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QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
No 8, 16 April 1990

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**Shoulder Heavy Responsibilities and Study
Philosophy (17 July 1987)**

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 90 pp 2-3

[Article by Chen Yun; published in FBIS-CHI-90-076,
19 Apr 90 pp 6-7]

**Uphold the Principle of Leninism, Develop
Socialist Democracy—In Commemoration of the
120th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth**

HK2205020190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 90 pp 4-5

[Commentator's article]

[Text] April 22 of this year is the 120th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, revolutionary teacher of the proletariat and the great pioneer of our times.

Lenin said, "The great achievement of Marx and Engels, which is significant in world history, is that they have proved on the basis of scientific analysis that capitalism is bound to collapse and is bound to undergo a transition to communism, in which the phenomenon of exploitation of a person by another person no longer exists."¹ Likewise, the great achievement of Lenin which is significant in world history is that he turned the scientific socialist theory of Marx and Engels into reality, built the world's first socialist state, and started the world's transition period from capitalism to socialism. Lenin will always live in the memory of the people.

The best way to commemorate Lenin is to uphold the cardinal principles of Leninism and to make headway in the socialist cause. Lenin carried forward and creatively developed Marxism. He put forward theories about imperialism, proletarian revolution, proletarian dictatorship, liberation movements in colonial and semicolonial areas, the building of socialism, the political party of the proletariat, and so on. The correctness of all these have been repeatedly proved in practice. Today, they still the guide our actions. Matters concerning the theory and practice of democracy are an important part of Leninism. At present, we are facing an arduous task of building socialist democratic politics. At the same time, international antagonistic forces are using the slogan of "democracy, freedom, and human rights" to intensively promote their strategy of "peaceful evolution"; and, in China, people who stubbornly advocate bourgeois liberalism work in concert with them and have stirred up much chaos on the issue of democracy. Under these circumstances, it is very important that we again study Lenin's theory and practice on the issue of democracy, which is of immediate significance.

The most important point of Lenin's theory on democracy is his discussions on the class and historical natures of democracy. Lenin explicitly pointed out that "democracy is a pattern and a form of the state."² Democracy exists only in a certain historical period of human society and develops or perishes in the wake of the rise or fall of

a class and a country. Furthermore, there are different forms of democracy at different development stages of human society. "In the span of several thousand years, it is inevitable that the pattern of democracy has changed in the wake of changes in the ruling class, beginning with ancient times when democracy was at its budding stage." At different development stages of class society "the patterns and the extent of application of democracy varied."³ This has clearly indicated that under no circumstances is there a kind of democracy that comes from an abstract, supraclass, and suprahistorical domain. Rather, it is from the political and historical domains that are marked with a distinctive class nature. In his article entitled "Proletarian Revolution and the Rebelious Kautsky," Lenin devoted major efforts to clarifying this "issue which has been made a complete mess by Kautsky." He thoroughly criticized the fabricated or so-called "pure democracy," and pointed out that "pure democracy" is a lie of the liberals to fool the workers."⁴ Lenin revealed that bourgeois democracy "is from start to finish, and can only be so under the capitalist system, a narrow-minded, imperfect, sham, and deceitful democracy, which is a haven to the rich but a trap and fraud to the exploited people and the poor."⁵ Lenin held that this truth was fundamental, and was an important aspect of the content of Marxist teachings.

The remarks made in the past 70 years and more by those people who advocated bourgeois liberalism in China were just cliches that had long been refuted by Lenin. Their purpose of selling the abstract and supraclass pure democracy was, in Lenin's words, to "contribute something that keeps the bourgeois 'happy.'"⁶ What they wanted was that kind of democracy enjoyed by the bourgeois in the United States, that is, a dictatorship of the majority by the minority. The "elite politics" actively promoted by them was nothing but a political system that denied the masses access to democracy, and under which power was in the hands of the minority. This was simply the latest repetition of the theory on aristocracy. Therefore, we can see that this kind of abstract slogan of "democracy" is basically anti-democracy. Its essence is to negate the four cardinal principles, to oppose the leadership of the CPC, to oppose the socialist system, and to attempt in vain to replace the people's democratic dictatorship with bourgeois dictatorship. We must not be misled by their "abstract," "supraclass" appearances of democracy.

Those who stubbornly upheld bourgeois liberalism separated democracy from socialism, which they regarded as conflicting with each other; and it seemed that democracy was something beyond the realm of socialism. This was a complete misunderstanding of scientific socialism. It is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "There will be no socialism without democracy, and there will be no socialist modernization." "When socialism is developed in a better way, so is democracy." To continuously develop socialist democracy is a basic task of our construction of socialist modernization, as well as a basic guarantee for realizing socialist modernization. Socialist

democracy is a kind of democracy at the climax level. It was just as Lenin said, "Proletarian democracy is a million times better than any major form of bourgeois democracy."⁷ This is determined by the class nature of these two kinds of democracy. When judging democracy, we must focus on its pattern and its content, that is, essence. Under no circumstances must we confuse these two aspects. The content of democracy refers to the issue of who rules whom. Therefore, democracy and dictatorship are two sides of the same coin. Bourgeois democracy is a democracy enjoyed by the minority bourgeois, and is the rule over the majority by the minority. Thus, no matter what specific pattern it takes or how clever and perfect its pattern, this nature is still the same. It is no longer the same in the case of socialist democracy. The essence of socialist democracy is that people are the master of their own affairs. It covers democracy of workers, who account for the majority of the population; and that of the whole people who are patriots, and who support socialism and reunification of the state. It is the rule of the minority by the majority. The pattern of people's democratic dictatorship in our country, which conforms to this content of democracy, is a system of people's congresses organized according to democratic centralism. Basically, the content of China's socialist democracy is consistent with its pattern. Of course, China's pattern of democracy is imperfect for a variety of reasons, and its socialist democracy is in the process of continuously perfecting itself. However, under no circumstances must we negate the essence of socialist democracy because of this. It is just the content of democracy, that is, its essence, that socialist democracy is a million times better than capitalist democracy. These two are not on the same plane. Rather, they are basically different kinds of democracy. To date, socialist democracy is the supreme level of democracy in the development of human history.

To perfect the system of socialist democracy requires a process. In this process, we may draw lessons from certain practices of capitalist countries, but must not copy indiscriminately. We must proceed from the reality of China and build democracy in a gradual and orderly manner along the socialist direction and path, so that China's system of socialist democracy will become more mature and perfect. We still have to work hard and make long-term efforts in this respect. For instance, we should continue to establish and perfect the system of procedures for making democratic decisions by the whole people and for exercising democratic supervision; continuously expand the channels linking to the masses; enhance the consciousness of the citizens about participating in political affairs; safeguard that the wishes, and interests of the people are really realized in the state's activities and in their social life, so that the rights and obligations of the citizens are governed by law and are protected in the course of implementation of the law; and so forth. If we accomplish these tasks, we shall be able to fully develop socialist democracy and give full play to the superiority of the socialist system.

