries. Thus, a large amount of funds will lie idle and the results

of investment may not be as good as expected. Therefore, while developing the major industries, it is necessary to appropriately develop those industries in which funds are highly accumulated so a basic balance can be maintained between the accumulation and input of funds.

2. The problem of the tertiary industry. The tertiary industry has comparatively less funds than other industries. With fewer funds it can absorb a large number of laborers. Moreover, it reaps higher economic returns and does not vie with big industries for raw materials. It has a great superiority and latent capacity for development. Since the policy of reform and opening up was implemented, it has developed quickly and its proportion in industry as a whole has been increased. But compared with the primary and secondary industries, it has still fallen behind. Developing tertiary industry is a very pressing task in order to increase overall economic returns and make things convenient for the people, and to reduce the pressure of unemployment and alleviate the contradictions between funds and employment. What measures should we adopt to expedite development of tertiary industry so its growth rate may continue to be higher than the primary and secondary industries and its proportion in industry as a whole may be gradually increased? This is an important matter for China's development now and in the future. In the past decade, most surplus rural laborers were shifted to the secondary industry. Judging from the present situation, such laborers should, first of all, be absorbed by the rural areas in order to further develop agriculture. Then they should be shifted to the tertiary industry under guidance. At present, and for a time to come, it is necessary to develop mainly those trades of the tertiary industry that serve both production and the people's everyday life, especially those of the labor-intensive type.

3. The question of product mix and the organizational structure of enterprises. Readjusting the product mix is usually a breach in readjusting the industrial structure. It may be appropriate for us to carry out mainly technological transformation first in readjusting the organizational structure of enterprises, with readjustment of the product mix as the lead, and then bring about an overall industrial structural readjustment. The readjustment of the organizational structure of enterprises is a really big problem. It includes the tasks of enlivening large enterprises, organizing enterprise groups, increasing the degree of industrial organization, and improving the small enterprises. Some comrades hold that small enterprises have their specific advantages, such as being small and easy to control. This is quite right. But small enterprises also have their weak points. They are not as stable as large enterprises. If they can associate and merge with one another and coordinate with large enterprises, their production will become more flexible and stable and their technological level can also be rapidly increased. There are many policies for the readjustment of the organizational structure of enterprises, such as the policy on the delimitation of property rights, the policy

on the organization of enterprise groups, the policy on the management of enterprise groups, the tax policy encouraging professional cooperation among enterprises, and other economic policies. It is necessary to step up the study and formulation of these policies so as to promote optimization of the organizational structure of enterprises. At present, many enterprises are reluctant to carry out professional cooperation with other enterprises. We must try to find out the reasons from the existing structures. In order to promote the reorganization and association of enterprises, we must make a study of the structural reforms that should be carried out. Although some of them cannot be carried out right away at present, they can be put forth for consideration. At the same time, it is necessary to study all possible policies that can be adopted to improve our status quo under the current situation when the existing structural patterns are not greatly changed. For example, we may try to improve the small cotton spinning industry in a certain area and make the small cotton mills integrate with one another. If a higher level of cooperation cannot be realized throughout the province, can it be realized in certain prefectures or some counties?

4. The question of regionalization of the industrial policy and classified management of various industries. The industrial policy must eventually be realized in the regional distribution of industries. Therefore, it is necessary to regionalize the industrial policy and industrialize the regional policies. Only thus can the state's industrial policy be really implemented and become an effective and objective guide, can the regional inclination policy be turned into a policy capable of giving play to regional superiority while inclining to the superior industries. When the industries are distributed according to the relevant superiority of various regions, the regional policy will become more rational, more scientific, and more effective. Only by changing the trend of reaching unanimity and imbalance in the industrial structures of various regions can we rationalize the regional industrial structures and increase overall economic returns. This can be done separately in various provinces under the unified planning of the state. In some cases, it should be done under the planning of various economic regions, such as the Chang Jiang valley, the Min Jiang Delta, and the upper reaches of the Huang He.

In this connection, there is also a question of classified management of industries, that is, what industries should be taken care of by the central authorities, what should be under the care of local authorities, and what should be regulated by the market under the guidance of planning and policy. Of course, there are no demarcation lines between them. Some may be under the care of different authorities according to their differences. For example, in the coal industry, as the mines are different in size, they can be divided into mines under the unified management of the state, mines under the care of certain localities, and township and town mines. Although this is a complicated job, it is necessary to make the division.

The purpose of classified management of industries and economic planning based on different levels is to combine the unity of the national economy with the speciality of the local economy so the initiative of both the central and local authorities can be brought into play.

Approach Building Contingent of Reserve Cadres From Political and Strategic Heights

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[Text] In his remarks delivered at a study class on party building theory, Comrade Jiang Zemin pointed out, "To make sure that the leadership of the party and government at various levels is in the hands of loyal Marxists is a strategic issue of utmost importance and is directly related to the survival of the party and the government." This was a scientific Marxist conclusion of China's experience in socialist revolution and construction, particularly following the fierce class struggle and political struggle at home and abroad. To earnestly implement this thinking, to insist on unswervingly doing well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres while devoting major efforts to strengthening the building of party and government leading groups, and to concentrate our efforts on cultivating millions of party and government cadres who are loyal to Marxism and have both ability and political integrity are a great plan of our party's cause for the next 100 or even 1,000 years.

To do well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres is an effective and decisive countermeasure for opposing the peaceful evolution, winning the "smokeless war," ensuring that the leadership of the party and the government at various levels is firmly and eternally in the hands of those who are loyal to Marxism, and ensuring a long-lasting stable situation in our socialist country. Facts have shown that the major target of peaceful evolution is intellectuals and our contingent of party and government cadres, that the focus of struggle is on the leadership of party and state authorities at various levels, and that whether or not we shall win the victory is determined by those people who hold the leadership of the party and the state. Therefore, the essence of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres is to solve the question of who should hold the leadership of the party and the state at various levels. The Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee had elected a central leading group for the party that takes Comrade Jiang Zemin as the center, is loyal to Marxism, and has gained confidence among and won support from the people across the country, thereby solving problems concerning the supreme leadership of the party. In addition, judging from the overall situation, our contingent of party and government cadres is a good one, and lives up to the aspirations of the party and the people. This is the solid political basis on which we oppose peaceful evolution at present and for some time to come. At the same time, we

should also be sober-minded and realize that peaceful evolution and the struggle against it are long-term, and that the hostile forces at home and abroad are not resigned to defeat. The success of their intention of peaceful evolution in certain socialist countries have encouraged them, and they will further intensify their activities of peaceful evolution in our party and country. Particularly, it is worth noting that those people who stubbornly uphold the bourgeois liberalization viewpoint have been making "long-term plans" and intend to strike again. Our contingent of party and government cadres is also plagued with problems, some of which are rather serious. In particular, young party and government cadres and young students are seriously affected by the problems. The political immune system in many of them is so poor that the hostile forces at home and abroad have pinned "hopes" on them and they have intensified their efforts to win them to take their side. If we fail to realize the grim state of the situation or the significance of the current tasks, ignore and take a relaxed attitude toward the task of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres, and fail to solve the question concerning our successors, the destiny of our party and country will be subject to latent risks.

To do well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres is a guarantee to successfully realize the socialist modernization of China. Socialist modernization is a modernization undertaken with the prerequisite of upholding development in the socialist direction. This intrinsic characteristic determines that party and government cadres, who are the organizers and leaders of socialist modernization, must be loyal to socialism, uphold the socialist direction, and possess corresponding skill of leadership. At the same time, in order to realize socialist modernization, we need generations of people to contribute harsh efforts, as well as tens of million of outstanding cadres, including outstanding cadres who are good at political, economic, cultural, science and technology administration, to wage continuous struggle. The coming decades between the end of this century to the early next century are the key stage to realize China's general goal of modernizations. A key to safeguard the realization of this goal is that we must do well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres, cultivate and train a batch of party and government cadres who can adapt themselves to the situation, can stand tests, and are a mainstay capable of weathering storms. Otherwise, the cause of socialist modernization will not only be difficult to develop, but will also be ruined.

The work of doing well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres has a direct and great bearing on the building of our current leading groups. If the contingent of reserve cadres is augmented and is of good quality, we shall have better choices and more rational composition of members when forming leading groups. Their ideological work style will be more really up to the mark, and they will have better political, theoretical, and professional quality. Furthermore, we

shall have located our source of leading cadres when the contingent of reserve cadres is built. This thus strengthens the cadres' sense of competition and lays a good foundation for the deployment and training of cadres. Therefore, the work of doing well in building the contingent of reserve cadres will help China further intensify its reform in the cadre system.

To do well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres is both a significant political strategy and a prominent immediate task. We must be sober-minded and understand its political significance in this respect. We must give major efforts to accomplishing this great task with a strong sense of strategy and a strong sense of historical responsibility and urgency. In order to accomplish this historical mission, we must solve problems in the goal of building, orientation of policies, and the administrative system.

The goal of building covers two levels. The first one refers to the cultivation and selection of candidates to hold leading posts in the party and the government at various levels. The second one refers to the cultivation and augmentation of successors of the entire contingent of party and government cadres. It should be affirmed that the goal of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres, which was set several years ago, had played a major role in giving guidance. Nevertheless, the work was still neither comprehensive nor profound. This was mainly because the strategic thinking of "spending a hundred years to rear people" to oppose peaceful evolution was not explicit enough. Specifically, our work focused only on the first level. In other words, we submitted ourselves and rendered services relating to the special political task of promoting cooperation between the new and the old leading groups at various levels, and the replacement of the old ones by the new ones; and we focused on the selection and training of those reserve cadres who were new members of the leading groups, and who came from the next echelon; but we did not attach great importance to the work centering on the second level. In actual work, therefore, many localities and units failed to take necessary measures to cultivate a large number of successors, or even the fourth and fifth generations of successors, who will hold the leading posts of the party and the state in this century and the next. Judging from our experience in recent years, and upon evaluating the overall situation of the struggle at home and abroad, it is proposed that the general goals of building the contingent of party and government reserve cadres are to cultivate and train generations of party and government cadres at various levels who are loyal to Marxism and have both ability and political integrity, to safeguard our success in the socialist modernization, and to completely smash the intention of peaceful evolution by hostile forces at home and abroad, so as to make the color our party and the state last forever. In order to realize this general goal, the specific goals of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres at present and for a certain period in future are: First, we should cultivate and train

a batch of Marxist politicians, particularly leading party and government cadres at and above provincial level. Second, we should cultivate and train a new army of cadres who uphold Marxist thinking, theory, and propaganda, and make them become scholars, experts, and qualified leaders who uphold the four cardinal principles, and have higher ideological and theoretical levels, as well as better skills. Third, we should cultivate and train a large number of young and outstanding workers undertaking the tasks of the party and the government.

On the orientation of policies, it is necessary for us to formulate and perfect the corresponding policies and system. The policy and system concerning cadres are the basic factors determining the quality of cadres in terms of capability and political integrity, as well as significant "levers" guiding and readjusting the direction of development in the contingent of cadres. In order to comprehensively achieve the goals of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres, in particular to solve problems concerning the successors of party and government cadres, we must uphold the following basic policies.

1. We must insist on covering both intellectuals and peasants when building the contingent of party and government cadres so as to optimize the composition of our party and government cadres. China's actual social and political conditions indicate that the working class, including intellectuals, and peasantry are the reliable and major forces to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, as well as the political basis to uphold the four cardinal principles, to oppose bourgeois liberalization, and to resist peaceful evolution. This thus requires that the composition of party and government cadres be rational and that there should be an appropriate ratio of industrial workers, peasants, and intellectuals. Only thus can it be favorable to preserving the proletarian nature of the contingent of party and government cadres, and even that of the party and the state. We may find a large number of reserve personnel with capability and political integrity from among the workers (particularly industrial workers of publicly owned enterprises) and peasants. As our recent work of cultivation and selection of such cadres was not enough, we should strengthen it from now on. In the course of formulating and implementing the state civil-servant system and regulations governing personnel in charge of party affairs, we should consider recruiting outstanding workers and peasants into the contingent of party and government cadres. We should emphasize that to cultivate and select outstanding workers and peasants does not mean to negate or change the party's policies toward intellectuals. Rather, we take it as a proper duty to comprehensively uphold the thinking of "giving respect to knowledge and qualified personnel," and the principle of modernizing the cadres.

2. In selecting leading cadres, we should insist on emphasizing the policy of evaluation on the basis of grassroots work experience and achievements; and urge cadres to lay a good foundation for healthy growth. Grassroot

units such as towns and townships, factories, mines, and schools are the bases of China's political, economic, and cultural life, as well as the most direct and specific level of party and government organs to implement policies, contact the masses, and serve the people. They are also significant posts for cultivating, testing, and tempering cadres. Facts have shown that the thinking, political character, attitude toward the masses, work style, and capability of a cadre, particularly those of a party and government cadre, are closely related to his grassroots work experience. We have advocated in recent years the practice of work at the grassroots by university and secondary school graduates, and have urged young cadres who just graduated from schools and started working in such organs to temper themselves at the grassroots. Nevertheless, because of the imperfect system in terms of cultivation, selection, and appointment; because cadres holding senior posts in party and government organs were promoted rather rapidly; and because of the influence of the so-called "ruling of the state by elites" and the thinking of seeking pleasure, many university and secondary school graduates and young cadres did not and were not willing to work at the grassroots. Some of them cut themselves off from the masses, lost contact with reality, and even developed the thinking of despising workers and peasants. Such development has worried us. Beginning in 1989, the central authorities issued explicit rules and instructions on working at the grassroots by college and university graduates. The political significance of this is great and profound. In the wake of perfecting the relevant systems and when the conditions become mature, we may gradually change the present approach, which mainly sends university and secondary school graduates to organs, to the grassroots for tempering, and then back to the organs, into a new approach of mainly promoting them level by level from grassroots, county, and district levels to the provincial or central ones. During such process, in order to overcome the thinking of "getting gilded" and to emphasize the result of tempering, it is proposed that the term of work at the grassroots for tempering for young cadres from central and provincial units should generally not be less than three years, and that for cadres from district and county levels should generally not be less than two years. In addition, in the event that the performance of any of them in such period is so poor that it is not suitable to allow him to return to his original unit, we should act resolutely and make another job arrangement for him. From now on, we should, in the selection of reserve party and government leading cadres, take the grassroots work experience and achievements of candidates as a necessary condition. Members of party and government leading groups at the county level should be selected first from among the party and government leading cadres working at grassroots units such as towns and townships, enterprises, and so on. Members of party and government leading groups at the district level should be selected first from among principal leading cadres working at the county level. The process of tempering at

grassroots must not be the only one. Party and government cadres at provincial and central levels should work at the grassroots for certain periods after holding their posts for some years.

3. We should insist on taking the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the prime condition for selecting and appointing party and government cadres, so as to earnestly strengthen the theoretical capability of reserve cadres. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology of our party and our powerful weapon to oppose peaceful evolution. To what extent they are accepted and mastered by party and government cadres is manifested by the quality of cadres, and is, to a large extent, shown by their comprehensiveness in terms of "capability," "political integrity," and "knowledge." In other words, the cadres should understand them in order to gain "knowledge," should master them in order to have "capability," and should be loyal to them in order to have "political integrity." Because they are interrelated, the three elements are dialectically uniform and inseparable. In recent years, when we promoted reserve cadres and even when we built the entire contingent of party and government cadres, we generally ignored Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Many localities failed to understand or thoroughly analyze the quality of cadres when assessing them. They set only ambiguous requirements with respect to the understanding of theory so that the quality of party and government cadres did not conform to the situation. Therefore, we must take the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the necessary condition for selecting and promoting party and government cadres, and it is thus of immediate and strategic significance that we not ignore it, but make it a policy and a principle for continuous implementation.

On the administrative system, there must be a perfect and well-coordinated administrative system with high incentives for reserve cadres. The present system of administering reserve cadres was set up in 1982 in the wake of organizational reform. Facts have shown that this system played an important role. But it was also shown that the system was not perfect. The main areas were that the system was rather weak in organization, its incentives were not strong enough, and it lacked an effective and well-coordinated organization of work. Duties under the system were not comprehensive, so many local administrative organizations in charge of reserve cadres missed the focal point and the major ones were not given full play. Departments in charge of work closely related to the building of reserve cadres basically lacked explicit and corresponding duties. To a certain extent, this adversely affected the building of the contingent of reserve cadres.

To clarify and do well in building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres is not only the work of Organization Departments at all levels, but also an important political task of party committees at all levels. All party committees, particularly those at and above

prefectural and city levels, must regularly formulate and implement principles, policies, and measures regarding such task. They should instruct their subordinates and inspect the work of implementation, and they must coordinate and solve problems concerning the work. They should set up a corresponding work responsibility system and take the results of the work as major points in assessing the achievements of leading groups and leading cadres. Organization Departments of party committees at and above county level should set up special administrative organizations in charge of reserve cadres or should appoint specific personnel to be in charge of the work, and should select cadres who are loyal to the party's undertakings, are politically reliable, have a strong sense of responsibility, and are capable to undertake such work.

To cultivate cadres is the basis of the work regarding cadres, as well as the prerequisite and guarantee of promoting cadres. If we ignore the work of cultivation, the work of promotion must encounter difficulties or can only be maintained at a low level. A major reason that it was rather difficult in recent years to promote senior party and government cadres, particularly principle party and government leading cadres at provincial and ministerial levels, was that our work of cultivation fell behind, so that we lacked candidates for the posts. In connection with this, administrative organizations in charge of reserve cadres should establish the thinking of integrating cultivation with promotion and of emphasizing cultivation. They should insist on carrying out promotion on the basis of cultivation, and further cultivation on the basis of promotion. Their focal point is to extensively carry out the cultivation work at various levels.

Judging from the pattern of cultivation of qualified personnel and the actual situation of society and politics, the starting point of the work of cultivating reserve party and government cadres should be the successors of the entire contingent of party and government cadres, rather than the "third echelon." For this reason, we need to extensively and intensively carry out our work. Universities, secondary and vocational schools, particularly party schools, cadre schools, and colleges (faculties) of arts are major sites to cultivate party and government cadres. Personnel, Propaganda, and United Front Departments have the duty of administering cadres in varying degrees. Trade unions, youth organizations, and women's federations are bridges linking the party to the masses. The work of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres should be extended to these departments and organizations. Such departments and organizations at provincial and central levels should have explicit duties regarding the cultivation and promotion of reserve party and government cadres (including reserve nonparty cadres in various government departments). Party committees' administrative organizations in charge of reserve cadres should organize, alone or jointly with such departments and organizations,

study, and formulate the system and measures for directional cultivation; and should inspect, instruct, guide, and help relevant departments to implement them.

In order to achieve the goal of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres, we must act in the spirit of long-term planning, seize the present opportunity to carry out the work step by step, and emphasize the focal point. We should pay attention to dovetailing it with the economic and social strategic goals of the CPC Central Committee for mid-21st century. According to the actual situation of building the contingent of party and government cadres, we should formulate long-term, medium-term, and short-term plans and principles for the work; and work out the corresponding tasks and measures. Take the coming two decades between now and the early 21st century as an illustration. There are two aspects in the work of building the contingent of reserve party and government cadres. First, we should pay attention to promoting and appointing cadres aged around 40, while selecting a number of qualified personnel who have the necessary qualities and who may soon be promoted into the leading groups at and above provincial level, particularly those at provincial and ministerial levels. In addition, we should select and conduct planned training for a number of young cadres who have better quality, and who may be promoted into the leading groups after three to five years of training. It is necessary that we have good results in this respect because this is the key to determining whether or not the party and government leading groups at various levels will form a better connecting link between the preceding and the following, and will carry forward the work in recent years. Second, we should pay attention to cultivating and educating young cadres aged 20 to 30, as well as university and secondary school undergraduates. We must from now on seriously handle this question because this has great impact on the type of people who will hold party and government leadership at various levels 10 to 20 years later.

We may believe that, so long as our goal is explicit, our policies are appropriate, our steps are steady, our systems are perfect, and measures are effective, it is certain that we can cultivate groups of reserve cadres who are loyal to Marxism, will develop tens of thousands of successors for the socialist cause, will smash the hostile forces at home and abroad and attempts at peaceful evolution, and shall make the flag of socialism flutter forever in every corner of China.

Anatomy of Ideological Trend Favoring 'Depoliticization of the Armed Forces'

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[Article by Zheng Qun (6774 5028)]

[Text] In recent years, some people who stubbornly stuck to the position of bourgeois liberalization stirred up a misleading hubbub about the "depoliticization of the

armed forces." This was an utterly absurd viewpoint, and should be seriously analyzed.

I. The first viewpoint in the ideological trend regarding the "depoliticization of the armed forces" was the "separation of the armed forces from the party," thus negating the party's absolute leadership over the armed forces.

During the 1989 turmoil and the revolt in Beijing, the leading figures of bourgeois liberalization openly called for "disbanding the party's Central Military Commission," "disbanding party organizations in the armed forces," and realizing "the separation of the armed forces from the party." They argued that with the armed forces being "separated" from the party and subject to the state, they would be turned into a supraclass being. These people tried to set the armed forces and the state in the socialist country against the party, and their purpose was to negate the Communist Party's absolute leadership over the People's Armed Forces and to negate the class nature of the people's armed forces. Their viewpoint fundamentally violated the basic viewpoint of the Marxist theory of state and fundamentally ran counter to the reality in social and political life.

Marxism tells us that the armed forces constitute an important component of state power, and they appear along with the appearance of the state. The state is a product of class society, and the state's social character determines the armed forces' character. The state, as an organ of violence used by one class to suppress another class, is derived from and a representative of the uncompromising nature of class struggle and is the means used by the ruling class to maintain its rule and to control order within the limits it allows. When there is no class or class struggle, the state will wither away. In the world, there will be no supraclass state and no supraclass armed forces. A class which holds state power will certainly control the armed forces at the same time. In modern times, a ruling class usually leads the state and controls the armed forces through its political party. Of course, the ruling class may control the armed forces in various ways. For example, in capitalist countries, the ruling class may hold state power and control the armed forces through one political party, or through two or more political parties which form the government alternately. No matter what forms are adopted, their nature as the means of executing the will of the ruling class never changes; and the fact that the political parties, state, and armed forces are serving the ruling class will never be concealed.

In our socialist country, the Communist Party has natural and intrinsic relations with the state and the armed forces. Marxists never conceal their viewpoint on this. Our country is one led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. In our country, the people are masters. Our party is the vanguard of the working class and the representative of the fundamental interests of the entire Chinese people. Our armed forces were founded by the party to fulfill the working class' historical mission and for guaranteeing the people's

fundamental interests. Since the founding of our Army, the CPC has constantly used Marxism—the advanced ideology of the proletariat—to educate and arm this Army. Thus, the army consisting mainly of peasants was built into a proletarian army, which always maintained a correct political orientation. From the very day that our Army was founded, it has carried out prolonged and arduous struggle for the purpose of realizing the party's program and line, overthrowing the dark rule of imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism, consolidating the proletarian state power, and safeguarding the interests of the proletariat and the working people. Our Army could grow from small to large and from weak to strong and could defeat the enemies and surmount all obstacles because it was led by the CPC. Without the CPC, there would not have been such an Army of the people and the People's Republic. Therefore, guaranteeing the party's absolute leadership over the state and the armed forces is a fundamental issue concerning the nature of our state and armed forces.

The party's absolute leadership over the armed forces is a fundamental principle for the building of our armed forces, and is a reliable guarantee for permanently maintaining the political quality of the armed forces. The CPC is a ruling party and the leadership nucleus of the socialist cause. It represents the fundamental interests of the state and the people. The party's leadership over the armed forces is completely identical to the state's leadership over the armed forces. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, the armed forces should be led by the party, and should of course also be the armed forces of the state. The two points must not be set against each other, and the party's leadership over the armed forces must not be attenuated and weakened by stressing the state leadership. The Chinese People's Liberation Army [PLA] must be completely and unconditionally subject to the leadership of the CPC, and must obey the orders of the CPC Central Committee and the Central Military Commission in all its actions. No individual or faction is allowed to contend with the party for the power to command the Army. This is a major issue concerning whether the party's absolute leadership over the armed forces can be guaranteed and concerning our Army's nature and China's long-lasting peace and stability. On these principle issues, there must not be the slightest degree of ambiguity. We must adopt a clear-cut attitude to struggle against the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, and must maintain a high degree of vigilance against the erroneous viewpoint and tendency of trying to remove the party's leadership over the armed forces, thus ensuring the party's political, ideological, and organizational leadership over the armed forces. Today, when the international situation is turbulent and the struggle between peaceful evolution and anti-peaceful evolution is intense, when reform and construction in our country are faced with some temporary difficulties, it is of special significance to maintain the party's absolute leadership over the armed forces. Therefore, it is more necessary for the armed forces to strictly observe political discipline, obey orders, and follow the

instructions of the party central leadership and the Central Military Commission in all actions.

II. The second viewpoint in the ideological trend regarding the "depoliticization of the armed forces" was that "the function of the armed forces is to resist foreign enemies," thus negating the armed forces' function of exercising dictatorship.

Another important viewpoint in the ideological trend related to the "depoliticization of the armed forces" was to negate the function of the armed forces in domestic defense and in defending the people's peaceful work. During the 1989 turmoil, some leading figures of bourgeois liberalization asked, "Why did the troops not go to the Laoshan frontier outposts to fight, but instead came to Beijing?" "The armed forces are used to resist foreign aggression, but Beijing is not the frontier." They rebuked the troops for the just action of performing martial law duties. Such absurd arguments aimed at obstructing the PLA troops from entering the city to perform their duties should certainly be refuted justly and forcefully. The People's Armed Forces should appear wherever the people's interests are threatened; wherever there are the people's needs, there should be the position and battlefield!

As we all know, from the first day the armed forces appeared, they not only performed the function of resisting foreign aggression but also performed the function of maintaining law and order at home. Engels pointed out, "If the triumphant political party does not want to lose the fruits that it has won through hard struggle, it must rely on its weapon to create fear in the reactionaries in order to maintain its rule."¹ Lenin pointed out, "Whoever expects that socialism will be achieved without a social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a socialist. Dictatorship is state power based directly on violence. And in the 20th century, as in the age of civilization generally, violence means neither a fist nor a club, but troops."² The theses of Engels and Lenin clearly expounded the function of the armed forces in suppressing domestic hostile forces.

The domestic function of the armed forces always existed in China and other countries in ancient and contemporary times without exception. The troops of the slave-owning class suppressed the resistance of slaves; the troops of the land-owning class suppressed the uprisings of peasants; the troops of the Kuomintang suppressed the Communists and the masses; and our troops suppressed the enemy's sabotage and subversive activities. Although the troops had different natures, they all performed the function of suppressing domestic hostile forces and protecting the interests of the ruling class. When social order is seriously disrupted and political rule is facing serious threats, and when other means cannot effectively calm down events, the usual practice is to use the armed forces to control the situation. After World War II, Britain used its armed forces 35 times to interfere with workers' strikes. In the United States, which most flagrantly blamed us for using troops

to suppress the revolt, is it true that the armed forces were not used to solve its domestic trouble? No. Not to mention things in the distant past, in the 1960's alone, there were 10 cases in which troops were used at home. In 1963, because black people and students staged demonstrations continuously in Cambridge University, Maryland [as published], U.S. troops were stationed in the campus for more than one year. In spring of 1968, racial riots occurred in some 100 cities on a bigger or smaller scale, federal troops were sent into Chicago and other big cities. The troops used numbered 88,700 people. All these facts showed that the bourgeois troops did perform the function of domestic suppression. There is no lack of cases of using troops to execute martial law in the world. Martial law, states of emergency, and curfews were imposed in some countries almost every year. Therefore, in no country are the armed forces used merely to resist foreign enemies.

China's Constitution stipulates that the tasks of the armed forces of the PRC are to consolidate national defense, resist foreign aggression, defend the motherland, defend the people's peaceful work, participate in the state's construction projects, and work hard to serve the people. This not only specifies the external functions of the armed forces, but also specifies internal functions. In the period of socialist construction, the internal functions of the armed forces include two aspects. On the one hand, they are responsible for maintaining public order, which represents the fundamental interests of the people and is specified by the Constitution and other laws, and suppressing the resistant and subversive activities of domestic and foreign hostile forces. Such activities in the present stage are reflected mainly in the peaceful evolution strategy pursued by the domestic and foreign hostile forces, the instigation of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in order to create confusion and perplexity among the people and thus engineer turmoil and revolt aimed at overthrowing the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system. Therefore, a major task of our armed forces in performing their internal functions is to resist the subversive activities of domestic and foreign hostile forces. On the other hand, participating in socialist construction is the second aspect of our armed forces' internal functions. In the construction sites of key projects, in the rescue actions, and in other fields of socialist construction, our vigorous and courageous troops can always be found. The people's troops will certainly appear wherever there are difficulties and dangers. Our armed forces not only form the great wall of steel for defending the motherland, but also form a major force in socialist construction. The two aspects of our armed forces' internal functions fully show whom the troops love and whom they hate, and also fully manifest their nature as the people's troops. This is also one of the essential differences between our troops and bourgeois troops. Severing the internal and external functions of our armed forces and setting one against another was merely a tactical slogan used by the domestic and foreign hostile forces in their struggle against us.

III. The third viewpoint in the ideological trend of "depoliticization of the armed forces" was that the armed forces should be "neutral," thus negating that the armed forces should be a means of class struggle.

The "elites" of bourgeois liberalization clamored that the armed forces should stay "neutral" amid political struggle, and they harbored sinister intentions when saying this.

The "elites" of bourgeois liberalization argued that military troops in the Western countries do not involve themselves in partisan and factional struggles, and they used this as the grounds to support their point that the armed forces can be "neutral." This was a completely misleading and confusing argument. Admittedly, the constitutions of some Western countries indeed include an article that seems to keep their military troops "neutral." For example, the U.S. Constitution stipulates that the armed forces cannot belong to any political party; the president is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces; and the military personnel "are not allowed to participate in any partisan and factional activities." Some other bourgeois states also stipulate that military personnel cannot participate in elections and cannot be concurrently Parliament members or government officials. However, this does not prove that the armed forces in the Western countries stay "neutral" in political struggles. In capitalist countries, the precondition for the ruling position of a political party is its ability to maintain the interests of the bourgeoisie. So, in these circumstances, the armed forces, which safeguard the overall interests of the bourgeoisie, need not intervene in political affairs and keep the so-called "neutrality." However, when the political parties which oppose the interest of the bourgeoisie, especially the Marxist parties, grow strong enough and threaten the bourgeois regimes, that is, when the partisan struggle reflects class conflicts and antagonism, the bourgeois troops have never kept "neutral." On the contrary, they immediately show their strong and distinct bourgeois value judgment. In a certain year, the U.S. Government sent troops to suppress the students at the University of California, and a correspondent from Paris asked Reagan why this was done. Reagan replied without mincing words, "I am suppressing the left, and reliable information showed that the students are manipulated by Communists behind the scenes." This was sheer fiction, but it reflected an undisputed fact that they would show no mercy toward the left and the Communists and would use the armed forces to suppress them. Therefore, the so-called "neutrality" of the armed forces is merely the camouflage used to slacken people's vigilance. The "neutrality" of the armed forces is derived from the bourgeoisie's "plural politics." "Plurality" is originally a philosophical concept, which means a multicentered being. On the surface, bourgeois politics seems to be multicentered politics; but its essence is one-centered. Plurality only enables the bourgeoisie to "alternately lay down state power from one hand and immediately grasp it with the other hand."³ Under the capitalist system, the armed

forces are always held in the hands of the bourgeoisie. How can they be "neutral"?

Those who advocated bourgeois liberalization called for realizing the "neutrality" of the armed forces when the turmoil and revolt were under way and when they were advocating "economic privatization," "political pluralization," "three-power separation," and the "multiparty system." This obviously showed that their intention was not to make the armed forces "neutral" but to make the armed forces "independent" of the party and to instigate the troops to support their attempt to set up a capitalist system. After martial law was imposed, they tried hard to rig up their own armed forces and organized the so-called "flying tiger brigade" and "dare-to-die corps" in order to commit beating, smashing, looting, burning, and killing against our troops. They threatened to "hang the more than 40 million party members." Did they show any sign of "neutrality"? No, their position was clear-cut! If their revolt succeeded, they would have formed the armed clique based on the thugs, and would have turned it into a butcher's knife used by domestic and foreign reactionary forces against the people.

IV. The essence of the ideological trend regarding "depoliticization of the armed forces" was to negate the proletarian political color of our armed forces and to change the nature of our armed forces.

Those who advocated bourgeois liberalization went all-out to advocate the "depoliticization of the armed forces," and their intention was to force our armed forces to give up proletarian politics and to fundamentally change the nature of our armed forces.

"Depoliticizing the armed forces" is an absurd concept itself. According to Marxist theory, politics always bears a class character in class society. The armed forces appear and exist precisely for such political struggle of class character. In human history, as long as there is class politics, there certainly are armed forces. The two sides cannot be separated from one another. There have never been any "depoliticized" armed forces in the past, not at present, and will never be such things in the future. As long as the armed forces exist, they certainly serve certain political purposes. In the future, when class and class struggle die out and when state also withers away, the foundation for the existence of armed forces will also disappear. Under the current situation of complicated and intense class struggle at home and abroad, advocating the "depoliticization of the armed forces" itself showed a strong political intention.

People who pursued bourgeois liberalization advocated the "depoliticization" of the armed forces. In essence, they tried to subject the armed forces to bourgeois politics. The so-called "elites" of turmoil all mentioned that an important point in the lesson they learned was that they "did not grasp the armed forces." Some people among them said that if they could "grasp one division, then things would have been quite different." A chieftain of the illegal "Chinese Democratic Party" said that this

time, when the student movement was staged, the work of instigating troop mutinies did not keep pace. So "more effort should be made to promote the work within the PLA" in the future. Some bourgeois politicians also said that a major tactical error in China's "prodemocracy movement" was the failure to grasp the armed forces. All this showed that their thesis of "depoliticizing the armed forces" was completely hypocritical, and was a pack of lies aimed at attracting the troops to side with them and turning the armed forces into their tool for overthrowing the leadership of the Communist Party and the socialist system and serving bourgeois politics.

Being contrary to the hopes of those who pursued bourgeois liberalization, in recent years, our armed forces explicitly put forward the issue of strengthening political building and ensuring that the troops will always be politically up to standard. The Central Military Commission explicitly pointed out that, in the new situation, in the course of performing its functions in resisting foreign aggression and defending the people's peaceful work, our Army will always face the test in the anti-peaceful evolution struggle, the test in reform and opening up, and the test in a peaceful environment. In order to withstand all the tests, it is necessary to constantly reinforce the political building of the troops. In any circumstances, they must really place the interests of the party and the people above everything and serve the people wholeheartedly. In any circumstances, the armed forces must ensure the life-line position of political work and give full play to the political advantages of our Army, and must always adhere to the four cardinal principles, oppose bourgeois liberalization, and maintain the correct political orientation. Thus, our armed forces will be able to cope with all eventualities, always be in an invincible position, and successfully fulfill the glorious tasks of defending national security and maintaining social stability.

Undermining our military forces is an important part of the peaceful evolution strategy pursued by domestic and foreign hostile forces. China's Army is the strong pillar to maintain the party's leadership and the socialist system. Therefore, domestic and foreign hostile forces always try by every possible means to infiltrate and corrode our Army in an attempt to ruin the great wall of steel. This is an important tendency in the activities of peaceful evolution carried by domestic and foreign hostile forces against the socialist countries, and is also a common phenomenon that shows the regularity in international and domestic class struggle. When facing the enemy's challenge, we should firmly follow Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction: "No matter how things are changing and updated, this Army will always be an army under the party's leadership, will always be the defender of the state, socialism, and the people's interests." We should continue to keep our Army's political nature, and be loyal to the party, the people, and the socialist republic at any time and under any circumstances.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 554.
2. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 23, p. 93.
3. *Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 11, p. 399.

The First Revolutionary Upsurge in Modern Chinese History—Commemorating the 140th Anniversary of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's Jintian Uprising

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[Article by Mao Jiaqi (5403 1367 3823), member of the presidium of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Research Society of China and professor at the Historical Research Institute of Nanjing University]

[Text]

I

On 11 January 1851, a major peasant uprising, led by Hong Xiuquan, erupted in Jintian Village, Guangping County, Guangxi. The peasants powerfully brandished their "demon-slaying swords" and unleashed bold attacks against the feudal ruling group of the corrupt Qing court, as well as all spirits, Buddhas, devils, and monsters, except "the sole spirit" constituted by God. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's revolutionary army, with the force of a thunderbolt, moved beyond Guangxi into Hunan and then attacked Wuhan. Then, following the river east, within two years, by 19 March 1853, they had occupied the strategic city of Jiangning Prefecture, today's Nanjing City. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom changed the name of Jiangning into Heavenly Capital and established its capital there. For over 10 years after this, the Taiping army continued to wage attacks, with a northern expedition, a western expedition, and an eastern expedition. With the impetus provided by the Taiping army's uprising, waves of anti-Qing struggle by people in various areas erupted one after another. A new peasant revolutionary political power thus arose in the southeast of the country in opposition to the feudal political power of the corrupt Qing court. This peasant revolutionary struggle continued for 18 years and stretched across 18 provinces with massive momentum. This was a struggle of a scale not previously seen in the history of peasant wars in China or elsewhere in the world, and constituted the first revolutionary high tide in modern Chinese history.

This peasant rebellion erupted under the dual oppression of foreign capitalism and Chinese feudalism. Well before the Opium War, the rule of the Qing court had become extremely decadent and the outstanding thinker Gong Zizhen astutely perceived that the period was an "age of decay," that "chaos was not far away," and that the people could not go on thus and would soon rise and engage in rebellion. In order to safeguard feudal rule, he advocated the carrying out of reform—political reform.