Let us hold high the banner of Leninism, fully master the cardinal principles of Leninism, and seriously study Lenin's theory and practice on the issue of democracy. We should use it as our weapon to settle the chaos caused by the thinking of bourgeois liberalism on the issue of democracy, and use it as our guidance in the building of China's socialist democratic politics, so that the system of socialist democracy in China will constantly be developed and perfected, and guarantee smooth progress in the undertaking of socialist modernization.

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 3, p. 603.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 723.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 629.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 630.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, p. 634.

Several Questions on Furthering Economic Improvement and Rectification and on Deepening the Reform

HK1105131090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 90 pp 6-13

[Article by Gui Shiyong (2710 0013 6978)]

[Text] In Comrade Li Peng's report on government work to the Seventh Session of the NPC [National People's Congress], he pointed out, "Maintaining the state's stability and the unity of the various races of people are wherein lie the basic interests of people of the whole country; they are what all people hope for and are the general trend." He further pointed out that "it is necessary to firmly insist from beginning to end on the guideline of the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy. Continuously developing the social productive forces and gradually improving the material and cultural life of the extensive masses of people are the fundamental conditions for maintaining the stability of the state and society and the basic tasks of socialism." To have stability for the state, political stability is the precondition and economic stability is the foundation. We must, concurrently with consolidating and developing a political situation of tranquility and unity, firmly and irrevocably push improvement and rectification and deepening of the reform so that the national economy may step on the road of sustained, stable, and coordinated development. For this reason, we must first have a scientific understanding and judgment of the conditions of the development of improvement and rectification and the current problems in economic life and on this basis form corresponding countermeasures.

I

More than a year has passed since our implementation of the guideline of improvement and rectification and deepening of the reform. Despite the rather great interventions in economic work from the political turbulence in spring and summer last year, and thanks to the unity and struggle of the whole party and people of the whole country, improvement and rectification and deepening of the reform have still attained relatively clear and obvious accomplishments.

The accomplishments are centrally manifested in currency inflation having been kept under control and the scale of increase in commodity prices gradually falling. As a result of the overheating of the economy in the preceding several years, currency inflation had been aggravated daily. In 1988, the rate of increase in the general level of retail sales prices in the whole country exceeded one digit and reached 18.6 percent, surpassing national finance's and citizens' ability to bear it. This generated a situation where bank depositors rushed to withdraw their deposits and people generally engaged in panic-buying activities, seriously affecting economic stability and social tranquility. After more than a year's handling and treatment, pleasing changes have developed in the situation. In 1989, the rise in the index of retail sales prices in the country was 17.8 percent. Although this was only slightly lower than that in the preceding year, the rate of increase in commodity prices showed a rather large fall month after month. In January last year commodity prices rose by 27 percent over the same period of the preceding year, but by December the increase was cut to 6.4 percent. In January and February this year commodity prices increased by 4.1 percent over the corresponding period of last year. From October last year to the present, the scale of increase in commodity prices has been kept for six months in succession within a one-digit figure. Concurrently, the prices of people's daily necessities have been stabilized, with the prices of some commodities showing a downward tendency aside from maintaining stability. At the moment, commodity supply is relatively plentiful, the market is stable, and people's hearts are at ease.

The slowdown in the rise of commodity prices is a manifestation of the easing of contradictions arising from imbalance in gross volumes. It is also a reflection of initial success in the treatment and improvement in the realm of circulation. Last year the scale of the nation's fixed assets investments decreased by 11 percent compared with the preceding year. If we deduct the factor of the increase in prices, then in reality the drop in the volume of work in this respect was over 20 percent. The tendency of the too-rapid increase in consumption funds has also been stalled. Last year, the increase in the gross volume of salaries and wages paid to the staff members and workers was 14 percent and the purchasing power of social groups increased by 4.2 percent, the increased rate of both of which was greatly lower than that of the preceding year and also lower than the rate of increase in commodity prices of the current year. As a result of

raising the interest rate on bank deposits and the institution of value-protected savings deposits, the savings deposits of the residents have greatly increased and the volume of the increase in the issuance of banknotes has obviously been reduced, the latter retarding and shifting a considerably portion of social purchasing power. According to estimates made by relevant units, social gross demand last year exceeded social gross supply by eight percent, a reduction of 50 percent compared with the differential of 16 percent for the preceding year. After deducting the portion absorbed by the increase in commodity prices, it may be said that in that year the gross volumes of social supply and demand were basically balanced. This phenomenon, which had not appeared for many years, was the basic cause of the slowdown in the tendency of rising commodity prices. Progress made in improving the circulation order has also played a role that cannot be overlooked in controlling commodity prices. As of the end of February this year, over 70,000 companies have been abolished or merged in the country, 24.5 percent of the total number of companies. Of the various kinds of companies run by the party or government organs, by far the great majority have either been abolished or disconnected from the original mother organs, and the problem of cadres of governmental organizations having concurrent or full-time jobs in companies has thus been basically solved. At the same time, relevant departments and the various localities have done a large amount of work in improving and strengthening market order, augmenting market control, and controlling market prices. This not only has helped in promoting honesty in construction and bettering the social atmosphere but also has reduced such phenomena of confusion as reselling or rebuying for profit by officials, intermediate exploitation, raising prices at random, and collecting levies without reason, thus checking the rising trend of commodity prices.

Another manifestation that improvement and rectification and deepening of the reform have achieved obvious results is that, along with the gradual reduction in the rate of currency inflation, the national economy has achieved continued development. Last year the GNP showed an increase of 3.9 percent over the preceding year and national income increased by 3.7 percent. Agriculture recorded a relatively good harvest and agriculture's gross volume of output amounted to 814.9 billion jin, the best level in history; and the gross output value of agriculture increased by 3.3 percent over the preceding year. In the first eight months of last year, industrial production maintained a definite growth rate and after September turned into a low-speed increase; gross value of industrial output for the whole year showed an increase of 8.3 percent over the preceding year. Certain important products having a bearing on the national economy and the people's living have all along maintained a relatively good developing tendency. Readjustment of the economic structure has begun to a certain extent, and construction of major projects has attained a new development. Foreign trade and economic and technical interchange with foreign countries

have continued to develop, the country's foreign exchange reserves have increased, and the international balance of payments has shown improvement. All this goes to show that the stature of the entire national economy has changed for the better.

II

Concurrently with viewing the achievements we have made, we must also note the current economic problems and difficulties. Regarding the problems and difficulties facing us, we should rather make a heavier estimate of them and make sufficient ideological preparations for overcoming them than making an insufficient estimation of their seriousness and being overly optimistic and careless. This would put us more on the initiative.

First, we should clearly see that certain deep-lying problems that have accumulated over the years are still basically unsettled and that the task of treating and improving the situation of currency inflation is still very difficult. 1) The contradictions of the imbalance in the gross volumes are still very serious. The current reduction in market purchasing demand is to a considerable extent the natural effect of cutting down demand, but to a considerable degree is due to retarding or postponing and shifting social purchasing power. Up to the end of last year, the balance of citizens' savings deposits already exceeded 500 billion yuan. Add thereto the residents' cash in hand, and society's available purchasing power amounted to as much as 700 billion yuan. Thus, it cannot be denied that this constituted a serious threat to market stability. At present, comparing society's volume of money in circulation with the gross storage volume of commodities, the amount of commodity in storage available for each yuan is only 1.3 yuan, far lower than normal demand level. In balancing the residents' purchasing power this year with the available supply inventory of commodities, a large gap still exists, and many important commodities still have to depend on tapping the inventory to make up the deficiency. For years there have been financial deficits. Last year, the financial deficits surpassed the budget estimate and this year, because it is the peak period of repayment of domestic loans, there will not be too large a reduction in the deficits. This is an important illustration of the continuing imbalance in gross volumes. Moreover, it must be noted that the weakness and insufficient development stamina of such basic industries and facilities as energy, agriculture, communications, and transport and important raw materials, have to a very large extent restricted and stalled the increase in effective social supply, making it difficult to withstand the pressure of too-large social demand. Hence, it would not conform with reality for us to merely compare the residents' current year purchasing demand with the volume of supply and reach the conclusion that the contradiction in the imbalance between the gross volumes has been settled and perhaps believe that gross supply has surpassed gross demand. 2) The progress of structural readjustment has been too slow. Many production and construction projects that should have been cut back in line with the state's industrial

policy have not been cut back, while those whose growth should have been ensured and protected have not been ensured or protected. Projects that have stopped construction and enterprises that should have stopped production are all still waiting for an opportunity to rise again and have not carried out reorganization and readjustment of their essential factors in production. Such a situation not only seriously impedes the raising of benefits in allocation of resources, but also keeps alive the real danger of a rebound in demand. 3) Economic benefits are still not ideal, and in certain cases have deteriorated. Among state-run enterprises in the budget, last year the production cost of comparable products rose by 22.4 percent, realized profits/taxes increased by 0.2 percent over the preceding year, and the number of enterprises suffering losses increased by 120 percent. The turnover circulation funds was slowed down. Realized profits and taxes per 100-yuan of capital realized dropped from 21.99 yuan in the preceding year to 19.41 yuan last year. Realized profits and taxes from state-run commerce dropped by 53.7 percent compared with the preceding year; losses from loss-incurring enterprises increased by 24.9 percent. Poor-quality products, high consumption rates, and low economic benefits basically restrained the progress of treating and curing currency inflation. 4) The defects of the economic structure and operational mechanism have not yet been overcome. The pattern of distribution of resources is too scattered. The inertia of inflation in the various categories of economic main bodies is very strong and the self-restraining mechanism is extremely weak. Localities, departments, and enterprises frequently act with partial and short-term interests in mind, whereas the state lacks the necessary force and tactics in macroeconomic adjustment and control. As a result, the force of impediment is met by control of the gross volumes or readjustment of the structure and certain correct policies and measures cannot be strictly implemented and have to change their shape and form in the course of implementation. All this illustrates that the tasks of improvement and rectification and deepening the reform are far from complete, that the results already achieved are not firm enough and cannot be consolidated, and that we must redouble our efforts to continue intensifying the work without showing the least bit of laxity.

Second, in current economic life certain problems have appeared that cannot be overlooked. Principally this is that industrial production has been in a state of low-speed increase since the fourth quarter of last year, which has caused an increase in the number of people stopping work or awaiting employment and a downturn in economic effects as well as an increase in financial difficulties. In the half year from September last year to February this year, industrial production showed an increase of only 0.4 percent over the corresponding period of the preceding year. The slow growth in industrial production has not been due to a deterioration in production conditions, but rather to the shortage and scarcity of capital funds and restrictions from a weak market, of which the latter was the key problem. Beginning with the second

half year of last year, sales volume of commodities has declined month after month, culminating in the appearance in August of a negative growth rate, which had not been seen for quite a number of years. For the year as a whole, the gross volume of retail sales of commodities increased by 8.9 percent over the preceding year but, after deducting the price increase factor there was an actual drop of 7.6 percent. The market for means of production has also shown extreme weakness. Last year, sales of means of production by the national material resources system dropped by 0.8 percent compared with the preceding year and if the factor of price increases is deducted the actual drop amounted to 18.2 percent. In January and February this year, this situation showed no improvement. As a result of the weakness in market sales, there has been serious stockpiling in manufactured products of the enterprises, unsettled accounts between enterprises have increased drastically, and the situation of dire stringency and shortages of funds has worsened.

Basically speaking, weakness in market sales is a manifestation under new conditions of contradictions accumulated over many years. Overheating of the economy and excessive briskness in demand over several preceding years led to the blind, high-speed development in industrial production, particularly in the processing industry, and caused an ever-widening scope of business operations, but all the time the structure had remained extremely irrational. With demand currently under control and the economy gradually cooling down, it is inevitable that a portion of production has been involved in difficulties. First of all, it is difficult to sell products that are secondary in quality, high in price, backward in function, and antiquated in style. Second, it becomes difficult to sell some products that have too large a production capacity, such as electrical goods for domestic use, color television sets, refrigerators, and so forth, and certain durable consumer goods that encourage the growth of high consumption. Third, due to the cutting back of investment scale, the sales of a portion of construction materials becomes stagnant. The interplay of the functions of these several categories of products then leads to a reduction in the demand for the relevant products, as a result of which a portion of other products also encounters difficulties in selling, although sales normally should not have stagnated. In addition, following the slowdown in the tendency of rising commodity prices, the tendency of rising bank interest rates affects the residents' enthusiasm for buying, while the activism of commercial and materials departments in buying goods is similarly affected. Dividing the market into spheres of influence and closing the doors to the outside, thus causing impediments to circulation, also serves to add fuel to the flames in weakening sales in the market. Seen from the measures in macroeconomic adjustment and control, defects such as the slow perception of events and insufficient smoothing out of untoward occurrences have been found. For the sake of compressing too large a social gross demand, the guideline of tightening currency and finance was completely

necessary, but, because of the lack of experience, regulation was not prompt enough or appropriate enough in the course of operations, guidance on different categories of events was not sufficient, and in general there were the drawbacks of alternate tightening and loosening up and attempting to treat all problems with the same sort of solution.