"In exigencies one must change, through change success will be achieved, and with success, the state will be sustained." He hoped that the Qing court would actively carry out reform itself and not wait until it had been nearly overthrown. However, the Qing court, being stupid and corrupt, did not take the initiative to carry out reform. The Opium War from 1840-42 further revealed the decadence of the Qing court. They gradually gave way to the foreign aggressors and through capitulationist and traitorous actions and seeking a fool's paradise through compromise, caused the Chinese people to lose hope and forced them to take the road of revolt.

Although Marx was far from China, he also observed another important factor leading to the emergence of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement. He pointed out that "the occasion of this outbreak has unquestionably been afforded by the English cannon forcing upon China that soporific drug called opium."¹ "It seems very strange that the opium has not had a sleep-inducing effect, but rather has played a rousing role."² Hong Xiuquan, the organizer and leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, was an advanced individual, and was the first "rouser." He grew up in the Guangdong region where class contradictions and national struggle were intense. Born into a poor peasant family, he was very aware of the dark side of society and had a deep understanding of peasant aspirations. He particularly detested the spread of opium, saying that "imbibing opium is an insane act" and that smoking opium was "self-destructive." "Today, many of our valiant fighters have injured themselves with the opium pipe." In revealing the dangers of opium proliferation, he revealed his great hate of the foreign aggressors. He saw the dissatisfaction of the people and the social crises and decided to instigate a revolution to transform China. Because of a long period of preparation by himself and by Feng Yunshan, Yang Xiuqing, and others of the Society of God-Worshippers, the Jintian Uprising achieved instant success.

II

What role did this peasant revolutionary war play in the history of the development of Chinese society? The opinions over the years have been divided. Those who disparage it say that it was "a major disturbance," which brought great damage to China's social economy, while those who praise it hold that it promoted the development of the productive forces in Chinese society.

It is now 140 years since the Jintian Uprising and more than 120 years since the Heavenly Capital fell and the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was defeated. Today, as we soberly and objectively look back on this period in history, I feel that there are three very obvious and undeniable roles which the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom played in Chinese history.

First, its pummelling role.

The Taiping army carried forward the Chinese people's traditional revolutionary spirit and, not fearing sacrifice,

advanced bravely and strongly attacked the feudal court and the invading forces of foreign capitalism.

On the military level, the Taiping army wiped out the Qing army's effective strength. The Eight Banner troops and the Green Camp troops were originally forces which were under the direct control of the Qing court. In 1860, their Jiangnan camp was annihilated and, on the defeat of his troops, He Chun, the Qing imperial commissioner, took his own life. The Qing court could not send any more of its directly controlled troops and could only rely on the Xiang army, a force organized and armed by the Han landlord class to deal with the Taiping army. However, Zeng Guofan, the leader of the Xiang army, was also defeated on several occasions and also tried to end his own life. On the economic level, the Taiping army confiscated the land of landlords and bureaucrats in the areas they occupied and divided it among the peasants for them to cultivate. The feudal land ownership system thus suffered unprecedented damage. At the same time, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom strongly attacked the culture which protected the feudal autocratic ruling order. The ghosts, spirits, and bodhisattvas had long been the spiritual tools of the feudal landlord rulers; the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom denounced these as "demons" and everywhere smashed Buddha images and idols. The smashing of traditional concepts and the scorning of feudal bigwigs was a great ideological liberation.

Most important was the valiant struggle which the Taiping army waged against the foreign invading forces, manifesting the fighting desire and mighty force of the Chinese people and their unwillingness to yield. Initially, the foreign aggressors tried to use religious relations to harm the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's revolution, so as to "foster their good aspects and restrain their bad aspects,"³ and guide them toward the road of serving the invaders. In 1860, a large number of missionaries, represented by the U.S. missionary I.J. Roberts, flooded into Nanjing, but their harmful activities were prohibited by Hong Xiuquan. The foreign missionaries requested that, under the protection of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, a church in which the missionaries would be independent and the creed self-determined, would be established to directly engage in enslaving education among the Chinese people. This likewise met with Hong Xiuquan's refusal. Hong Rengan told the missionary William Muirhead, "On this point, the Heavenly King does not want to rely on foreign assistance. He holds that Chinese people can do this by themselves, that Chinese people have their own pride and that they are unwilling to accept the gospel from the hands of foreigners."⁴ From these noble words filled with national self-respect, the foreign invaders saw that the leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a different sort of Chinese person from the benighted and obstinate Qing court rulers.

After the Second Opium War, the Qing Court was no longer an obstacle to expanded aggression in China by

the foreign invaders. However, the attempts to implement the "Treaty of Peking" met resistance from the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. In 1861, the invaders went to the Heavenly Capital to put forward to Hong Xiuquan the idea of "jointly sharing territory with the Heavenly King," which constituted political blackmail, and threateningly said, "If you do not agree, your Heavenly Court will not last long." Hong Xiuquan flatly refused their proposals. After the blackmail had failed, the invaders intensified their military attacks in the Jiangsu and Zhejiang regions and put forward the unreasonable demands that the Taiping army must not come within two days march of Shanghai or Ningbo. The Taiping army took absolutely no notice of such demands and attacked Ningbo City in response to the wild provocations of the invaders. After this, when the foreign invaders engaged in an attack on the Taiping army, the Taiping army met them head on and greatly defeated the invaders. Zuo Zongtang revealed, "As soon as the huge Taiping army arrived, the foreign troops immediately retreated." The foreign troops were afraid of the Taiping army in the same way that the Qing army was afraid of the Taiping army. In 1864, Gordon, the commander of the Ever-Victorious Army, led his troops in attacking Jintian on three occasions, but on each occasion they were defeated by the Taiping army and Gordon lost consciousness due to blood loss from a thigh wound. The Taiping army fought to where "the foreigners held their forces and would not move" (Li Hongzhang's words), and thus safeguarded the national dignity and the national sovereignty of the Chinese nation.

Second, its exploratory role.

The aim of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution lay not only in overthrowing the corrupt old political regime, but also in renewal—in building a "new world." Over 10-plus years, the revolutionary leaders promulgated two major political programs—"The Heavenly Court's Land System" and the "New Treatise To Assist in Administration." The basic spirit of "The Heavenly Court's Land System" was the abolition of feudal land ownership and the institution of new types of equal land allocation. It stipulated: "The division of all fields will be carried out on a per capita basis, with no distinction between men and women. It will be based on the number of persons in the family—families with more family members receiving more land and those with fewer members receiving less. There will be nine levels of allocated land size." The most basic spirit of the "New Treatise To Assist in Administration" was the study of Western capitalist countries, so as to be able to build a "new heaven, new earth, and new world." The "New Treatise To Assist in Administration" proposed "the promotion of the benefits of land transport" and "the promotion of the benefits of water transport"; it wanted the "very wealthy" to be allowed to establish banks and issue paper money; it wanted to "establish treasuries," to open up mines, and to "allow the wealthy to employ people." In brief, "New Treatise To Assist in Administration" was a continuation of the ideas of Lin Xexu and

Wei Yuan to "study the superior technologies of the barbarians in order to restrain the barbarians," and was the first specific political program in modern China which urged the study of Western countries. As Mao Zedong said, "Hong Xiuquan, Kang Youwei, Yan Fu, and Sun Yat-sen represented those persons who sought the truth from the West prior to the emergence of the CPC."⁵

"The Heavenly Kingdom Land System" and "New Treatise To Assist in Administration" reflected, in a centralized way, exploratory efforts in promoting social progress and promoting social reform by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom peasant revolutionaries, represented by Hong Xiuquan, after they had attacked the corrupt rule of the Qing court and established a new political regime. Although these two programs contained serious deficiencies and some aspects which were not realistic, they were undoubtedly progressive in the historical conditions which existed at the time.

Third, its rousing role.

The eruption of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution was a manifestation of the awakening of the Chinese people. At the same time, it also further promoted the awakening of the Chinese people. Rong Hong, who had dealings with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, said this: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution "caused everyone to awaken from their dream and provided the idea of a new state."⁶ What Rong Hong meant by "the idea of a new state" was the idea of "modernization." After the war, Zeng Guofan reestablished the governor-general's office in Nanjing, but in the spring of 1865 there were still persons posting a Taiping Heavenly Kingdom notification on the door of his office. Small-scale armed struggle in opposition to the Qing court also broke out in various places. Less than 50 years after the defeat of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the 1911 Revolution erupted, finally toppling the corrupt Qing court. The eruption of the 1911 revolution was a result of certain factors relating to that time, but in terms of spiritual conditions, it cannot be divorced from the rousing role played by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the 1911 Revolution, really enjoyed listening to stories of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and called himself "a second Hong Xiuquan." Sun Yat-sen spoke on more than one occasion about the influence that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution had had on him. The first revolutionary organization established by Sun Yat-sen—the Revive China Society—had former soldiers of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom as members. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution provided some of the spiritual conditions for the subsequent Chinese democratic revolution and, seen from this angle, it can be said that without the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution, there could not have been the Revolution of 1911.

III

For the 10-plus years that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom stood in opposition to the Qing court, it

constituted a mighty force and was full of power, but in the end it was defeated. The major reason for its defeat was that it was strangled through an alliance by Chinese and foreign reactionary forces. The foreign invaders hated the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution and the Qing court collaborated with the foreign invaders. Their alliance meant that the counterrevolutionary forces were greater than the revolutionary forces and thus had an overwhelming superiority. If we enquire from the subjective angle of the revolution, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom also made many mistakes. These included strategic command errors, errors in building the political regime, defects in the ideological and theoretical base, and so on. Below, I will discuss the latter two errors and defects.

First, serious errors in building the political regime.

Under the historical conditions at the time, the political regime established by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom at that time could not break through the fetters imposed by the concepts of imperial power. Thus, the gradual shift towards the feudal road is understandable. The problem is that the move towards the feudal road was too swift and too drastic.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom stipulated the system of heavenly mandate inheritance. Hong Xiuquan said, "The son will always carry on from the father as lord and the grandson shall in turn carry on from the grandfather." The inheritance system was not only limited to the heavenly king. All the leaders at various levels below the heavenly king would "reap heaven's blessings generation after generation" and their posts would be "inherited for successive generations." After the Western Prince Xiao Chaogui, the Southern Prince Feng Yunshun, and the Eastern Prince Yang Xiuqing died, the young western prince, the young southern prince, and the young eastern prince all inherited their fathers' posts. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom also established a strict system of feudal rank, and a complex set of corresponding rituals and extravagances. According to the records, when the Eastern Prince Yang Xiuqing went out, his guard of honor was very grand: "His attendants numbered up to 1,000. It was like a religious procession. He did this in order to show off and to frighten the ordinary people. He held himself to be a noble without equal, like a heavenly saint."⁷ "Whenever the eastern prince went out, if officials, troops, or scholars could not avoid him, they had to kneel on the side of the road. Those who dared to walk by in front of him were beheaded without fail."⁸ In front of the eastern prince, the northern prince did not dare to say much and just uttered eulogies and praise for him and made fawning statements. Everyone at all lower levels acted like this to those above them. At the beginning of the uprising, the various leaders slept and ate together with the soldiers, but later the situation where they were "like brothers" ceased to exist.

From the heavenly king down, all were drunk with pleasure-seeking. After the Heavenly Capital was established in 1853, the enemy encamped outside the walls

engaged in continuous bombardment of the city. In such a serious situation, Hong Xiuquan was still engaged in major construction within the city, building the "heavenly king's palace." Every day, he used the labor of 10,000 persons and cleared a large number of people's homes. The palace was more than 10 li in circumference, the walls, both inner and outer, were several dozen feet high and, within, he built the Golden Dragon Palace and decorated it with exquisite ornamentation. It was as if all was at peace and he could peacefully get on with being the "Taiping king." In an edict, he said, "The aim of unifying the kingdom has been achieved, and all brothers can now relax and lead a blissful life."⁹ In leading a "blissful life" within his palace, he went in for ostentation and extravagance. In the Heavenly Court palace, more than 1,000 officers were employed to serve and wait on him. The construction of the eastern prince's palace also involved "superlative workmanship," and the value of the pearls, precious stones, and jade objects contained therein was incalculable. All those officials below the heavenly king and the eastern prince also built official residences and this became the general practice.

Hong Xiuquan lived a secluded existence and paid no attention to major events which were taking place outside. Military and political matters were all handled solely by Yang Xiuqing. Yang Xiuqing had made major contributions to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, but following the increase in his prestige, the feudal desire for power and influence also grew. Two years after the Heavenly Capital was established, those who had been flogged by him included the king's elder brother Hong Renfa, the Northern Prince Wei Changhui, the Yan Prince Qin Rigang, the Xingguo Marquis Chen Chengrong, and the Weiguang Marquis Huang Yukun. Even Hong Xiuquan just missed out on being beaten by him. This naturally harmed the internal unity of the Taiping army and particularly of the leading group. The growth in his desire for power and influence and his increasing ideas on imperial power meant that Yang Xiuqing was not content with the title of "Nine Thousand Years." He initiated the Eastern examinations and even set as the essay topic "The influence of the eastern prince extends everywhere within the four seas." His supporters even publicly made the call to "protect the eastern prince so that he can become the king of men."¹⁰ In 1856, when he commanded the great army to attack and destroy the major Jiangnan camp of Xiang Rong, the internal dissension finally erupted. He forced Hong Xiuquan to enfeoff him as "Ten Thousand Years," but as a result of this, he was killed by Wei Changhui. Wei Changhui then implicated over 20,000 civil and military officials and troops. Subsequently, Wei Changhui was also executed by Hong Xiuquan. After Yang and Wei were dead, Hong Xiuquan, in accordance with the will of the masses, ordered Shi Dakai to take overall command of military and administrative matters. However, by then, Hong Xiuquan was suspicious of everyone and he did not trust Shi Dakai. In 1857, Shi Dakai, leading a large military

force, left the Heavenly Capital and this further weakened the strength of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's revolutionary army.

In building its political regime, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom became feudal too swiftly and too drastically, and there was a growth in the ideas of imperial power. This finally led to internal dissension and resulted in the revolutionary movement falling from a high tide to a low tide. This was a serious and fatal mistake.

Second, the defects in the ideological and theoretical base.

The ideological and theoretical base guiding the entire Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution was the God-worshipper religion. Hong Xiuquan and the other Taiping Heavenly Kingdom leaders established the God-worshipper religion. They placed their faith in the worship of God and used the worship of God to mobilize the masses. Under the historical conditions of that time, this cannot be criticized. The problem was that they "respected only God" and all those who did not believe in their God-worshipper religion were seen as the enemy, as "demons." They uncritically attacked the Buddhist monks and nuns, and the Daoists without distinction, and uncritically burnt the works of Confucius, Mencius, and all the other scholars and thinkers. The result of doing this was that a large number of persons who might have sympathized with, supported or even joined with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, and especially intellectuals, were all pushed into supporting the Qing court. Zeng Guofan used this aspect to draw up the "Proclamation on Punishing the Guangxi Bandits," in which he said of the Taiping army's uprising, "Since its beginning, it has sought to pervert the teachings of the sages. It is thus that Confucius and Mencius cry out from their graves. How can any of you who are educated and literate stand by with folded arms!" In Chinese history, when Liu Bang defeated Xiang Yu, he relied on assistance from the three outstanding figures of the early Han dynasty: Xiao He, Zhang Liang, and Han Xin. When Zhu Yuanzhang overcame the various contenders, he relied on counsellors such as Liu Ji and Song Lian. The fact that the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom lacked persons such as the three outstanding figures of the early Han who could devise effective strategies is certainly related to the policies it pursued. Thus, there was no one to study and resolve the serious problems and difficulties in the military, political, economic, and cultural spheres of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

During the internal dissension in 1856, Yang Xiuqing and Wei Changhui were killed and Shi Dakai left. The "heavenly father's killing of the heavenly brothers" resulted in a wavering in the faith in God among the Taiping army. A chaotic situation thereby occurred whereby there was spiritual collapse and a great decline in morale. Hong Xiuquan, as the leader, continued to firmly hold that God is the "one, true spirit." He persisted in the belief that he himself was the second son of God and, as God had wanted him to "come down to

the world" as the heavenly king, God would certainly protect him. He held that he was "made king and handed the kingdom while asleep."¹¹ After losing Suzhou, Li Xiucheng returned to the Heavenly Capital and reported the military situation to Hong Xiuquan. The situation was already extremely dangerous, but Hong Xiuquan still "spoke of heaven and earth" and was unmoved by Li Xiucheng's memorial. Li Xiucheng repeatedly suggested to Hong Xiuquan that he "give up the city and move elsewhere," but Hong Xiuquan became impatient with him and castigated Li Xiucheng, saying, "My troops are vast in number. Why should I fear the demon Zeng!" Hong Xiuquan established the God-worshipper religion and this religion certainly helped him in his undertaking. However, he believed in God and waited for God's assistance. He wallowed in religion and could not extract himself from it. This aspect must be considered a very great tragedy.

IV

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement was the peasant uprising of the greatest scale and with the greatest influence in our country's history. It was the climax of old-style peasant wars and the prelude to the democratic revolution. In the history of modern China, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement and the 1911 Revolution which followed it represented the course of struggle of our country's people in opposing imperialism, opposing feudalism, and exploring the road by which to save the country and the people, prior to the emergence of the CPC. It was a magnificent undertaking. Today, 140 years later, as we commemorate the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement, what historical inspiration can we draw from it and what spiritual legacy should we carry forward? I believe that the major aspects lie in the following three points:

1. In China's history, there have been hundreds of peasant uprisings and scores of these have had major effects. However, the majority of them failed and only a few achieved success. Those which did achieve success did so only as the tools of feudal society in changing the dynasty. This was because the peasant class did not represent an advanced production mode independent of the feudal economic form. Thus, such uprisings could not break through the fetters of feudalism and could only play a role of shaking up and readjustment within the scope of the feudal production mode, and finally they were swallowed up. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolutionary movement could likewise not break through this restriction. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom promoted the "Heavenly Kingdom land system" and hoped to establish a "heaven" on earth where everyone was equal. However, actually the "Heavenly Kingdom land system" proved very difficult to implement and they had to change this into "payment of grain tax in accordance with the old levies." With such an action, obviously we cannot talk about any transformation of the feudal economic base. Later, they put forward

another program, the "New Treatise To Assist in Administration." This advocated the development of capitalism in China. However, because of the collapse of its own political power, it came to nothing. Facts have proven that, in the new historical conditions, even if the political regime had continued, it would have been unrealistic to travel this road. The bourgeois reformist faction also thought of engaging in capitalism, but their plans were aborted after the 100 days of reform. The 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen wanted to establish a bourgeois republic, and they put forward the call that "the farmers would have their fields." However, this likewise failed. Pushing on the peasants, one on top of the other, were imperialism, feudalism, and the "big mountain" of bureaucrat capitalism. It was only after the May 4th Movement, when the working class vanguard was armed with Marxism—the CPC—that the fetters of feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucrat capitalism, which weighed heavily on the Chinese peasant masses, could be smashed and could these persons really become the masters of the country. Only the socialist system established under the leadership of the CPC enabled the peasant masses to shake off the poverty they had seen for thousands of years and travel the road of common prosperity. From this we can see that the fate of the Chinese peasant class is indivisibly linked with the fate of the socialist system in China. Only by continually pushing the socialist cause forward will it be possible for the Chinese peasant class to have a brighter and better future.

2. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution erupted at a time when China had become a semifeudal, semicolonial society. In a situation of internal troubles and external strife, the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom leaders Hong Xiuquan and Hong Rengan on the one hand saw the necessity of drawing lessons from the Western big powers so as to be able to engage in self-strengthening. They also saw the need to inspire awe by upholding justice, and by not yielding to their pressure and their despotic power. Thus, they struggled in opposition, and bravely hoisted the flag of opposition to feudalism and opposition to imperialism. This was indeed a heroic and moving attitude. Hong Rengan, who took the road of studying the West before any other Chinese people at that time, pointed out just before he was executed: "If the foreigners had not assisted the demons, we could have long maintained our power." He also said, "The calamities of our court had their origins in the foreign devils assisting the demons." This symbolized the awakening of a generation of patriots. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement occurred more than 100 years ago. Times have changed and vast changes have taken place both in China and in other parts of the world. However, the noble spirit of patriotism manifested in the struggle against the Western big powers by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom heroes will continue to shine through the ages. Inheriting and carrying forward this spirit will be a major force in having the Chinese nation stand independently among the family of nations and in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

3. The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution had some points in common with the failure of Li Zicheng's uprising. The critical lessons to be drawn from these are that, when one is facing the enemy, if one does not have firm roots, one will begin to fall into self-disintegration, and that if the major leaders are not humble and careful and are not of one heart and one mind in desiring to carry the revolution through to the end, but instead claim credit and become arrogant, are extravagant and dissipated, and they strive for power and benefits, then vitality will be sapped by discord and revolutionary strength will be weakened. This will provide opportunities for the enemy. Taking reference from this, Comrade Mao Zedong, on the eve of nationwide victory, pointed out in an enlightening way, "The achieving of nationwide victory is but the first step of a 10,000-li long march... The Chinese revolution is a great undertaking, but what will follow the revolution will be an even longer process, involving work which will be greater and more arduous. This point has now to be made clear to those within the party, so that the comrades will continue to maintain a humble, careful, modest, and unimpetuous work style, and the comrades will continue to maintain the work style of arduous struggle."¹² This clear understanding of the situation and the strict demands on party and government cadres played an important role in maintaining the revolutionary sentiments of party members and guarding against corruption. At present, in the grim situation of great change on the international level, with the threatening backdrop of domestic and foreign hostile forces engaging in subversion, infiltration, and "peaceful evolution," the problems of how we are to further bring into play the fine traditions of our party, strengthen the building of clean government, guard against corruption, and continue to maintain flesh-and-blood relations with the masses, have again been placed starkly in front of us. In this respect, comrades of the whole party must have an extremely clear understanding. This is what I have been thinking about while commemorating the 140th anniversary of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom revolution.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, pp. 1-2.
2. *Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 15, p. 545.
3. Mi-he-si, "A General Survey of the Chinese Revolutionary Army" in *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, Volume 6, p. 17.
4. *Foreign Missionary Society*, English edition, September 1861 issue.
5. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, single-volume edition, p. 1,358.
6. Rong Hong, *My Life in China and America*, p. 73.

7. Zhang Dejian, "Collected Accounts of the Bandits" in *The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, Volume 3, p. 180.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

11. *Collected Documents on the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom*, p. 49.

12. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 4, pp. 1,328-1,329.

It Is Necessary To Oppose Bourgeois Liberalization Unswervingly

HK2202112691 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 91 p 27

[Excerpts from local party publications]

[Text] Wang Guang [3769 0342], deputy secretary of the Beijing CPC Committee, pointed out in his article "Some Basic Thoughts on Ideological and Propaganda Work" published in XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] No. 11, 1990, that a major strategic task before us is to strengthen work in the ideological realm. Our first basic thought on ideological and propaganda work is that, in doing ideological and political work and on the ideological front, we must, at this stage and for some time to come, uphold the four cardinal principles and unswervingly adhere to the policy of opposing bourgeois liberalization and must not waver in the slightest. At the initial stage of socialism, the antagonism and struggle between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalization will exist in the long term. They will neither go away of their own accord nor disappear temporarily. We have been opposing liberalization for more than a year now. Are there people out there who think that enough is enough and that now is the time to change the subject? Well, no one had yet openly said anything to this effect, but such is the view shared by quite a few people in private. We can say categorically that this understanding is wrong, that this view is harmful, and that this proposition is unacceptable. On the basis of achievements made in readjustment and rectification, the pace of reform is likely to pick up in the days to come. However, if we do not persevere in our efforts to oppose bourgeois liberalization, this hope will fall through. How can we achieve success in reform if you say we should have an economic mechanism that combines the planned economy with market regulation, and they say we should replace the planned economy with a full-fledged market economy; if you say we should improve the contract system, and they say we should abolish the public ownership system and adopt the private ownership system instead; if you say we should develop socialist democracy, and they say we should practice bourgeois "democracy, freedom, and human rights"; or if you say we should improve and strengthen the party's leadership, and they say we should "abandon

the one-party system" and introduce "political pluralism"? Thus, the more we want to deepen our reform, increase the degree of openness, and quicken the pace of modernization, the more necessary it is for us to uphold the four cardinal principles and oppose bourgeois liberalization. We uphold this policy because we want to do a better job of reform, open the country to the outside world, and make greater strides in modernization, not because we want to hinder reform, the open policy, and the progress of modernization. Of course, we are bound to "offend some people" in our opposition to liberalization. Although we may be offending a few people, we will be uniting the overwhelming majority of the people. Some say that opposition to liberalization is "directed against the intellectuals." This is sheer nonsense. We cannot equate the handful of so-called "political elite" who oppose communism and socialism with the vast numbers of intellectuals. To do so would be to blaspheme against the vast numbers of intellectuals. The unity to which we refer is unity among the people, the unity of the vast numbers of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, and of all laborers and patriots. To cement this unity, we must unwaveringly adhere to the policy of upholding the four cardinal principles and opposing bourgeois liberalization. We must not be vague and ambiguous, must not vacillate, and must not change this position. This is necessary in order to unite the overwhelming majority of the people, preserve a stable political environment, and further push forward our reform, opening, and socialist modernization.

Maintain and Improve the Plant Director Responsibility System

HK2102120291 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 2, 16 Jan 91 pp 28-30

[Article by Yuan Baohua (5913 1405 5478)]

[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country, taking economic construction as the central task, has adopted a series of reform and open-door measures and achieved successes which have astonished the world; and the whole country's countenance has taken on changes of an intensive and historical nature. The economic improvement and rectification over the past two years and more have also obtained obvious accomplishments at various stages, and the national economy is progressing in the direction of sustained, coordinated, and stable development. Despite the facts that there are many profound conflicts in economic life which are interwoven with the new problems emerging following improvement and rectification, the situation is a rather serious one, and the difficulties are still many, these all are difficulties of the moment and can be overcome by continuing improvement and rectification and deepening the reform. At present, stability is of overall importance. The foundation of political stability and social stability is economic stability. The necessary conditions for stabilizing the people's minds and stabilizing the economy are firmly and irrevocably implementing the road, guideline, and

policies formulated by the party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, execution of the laws and regulations formulated by the NPC [National People's Congress] and the State Council, and maintaining the continuity and stability of the policies. As an important accomplishment in the reform of the economic structure, the plant director responsibility system has the affirmation of the "enterprise law." For a time, there have been certain comments and different views on whether or not the plant director responsibility system should be insisted upon and how this should be done. We should follow the demand of the "enterprise law," continue to insist firmly on this system and, under the guidance of Document No. 9 (1989) of the central authorities, in actual practice make this enterprise leadership structure, which is suited to our country's actual conditions, to continuously be improved and perfected. This has an important significance on stabilizing the enterprises, arousing the positivism of all staff members and workers, including the entrepreneurs, overcoming the current economic difficulties, further deepening enterprise reform, and ensuring the redoubling of the national economy by the end of this century.

I

The plant director responsibility system was set up on the foundation of summing up the many years of experience since the founding of the republic and through continuous probing in the 10 years of the reform of the economic structure and has been carried out in separate stages and systematically under the leadership and arrangements of the party Central Committee and the State Council. Beginning in 1980 when Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocated the changing of the plant director responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee and up to the promulgation and enforcement of the "enterprise law," the plant director responsibility system has passed through several stages of theoretical discussion, piloting in enterprises, all-around execution, and ceaseless perfection. The party Central Committee and the State Council in May 1984 and September 1986 dispatched to the lower levels notices and relevant regulations on piloting points of the plant director responsibility system, guiding the enterprises to enforce the plant director responsibility system, and thus carrying out reform of the enterprise leadership structure.

During this period, the NPC Standing Committee often deliberated on and examined the draft of the "enterprise law" and continuously revised and perfected the contents of the draft copy. The "enterprise law," aside from specifying the relationship between the enterprise and the government and the relationship between the enterprise and the staff members and workers, has also determined the plant director responsibility system. As the leadership structure of the enterprises of our country, the plant director responsibility system can suit the

objective needs of the development of modernized large-scale production and it possesses vitality. This is manifested in the enterprises beginning the changes to autonomous operation and to becoming commodity producers and operators who are responsible for their own profits and losses; initial separation of government from enterprise functions; strengthening of the enterprises' command system in production and operation; formation of the system of the unification of power and responsibility; improvement of business efficiency; changing the situation of no clear-cut demarcation between government and enterprise and between their functions; enabling the enterprise party organ to extricate itself from the daily routine and complicated business affairs of the enterprise and to centralize its forces on grasping big issues and strengthening the party's construction and ideological and political work; promoting and facilitating the formation and perfection of the system of the representative congress of the staff members and workers, clarifying the content and scope of the administrative work of the staff members and workers, and strengthening their sense of being masters of the house; meeting the needs of the development of the socialist planned commodity economy; and creating conditions for enforcing the internal responsibility system of the enterprise and realizing the basic change in the enterprise's mechanism.

Since the plant director responsibility system is a new thing appearing after the reform, in itself it still has certain imperfections. Moreover, with the lack of coordination in the reform measures and the unhealthy manner of the supervisory mechanism, certain plant directors have committed errors in exercising their power. For example, some people have considered the plant director responsibility system as providing one person with sole authority and individual plant directors with low quality have employed mostly their own relatives in their plants and in some small enterprises the director has even treated the concern as a "family plant." Particularly in the past several years, because of the influences of weakening of the party leadership, downgrading of the position and role of party organs, and the erroneous inclination of reducing and weakening ideological political work, and with the simultaneous upgrading of the plant's director's power in certain enterprises, the party's leadership and ideological political work as well as the staff's democratic management, the enforcement of the plant director responsibility system has been adversely affected. Although there are structural causes for the growth of these problems, the more important cause is erroneous understanding.

II

As for how to overcome one-sidedness in ideological understanding and to have an all-around and correct interpretation and implementation of the plant director responsibility system, I believe, after having summarized our basic experiences, there are three points which deserve our attention:

First, in implementing the party's concrete and unitary work lines, we must never forget the party's general road and policy. At present, this general road and policy consist of the "one center and two basic points" formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and comprehended by the 13th NPC. Some comrades among us, when doing concrete work, have frequently forgotten the party's general line and policy and that the central task of the whole party and country is to undertake economic construction. In our enforcement of and firm insistence on the plant director responsibility system and strengthening of enterprise ideological political work, we are endeavoring to serve economic construction. By deviating from this central task and one-sidedly stressing the position and role of the plant director, we would be deviating from the correct political direction. Similarly, by deviating from this center of economic construction and one-sidedly emphasizing ideological and political work, we would again commit the errors of the period of the Cultural Revolution of its being "over all, larger than all, and lashing against all." In the course of implementing the plant director responsibility system, it suffered from the effects of the entire social atmosphere. In the past when there was the tendency of weakening the party's leadership and weakening ideological and political work, we adopted determined and effective measures to overcome the phenomenon of one hand being hard and the other hand being soft. Now in stressing the strengthening of the party's leadership we are not softening the hard hand but should be hardening the soft hand, making both hands hardened.

Second, concurrently with strengthening construction of material civilization, we must never forget to strengthen the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. The basic task of a socialist society is to vigorously develop the productive forces and satisfy the people's daily increasing needs in material and cultural life. But when strengthening the construction of material civilization, it is necessary to simultaneously perform well construction of spiritual civilization, otherwise if the proletariat does not occupy the ideological front, it will be occupied by the capitalists. In developing the economy, the capitalist countries pay the price of downgrading social morals. In developing our economy and realizing the four modernizations we should never take the old road of capitalism. As early as the beginning of 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "We must, in a planned and selective manner, introduce capitalist countries' advanced technology and other things useful to us but we must never learn and introduce the capitalist system and must never learn and introduce the various wicked and disgraceful things."¹ Numerous instances both in the country and abroad have shown that deviation from construction of material civilization will result in backwardness and will be the victim of attack; while deviation from the construction of spiritual civilization will change the country's socialist direction and there will be no prosperity or well-being. Hence, the 12th Party National Congress

advocated grasping at the same time the "two civilizations." Our country's enterprises on the one hand carry the heavy burden of production and operation and, on the other hand, are burdened with fixed social functions. Only by firmly and thoroughly implementing the decisions of the party Central Committee and firmly insisting on "grasping with two hands," can we make bigger contributions to the construction of a modernized socialism.

Third, when stressing the development of the social productive forces, we must never forget that of all the elements of the productive forces, man is the most active element. It is absolutely necessary to arouse and display man's activism. The Third Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee adopted the "decision on reform of the economic structure" in which it pointed out that the key in the reform of the economic structure lies in strengthening the enterprise's vitality and that the source of the enterprise's vitality is found in the activism, wisdom, and creative power of the mental worker and the physical worker. Hence, our leadership at various levels, including the enterprise's party, administrative, and labor leadership, must rely heart and soul on the working class; must in ideology, system, and action truly establish and protect the workers' position as masters of the house in the enterprise; must handle well the relations between the leadership and the masses and relations between entrepreneurs and producers; and be adept in converting the party's decision and the leadership's wishes into the conscious acts of the masses and also in the course of developing production and elevating the effects, be able to put man's subjective capability into full play. Some of our comrades are prone frequently to stress one side but neglect the other side, noting the material conditions but overlooking man's role, and proceeding from one extreme to the other extreme. In the course of pushing the plant director responsibility system, they are liable to overlook the role of the party committee and the staff members and workers; and in strengthening ideological political work and stressing the functions of the party committee, they are inclined to overlook the role of the plant director. Also, in the course of stressing democratic control by the staff members and workers, they have displayed the phenomena of not daring to grasp, not daring to take charge, not daring to make stern demands, and so on.

These problems and phenomena illustrate that, in the new situation, our comrades engaging in economic work and those engaging in propaganda work should earnestly study the law of dialectics, learn philosophy, and avoid being one-sided and casual in ideology. In my opinion, only by learning philosophy well and firmly bearing in mind the three basic experiences can there be an overall and correct understanding of the plant director responsibility system.

III

The so-called overall and correct understanding of the plant director responsibility system refers to the "three-strengthened" basis of the plant director responsibility system, that is, "political leadership by the party committee, democratic control by the staff members and workers, and full-power command by the plant director."

First, the nucleus and essence of the plant director responsibility system consists of the responsibility system being the unification of responsibility and power, that is, the plant director takes the full responsibility for the results of the enterprise's acts, production, and operations. At the same time, so that the plant director can take up the responsibility, he is endowed with certain fixed powers, including principally the power to direct production, to make policy in business operations, to appoint and dismiss personnel, to reward or punish staff members and workers. The above-mentioned powers of the plant director constitute an organic whole; if any one of the powers is lacking, the plant director responsibility system cannot exist in a complete sense. Although errors of one kind or another do exist in actual practice, the power endowed by law to the plant director cannot be shaken.

Second, the plant director responsibility system and the democratic centralization system should be unanimous. They should not be set as being opposed to each other. So that the plant director can truly bear responsibility, he must be endowed with the corresponding power, but this does not imply that whatever the plant director said goes. On the contrary, he must exercise his power on the precondition of a scientific and democratic procedure. For example, before an important decision is taken, the issue must first be discussed by the enterprise's party committee and must be examined and studied by the enterprise management committee. When appointing or dismissing cadres, it must be firmly insisted that the matter be studied first by the enterprise's organization and personnel departments; only after the party and administrative leadership have fully discussed the matter can the appointment or dismissal be made. At the same time, the plant director's exercise of his power should be subject to the supervision of the enterprise's party organization and the employees' representative congress.

Third, the purpose of the plant director responsibility system is to strengthen and improve the party's leadership. With the plant director responsibility system being in operation, the enterprise's party organ can be liberated from the complex daily affairs of the plant, devote its main energy to taking part in decisionmaking on the enterprise's big and important problems, do a good job in party construction, strengthen leadership over ideological and political work and the building of spiritual civilization, and ensure supervision over the plant's implementation of the guidelines and policies of the party and the state. In short, enforcement of the plant

director responsibility system does not weaken the party's leadership but strengthens and improves it.

Fourth, the basis of the plant director responsibility system is the democratic control of staff members and workers. In socialist enterprises, the position of the staff members and workers as masters of the house is not an abstract concept; it has been definitely protected in the various systems of the enterprises. The enterprise law and regulations of the employee representative congress have stipulated that, concurrently with the implementation of the plant director responsibility system, it is necessary to first perfect the system of the employee representative congress and the various kinds of democratic control systems to ensure protection of the rights and privileges of the masses of staff members and workers and their representatives to participate in the enterprise's democratic management and control. The employee representative congress is the basic way for the enterprise to enforce democratic control and represents the power structure for the staff members and workers to exercise their democratic control and management. Hence, the enterprise law specifies the power of the employee representative congress, the major points of which are discussing, passing, or deciding on the enterprise's operational guideline, its important regulations and systems, and staff welfare affairs; commenting on and supervising the enterprise's administrative leadership cadres at various levels; making recommendations on awards and punishment and on appointments and dismissals; and so forth.