It can be seen from the above analysis and speaking from the main side of the problem that weakening market sales and falling industrial growth rates are unavoidable in the course of improving, rectifying, and overcoming the original contradictions and shifting the national economy from being overheated to a normal status. In fact, they are the necessary conditions for pushing structural readjustment and enhancing economic benefits. Hence, they are the kind of difficulties met with in the course of advance, and can be solved only in the process of continuing to push improvement, rectification, and deepening of the reform. If we do not understand and treat the problem in this manner and still fail to see its active significance, but look at the situation with the same concept and practices formed at the time of the economic overheating, hope for an overheated market environment, and attempt to go the old road of one-sidedly seeking development in the speed the growth, then improvement and rectification may possibly be abandoned halfway and the national economy will not be able to extricate itself from the dilemma of currency inflation. On the other hand, we must also see that structural readjustment and enhancement of benefits must go through a process. First, time is needed to enhance the quality of the various kinds of essential elements of production and to improve the structure. Second, time is also needed to form the related structural elements and enhance organizational and management levels. Therefore, on the one hand, we should utilize well the reduction in market demand to actively push structural readjustment, strive to enforce economic benefits, pay a definite price for it, and thereby open up the market and promote production. On the other hand, we must make a realistic estimate of the objective possibility of readjusting the structure and enhancing benefits within a fixed period and, at the same time, limit the price to within society's ability to bear. Otherwise, if production stays for a long time in a state of low-speed growth, it may, from another direction, affect economic stability and the penetrating progress of improvement and rectification. This is because, if this state of affairs is allowed to drag on, first, it will not be beneficial to increasing effective supply, and will thereby be nonbeneficial to easing the contradiction of imbalance in gross volumes or market stability. Second, it may increase financial difficulties, cause funds austerity in the banks since the additional amounts of savings deposits absorbed from the residents may not be sufficient to compensate for the reduction in financial deposits and deposits by enterprises, increase the amount of funds absorbed by the stockpiling of manufactured products and, if all goes wrong, the banks may be forced to issue more banknotes. Third, it may affect the enterprises'

ability to bear and to withstand changes in environment, make them unable to push technical transformation and readjustment in the structure of products, and thereby weaken the whole foundation of treating and curing currency inflation. Fourth, there may be too large an increase in the number of personnel stopping work or awaiting employment and poor handling of the situation may adversely affect social stability. All of the above not only are not beneficial to furthering the treatment of currency inflation but also may possibly aggravate currency inflation. Hence, they should be relentlessly avoided.

Summing up the above, it may be said that the economy currently faces difficulties coming from two sides and that the knitting together of new and old contradictions has increased the complex nature of improvement and rectification. Regarding this situation, it must be analyzed and understood in an all-round manner. We should not only look at the difficulties from one side and overlook or disregard altogether the difficulties from the other side, but we should also see that they are closely linked with each other and restrain each other. If we cannot continue to solve the original contradictions, such as the imbalance in the gross volumes, structural maladjustment, and low-level benefits, then the newly emerging difficulties cannot be basically eased off; and if newly emerging contradictions and problems are not appropriately solved, then economic stability will be affected from another side and the gradual solution of the original contradictions and problems will likewise be affected. If it is said that the principal problems last year were controlling the currency inflation that worsened daily and lowering as soon as possible the too high rise in commodity prices so as to cool down the overheated economy, then this year we should not only consider further diminishing currency inflation and continuing to lower the extent of increases in commodity prices, but also enable the economy to move as soon as possible from a low-level growth rate and maintain a suitable growth speed. Only by so doing will it be possible, on the prerequisite of stabilizing the situation as a whole, to continue step by step to push forward improvement and rectification and deepening of the reform.

III

In order to be suited to the current complex economic status and to push improvement and rectification and deepening the reform, it is necessary to better combine the rigidity of principle and the flexibility of policies and measures to appropriately grasp the major points and dynamics of work so as to succeed, on the basis of striving to improve the structure and enhance the benefits, in gradually lowering the currency inflation rate and at the same time maintain an appropriate economic growth rate. To this end, we need to solve well the following several problems:

1. On the precondition of firmly insisting on the guideline of the double tightening of finance and credits and

loans, the dynamics of tightening and retrenchment should be appropriately readjusted.

A firm insistence on the double-tightening guideline is the prerequisite for continuing to push improvement and rectification. This is because the general tendency of our economy at the moment is still for social gross demand to exceed gross supply and this is a serious threat to the stability of the whole economic situation. At the same time, only by firmly insisting on the double-tightening guideline will it be possible to provide the macroeconomic environment necessary for structural readjustment and make enterprises strive to improve their technology and management and to enhance economic benefits. To not see this point clear-headedly, to cast doubt on the double-tightening guideline, to waver and even demand in principle its demolition may lead us to again tread the 1986 track of a serious rebound in demand, making our economy fall into the vicious cycle of inflation—tightening and retrenchment—inflation once again.

For the sake of propelling industrial production to shift from a low-level growth rate, and under the precondition of firmly insisting on the double-tightening guideline, it is necessary to be based on the new state of affairs to suitably readjust the dynamics of the tightening and retrenchment. In this connection, the principal measures are:

First, along with continuing to enforce the system of value-preserving savings deposits, appropriately readjust the interest rates on deposits and loans and charge differential interest rates on loans. In this connection, the residents' active enthusiasm for purchasing can be suitably stimulated and market demand can be increased. On the other hand, this can raise enthusiasm for internal purchasing of goods on the part of commercial and material resources departments, reduce the interest burden of industrial enterprises, and push the development of production.

Second, under the precondition of strictly controlling the gross scale of investments in fixed assets, we should appropriately increase investment in major construction and in major technical transformation projects and make them, in general, maintain the level of actual work last year. Full appropriations must be made for investments on major projects covered in the budget and an increase should be made in the investments renewed, but subsequently withdrawn and revoked, for technical transformation. At the same time, construction of certain medium- and low-grade residences should be increased and this should be done in collaboration with the reform of the housing system. In the rural areas, the system of employment for work in lieu of plain relief should be used on certain farmland water conservancy construction and highway construction projects, but restoration and new construction of high-class edifices and the ordinary running of processing industries must be strictly banned; new building projects should be kept

strictly under control and the inflation anew of the building scale should be firmly prevented.

Third, under the prerequisite of sternly controlling the purchasing power of social groups, guidance over various categories of groups should be strengthened. Regarding certain projects the production of which need support and products which can enhance office efficiency and the calibre of the staff members and workers, they should be embraced in the arrangements made in the state's production plan and appropriate laxity should be allowed for their purchases.

Fourth, appropriately increase loans to state-run commercial wholesale establishments, large and medium-sized retail sales establishments, and materials departments. Differential interest rates should be provided based on the commodities purchased and the list of materials, and this practice will also promote buying of superior goods. Thus, increased loans will develop their functions as main channels and "reservoirs." Commercial enterprises should use various flexible methods to expand commodity marketing, particularly to break the blockade of regions and departments, to energetically organize the shipment of commodities to rural areas, and to open up rural markets. Support to collective and individually run commercial establishments should be continued. They should be permitted to handle certain wholesale businesses in certain minor commodities so as to display their active role in enlivening circulation.

Fifth, strive to expand exports, suppress and reduce imports. This is an important road to easing contradictions in the domestic market and also an important measure to improve the competitive power of our commodities in the international market and to increase our foreign exchange reserves. Funds for purchases of goods for foreign trade should be increased, and purchases of goods for foreign trade should be expanded. Appropriate measures should be adopted to shift certain rich and surplus processing capacity to the international market. Meanwhile, production of substitute goods for imported products should be actively developed. We must earnestly organize the production of all raw materials as well as machinery and electrical equipment that can be produced inside the country and fight to import less of them or none at all. Continue development of three forms of processing and compensation trade and the measure of using imports to raise exports so that some processing capacity can be fully utilized.