Fifth, construction of the two civilizations is the joint task of the enterprise's party, administrative, and labor bodies. There is little doubt that as an economic organ the enterprise should perform well the job of production, develop the productive forces, and improve the economic effects, that is, perform well the building of material civilization. However, if spiritual civilization is not built well, then there is no protection for building material civilization. So far as the enterprise is concerned, building spiritual civilization is the cultivation and training up of staff member and worker teams that possess ideas, morals, culture, and discipline. The enterprise's party structure should carry to the staff members ideological education on patriotism, collectivism, socialism, and on self-regeneration and engaging in hard and difficult struggle. The plant director should integrate production and operation work with grasping well ideological and political work. The labor unions and the youth league should, in combination with their own jobs and work, likewise perform well the ideological and political work. Only when the party, administrative, and labor organs all do their jobs, live up to their responsibilities, take up the division of work, cooperate with each other, and make joint efforts in heart and soul can we make our enterprises become socialist economic entities with full vigor and vitality.

Footnote

1. *Collected Writings of Deng Xiaoping, (1975-1982)*, p. 194.

The Party and the Administration With One Heart Work the Same Piece of Land

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[Article by the Dalian Steel Plant CPC Committee]

[Text] Since the implementation in 1984 by our Dalian Steel Plant of the plant director responsibility system, the party committee and the administrative structure have supported each other, cooperated with each other, have confidence in each other, and with one heart have coordinated to work well this piece of "land" of the enterprise, and have formed a sort of affable and harmonious relationship between the party and the administration, effectively facilitating and ensuring the enterprise's production development and building of spiritual civilization.

I. A Socialist Enterprise Requires the Plant Director To Play the Central Role in Production and Operation and at the Same Time Demands of the Party Committee the Role of the Political Pivotal Center

Since the founding of the republic, our plant has successively enforced various forms of management such as the one-director system, the plant director division of work responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee, the plant director responsibility system under the party committee's leadership, and the plant director responsibility system. Summing up the lessons of historical experiences, we have felt that enforcement of the plant director responsibility system can fully display the plant director's central role in directing production, managing operations, and developing technology, benefiting the enterprise's development. In a plant like ours, which is a large-scale modernized metallurgical enterprise, and in which division of work is minutely detailed, the continuity of production is rather strong, technical requirements are strict, and the cooperative relations are complex, it is necessary to establish unified and highly efficient production command and operation and management systems. When the plant was trying to make the necessary raw materials for the manufacture of the "Long March-2 rocket," which had huge thrusting power, there was little time available and the task was a heavy one. To tackle the problem, we set up a subcommittee headed by the plant director who centralized and unified command, promptly coordinated the relations of various sides, solved the problems in production, and within a week completed the task. Actual practice has thus shown that enforcement of the plant director responsibility system has helped to raise the efficiency rate of the enterprise in production and operation. On the other hand, an enterprise's development cannot be separated from the political nucleus role

of the party organ. An enterprise is an economic organization, but must firmly insist on taking the socialist direction. It must not only produce material goods, but also cultivate socialist builders who have strong ideals and are good in morality, culture, and discipline. The enterprise is also a grassroots-level unit of society that not only should bear heavy production tasks, but also must perform a certain portion of social functions. Hence, the political pivotal role of the party committee must be displayed. Its status is not bestowed by man, but has been objectively formed over a prolonged period; it is needed objectively, and is decidedly not something that is optional.

At a time when there was in society a dispute over the meaning of "center" and "nucleus," we led everybody to have an overall understanding of the central government's spirit. According to our understanding, "center" and "nucleus" are brought up at different times, under different conditions, and to tackle different problems. We cannot absolutely emphasize or give prominence to one side or overlook or downgrade the other side. The enterprise leadership structure should go through continuous development and perfection and should not make any individual or particular interpretation to seek an arbitrary conclusion and thus attempt to find a "basis" beneficial to its own interests. An enterprise is an entity. Although the power and responsibilities of administrative work and work in party affairs are different, their objectives are completely unanimous. Hence the "center" and the "nucleus" must be combined to form a firm and strong leadership nucleus. The work of the plant director and that of the party committee are close and indivisible. They are part of each other and there should be no attempt at "well water not being mixed with river water." Naturally, there must be division of work, the duties and responsibilities of each must be demarcated, and whichever party is concerned must take over the responsibilities that belong to it. But division of work does not mean a house divided. Work cannot be done after the nature of a solo performance. In the second half of 1986 our enterprise faced the imminent danger of being unable to fulfill the state plan. In this situation, the enterprise's party, administrative, and production personnel made joint efforts, went deep among the masses and mobilized them, did detailed and meticulous ideological work, made the positivism of the entire body of staff members and workers rise to an unprecedentedly high level, and enabled the plant to complete the tasks in only four months, showing an increase in profits and taxes of 28 percent over the preceding year. In the economic improvement and rectification in 1990, the problems encountered were even more numerous. The plant director changed the regular monthly meeting of the administrative cadres into an enlarged meeting of the party, administrative sector, workers, and youth league members, with the secretary of the party committee acting as the meeting chairman and the plant director serving as the mobilizer. The party and the administration thus combined their efforts and managed to solve the problems one after another.

II. Enterprises' Big and Important Policies Must Be Centralized and Highly Effective and Must Also Be Democratic and Scientific

Under the conditions of developing the socialist commodity economy, the time element and efficiency are as vital as life to the enterprise. Missing an opportunity may bring losses to the enterprise, and the plant director is required to promptly and correctly make policy decisions to meet the demands of the development of production, technology, and operations, as well as to meet the instantaneous and manifold changes in the domestic and external markets. The party committee should give support to the plant director's policy decisions. In 1987, when the contracting system first started, there was no experience to fall back on and the risks were rather great. The party committee and the plant director both shared the risks and signed with the city government an enterprise production and operation contract agreement. This was the first large enterprise in the whole city courageous enough to do the contracting. With the support of the party committee, the plant director, within a short period of time, successively signed contract agreements with 13 branch plants and some of the departments and offices, dividing up the targets level by level and setting up the economic responsibility system and guaranteeing the fulfillment of the contract at various levels. The result was that in that year the enterprise's profits exceeded the contracted base figure by 6 million yuan. On the side of technological development, the party committee also gave active support to the plant director's bold policy decisions. Over the past years, our plant has successively introduced from West Germany, the United States, Britain, Italy, and Austria several high-quality production lines, enabling its products to take a large step forward in various aspects. Furthermore, in the Dalian technical economic development zone it established a company for manufacturing special steel products and introduced therein a production line for compound saw blades. In 1990, under conditions of market weakness and stagnant sales of products, the plant director led production and operational personnel to conduct a survey of the production and sales conditions of steel products in the country and abroad, and in the course of the survey signed on-the-spot contracts for over 800 tons of special steel and thus increased foreign exchange earnings from exports.

However, decisionmaking on big and important problems of a modernized large enterprise is frequently related to many sides and many factors, and in order to have correct decisionmaking, simple reliance on an individual's wisdom and decisions is not workable. This thus requires the integration of the plant director's activism and the leadership team's collective activism, and the integration of the leader's wisdom and the wisdom of the masses. The party committee's active and participation on its own initiative in decisionmaking on the enterprise's big and important problems is an important guarantee of the correctness of the decisionmaking. Regarding our enterprise's operational guidelines, long-term plans, annual planning, capital construction

projects, appointment and dismissal of cadres, and problems related to the intimate interests of the extensive masses of staff members and workers, the party committee of our plant actively participates in the discussions. Constituent members of the party committee also actively and on their own initiative participate in production and operations activities, go to the production front line, find out the conditions of production and operation and the thinking and ideology of the staff members and workers, investigate and study the big and important problems of the plant, and in all these respects act as participants and not as mere spectators. When certain problems are first perceived by the party committee, the latter will of its own accord make recommendations to the plant director. The plant director himself, when making decisions on big and important problems, pays special attention to the party committee's views and promptly and on his own initiative contacts the party committee. Administrative meetings which are relatively important, such as the plant director's office meetings and meetings on the enterprise's affairs, are all participated in by the party committee leadership. The plant director makes a work report every quarter to the party committee and at the end of the year makes a report to the committee on the year's conditions of work as well as the plans and expectations for the coming year. He earnestly studies and organizes implementation recommendations from the party committee which have a bearing on the enterprise's production and operations.

In deciding on big and important problems, the plant director does not merely seek the views of the party secretary but goes through the process of collective discussions with the party and administrative teams. The usual procedure is, before decisionmaking, extensive contacts and fermenting are carried out between the party committee and the administration; at the decision-making meeting, everybody is allowed to express his views and only when there is no great difference in the views will the decision be made. In the event of great differences, the issue is not solved by the minority abiding by the decision of the majority or by any one person having the final word, but the process followed is to achieve a unified understanding on the basis of further investigation and study. By so doing, the decision reflects the views of the collective and can naturally generate a joint force for unified action.

The enterprise should fully and wholeheartedly rely on the working class. An important point is that the party and administrative teams should truly attach importance to the role that should be played by the staff members and workers in decisionmaking. In March 1990, under the conditions of depression in the steel products market, the plant leadership invited the production control committee of the employee representative congress to conduct a survey and diagnosis of the plant's production and operation conditions. Following a month's investigation, and after convening several discussion meetings with some 200 members of the staff and workers, the employee representative congress

found the cause of the disease and proposed corresponding countermeasures. The party committee and the plant director let the representatives of the staff members and workers give a report on production, operation, and management work at a congress of the plant's midlevel cadres and changed the traditional method of the plant director making the report and the representatives of the staff members and workers raising their hands in support. On this basis, the plant director formulated the corresponding measures and obtained the understanding and support of the extensive masses of staff members and workers, obtaining good results.

III. The Party Committee Should Exercise Unified Leadership Over Ideological and Political Work; Administrative Cadres Should Also Display Their Initiative

In the three important sectors of our plant's work, namely, refining, forging, and rolling, we have carried out the three-shift system calling for highly intensive manual work in high temperatures. In the summer, a steel-refining worker loses several kilograms of sweat each day. Because of the tedious and difficult nature of the work, among the front-line workers there are the problems of finding workers and of workers not wanting to stay long in their jobs and also being unwilling to learn techniques; the task of doing ideological and political work among staff members and workers has been an extensively delicate and difficult one. In the opinion of the party and administrative teams, in order to produce good quality and special steel, there must be a contingent of superior and highly efficient staff members and workers. And to train up a contingent of this kind, it is necessary to augment the unified leadership of the party committee on ideological and political work and, at the same time, in production and operation activities, the administrative cadres should likewise perform their ideological and political work well.

In our understanding, there are two key lines in the party committee's leadership over ideological and political work: one is holding the direction and overall implementation of the party's basic line, and the other is strengthening organization and leadership. First, it is necessary to build up a superb specialized and full-time cadre corps on political work. Over past years, our plant's specialized and full-time political work corps has all along been maintained at about 1 percent of the total number of staff and workers and has also ensured that the various kinds of treatment accorded to the political work cadres is the same as that accorded to the ordinary administrative and technical cadres. Concurrently, it is necessary to organize well the forces on various sides to do a good job in the ideological and political work among staff members and workers. The party committee should closely revolve around production and operations activities, proceed from the realities of the enterprise itself, and with a definite aim open up ideological and political work. In early 1987, against the trend in society of "everything for money" and weakening of the concept of the workers being masters of the house, the plant party

committee developed on a plantwide scope a series of propaganda and educational facilities with the themes of "know our plant, love our plant, and develop our plant." From the party secretary, plant director, and midlevel cadres to the ordinary workers, and from the political work cadres to the administrative cadres, and even certain staff members and workers who have been separated or have retired from the plant, they all took part in these activities. As a result of these activities, the extensive masses of staff members and workers came to understand and know our plant's history and glorious traditions and acquired the notion that they must do their bit in making the steel plant and the whole of the PRC developed and prosperous. This was formed into an enormous cohesive force and an immense power in pushing forward the growth of the steel plant, actually accomplishing good results. These activities obtained the full affirmation of the city party committee and were extended citywide to become a series of propaganda and educational activities on "know our Dalian, love our Dalian, and develop our Dalian."

In order to fully develop and display the role of the administrative cadres in the ideological and political work among staff members and workers, the key lies in the plant director's understanding of the problem and his way of treating it. Our plant director was a college student in the 1950's in the Soviet Union. He not only was an expert in technology and in administration, but also well knew the importance of political and ideological work. Once he said feelingly, "A plant director who is not politically minded is not a good plant director, cannot perform administrative leadership work in ideology and politics, and cannot effectively direct production." Summing up his own many years' experiences in practical work, he advocated the "three-in-one" guideline of "technology plus administration plus spirit" in administering a plant. He believed that not only technology and administration produced value, but also "spirit." In 1988, when society was looking at ideological and political work in a diluted mood and cadres in political work could hardly raise their heads, the plant director, addressing the plant's conference on ideological and political work, said with great force that this contingent of political workers was indispensable to run a plant well. This greatly encouraged the political work cadres. The plant director was also interested in cultivating and training up political work cadres. In order to speed up the training of cadres of the youth league, he took the initiative to advocate allowing the league cadres to learn administrative affairs. At the same time, he also created on his own initiative benign external conditions for ideological and political work. Each half-year the party committee rendered to cadres a report on current political affairs and each week conducted political education for more than two hours among staff members and workers and allowed adequate time to administrative cadres for this work. Aside from fully meeting the normal expenses for ideological and political work, the plant annually set aside 30,000 yuan specially for use on rewarding outstanding ideological and political workers

and the development of various activities. In addition, facilities such as a gymnasium, recreation room, videorecorder room, and closed-circuit TV room have been provided.

The plant director not only supported the party committee in developing ideological and political work but also at the same time organized the administrative workers to perform ideological and political work well with initiative. Each year when formulating the work plan for the entire plant, the production and operation targets were formulated and the spiritual civilization construction targets were also formulated. In the contract agreements, ideological and political work and spiritual civilization construction were listed in the important elements of the contract. Simultaneously with making business work arrangements, arrangements were also made for ideological and political work, and the condition of the latter was taken as an important basis for assessing the performance and employment of cadres. When employing business cadres, not only was business level considered, but also capacity in ideological and political work was also examined.

IV. The Plant Director's Power To Employ Personnel Must Be Ensured, But the Principle of the Party Controlling the Cadres Must Also Be Implemented

The plant director is the legal entity representative of the enterprise and carries overall responsibility for production command, operations and management, and technological development. In line with the establishment of a centralized and highly efficient production and operation command system, the plant director's power to employ personnel must be ensured so that there is an organic unification of controlling people and administering affairs. This is the demand of socialized large-scale production and is also the objective demand for further enlivening the enterprise. However, the power to employ people cannot be interpreted as virtually what one says goes, and the plant director must establish the concept of correctly employing people. At the start of the enforcement of the plant director responsibility system, there were people who advised the plant director to stand firm, to first of all grasp in his hands the power of using people, and to use his own personnel. However, in the opinion of the plant director, cadres were the wealth of the party and not the plant director's private strength. In the use of cadres, reliance on the maintenance of individual relationships and on the likes or dislikes of an individual might well fit in with the operation form of small-scale production but would not be suited to the demands of modernized large-scale industrial production and would be far less harmonious with the party's policy on cadres. Appointment or dismissal of cadres should not be like playing around with "clay dolls," using them at one's liking one day or discarding them at one's dislike the next day. There must be responsibility to the enterprise, to the party's affairs and even to the cadre himself. Hence, the plant director did not take up the practice of the "court officials appearing or disappearing with each

new ruler" and the whole plant did not engage in "cabinet organizing level by level."

We have joined together maintenance of the plant director's power of employing personnel and the principle of firmly insisting on the party's control over the cadres. Regarding the appointment and dismissal of cadres, our concrete measure is: At the time of nomination, there is first contact between the plant director and the party secretary. Next, the party secretary, plant director, assistant plant director in charge of personnel affairs, assistant secretary of the party committee, and the head of the Organization Department hold a discussion. The Organization Department then carries out an assessment and extensively solicits views, being responsible to the party committee and also to the plant director. Following this, the nomination is passed on to an enlarged meeting of the party committee for deliberation; after the matter is passed, political work cadres will be appointed or dismissed by the party committee, and administrative cadres by the plant director. In the event of differences in principle at the time of the discussions, the appointment or dismissal will be postponed. Further deliberations will be made after further assessment and contact.

In the event of disputes on the problem of employment of personnel, the party and administrative leaderships are both guided by public spirit, seek truth from facts, firmly insist on a unified standard of employment and, following earnest discussions, relative unanimity in views can be formed. By so doing, not only is there no infringement on the plant director's power to employ personnel, but it is beneficial to selecting and employing good cadres and reducing or even avoiding mistakes in employing personnel. In the appointment of cadres, we have also followed the standards of the "four modernizations." The party and administrative leaderships make a joint study, write up the appointment conditions, formulate the concrete measures, and jointly carry out the work in making the appointment.

V. Harmonious Relations Between the Plant Director and Party Secretary Are the Guarantee of Coordinated Relations Between the Party and the Administration in the Enterprise

The relationship between the plant director and the party secretary holds the key to whether or not the party and administrative teams can do concerted work. Only when the plant director and the party secretary are heart-to-heart in their relations can the party and administrative rank-and-file personnel do concerted work. How is it possible to ensure harmonious relations between the plant director and the party secretary?

They must be guided by public spirit and not fight for an individual's high or low status. Both the secretary and the plant director must have a common understanding, which is that at all times they must remember that they are cadres of the party and of the people, cannot fight over each person's great or small power, but must devote their efforts to their duties. Over the past several years,

despite the several adjustments made in the enterprise's leadership structure and the several rather large changes in public opinion, the secretary and the plant director have maintained cordial relations from beginning to end. When emphasizing the establishment of the prestige of the plant director, the plant director shows respect especially to the secretary's views. When the political nucleus role of the secretary must be displayed, the secretary pays special attention to maintaining the plant director's prestige. The plant director's and the secretary's correct attitude and conduct have brought about mutual understanding and support between the two.

For mutual respect and mutual support, the secretary and the plant director have both paid attention to establishing the other party's prestige and position. The plant director frequently invites the secretary to speak at meetings on production and operations, and at certain meetings on propaganda and education the secretary likewise invites the plant director to give a report. In recent years, the plant has regularly readjusted salaries and wages, and certain staff members and workers frequently contacted the secretary. The latter would not push the responsibility onto the plant director. In 1988, when the political structure was readjusted, some of the political workers sought to see the plant director, and the plant director treated them in the same manner as he would treat the administrative cadres, helping them to solve the problems.

The two have frequently spoken to each other heart-to-heart and kept their thoughts harmonious. They have frequently said that the two cannot be on guard against each other, otherwise mutual suspicion and keeping a distance from each other could not be avoided. Both have frequently paid attention to exchanging thoughts and contacting each other on the plant's conditions. Many affairs have been attended to through mutual contact and discussions. Even though there have been cases which they have not mutually discussed beforehand, they still have mutual understanding, and in the event of mishaps they take the initiative to share the responsibility.

As a result of the secretary and plant director united in heart, our plant has formed a leadership nucleus in which the party and administrative leadership is unified in one body. Between the plant director and the party secretary, and between the party committee and the plant's departments, matters are mutually discussed, recommendations are jointly made, while everybody is concerned whenever difficulties arise, and there is always coordination and cooperation. A "joint force" of "one plus one equals two" has been generated, which in turn has strengthened the functioning of the teams as a single body. In 1990, under the conditions of profit reduction amounting to over 120 million yuan, the whole plant, from top to bottom, relied on this fighting spirit, still ensured the supply at parity price of the products under the state plan, while the industrial gross

output value and the output volume of steel and steel products still showed an increase over the preceding year.

Scientifically Understand the Essential Attributes of Law

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[Article by Fu Yao (2105 2280), Law Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] The question of the essential attributes of law is one of the questions that have been intensely debated in our country's law studies circles in recent years. Whether or not we can gain a scientific answer to this question will determine whether we can correctly view the emergence, nature, role and development of law and it will also affect the building of the legal system and the orientation of law research in China during the socialist stage.

1. The Theory of the Class Nature of Law Is the Cornerstone of Marxist Law Studies

In the debate on the question of the essential attributes of law, there is one view which holds that the theory of the class nature of law is an "appendage" which was later attached to Marxism. Is, then, the theory of the class nature of law the cornerstone of Marxist law studies or is it an "appendage" added by later people to Marxism? This is a major question which we must clarify.

Historical materialism tells us that man's exploration into the nature of law has been a long historical process. Prior to Marxism, scholars of law had done much exploration into the question of the nature of law, had come to all sorts of conclusions, and to varying degrees had recognized various links between law and society and between law and the objective world. However, because of historical and class restrictions, they were unable to completely understand the innate relationships between law and the material and livelihood conditions of society, or to understand that it is the collective manifestation of the will of the ruling class. The task of scientifically revealing the nature of law was completed by Marx and Engels. In their own arduous exploration, they firmly differentiated and separately examined the contents and forms of sociohistorical development, its deep development process and surface manifestations, thereby revealing the patterns of the emergence, nature, and development of law.

When they were young, both Marx and Engels were young Hegelians. Hegel's philosophy had quite a deep influence on Marx and Engels' understanding of the nature of law. However, they did not accept Hegel's view that the Prussian monarchy was an earthly manifestation of divine rule. Rather, they adopted a critical attitude toward the Prussian monarchic state. Through an analysis of the Prussian state's censorship laws, press laws, and laws governing the theft of wood, Marx pointed out

that the reality of the Prussian state was that private interests had changed the state into a tool of private interests. For example, landowners arbitrarily enacted legislation proclaiming that the action of picking up old wood and branches was a crime, although "the criminal nature of the act does not lie in the attack on the wood as a material object, but in the attack on the wood as part of the state system, in the attack on the right to property as such."¹ All the state organs became tools of the forest owners, and became investigators, observers, appraisers, defenders, and arresters on behalf of the interests of the owners of the forests.

Engels came to the same conclusions as Marx, but through different experiences. In the autumn of 1842, Engels moved to live in England. At that time, the Chartist Movement was on the rise. Through his links with the Chartist Movement, through examination and analysis of the situation of the English working class, and through a study of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, Engels came to understand the role of economic relationships in the legal system and to understand the development of modern industry. He saw that, on the one hand, modern industry had allowed a small number of asset owners to become wealthy and, on the other hand, had produced a rapidly growing class of the absolutely destitute. The contradictions between these two classes were antagonistic in nature.

In 1844, in the preface to his critique of Hegel's philosophy of law, Marx held that the point of departure of Hegel's philosophy of law was erroneous. He felt that legal relationships, like state forms, could not be understood by themselves, and likewise could not be understood in terms of the so-called general development of the spirit of mankind. Rather, their origin had to be seen in material and livelihood relations. Between 1845 and 1846, Marx and Engels co-authored the book *The German Ideology*, which set down in detail the ideas which they had formed on the nature of the state and of law. They held that the state is a form adopted by all the individuals of the ruling class to realize their common interests, while law is a manifestation of the will of the ruling class. The ruling class, apart from having to have the state form by which to organize their strength, also had to give themselves a general form, which manifested the will so determined by these specific relationships as state will, that is, as law. They saw that, in bourgeois states, the rights and freedoms of law belonged only to those who had property, and that only when the proletariat recognized this point could they firm their consciousness and determination to battle against the bourgeoisie. At the end of 1847, *The Communist Manifesto*, a scientific program for the communist movement, first appeared. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels' theory of the nature of law was put even more clearly. They pointed out: "Your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will whose essential character and direction are determined by the economic conditions of existence of your class."² This precise summary showed a deepening of Marxism's

understanding of the essence of law, and laid the cornerstone for the Marxist study of law. First, while this exposition on the nature of law did not set down an overall definition for law and did not thoroughly reflect all important characteristics of law, it did reveal the organic relationship within capitalist society between law and the class holding the ruling position on the economic level. Thinkers before Marx and Engels all intentionally or unintentionally covered up or misconstrued the nature of law. They described law as "a universal spirit," the "natural order," and so on, and they separated law and the interests of the ruling class, and made great efforts to demonstrate the rationality of the rule of the exploiting class. However, Marxism's theory of the nature of law created the theoretical precondition for the inevitability of the proletarian revolution. Second, the will of the ruling class, which law manifests, lies in the interests which it can pursue. These interests are determined by the position of this class in the system of social production. Social being determines social consciousness, while the material livelihood conditions in society determine the contents of law and the development and changes of law. "In modern history, the will of the state is, on the whole, determined by the changing needs of civil society, by the supremacy of this or that class, in the last resort, by the development of the productive forces and relations of exchange."³ This, then, is the materialist theory of the nature of law, which basically differentiated the Marxist theory of law from all theories of the nature of law in the past. Thereby, it brought a revolution to the sphere of law theory and opened up a broad road for developing the study of law. According to this theory: First, regardless of whether we speak of slave society law, feudal society law, or capitalist society law, it is always formulated by the class in the ruling economic position in order to protect its own interests. There exists no unitary supraclass law. Second, the basic cause of changes and development in law is change in the social relations of production. When new relations of production replace old relations of production, new law will inevitably replace old law. This new law will manifest the interests of the new ruling class and it will serve the establishment, development, and consolidation of social relations and social order which are of benefit to this class.

Here it should be pointed out that, in discussion on the question of the nature of law, there are some views which hold that law is a social phenomenon that coexists with human society, and that both primitive society had and future communist society will have law. The major bases of this view are that in his work *Family, Private Property, and the Origins of the State*, Engels repeatedly used the concepts of "rules," "law," "laws," "litigation," and "trial" when expounding on primitive society, and Marx, in his *Abstract of Morgan's 'Ancient Society'*, also used the concept of "law," while Comrade Mao Zedong said that "courts will still be needed 10,000 years from now." However, if we gain a scientific and overall understanding and engage in full analysis of the expositions of these revolutionary teachers, it will not be

difficult to see that when Marx and Engels were analyzing the clan system and its role in primitive society and used terms such as "law," "laws," "trial," and "courts," in some cases they were using terms which had appeared in earlier works, while in other cases they were using modern terms to explain the clan organs, systems, and practices which had undergone some partial qualitative change in the process of disintegration of the clan system. On the other hand, when expounding on the idea that there was no law in primitive society, they are clear and definite. Engels pointed out: "The state, then, has not existed for all eternity. There have been societies that did without it, that had no idea of the state and state power."⁴) Under the extremely simple clan system, "everything ran smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes, or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects, or judges; without prisons; without trials."⁵ Following development of society and the emergence of classes, the behavioral rules of primitive society were no longer able to meet the needs of a society divided into classes. Law thus emerged in this situation as a tool of the ruling class. Engels saw the emergence of law as one of the indicators of the final formation of the state. As to Comrade Mao Zedong's statement that "courts will still be needed 10,000 years from now," I believe that this was just using contemporary speech to say that in future society there would have to be organs of social management similar to the present "courts." He was not saying that in future society, after class and class antagonism have been eliminated, courts in the present sense will still exist. If the whole context of this quotation from Comrade Mao Zedong is given, the meaning becomes very clear. The original words are as follows: "It looks as if courts will still be needed 10,000 years from now. For when classes are eliminated, there will still be contradictions between the advanced and the backward, there will still be all sorts of disturbances. What a mess there would be without courts. However, the struggles will then bring a different nature, different from class struggle. The courts will be different in nature too."⁶ If we understand this statement in an overall way, clearly the "courts" of which Mao Zedong spoke here have a very different meaning from today's courts, which are a component of the state apparatus. How can we arbitrarily interpret these words as being in contradiction with the class nature of law? In the end, in 10,000 years, people might still use the current concept of "courts," but we cannot exclude the likelihood that they will use a more appropriate term to replace it, to reflect the social relationships at that time?!

Summing up the above, we can see that linking the law which the state formulates and implements with the will and interests of the ruling class is the core of the Marxist theory of the nature of law. Thus, the view which holds that the theory of the class nature of law is an "appendage" added later to the Marxist study of law by other people is completely untenable.

2. We Must Have an Overall Understanding of the Marxist Theory That the Essence of Law Lies in Its Class Nature

How we understand the class nature of law is the key to correctly understanding the essence of law. For a time after the founding of the PRC, because of the influence of the "leftist" ideological tide, we simply summed up law as "a tool of class struggle," and we mistakenly understood the class nature of law as dictatorship and oppression. This resulted in the socialist legal system not being improved and often suffering damage. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee determined the switching of the focus of the work of the whole party to the track of modernization and it clearly declared that class struggle was no longer the main contradiction in our society, China entered the historic stage of building, in an overall way, a strong socialist country. In accordance with the demands of modernization, from 1979 the building of China's socialist legal system also entered a new historic stage. The formulation of a large number of economic, technological, and management laws and regulations changed people's concept of law which had been formed since the founding of the PRC through continual political movements. The discussions centered on the essential attributes of law developed under these conditions. There is a quite widespread belief that law has not only a class nature, but also a nonclass social nature. This view stresses: 1) In class society, the norms and functions of law are divided into two. One part is the dictatorial norms of class oppression, intended to handle the ruled classes. These restrict the actions of the ruled classes within the scope allowed by the ruling order. The other part is the universal social norms, which include norms for regulating internal relationships within the ruling class. These norms do not have a class nature. 2) In modern society, quite a large number of laws are technical norms which have been given legal form. This includes laws such as those on environment, food hygiene, maritime communications, and safety, and so on, which regulate social relations which man's relationship with nature have given rise to. These laws do not have a class nature and have only a social nature. What is the meaning, then, of the class nature of law? Is it the same concept as the class oppression nature of law? Is it only manifested as dictatorship and suppression? We believe that here we need to look at the will and interests of the ruling class in a unified way. Any ruling class, when formulating law, wants to affirm, protect, and develop that which is of benefit to its own economic relationships. Thus, class will has clear aims.

The class nature of law is manifested in the great efforts devoted to protecting social relations and social order which benefit the ruling class. Every society has social relations and a social order corresponding to its economic base. This is the precondition for society being able to continue to exist and develop. Law, in the form of state will, brings the actions of antagonistic classes onto a standard track. Through the coercive power of the state, the actions of revolt, harm and disturbance by the

ruled classes and by hostile forces are restrained, controlled, and suppressed. At the same time, there is also a need to punish actions within the ruling class which harm their overall interests, so as to safeguard social relations and a social order which is beneficial to the ruling class. Law that suppresses the ruled classes and law that regulates the internal relationships of the ruling class form an organically linked, unified entity. It is certainly not the case that some laws have a class nature, while others have only a nonclass social nature. The concept of law should be understood as an entirety and in discussing the nature of law, we proceed from this entirety.

Actually, the law of any society has the task of regulating the social relationships which the relationships between man and nature have given rise to. Marx and Engels referred to this as its "social function." In *Das Kapital*, Marx wrote about this, saying that the actions of the state "comprise both the performance of the common operations arising from the nature of all communities, and the specific functions arising from the antagonism between the government and the mass of people."⁷ The social function fulfilled by this so-called performance of the common operations is, in summary, at least when history has developed to the class stage, the measures adopted to maintain the basic conditions of existence of human society. These include, for example, a certain regulation in the sphere of material production, promoting coordination between different spheres of social life, maintaining common livelihood standards in relationships between people, and so on. These are all necessary for maintaining social order. The function of handling these common operations is not, as some people understand, without a class nature. On the contrary, it is subordinate to class rule and class interests. Engels succinctly pointed out: "The exercise of a social function was everywhere the basis of political supremacy, and, further, political supremacy existed for any length of time only when it discharged its social functions... It was reserved for the enlightened English to lose sight of this in India; they let the irrigation canals and sluices fall into decay, and are now at last discovering, through the regularly occurring famines, that they have neglected the one activity which might have made their rule in India at least as legitimate as that of their predecessors."⁸ Engels used the examples of Persia and India to point out that regardless of how the dictatorial governments of any country rose and fell, they all clearly knew that they were the overall controllers of river valley irrigation. The function of managing public operations cannot change state organizations into supraclass or class-neutral organs, and cannot change laws into the will of the entire society. "Rule exists for the state, the state does not exist to rule." There are even situations where the ruling class, in carrying out its function of managing public operations, will restrain some of its own requirements. Its aim in this is to maintain the ruling position of its own class.

From the above, we can see that the class nature of law and its class oppression nature are not the same concept.

Its class nature is not manifested only as dictatorship and suppression. Dictatorship and repression are but one part of the class nature of law. The class nature of law basically refers to the fact that, regardless of which class the law reflects the will of, it safeguards the interests of that class. This is a crucial point in correctly understanding the essence of law.

Another crucial point in correctly understanding the essence of law is correctly understanding the social nature of law. In recent years, some people have tried to use the idea that there is an antagonism between the class nature and the social nature of law to explain the essence of law, and they have held that law has a non-class social nature. This view has been discussed above. Does law, then, have a social nature? What is meant by a social nature? Can a social nature and a class nature be unified?

As the term suggests, the social nature of law refers to its social attributes. These indeed exist and they cannot be denied. Law is a social phenomenon and the target of its regulation is social relationships. The standard of law is a social standard and law must be implemented in society. There has never been any dispute about this social nature of law. However, if one claims that law has a nonclass social nature or a social nature which is antithetical to its class nature, such claims require discussion. Society is an aggregate of associations between persons and between groups. People, in their production labor activities and other activities, enter into all sorts of social relationships, and without these relationships there would be no society. Ever since the emergence of class society, because the classes which have occupied the ruling position have differed, and the economic bases and the superstructures have differed, there have been different types of societies. Marx, when revealing the essence of law, used the concept of class nature, rather than the concept of social nature. This was because the concept of social nature is much broader than the concept of class nature. Since the emergence of human society, the standards of social life have all had a social nature. However, the behavioral standard in class society—that is, law—is characterized by its class nature. In class society, then, are the class nature of law and the social nature of law mutually exclusive? They are not. First, it should be affirmed that law indeed includes standards that regulate the internal relationships of the ruling class. However, these standards are not, as some people have said, without a class nature. Rather, they also have a class nature. Law, as the regulator of social relationships, adjusts these social relationships in accordance with the intentions and aims of the ruling class, and actively guides society to develop in a way that accords with the will and the interests of the ruling class. Laws are important tools for safeguarding the overall interests of the ruling class. Laws regulate internal relationships within the ruling class, smooth the various contradictions, and punish the actions of groups or individuals of the ruling class that harm the overall interests of the ruling class. The aim in this is to alleviate clashes between the classes in society, so as to safeguard

a social and political order of benefit to the ruling class. For example, the constitutions of many bourgeois countries stipulate that a parliamentary system will be followed and that there will be a two-party or multiparty system. These systems ensure that representatives of the various political parties or groups of the bourgeoisie participate in politics and, through the bickering and compromises in parliament and in elections, the political and economic contradictions between them are alleviated. This is beneficial to firming the rule of the overall bourgeoisie. If detailed analysis of the laws of any society is carried out, it is not difficult to discover that laws for suppressing revolt by the ruled classes is only a small part of the entirety of laws. The majority of laws are for regulating social relationships, including the internal relationships within the ruling class. For example, in the Code of Hammurabi, the world's earliest legal code, the vast majority of the 282 articles were to regulate civil and commercial relationships such as borrowing, purchasing, leasing, exchange, marriage, and inheritance between slave-owners, usurers, and free persons.

Second, when one specifically analyzes the law of a society, on the surface, it appears that many laws do not manifest the specific interests or demands of any particular class, but are rather the manifestation of common demands of the whole society. These include, for example, laws in the areas of protection of natural resources, labor safety, ecological and environmental protection, and so on. However, it must be recognized that whether or not the ruling class, as the representative of the whole society, can carry out effective management of society will affect whether it can continue to safeguard its rule. For example, in discussions in recent years on the question of the class nature of law, environmental protection laws, food hygiene laws, natural resources protection laws, and various sorts of traffic laws have often been cited and it has been claimed that these stipulations have technical standards as their main part and regulate the relationship between man and nature, and that they appear to have no class nature. However, as these laws belong to different legal systems and are enacted in countries which are different in nature, the roles they play and their final aims also differ. If we take traffic laws and regulations as an example, in capitalist countries they are intended to safeguard capitalist social order, while socialist countries formulate them in order to safeguard socialist social order. The ruling classes in every country always formulate and use these laws in accordance with their own socioeconomic systems. Promoting the progress of social life and consolidating the socioeconomic systems on which they themselves rely are very tightly linked. Disorder and lack of control in social management inevitably lead to the collapse of state power. This is a fact that every ruling class must recognize. Thus, even technical laws and regulations are formulated and implemented primarily in the interests of the ruling class.