Sixth, concurrently with adequately stimulating market demand, we should help the industrial enterprises, particularly the state-run large and medium-sized backbone enterprises, solve their circulation fund difficulties and devote concurrent attention to the medium-sized and small enterprises and town and township enterprises, which have produced relatively good socioeconomic benefits. 1) Based on the industrial policy and the good or poor showing of socioeconomic effects, increase loans for a portion of the circulation funds to support enterprises' production. 2) It is necessary to provide the

necessary starting funds and to handle elimination of "triangular debt." 3) It is necessary to restore the system of entrusting banks to collect and to pay so as to cut as much as possible newly arising debts and claims among the enterprises.

Seventh, arrange good treatment of personnel who have stopped work and are awaiting employment. On the one hand organize and help the enterprises to solve problems in production and operation so as to reduce the number of unemployed workers and those awaiting employment. On the other hand, these workers must be organized to engage in different kinds of beneficial activities or perhaps to undergo additional technical training and education. They should also be given certain subsidies or living allowances according to their different circumstances so as to maintain their basic livelihood. At the same time, grasp tightly the job of improving and perfecting the social insurance system.

In order for the above-mentioned measures to produce actual results as soon as possible, and to rescue industrial production from its low ebb and at the same time avoid causing renewed overheating, we must grasp firmly the implementation of measures, but also must proceed steadily and cautiously, paying close attention to changes in economic conditions and carrying out adequate regulation.

2. Place emphasis on grasping well structural readjustment and strive hard to improve economic benefits.

This is the basic way to improve market weakness and promote a suitable industrial growth rate and is also basic for improvement and rectification work from now on. Interpreting the matter in an integrated sense, to make a rational structural readjustment is equivalent to enhancing economic benefits, that is, the benefits of allocation of resources. Poor allocation of resources and poor results from their utilization have constituted fatal injuries to our national economy and are the source of the various kinds of contradictions in economic growth. What has caused the frequent vibrations of inflation—tightening and retrenchment—and again inflation in our economy? The fundamental cause lies in there having been no change in the status of poor economic effects. Because of low effects and much input but little output, when growth speed is desperately sought, the increase in input becomes faster than the increase in output, and, when demand becomes too brisk, supply lags behind demand and currency inflation is steadily aggravated, therefor, tightening and retrenchment must be carried out. But, once demand is restrained and currency inflation restricted, the slowdown in output is frequently greater than the reduction in input and the drop in benefits is larger than the decrease in speed. This puts the enterprises, finance, and the people's living in a state of dilemma and compels the return to looseness and laxity; at this point, any mishandling of laxity and looseness will lead to another round of new inflation. Hence, if efforts are not made and obvious progress attained in improving the allocation of resources and

bettering their utilization effects, it will be difficult to realize the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy.

Under the conditions of brisk demand and aggravated currency inflation, we can hardly talk about rational structural readjustment and improved allocation of resources, and it will be difficult to push the enterprises to improve their operations and technology and to enhance their economic benefits. At present, with demand being kept under control and market sales being weakened, relatively beneficial conditions and the possibility of realization have been created for readjusting the structure and enhancing benefits, but the full utilization of these conditions and changing the possibility into reality still require tedious and difficult efforts and a large amount of work. The implementation of improvement and rectification up to the present has met with many contradictions such as strictly controlling the scale of investments in fixed assets on the one hand, and improving the necessary stamina for economic development on the other; continuing to lower the rate of increase in the general level of commodity prices on the one hand, and adequately readjusting certain extremely irrational product prices and gradually smoothing out price relations on the other; and maintaining economic growth rate at a suitable level without again seeking a high growth rate on the one hand, and gradually achieving a basic balance in financial receipts and expenditures and causing the people's living to gradually improve on the other; and so on and so forth. All these contradictions can be eased only by improving economic benefits. While carrying out adequate readjustment of the dynamics of tightening and retrenchment, it is particularly necessary to have an intensive understanding and firm resolve regarding this point. Conversely, herein lies the key to whether or not readjustment of the dynamics of tightening and retrenchment can accomplish the feats of promoting an appropriate increase in production and at the same time avoid a new overheating of the economy, enabling improvement and rectification to proceed in a healthy manner.

In structural readjustment, it is necessary to make readjustment on three sides, namely, industrial structure, product structure, and enterprise organizational structure. In readjusting industrial structure, the aim is to gradually coordinate the important proportionate relationships of the national economy. First of all, we must make united efforts to perform a good job in agriculture, ensure stable growth of major agricultural and sideline products such as grain and cotton, and coordinate the relationship between industries and agriculture. To this end, it is necessary to adopt measures on various sides such as increasing input into agriculture, raising the scientific and technological level, increasing the supply of means of production for agricultural use, deepening rural reform, and gradually readjusting the prices of agricultural products so as to promote the stable growth of agriculture and strengthen the stamina for agricultural development. Second, we must strengthen the construction of the basic industries and basic facilities such as

energy, communications and transport, and the important raw materials, and, at the same time, actively readjust the processing industry, elevating its quality and caliber, and coordinate the proportionate relationships within industry. If we wish to have a firm footing in the economy, it is necessary to implement a policy that tilts toward the basic industries and the basic facilities. They should be given major support. However, these departments require large investments, their construction period is often protracted, and certain industries and trade are subject to energy restrictions. Hence, in order to ease these bottleneck restrictions, it is important to devote great efforts to readjust the processing industry and enhance its level and to remedy the current state of affairs in which processing industry is developing blindly, is irrational in structure, and possesses such drawbacks as a high consumption rate, poor quality of work, and extreme lavishness and extravagance. Generally speaking, readjustment of the industrial structure is relatively complex and requires a rather long time, whereas readjustment of the product structure is relatively simple and can more quickly achieve results. In the current treatment of market weakness, we must emphatically grasp the readjustment of product structure. We must firmly cut down on and strictly control the production of products with high rates of raw material and foreign exchange consumption and that are of a low-level or redundant production, and also cut down on and control production of products that encourage high consumption and super or excessive consumption. At the same time, we must strive hard to open up new products and new varieties suited to the demands of the various strata of people in the market. We should increase the production of products of well-known brands and superior quality as well as products in short supply in the market, particularly consumer goods for daily use suited to the rural areas. Likewise, production of export articles and products good for substituting articles of import should be increased. Readjustment of product structure must be closely united with the readjustment of enterprise organizational structure. It is necessary to fully display the backbone role of large and medium-sized state-run enterprises and enterprise groups, at the same time provide adequate production to medium-sized and small enterprises that conform to the state's industrial policy and have produced good socio-economic effects, and, according to the guideline of "readjusting, consolidating, transforming, and enhancing," actively guide the healthy development of town and township enterprises. We may, based on the demands of specialized cooperation and an adequate degree of dimensional operation, take well-known brands and superior-quality products or important export products and their backbone enterprises to serve as the dragon head in promoting the reorganization and association of enterprises and gradually developing enterprise groups and in the course of this procedure gradually improve the existing allocation of essential factors of production and improve industry's organizational and technological levels.

Concurrent with rational structural readjustment, massive efforts must be devoted to improving product quality, lowering material consumption, opening up the double-increase, double-economy movement, and overcoming the various phenomena of extravagance and waste. A relatively realistic method of improving enterprise benefits is to strengthen and improve management and control. It is necessary to overcome the phenomenon of "letting contracting replace control," to begin with grasping basic work in a down-to-earth manner, to set up and perfect the regulations, rules, and systems of industrial technology, and to improve the management level of various sides. Simultaneously, we should, in combination with adjusting the product structure and the enterprise organizational structure, actively promote the technical transformation of enterprises, particularly the backbone enterprise; push the adoption and spread of scientific and technological results found to have been effective; speed up the digestion, absorption, and renovation of introduced technology; mobilize the masses to extensively develop minor changes and reforms; and generally raise the technological level of enterprises. As for investment in fixed assets, we should firmly follow the guideline of transforming existing enterprises. Whenever it is found that transforming existing enterprises will achieve objectives just as well, then, so as to reserve more funds for use in technical transformation of enterprises, particularly backbone enterprises, new building should never be attempted.

3. More closely unite improvement and rectification and deepening the reform and, by gradually improving the economic operational mechanism, push improvement and rectification.

Improvement and rectification and deepening the reform are united and mutually promoting. Gradual deepening of improvement and rectification objectively demands corresponding cooperation from deepening of the reform, so that alleviating the symptoms and effecting a permanent cure of a disease may be better joined to truly and effectively solve the problem. The defects and drawbacks of economic structure and the operational mechanism are the deep-lying causes leading to currency inflation. Improvement and rectification can and should employ more administrative tactics, but, if the irrational economic structure and operational mechanism are not correspondingly improved, it will be difficult to basically overcome the sources of demand inflation and deterioration of the structure and, moreover, the administrative measures may meet with various kinds of resistance and cannot be thoroughly and well implemented. Because it is now necessary to handle well the readjustment in structure and improvement of economic benefits, this will inevitably touch upon and concern existing interest patterns and readjustment of the interest distribution relationships. If the interest already earned by various parties cannot be touched at all and the existing economic structure and operational mechanism cannot be changed, then it will be difficult, and even impossible, to achieve any results.

In deepening the reform, the direction the deepening should take must first be clarified. Our reform is the self-perfection and development of the socialist system and is by no means carrying out Westernization, that is, changing over to capitalism. So far as reform of the economic structure is concerned, our socialist economy is a planned commodity economy built on the basis of the public ownership system, and the key problem that reform intends to solve is to change the past system of over-unifying and exerting excessively strict control and to gradually establish an operational mechanism that joins together planned economy and regulation by market mechanism. Decidedly it does not intend to enforce a complete market economy based on the system of private ownership. Seen from the experiences already earned, the forms of the union of planned economy with regulation by market mechanism are in general three in number: 1) Planning of a mandatory nature. This kind of planning carries a compulsory nature, but in its formulation and implementation consideration should be given to market supply and demand relations, while the laws of value should be consciously employed and there should definitely be no subjectivity or arbitrariness. 2) Planning of a guidance nature. This kind of planning has a definite restrictive force, but it depends principally on economic policy and economic levers for its realization and has a rather large mobile nature. 3) Regulation by market mechanism. That is, under the guidance and concrete influence of the general body of the plan and the restrictions of state policies, regulations, and laws, economic activities are regulated through market supply and demand and the rise and fall of prices. Of these three types of combinations, the combined form of planned economy and regulation by market mechanism is different from the intensity of their separate roles; their concrete operation and proportion of allocation are different, depending on different forms of ownership systems, different social production stages and realms, different industries and products. Moreover, the necessary readjustment and improvement must be constantly made in accordance with the actual conditions of the different periods. At the same time, in macroeconomic management it is necessary to consciously note comprehensive balancing and coordination of the important and big proportionate relations; to use economic, legal, and administrative measures to adjust and control economic operation; and to strengthen the analysis of economic news and intelligence and economic forecasting. In examining whether the union of planned economy and regulation by market mechanism is good or bad, the basic criterion is whether or not it can facilitate the enhancement of socioeconomic effects and whether it can promote the long-term, sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy and is not just an abstract principle and pattern. During the period of improvement and rectification, based on the actual conditions and the demand of economic readjustment, there should be more of a planning nature and centralization should be appropriately augmented.

In accordance with this direction and demand, the concrete tasks of deepening the reform are principally the following: 1) Deepening reform of the enterprises. It is necessary to firmly insist on and improve the enterprises' contracted operational responsibility system, and, while concurrently continuing to develop its role of a stimulant mechanism, we must strengthen the restrictive mechanism, so as to enable the enterprises to correctly handle the interest relationship between the three parties of the state, enterprise, and staff members and workers, correctly handle the relationship between long-term interests and current interests, actively push technical transformation, improve management, and control and enhance economic benefits. At the same time, we should carry out the piloting points on "the separate flow of taxes and profits, aftertax repayment of loans, and aftertax contracting," so as to prepare conditions for the further deepening of enterprise reform. It is also necessary to continue to push internal reform of the enterprise, to strongly insist on and improve the plant head (manager) responsibility system, to fully display the political and ideological leadership role of party organs in enterprises, to give full play to the functions of employee representative conferences and labor unions, and to take a further step in arousing the enthusiasm of the cadres, technicians, and the broad masses of workers. 2) Improving and strengthening construction of the macroeconomic adjustment and control system. It is necessary to appropriately readjust the scope of mandatory planning, at the same time improve the management method of mandatory planning, and raise its scientific character and solemn nature. It is also necessary to perfect the implementation of planning of a guidance nature, make it become a thoroughly effective new planning form, and strengthen the macroeconomic guidance of regulation by market mechanism. Under the conditions of the continued implementation of the financial contracting system, it is necessary to suitably centralize financial power and actively carry out piloting points on the tax separation system, and thus probe into the measures for the further reform of the financial structure. The Central Bank's functions in macroeconomic adjustment and control should be strengthened, as should its guidance and control over the various specialized banks. The specialized banks should strictly carry out the state's industrial policy and state plan and not one-sidedly stress commercialized operation. It is necessary to establish and perfect as soon as possible mutual coordination and cooperation between the planning, financial, and currency departments and their reciprocal restrictive relations, and to push and facilitate formation and development of a macroeconomic adjustment and control structure that possesses the comprehensive coordination of economic, administrative, and legal measures based principally on the state plan. 3) Facilitating the formation and development of a socialist united market. We should continue to liquidate and rectify companies, improve and perfect the company system and standardize the acts of companies, pay attention to giving full play to the role of main channels of state-run commerce and commerce of cooperative

societies, and, at the same time, continue to support group and individual commerce, further enlivening circulation. We should strengthen market construction and management, continue to probe into and develop markets for means of production under state guidance, actively and steadfastly push price reform, readjust irrational comparative prices relations in a planned and systematic manner, and gradually minimize and solve the problem of the "double-track" system of prices of means of production. Starting with China's realities, we should first devote efforts to nurturing and developing the commodity economy and on this basis proceed to develop markets for essential factors of production. By doing so, it will be beneficial to enlivening the microeconomy under the conditions of maintaining powerful macroeconomic adjustment and control and effect the union of planned economy with regulation by market mechanism. 4) Improving distribution relations. We should enforce the policy of allowing some people and regions to become prosperous before others, since this will play an immense role in breaking egalitarianism and promoting economic development. We must continue to insist firmly on implementing this policy. At the same time, two more points must be stressed: First, firm insistence on the socialist direction and on becoming prosperous through diligence and work and through legitimate means; and, second, advocating that people and regions who have become well-off before others help those who have not yet become well-off to ultimately become well-off together. Doing so will be beneficial, concurrently with continuing to overcome egalitarianism, to easing the contradiction of injustice in social distribution.