Third, at the same time as law manifests and safeguards the interests of the ruling class, it cannot but, in various

respects and to varying degrees, reflect non-basic interests of other classes. Marx used the English Factory Acts as an example to demonstrate this point. He wrote: "These... are detailed stipulations controlling the hours, limits, and rest periods for labor... They are the natural patterns of modern production modes, which gradually developed from the existing relationships. Their formulation, their official acceptance, and their promulgation by the state were the result of a long period of class struggle."⁹ They not only did not basically change the nature of capitalist production modes, but quite the opposite, they were a requirement for the continuation of the capitalist production modes. "Apart from higher motives, therefore, their own most important interests dictate to the classes that are for the nonce the ruling ones, the removal of all legally removable hindrances to the free development of the working class."¹⁰ The aim of the bourgeoisie in such actions did not derive from fine hopes and noble concern for others, but from the need to safeguard their own rule. It was very obvious that if the ruled classes could not continue, the rule of the ruling class could not be maintained. That is to say, the ruling class "in order to be able to suppress a particular class, had to guarantee that this class was at least able to maintain slave-like conditions of existence." It must be pointed out that after World War II, the capitalist world entered a quite stable period of development and there was an increase in the degree to which the interests of the masses were reflected in legislation. Many bourgeois countries used this fact to proclaim "social bonds," "the welfare state," and "common interests," in order to cover up the class relationships of society. However, actually, regardless of how many stipulations protective of the interests of the masses there were in the legislation of bourgeois states, their content could not exceed the scope allowed by capitalist relations of production. If we take electoral laws as an example, seen on the legal level, citizens enjoy equal rights to vote. However, the capitalist forms long ago basically expropriated the right of workers to enjoy equality with capitalists. To run for election one needs money. How can workers who are employees have the capacity to compete with capitalists? It is as Lenin pointed out, the bourgeoisie "place their focus on high-sounding declarations of various freedoms and rights, but in fact they do not allow the majority of residents, that is the workers and peasants, to even slightly enjoy these freedoms and rights to the full."¹¹

3. Correctly Understanding the Nature of Our Country's Law

The first article of China's Constitution clearly stipulates that "the PRC is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." The nature of law is integrally related to the nature of the state. The nature of our state determines that our law is a collective manifestation of the common will of the broad masses of people under the leadership of the working class. It is a system of social behavioral standards formulated or approved by our socialist state

which is under the people's democratic dictatorship and has leadership by the working class and the alliance of peasants and workers as its base. China's socialist law still has a clear class nature. It is formulated and implemented under the leadership of the party and under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and is a major tool for realizing the people's democratic dictatorship, protecting the socialist system, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the 41 years since the establishment of the PRC, our country's socialist cause has scored brilliant achievements, the socialist system has gone through arduous tests and established its own stable rule, the scope of the people has expanded, and the target of the dictatorship has seen a corresponding reduction from the original hostile classes to the present small number of hostile elements. This is a change of far-reaching historic significance. On this basis, some people hold that "the ruled classes" do not now exist, and thus the theory of the class nature of law is no longer applicable to laws in China's socialist stage. This view is incorrect. In the 41 years since the founding of the PRC, great changes have certainly taken place in our country, but these changes have not changed the nature of the people's democratic dictatorship in China, and have not changed the nature of China's law. At present, in China's society, although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes, various hostile forces and hostile elements still exist, the influence of the exploiting class still exists, and class struggle still exists within a certain scope. This struggle may intensify and China's law still has the function of exercising dictatorship against hostile elements. At the same time, it should be recognized that engaging in class struggle and engaging in dictatorship against hostile elements is just one of the major functions of law and one of the major manifestations of the class nature of law. It is not the entire function of law and not the entire content of the class nature of law. The most major manifestation of the class nature of China's socialist law in the new period is that it manifests the will and the interests of the working class and the broad masses of laboring people. Its major task is to use the advanced nature of the working class to guide the other classes and strata of society to uphold the four cardinal principles, to continually improve the various systems of socialism, to develop socialist democracy, to perfect the socialist legal system, to gradually realize the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology, and to build China into a highly civilized and highly democratic socialist country, and thereby realize their own historical mission.

There are some other people who hold that, as our country's law, at the same time as safeguarding socialist public ownership, also safeguards the private ownership economies, such as the individual economy, the private-operation economy, the Sino-foreign joint-venture economy, the Sino-foreign cooperative venture economy, and even solely foreign-funded operations, and allows a certain degree of exploitation, this shows that the essence of China's law has changed. This view is

also incorrect. In order to complete the overall tasks of modernization set down by the Constitution, we must motivate all positive elements and bring into play all forces which can be brought into play, in the service of modernization. All economic forms which promote the modernization of our country are protected by China's law. This is a manifestation of the superiority of China's law. The historical mission of the working class is to liberate the productive forces, bring the productive forces into play, and finally achieve the ideal of communism. The aim of the working class in expropriating political power is so that it can lead society in promoting the great development of the productive forces. Our party and state have switched the focus of work to socialist modernization. This was a strategic change based on summing up the experience and lessons in the quite long period since the founding of the PRC. In engaging in socialist modernization in this large country with its huge population and weak base, we must motivate the enthusiasm of all economic forms and bring into play their roles in promoting the development of the socialist economy and in bringing prosperity to the socialist economy which has public ownership as its main part. If we take the individual economy and the private-operation economy as examples, the reason we have allowed them to exist and develop within a certain scope is so that they can play a supplementary role to the socialist public ownership economy. It is not intended that they should weaken or even replace the public ownership economy. As long as the public ownership economy occupies the leading position, the nature of the socialist economic base will not change, and the nature of law, which is a superstructure of a particular economic base, will not change. When observing and analyzing this question, we must firmly grasp one basic point, and that is, regardless of the economic form, all enterprises must operate within the scope stipulated by China's laws and regulations, and no action that transgresses these laws and regulations can be allowed.

Following the deeper development of the cause of China's modernization, the function of our country in managing various spheres, including the economy and culture, has seen very great development. In recent years, economic legislation has constituted quite a large proportion of China's legislation, and legislation in the areas of culture, education, and science and technology has also had great growth. Some comrades have taken this to indicate a change in the class nature of China's law. This is likewise a misunderstanding. At the present stage, because class struggle is not the main contradiction in Chinese society, the major function of China's law is organizing, guaranteeing, and promoting socialist modernization with economic construction as its center. Thus, we see that economic legislation and cultural, educational, and scientific and technical legislation constitute increasingly great proportions. However, this does not mean that there has been a change in the class nature of China's law. Changes in the functions of the law in different historical periods have not changed the

basic attribute of China's law, whereby it is a manifestation of the will of the working class. Legislation in the areas of the economy, culture, education, and science and technology has a strong objective and technical nature. Superficially, such legislation seems to have much in common with the legislation intended to regulate similar targets in other countries and even in countries with different social systems. However, these laws are also a manifestation of the will of our country's working class. The class nature of law is an essential nature, but this does not preclude the possibility of there being some common points in the laws of different historical types and of different social systems. The ruling class of any society wishes to manifest its will and requirements in the form of law and to adopt appropriate legal measures to guarantee their realization in social life. To this end, it is necessary to sum up the experiences and lessons of the development of law, to find the general patterns and to absorb some useful things. This is most prominently manifested in the areas of economic and cultural legislation. In our country's economic, cultural, education, and scientific and technological legislation, we must recognize: First, that these laws are formulated in accordance with the Constitution by the National People's Congress, which represents the people's will and interests, and that they are an important part of the socialist legal system. They cannot be observed in isolation from the nature of the ownership system, the nature of state power, and the basic principles of the Constitution. Second, economic laws and management laws reflect social relations of production based on a particular system of ownership of the means of production. For example, laws which reflect the relationship between man and nature do not simply involve the issue of how to protect, develop, and utilize the natural forces. They also involve the issue of safeguarding and guarding against encroachment on the interests of the ruling class. They not only involve technical issues, but also, as part of the superstructure, on an organizational and systems level, they serve to safeguard a certain economic base. Managing the social economy and the various cultural undertakings is an important function of socialist law. Regrettably, for quite a long time after the founding of the PRC, because of the influence of the "leftist" ideological tide, the building of the national legal system remained stagnant and, in many areas which should have been regulated by law, administrative orders were used. As a result, not only was people's concept of the law weakened or distorted, but the innate patterns of economic and cultural undertakings were violated, and this resulted in unnecessary harm to the undertakings of the state and the people. Since the focus of party and state work was shifted to the track of socialist modernization, there has been an increasing amount of economic legislation as well as legislation in the areas of culture, science and technology, and education. This shows that our state is putting increasing stress on using legal measures to manage social, economic, and cultural undertakings. The experiences of history prove that effective economic and social management cannot rely only on administrative

measures, and that the conditioning and coordination of legal measures are extremely important. This is most obviously manifested in the economic sphere. In the building of a modern economy, the role of law is irreplaceable. For example, Roman law emerged from the economic conditions of that time. After the emergence of capitalism, the bourgeoisie developed private law with wide content on the basis of Roman law, and this was an innate demand of the development of the commodity economy. The socialist commodity economy is different in nature from the capitalist commodity economy, but it still inevitably has complex contractual relationships and other legal relationships which require more regulation through laws. Lenin once saw the function of the state in regulating the society, economy, and culture as being a manifestation of the superiority of the socialist system. The increase in economic legislation and legislation in various other cultural areas is not due to a change in the nature of China's law, but is actually the full bringing into play of the superiority of China's law.

The study of law is a very practical science. Its enrichment and development relies not only on perfecting socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, but also requires the guidance of Marxism. Marxist law studies provide us with a correct stand, viewpoint, method, and orientation and provide a theoretical basis for the building of a socialist legal system. China's socialist law provides law researchers with rich content for research and also requires of China's law researchers that they seriously explore the new problems that emerge in legal theory and practice in the process of modernization, and that they study the new development of China's socialist law under the new historical conditions and in the face of the new historical tasks. As long as we persist with the Marxist scientific view of law which has the class nature of law as its cornerstone and seriously study the new problems in law theory and practice in the new period, then we will certainly be able to resist attacks by the ideological tide of bourgeois liberalization and will be able to promote the further development and prosperity of China's socialist law studies.

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p. 168.
2. *Ibid.*, Volume 4, p. 485.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume 21, pp. 345-346.
4. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 170.
5. *Ibid.*, Volume 4, p. 92.
6. See "Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee."
7. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 25, p. 432.
8. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 219.

9. *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 23, p. 313.

10. *Ibid.*, Volume 23, p. 11.

11. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 3, p. 745.

A Major Measure To Develop Agriculture Using Science and Technology

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[Article by Bi Yen (4310 3508), Qing Song (7230 2646), and Zu Ping (6398 1627), Yueyang City People's Government, Hunan Province]

[Text] Yueyang City, located in the Dongting Lake district, is one of the country's commodity bases for grain, cotton, edible oil, hogs, and fish. It has under its control six counties (cities), three districts, and five state farms. Its total population is 4.625 million and its area of cultivated land is 4.4603 million mu. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our city's agricultural production has developed relatively rapidly and the production volume of the major agricultural products has maintained a sustained and stable growth. In 1990, the city's output volume of grain was the highest in history; cotton production was the highest in the past six years; rapeseed production has continued to increase for four years in succession, averaging an annual increase rate of 22.7 percent and receiving the State Council's special commendation; and fishery product output has progressively increased at a rate of 10,000 tons annually since 1983. An important factor for such a large increase in agricultural production in our city in recent years can be attributed to the reliance on scientific progress, particularly fiercely grasping agricultural science and technology promotional work using model households as the basis. At present, there are 21,443 science and technology model households in the city, 2 percent of the total number of rural households. This contingent of forces has played an active role on the first line of agriculture and has daily performed increasingly important functions in developing agriculture through science and technology. In 1990, at the national conference on rural science popularization work, our city's science and technology model households' work won the commendation from the China Science Federation.

Probing a New Road To Induct Science and Technology Into the Households Under the New Conditions

In the past, our city did fairly well in propagating and promoting agricultural technique. Huajung County originated the "four-level agricultural scientific network" but, after rural implementation of the system of contracted responsibility on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, the "four-level" agricultural scientific network built on the structure of "three-level ownership with the production team as the basis" lost its support and a new problem emerged in which the

promotion work of agricultural scientific technology met with the "difficulty of induction into the household." At the same time, the number of objects of the propagation and induction of science into the household have increased, since formerly the object had been only the production team, but then it was changed to be hundreds and thousands of individual households. Besides, the level of difficulty of the technology in demand increased. Aside from the ordinary techniques, a large number of applied new techniques came onto the scene. The continued reliance on a pitifully small number of agricultural technicians (in our city there averaged only one agricultural technician for every 20,000 persons in the rural population) and the former administrative method of "one level calling for one level" became increasingly unworkable. Many of the mature results of rural scientific technology appeared to be broken upon introduction into the rural area or villages as less than 30 percent could be effectively introduced. Hence, induction of scientific technology into the household has become an increasingly outstanding problem in agricultural development.

How to realize the induction of science and technology into the households? Huajung County's experience in pushing the system of "two doubles and two bigs" has given us rather great enlightenment. The system (meaning double transplanting, double cultivating, big enclosure, and big scale of work) is a relatively notable new planting technique which has increased rice output. In 1986, the county did not simply adopt the past administrative promotional method of "positioning at one step" but resorted to offering examples first and then proceeding to push production. It chose as piloting points the planting of 100 mu of late rice in 30 scientific and technically exemplary households in three villages and found, from the results, an average increased yield per mu of 25 kg of rice, savings of one kilogram of hybridized good seeds, and savings of over 30 yuan. The peasants found the method well worth adopting. The spread of this news soon enabled the new technique to be adopted throughout the whole county. In the following year, the planting area involving the use of the new system expanded from 4,000 to 200,000 mu. We promptly summed up Huajung County's experience in this regard, confirmed the merits of this new measure, and, proceeding from this reality, adopted a series of corresponding facilities enabling the science and technology model households to gradually take the track of organized and healthy development.

Aside from reliance on policy and input, renewing and stably developing agriculture depends basically on science and technology. It is necessary to rely on the progress of science and technology, seek development in production and agricultural and sideline products from science and technology, and seek benefits from science and technology. The major points in achieving scientific and technical progress in agriculture lie in the introduction, demonstration, and propagating and pushing the agricultural scientific and technical accomplishments.

The appearance of the problem of meeting with difficulties in the induction of science and technology into households after rural implementation of the system of contracted responsibility on the household basis with remuneration linked to output, reflects the fact that the channels for the expansion of science and technology are still not smooth. However, with the development of the rural commodity economy, a large number of scientific and technical model households, guided by science and technology, have appeared in the rural villages. They act as role models for spreading and expanding new techniques. Strengthening the support and guidance given to scientific and technical model households and expanding their sphere of influence furnishes precisely the channel for scientific technology to flow into the hundreds and thousands of households and the various production stages. It is an important measure causing agriculture to flourish by means of science and technology. Science and technology model households are representatives of the new productive forces in the rural villages and represent an important force in developing agriculture by reliance on scientific progress. In actual practice, they have displayed an immense attractive force in the following four ways:

Propagating, spreading, and scattering new technology and becoming the "second disseminator and conveyor" of new technological accomplishments. Science and technology model households are producers who integrate "know-how" and "action" in science and technology. They are also the direct demonstrators of converting scientific and technological successes into material wealth. When they carry out a new technique, the peasants all around can see and feel it and easily accept and copy it. In general, they possess relatively high cultural and technological quality and are thus able to exert relatively strong influence on the neighboring peasants. As a result, as soon as a new technique is successfully tried out, it is quickly passed on and extended in the neighborhood. Many science and technology model households, by selling seeds, contracting technology, giving lessons, and such other ways as taking in apprentices, have taken the initiative in injecting various kinds of new technology into the peasant households. They are looked on by the peasant masses as "farm schools" without signboards, "agricultural technology service stations," "planting seeds service companies," "crop hospitals," and so on. Li Jinbo, from an orchard model household in Guangxia Village, Taolin Township, Linxiang County, in 1985, with the support of both his elder brother and his younger brother (orchard special training school graduate) courageously contracted for the management of over 70 mu of barren hill and an orange orchard in the village. In the beginning, this move could not be understood by the populace who thought that he could only excavate stones and waste money. They were still doubtful even after the orchard had been planted and was growing. After three years' effort, he obtained 31,000 yuan in profit. This aroused many other people in the village to action and to follow his example, while peasants from neighboring villages

and townships also came along to learn from him. During the past several years he has conducted 34 family training classes without pay; printed, at his own expense, 3,200 copies of technological material and distributed them free to the populace; and successively taught and transferred his knowledge and technique in cultivating fruit trees to peasants in some 1,100 households spread over 33 townships in four counties and two provinces. In 1989, the China Science Federation conferred on him the glorious title of expert of the whole country in becoming well-off through scientific and technological achievements in rural villages.

Serving as a small "base area" bearing the tasks of experimentation in science and technology. Science and technology model households are production entrepreneurs merging science, technology, and production into a single body. They have rich practical experience, are sites for experimentation, and harbor a strong demand for new technologies. They yield quick results in scientific research and can easily produce fruitful effects. They can settle certain problems which could not be settled by specialized technicians for a long time. Civilian scientific research of this kind does not need much input from the state, is inexpensive, has little risk, and is the necessary supplement to the development of rural scientific and technical enterprises. According to statistics, in the past four years, our city's science and technology model households have completed 34 pilot projects on science and technology, of which eight have won the approval of departments above the provincial level. Yu Lianggang, from a science and technology model household on bullfrog-raising in Linxiang County, after conducting careful research and repeated experiments boldly changed the traditional method of raising bullfrogs, successfully carried out three technical innovations, and received patent rights from the state. Jiang Jianfang, from a science and technology model household in Xiang Qiao Village, Shiguang Township, Xiangyang County, invited five fruit-planting peasant households to organize a small research institute on the comprehensive development of fruit planting and acting on his initiative, made an offer to the provincial agricultural science institute and the county agricultural bureau to take on two scientific research projects, namely, "prevention and treatment of withered branch disease in plum trees" and "tests on the effects of 'TV' brand germicide on the prevention and treatment of withering in watermelons." By so doing, the research instituted not only succeeded in providing the upper-level organs with reliable scientific and technical data but also helped to solve technical difficulties in local production.

The vanguard in the march to modern agriculture. Science and technology model households have actively introduced modern agricultural technology and equipment, transformed the traditional art of farming and old production methods, and have thus boldly advanced a big step in probing the transformation of traditional agriculture into modern agriculture. In our city many of the science and technology model households have gradually changed and reformed "open-air cropping" to

"farming in enclosures" or "covered agriculture." Over 90 percent of plantation model households have begun using film to cover the plants, and of them many of the seed-cultivating households have adopted electric heating in plastic compounds. Plantation model households also have changed from open-air planting to indoor planting and from pen breeding to cage rearing. Thus, they have effectively solved the difficult problem of disease communication among animals and poultry and accomplished a reasonable scale of planting and rearing. Some of the science and technology model households, enlightened by the results of growing hybrid rice, have extended the practice to other production areas such as hybrid vegetables, hybrid hogs, hybrid fish, hybrid ducks, hybrid rapeseed, and grafted fruits of various kinds. Through the sale of cultivated seedlings, they have managed to promote hybridizing and cross-breeding among the masses, thus solving to a certain extent the problem of aging and degenerating seedlings. The plantation model households have generally attached importance to planting green manure, increased the application of organic fertilizer, and improved the composition of the fertilizers in use. Some 70 percent of the rearing and planting model households have made good use of the principle of organism chains, practiced the rotation rearing of hogs, fish, and poultry and the use of marsh gas and thus obtained good economic and ecological effects.

Being the "window" of promoting the construction of rural spiritual civilization. Science and technology model households do not rely on speculation to become well-off, but on diligent labor, honesty, and science and technology to become rich. In this context we may say that they are model civilized households. According to a survey, around 80 percent of the science and technology model households have relied on the development of planting and rearing to become well-off, and their economic effectiveness is more than 100 percent higher than that of the ordinary peasant households of the locality. This is because they have the idea of relying on science to overcome difficulties and thus accomplishing the feat of "human beings overcoming what heaven has ordained." They have treasure time as gold, regard input and output highly, and have a rational concept of consumption. These new ideas and conduct have led the peasants in the vicinity to learn and study science and to struggle against the phenomena of superstition, stupidity, and backwardness. At the same time, many science and technology model households have used science and technology to help the poor, and have lent aid to the establishment of public welfare enterprises, and this has played an active role in stabilizing the rural areas, changing evil customs and practices, and forming a benign social atmosphere. According to statistics, science and technology model households have contributed 88,000 yuan to the aid-the-poor fund, helped 3,382 households get rid of their distress and poverty, enabled 2,765 households to become well-off, and contributed 38,000 yuan to public welfare enterprises such as water conservancy, electric

power, road-building, schools, and hospitals. They have also purchased 62,700 yuan of state treasury notes.