During the period of improvement and rectification, the direction and major points in deepening the reform must be made clear, the steps must be safe and sure, and we must handle well the relations between near-term stability and long-term stability. Deepening of the reform will inevitably involve readjustment of interest relations. But, once the earned interests of various sides are involved, this or that kind of problems and impediments will be met with. If reform is stalled and all remains unchanged because of this, then this will certainly help stabilize the current situation, but then the deep-lying causes of imbalance in the gross volumes and deterioration of the structure and low-level benefits cannot be removed. It will not be possible then for the economy to follow the road of prolonged stability and peace. Moreover, if this is dragged on, then problems will accumulate and solving them will be all the more difficult. Naturally, if demand is too urgent and rash and the steps taken are too large and exceed the capacity of various sides, then possibly there will be rather large reverberations and this will hardly be beneficial to stabilizing the current economy and situation. It is important that we clearly understand the whole situation, unify our thoughts, and hold well the opportunity and dynamics of the reform so that, under the precondition of maintaining the stability of the general situation, we can advance forward step by step.

China's Science of Law Must Take Marxism as Its Guide

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[Text] Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, pleasing achievements have been realized in research in the science of law in our country and an appropriate contribution has been made to the building of a socialist legal system. However, over the last few years, under the influence of the serious flood of bourgeois liberal ideas, the circles engaged in the study of the science of law have been insufficiently persistent in their adherence to the four cardinal principles. One of the most prominent manifestations of this has been that they have been insufficiently persistent in taking Marxism as the guide for the study of law. This even led to where some people began to have doubts about and waver on the point that our country's science of law must take Marxism as its guide, and a very small number even negated the objective existence of the Marxist science of law. This seriously affected the building and development of a Marxist science of law with Chinese characteristics. At present, the prime tasks of the circles engaged in studying the science of law are to further correct guiding ideology; boldly and assuredly refute the false theories of bourgeois liberalization; firmly establish Marxism as the guide of our country's science of law; and ensure that our country's science of law better serves the implementation of the line, principles, and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and better serves the construction of a socialist legal system.

I. The Marxist Science of Law Exists Objectively

Some people hold that the Marxist science of law is actually just a "simple summation" of indirect comments by Marx and Engels on various questions of law when they were studying other questions, that there are only a "few isolated words and phrases" demonstrating Marx's and Engels' understanding of law, and that at most this could be considered Marx's and Engels' ideas on law or viewpoint of law, but not constitute a systematic theory. They hold that the Marxist science of law does not exist and, if it is said to exist, it comprises just "additions" by others.

I believe that the Marxist science of law is something that exists objectively and that no one can deny this. The reason I say this is basically because the Marxist science of law is an important component of the overall system of Marxism. It is organically linked together with Marxist philosophy, politics, economics, and scientific socialism. All of these have dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the most strict and scientific world view and methodology, as their theoretical basis. It was under the guidance of dialectical materialism and historical materialism that the science of law, an ancient science that has existed for several thousand years,

underwent a basic change. For the first time in the history of the development of the science of law, people found a theoretical weapon for scientifically answering and resolving basic questions on the emergence, nature, characteristics, role, and development patterns of law. Thereby they were able to scientifically observe and analyze the phenomena of laws and their pattern of development, analyze past laws, understand present laws, and predict future laws, thereby forming a Marxist system of legal science completely different from the legal science of all the exploiting classes in history.

In their theoretical research and revolutionary practice, Marx and Engels always had the study of law as an important component. Prior to the birth of Marxism, people often saw law as the product of "heavenly orders," "divine will," or reason. It was above class, eternal, existed independently, was just and righteous, was unconnected with the state, and so on. Marx and Engels used dialectical materialism and historical materialism to conduct scientific exploration and criticism of how the practices of primitive society changed into laws; on the nature, content, characteristics, and development patterns of law in slave society, feudal society, and especially in capitalist society; on the various aspects of bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois legal system; on various sectoral laws, on the legal views of the bourgeoisie and such views throughout history; on those schools of legal thought that had a major influence; and on the representative figures from those schools. Marx held that law is a historical phenomenon and a product of class society. It has not always existed and will not always exist. It is not "enlightenment of man by gods" that transcends nature, and is not a manifestation of abstract "reason." It is not a declaration of the "will of the masses" which transcends class, and it is not something that exists independently, unrelated to the state. It is not solid and unchanging and it is not unknowable. Law is a major part of the superstructure of class society and is a powerful tool for realizing the political and social functions of the state. The emergence and development of law and the form and content of law, the nature and characteristics of a country's law, and the degree to which law is achieved are all determined by diverse factors. The direct determining factor is in the hands of which class does state political power lie, while the final determining factors are the material livelihood relationships of society, the development of productive forces, and the situation of the relations of production. When class antithesis and class differences are eliminated, when there are the material and spiritual conditions, and when mankind enters communist society, law in the present sense will be replaced by the behavioral standards of the people of that time in their public lives. This sort of incisive exposition on law by Marxism resulted in the science of law, which has such a long history, undergoing revolutionary change, and in the achievement of a great leap in the legal ideas of mankind.

In the science of law, the conclusions reached by Marx and Engels and the scientific proof of these conclusions

formed the basic principle and basic viewpoints of an independent Marxist science of law. The major of these basic principles are:

1. The origin of law lies in material livelihood relationships. Marx pointed out, "My investigation led to the result that legal relations, as well as forms of state, are to be grasped neither in themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life."¹ In this way, law fell from the illusory and elusive position of divine will or reason to a "real base," which made law a true science.

2. The class nature of law. Marx and Engels used a class viewpoint and a class analysis method to study the law of slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society and held that law is a manifestation of the will of that class that holds the ruling position in these different types of society. The great and numerous differences, even essential differences, between the laws of different countries and especially between different types of countries, results from the differences in the will of the class that occupies the core, leading position.