The model role displayed by the science and technology model households naturally has earned the affirmation and welcome of the peasant masses. In a highly elated mood, everybody is chanting: "Village watching village, household watching household, but what thousands and thousands of households are watching are the science and technology model households."

Actively Support, Guide, and Facilitate Their Development

For the sake of making the science and technology model households achieve healthy development in actual practice and truly become model models in promoting the extension of new technology as well as continuously expanding the influences of their exemplary deeds, we should principally grasp the following lines of work:

1. Introducing a stimulating mechanism and strengthening the internal motive power of the science and technology model households. Many of these households do not take as their whole target their becoming individually well-off. Rather, they consider doing more good things for the collective or other people and making more contributions to the state as the greatest glory in life. We have fully affirmed, stimulated, and encouraged this psychological quality and model role of these households, and have taken spiritual encouragement as the center to strengthen their sense of honor and responsibility. To further arouse and enhance their positivism, we have grasped the following three points: a) Organizing contests among the science and technology model households in the development of "living a civilized life and competing with each other to get rich through science and technology." Since 1981, the three levels of city, county, and village have resorted to various forms of propagation such as conducting broadcast talks, on-the-spot talks, and rotating talks, and organized altogether 285 of these kinds of competitive activities. Of them, one occasion was at the city level and 42 occasions at the county level, and the cadres and the populace participated in these programs over 200,000 times. In these contests, 652 persons were selected as superior representatives of the households and 30 of them received commendations from the city party committee and the city government, while 146 persons received commendations from the county and district party committees and governments. These activities have strengthened the science and technology model households' competitive notions and overall model functions. b) Recording their accomplishments in books and publications. We have devised a file system wherein the notable deeds of the households are recorded on cards so that there is a written record and the outstanding contributions of the households may be circulated in print. In August 1989, we compiled in book form the materials of the experiences of 30 science and technology model households in the city and distributed the books to the townships and villages for propagation. On the occasions

of the assessment and selection of labor models such as the "March 8th Red Flag Hands," "Youthful Shock Workers," and so forth, we paid special attention to propagating members of the model households. Of the 12 persons assessed as provincial labor models, six were from the science and technology model households. Of the five provincial-grade "March 8th Red Flag Hands," three were representatives from the science and technology model households. c) Enhancing the social status of the science and technology model households. We have paid special attention to recommending and selecting the superior elements in the science and technology model households to become grassroots-level cadres, peasant technicians, party representatives, People's Congress deputies, and members of political federations, thus providing them with opportunities to participate in politics, political discussions, and management. According to statistics, among them there were 51 persons who became grassroots-level cadres, 30 peasant technicians, 26 representatives to city and county party congresses, 68 representatives to city and county People's Congresses, and 58 members of political federations.

2. Doing a good job coordinating services to provide the science and technology model households with the necessary conditions and protection. First, attention is paid to continuously improving the cultural and technical quality of the households. This is the basis for augmenting their model functions. Over the past four years, we have given priority to absorbing 74 members of the science and technology model households into the "agricultural correspondence colleges" and into studying in the agricultural broadcasting schools. Of them, 40 have obtained graduation certificates and, in addition, we have recommended 12 persons for further studies at the schools of higher learning and at scientific and technological units. The three-level administrative organs of the city, county, and villages have also used agricultural schools, professional schools, and peasants' technical schools to conduct 543 training classes for the science and technology model households; altogether these classes have given training over 10,000 times. Moreover, over 300,000 technical textbooks have been presented as gifts to the science and technology model households for their reference. We have also organized and mobilized the whole city's agricultural technicians to make direct contact with the science and technology model households, rendering linking services face-to-face and helping them to solve their difficult problems in technology. The technicians' services are duly recorded in the books to serve as a basis for assessing their work performance, affecting their chances of promotion and their future career. Some counties (cities) have even dispatched personnel from the households to coastal regions like Guangdong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang to learn practical techniques and to broaden their vision. Second, the proper rights and interests of the science and technology model households are protected. Compared with ordinary peasant households, these model households are engaged in rather large-scale production and business

operations and possess great economic strength. They are easily the victims of sundry illegitimate practices; and business conflicts and disputes frequently arise. To tackle this problem, the city has established a legal advisory office charged with the special functions of rendering legal services to and helping the model households settle disputes. Since 1989, the office has helped to settle 24 cases of civil disputes and to recover economic losses amounting to 42,000 yuan. The city and county insurance companies have specially set up a risk-taking section for the model households, thus giving the latter due insurance protection. The public safety and legal departments have also taken the investigation and prosecution of criminal elements known to have violated the rights and interests of the model households as a major task in rural public security work. Third, providing production, supply, and sales services to the science and technology model households. Most of these model households are large business concerns in the areas of planting and raising. They require rather large amounts of capital funds and material resources and their contradictions in production and marketing are more outstanding than in the ordinary peasant households. Accordingly, we have included services to them with funds, material resources, and marketing within the scope of work of the county, district, and city departments in charge of agricultural firms, supply and sales of commodities, grain, and agricultural production, and have taken the initiative to offer them services. In the past four years, the city has granted priority loans amounting to 647,000 yuan to the model households, and organized the supply to them of 1,570 tons of chemical fertilizer, 234 tons of farm medicines, and 410,000 seedlings. The city's forestry department, taking into consideration the special features that forestry production takes a prolonged period and involves rather large risks, has of its own accord helped the science and technology model households to display their strong points and to solve their difficulties. Within three years, 320 specialized technicians have been dispatched to offer direct services to 1,100 science and technology model households, holding in succession altogether over 2,200 teaching and training lessons, 500 kilograms of good seeds have been provided free, over 100,000 yuan has been invested without compensation, and over 300,000 yuan of loans have been granted for development purposes.

3. Establishing a control network and integrating the cultivation of science and technology model households and the development of rural specialized technical organs. As individual units, the functions of science and technology model households are limited. Only by organizing them and uniting them can they display their group wisdom, form a strong mass force, and enhance the model effects. In order to meet the demands of rural economic structural reform and the development of rural commodity economy, it is urgently needed to put the science and technology model households on the road to association and combination. Hence, we have included the model households within the fold of the

scientific and technological mass organization system; strengthened the organization, management, and promotion of combination work; and set up a management network which is led by the government, guided by the federation of science, directly managed by the agricultural department, and in which there is integration both vertically and laterally and a smooth connection between the upper and lower levels. At the two levels of the city and the county, science and technology household federations have been established, with a party and administrative responsible person acting concurrently as honorary chairman of the federation's board of directors, and the chairman of the federation of science as the actual board chairman. Other specialized technical federations are formed by representatives of the federation of science, various agricultural specialized technical academic societies, and science and technology model households and are under the control and management of the science federations of the same grade. In the whole city, 84 villages and townships, on the basis of voluntary association and according to the principle of running, controlling, and benefiting the people, have formed 141 specialized technical research societies and specialized technical federations with the science and technology model households serving as the backbone. Of them, 38 percent belong to the technology and trade type of overall servicing entities. These associated bodies, on the one hand, do not change the business accounting of the units and also protect the peasants' enthusiasm for operation by separate households; on the other hand, they demonstrate the strong points of cooperative and economically unified operations, solve the problems that cannot be solved by the households individually, and help to raise the level of specialized production from that of individual bodies to that of specialized groups. In Dajing Village of Polo County 95 percent of the peasant households engage in planting watermelons. The village is well known in the whole province as the "watermelon village." In 1988, Feng Shujun and three other watermelon science and technology model households, supported by the government, united over 500 peasant households to form the Dajing watermelon technical federation, helping the melon peasants solve the problems of renovation of watermelon variety, fighting for land to plant watermelons, and "watermelon marketing difficulties." Since 1989, the federation has held a watermelon assessment meeting participated in by over 40 of the province's specialists and technical personnel, organized a "competition meeting" of watermelons of good quality in which the participants included some 123 constituent members of the watermelon federation, printed and distributed "good-quality watermelon introduction booklets" to over 50 fixed sales and distribution units throughout the province, and helped 30 percent of the watermelon peasant households who had no way to sell their melons to find contractors for sales of their produce. In 1990 it signed an agreement with Shenzhen for sales of 600 tons of seedless watermelons and thus entered the Hong Kong market. This federation has truly

become the peasants' own "backer" and the wise counselor and helper of the village government in administering production. Because of its notable achievements, this federation was awarded the bronze medal in the 1988 national science popularization work conference.

Studying New Conditions and Solving New Problems

Science and technology model households are a new thing appearing in the rural areas in recent years. To enable them to develop and grow as rapidly as possible, concern, love, and protection are needed from all sides, and help must be given to them to solve the following problems:

1. Strengthening ideological education. Science and technology model households have on the one hand their progressive character but, on the other hand, they have the unavoidable backward feature of small producers and cannot conceal certain weak points in the course of their development. For example, some of them made money, this was reported in the papers, and they earned popularity and publicity. They have generated the ideas of fearing to bear risks or suffering from government's policy changes and have thus become content with protecting their name and status. They would attempt to stay put at the existing technical level and production scale. Some have even gone to the extent of reducing their scale of operation or changing to other pursuits, thus gradually losing their model functions. Some have taken as their target of struggle change to "nonagricultural" pursuits, hiring workers and helpers, and in short, have left the farm sector. When they fail in this struggle, they will feel disheartened and aimlessly shoulder their burden of life. Then there are others who cannot correctly handle the relations between becoming well-off individually and becoming well-off collectively, believe that they have become well to do principally through their own diligent work and special talents, and fail to understand the reasoning that only when all people are well-off can they be well-off steadily and safely. Against this state of affairs, we have taken the county and township as the unit to organize learning and teaching classes for the science and technology model households. Leadership teams at various levels have personally visited the households to engage in heart-to-heart talk and employed such methods as making visits to outside areas to learn and to exchange experiences, concentrating on propagating the four cardinal principles, socialism's prospects, ideologies and policies on stability, and thereby guiding the science and technology model households to consciously elevate their own ideas and understanding, overcome their own weak points, and continuously proceed forward.

2. Correctly handling the interest relations between the science and technology households and the neighboring peasants and collective bodies. When we handled the various kinds of irregular practices and disputes in the labor accomplishments of the science and technology model houses, we felt that, regarding the cause for these problems, aside from the element of public safety, there

was still a very sensitive problem of interest relations. Some of the objects contracted for by the science and technology model households consisted of the collectives' barren hills, barren lakes, and barren islands, some of which comprised a rather large area of several hundred mu each, while the smaller ones were at least several scores of mu in size. Prior to the contracting, basically they could produce no economic benefits; and since the contract cost required a rather large input and the risks involved were heavy, few people were willing to apply for contracts and, as a result, the contracted base figure was usually very small. Once the opening up produced results, there was a great difference between the upward delivery amount and actual income, and the income of the model households far exceeded the income of the populace surrounding the contracted lots. Thus, the contradiction in interest between the model households and the ordinary peasant households became prominent and outstanding. For the sake of basically solving this kind of contradiction and providing the science and technology model households with a smooth and peaceful external environment, we have, on the one hand, educated the cadres and the populace to properly and correctly handle the question of the income and interests of the model households and enabled them to understand that what the science and technology model households had engaged in was production of an opening up nature, requiring material input as well as intelligence and wisdom. The latter was invisible, but actually played the key role. Therefore, that their income was a little higher was quite natural and, besides, it consisted of the necessary compensation for risk-taking. On the other hand, we have also taken the work of perfecting the contract agreements of the science and technology households as an important element in management of the rural area contracting agreement. We have examined each and every one of the contracts. Those found to have really low base figures would be subjected to due revision on the basis of full cooperation and coordination between the two parties and the extent of the readjustment was around 20 percent. By so doing, we have rather effectively solved the interest contradiction between the model households and the populace and collective bodies and could in this way induce the model households to increase their input, thus removing from them a sort of "worry" in their development of production.

3. Doing a good job in industrial guidance. Science and technology model households are not merely demonstrators of science and technology. At the same time, they also consciously and unconsciously play a model role in the industrial structural readjustment of the locality and take the lead in this regard. Hence, a good job in industrial guidance by the science and technology households produces positive and profound effects in facilitating the readjustment of the rural industrial structure and preventing large rises and falls in the output of agricultural products.

Yearning Is Probing a New Path

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[Article by Chen Changben (7115 2490 2609)]

[Text] I am happy to hear that *Yearning*, a 50-episode indoor television drama, has won the acclaim of the audience. Many comrades have told me that they find the drama original, but that they cannot pinpoint exactly where the originality lies.

Whether a play is original or not depends on its content. From the time it created *Four Generations Under One Roof* and *Triumph at Midnight* to the time it produced *The Undercover Police* and *Drum Tower*, the Beijing Television Art Center has been striving to produce television dramas with content that the masses can relate to, which bear national characteristics and the spirit of the times, and which are loved by the masses and suit both refined and popular tastes. *Yearning*, likewise, seeks to achieve just that. Many articles have been enthusiastically written with the specific objective of analyzing the attempts made by the producers of *Yearning* to give the characters and story greater mass appeal, national characteristics, and contemporary spirit. As a person involved in the production, I would like to say a few words on the great potential of indoor dramas in reaching out to the masses.

Contemporary approaches to dramatic performance include the stylized approach which evolved from traditional Chinese operas, the rational approach championed by Brecht, and the approach based on realism and experience advocated by Stanislavsky. This realistic approach of Stanislavsky's is followed in stage plays. In films, this realistic approach is carried further to achieve individual characteristics. The television drama, an artistic form which is much closer to life, also gropes along following this realistic approach. Producers of television dramas have discovered that, although stage plays follow the realistic approach that approximates life, they cannot be totally realistic because of stage restrictions. For instance, stage movements have to be exaggerated in order for the audience in the back to see, and stage dialogue has to be spoken loudly in order for the audience in the back to hear. This means they are removed from reality. It is true that films are a step forward in the sense that they are free of stage restrictions and can be shot on location. However, they are still subject to restrictions. For instance, films have to be made shot by shot, and there has to be postproduction editing and dubbing. Once edited and dubbed, elements of "falseness" are added and the product is thus removed from reality. Can television dramas carry forward their strong points and blaze a new path on the basis of stage and film performance? People have been searching for an answer all these years. In my opinion, the production of indoor television drama affords new conditions for bringing teleplay performance closer to life. For instance, indoor dramas are mostly shot and recorded in studios,

using several cameras, simultaneous recording, and location-switching techniques. In this way, the performers can assimilate the strong point of stage plays and systematically act out whole scenes. The shortcomings of film performance where the flow of emotions is interrupted by divided shots can also be avoided. Performers can talk and move around as they do in their everyday life. This means taking over the strong points of film performance in the sense that movements and pitch are free from stage influence. The pitfall of stage plays where language and movement seem removed from reality is also overcome. This makes it possible to attain the hard-to-achieve goal of stage and film performers, that is, to give lifelike performances. I believe that this is an attempt on the part of teleplay producers to retain the strong points while discarding the weak points of stage and film performance, and to take their own road on the basis of the teleplay's unique shooting and recording procedures.

Yearning has also attempted to do just that. (Such attempts have long been made abroad.) The result is very gratifying. The audience found that most performers of *Yearning* were living their parts rather than acting. When the actress who played Liu Huifang went out on the street, some people actually walked up to her and asked her whether she had recovered from her leg injury. Some even offered to help her look for special folk prescriptions. When the actor who played Wang Husheng went out, some people wanted to slap him on the face and tell him that he had let go the best wife one could ever expect to find. When the actress who played Nanny Liu went out, grannies on the streets called her sister and held her hands as they cried and told her their domestic trivia. Why? The main reason is that their performance was so close to life that some people regarded them as their friends rather than characters in the play.

This new path discovered by *Yearning* in bringing performance closer to life has created excellent conditions for giving teleplays stronger national characteristics and mass appeal. We may say that it has opened a new path for producing teleplays loved by the masses.

From the production angle, *Yearning* has also opened a new path, namely, the "greater, faster, better, and more economic approach" of indoor shooting and location switching. The filmmaking approach has always been used in teleplay production in China. Production cost is high, as most scenes are shot outdoors. Indoor shooting requires only a studio and a switchboard. Production cost is really low. Since the shooting location is fixed and work can be done as in a factory, shockingly huge traveling and room-and-board expenses can be saved. *Yearning* cost just over 20,000 yuan per episode to make. The money that goes into one episode of a teleplay is enough to make three episodes of indoor television dramas. Moreover, production is simple, as shooting and recording are done at the same time. This means a short production cycle. The 50 episodes of *Yearning* were completed in just eight months. Had scriptwriting been able to keep up with production, the shooting period

could have been reduced. This is indeed a way of shooting serialized television drama with "greater, faster, better, and more economic results." The production of *Yearning* shows that this money- and time-saving approach will boost rather than lower the quality of television dramas. The reason is that indoor dramas have simple sets. Besides, dramas on family, ethics, and moral values, which are suitable for shooting indoors, do not require magnificent scenes as background. They can rely on only the most basic means of dramatic expression—language and movement—to tell the story. This makes it singularly important that the language must show national, regional, and individual characteristics. If the dialogue is all in a bureaucratic tone, the audience will get fed up after just one episode. It also highlights the need for superb performances by the performers. With only a few rooms in which to move about, they have to be good performers without appearing to be acting. Otherwise they will not be able to portray lifelike characters. This compels the scriptwriters to make the dialogue as lifelike and individual as possible. It also compels the performers to project their characters while making their parts as close to life as possible. Such pressures will definitely boost the quality of the production. To a large extent, the liveliness of the dialogue and the naturalness of the performance were forced out by this approach of shooting.

This new approach of indoor shooting will give a positive push to the development of our television industry. China is not a rich country that can spare huge sums on production. If indoor shooting can enable us to produce more television dramas with our limited funds, why not go ahead with it? As we are now making an all-out effort to promote the spiritual development of our country, would it not be a good idea to produce more dramas on family, ethics, and moral values, which are suitable for indoor shooting to purify people's souls and cultivate noble sentiments? Of course, we should not all rush to produce indoor television dramas, for that would only narrow the subject matter of productions.

Yearning is the first long indoor television drama produced in China. It has its ideological and artistic accomplishments, but it also has the unavoidable pitfalls of "experimental works." Nonetheless, the new path that we have been yearning for has at long last been opened. What I treasure most is this rudimentary path with its thorny undergrowth already removed. I yearn for the day when this path is made wider and wider through the efforts of my fellow workers in the television industry. This is perhaps a second meaning we can read into the title of this drama, *Yearning*.

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