People often consider so-called social nature to be the same as class nature and even use it to replace class nature as the essential attribute of law. This is wrong. Marxism holds that the so-called social nature of law is manifested mainly in its role. That is, it is manifested in the role that laws play on behavioral standards throughout society after they have been formulated, promulgated, and put into effect. This is not part of the essential attributes of law. The role of this type of behavioral standard is a manifestation of class nature. Of course, some laws are manifested, on the formal level, as equal concern for all classes, and all classes can enjoy the benefits they provide. These include laws such as environmental protection laws and so on. However, the first to enjoy the benefits are the ruling class, which formulates and implements these laws. It is precisely for this reason that the ruling class formulates and implements these laws. The so-called social nature in formal manifestation is actually a manifestation of class nature. It is sometimes even the case that the ruling class that holds political power, when formulating laws and proceeding from the maintenance of the stability of their own country or economic prosperity, will indeed consider the various nonbasic desires and demands of other classes and strata and protect their interests within a certain scope. These include for example, some of the measures adopted by the so-called welfare states. However, when the ruling classes do this, primarily and essentially they are considering the basic interests of the ruling class itself. Thus, precisely speaking, the so-called social nature of law refers mainly to its various social roles, rather than an essential attribute which replaces class nature.

3. The pattern of the development of law. Marx and Engels, on the basis of demonstrated facts, pointed out

that law is a product of a certain stage of social development, and it changes in accordance with changes and developments in the production modes and the replacement of one type of state by another. As of today, the laws that we have been able to observe are those of slave society, of feudal society, of capitalist society, and of socialist society. These are precisely consistent with the patterns of development of human society.

4. The coercion in guaranteeing the implementation of law. The results of Marx's and Engels' study shows that law is a special type of social behavioral standard. The reason it is special is that it is formulated or affirmed by the state and its implementation is guaranteed by the coercive power of the state. This is a characteristic that distinguishes legal standards from moral standards and it also means that the science of law has special targets of research.

The above-mentioned basic principles of Marxism have been tested by practice. History has proven that these basic principles of Marxism are scientific and correct.

Admittedly, these basic principles and basic viewpoints of Marx and Engels about law were not preserved in textbook form and their specific works and articles on the science of law are certainly not as numerous as their works on philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism. However, it is completely untenable, on this basis, to negate the existence of the Marxist science of law. What is a theory? Its substance is that it can, by linking theory with reality, understand, analyze and resolve questions that actually exist in human society. As long as its content can point out the essence and role of things and can be used to resolve actual problems, it is a theory. The forms of manifestation can be diverse. We cannot set down a fixed form or a set pattern. It might be a systematic exposition or it might be a concise explanation. Thus, just because Marx and Engels did not write a lengthy monograph on the science of law detailing each and every aspect of law, we cannot say that the Marxist science of law does not exist.

Everyone knows that the characteristics of the times in which Marx and Engels lived determined that the emergence and formation of Marxism, including the Marxist science of law, was critical and militant in nature. Thus, the form of manifestation of the ideas is not the classical form of textbooks and so on. Even Marxist philosophy, political economics, and scientific socialism, which were elaborated on in an overall and systematic way, were published in critical and militant forms rather than in textbook form. If we make assessments and use the textbook form as the standard, not only does the Marxist science of law not exist, but even Marxism does not exist. This is clearly preposterous.

It should also be pointed out that the Marxist science of law does not refer only to the system comprising a set of basic principles and basic viewpoints on the emergence, nature, characteristics, role, and development patterns of law as put forward by Marx and Engels, the founders

of Marxism. Rather, it also includes the enrichment and development of these basic principles by later persons under new historical conditions. For example, following the development of society and the beginning of the imperialist stage, in the face of the proletarian revolution and the emergence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin, in his theoretical research and revolutionary practice, also placed great stress on the question of law. Particularly in the practice of establishing a socialist legal system, he further enriched and developed the basic principles of the Marxist science of law that had been established by Marx and Engels. Members of the CPC, represented by Mao Zedong, combined the basic principles of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction and formed Mao Zedong Thought. In this, ideas on the science of law form an important part. In the practice of building democracy and a legal system since the establishment of the PRC and especially in the last 10 years, the guiding ideology of the Marxist science of law with Chinese characteristics has been continually enriched and developed. For example, there have been our party's analysis and criticism of the old law, the summary and expositions of the legislative principles that accord with China's actual situation, clarification and exposition on the relationship between policies and laws, principles and policies on elimination of counterrevolutionaries and striking at criminal offenders, the overall system of legal procedure, which is rich in revolutionary tradition, the establishment of the systems of suspension of death sentences, reform through labor, and education through labor, as well as the theory which strictly distinguishes and correctly handles contradictions between the two different types of society. In the new period of historical development, our party set down the basic principles of developing socialist democracy and strengthening the socialist legal system, thus demonstrating the dialectical unity and the indivisible relationship between democracy and the legal system. It also formulated the principle that the party must act within the bounds allowed by the Constitution and by law and affirmed this clearly in the state Constitution and the party constitution. It set down the idea of "grasping construction and reform with one hand and the legal system with the other" and noted the necessity of having the building of the legal system run right through the entire process of economic construction, reform, and opening up. It put forward the basic demands that in the various aspects of state political, economic, and social life, the various links of democracy and dictatorship must have laws on which to rely, the laws must be adhered to, the implementation of law must be strict, and violations of the law must be prosecuted. All of these aspects can be said to be the development of the Marxist science of law.

The above-mentioned new and major developments of the Marxist science of law are component parts of the Marxist science of law. Some people depreciate these as "additions" by later persons, but this is an unwarranted criticism. This is because every vital theory is carried on

and developed by its believers, generation after generation. We should see the correct inheritance and development of the principles of the Marxist science of law as a component part of the Marxist science of law. Otherwise, it will become a solid, unchanging and closed system, and that is precisely what Marx and Engels strongly opposed.

The people who negate the objective existence of the Marxist science of law wish to basically abolish the guiding role of Marxism in our country's science of law. In their view, as the Marxist science of law does not exist, of course we cannot talk about its guiding role. Thus, China's science of law will only have the bourgeois science of law, which they consider systematic and complete, as guidance, and there will be no option but to transplant the Western science of law to guide the building of China's legal system. Essentially, they want to replace the socialist legal system with the capitalist legal system.

II. The Marxist Science of Law Is Certainly Not "Outdated"

There are some people who, although denying the existence of the Marxist science of law, still hold that "it is outdated." They say that our country's science of law, which has adherence to Marxism as its guiding ideology, is a "traditional science of law" that "takes class struggle as the key link" and that it accords only with the situation of proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. They hold that in today's China, where the exploiting class has been basically eliminated as a class, this is no longer applicable and is already "outdated." They believe that the Marxist science of law has only three pillars—law is a product of class and class struggle, law is a manifestation of the will of the ruling class, and law is a tool of the ruling class in exercising political rule. They further believe that, as these three "pillars" will not pass the judgment of using the yardstick that "practice is the sole criterion of truth," they should be overturned. Otherwise, it will mean "ossification of ideas," "leftist viewpoints," and "continuing to take class struggle as the key link."

This view that "the Marxist science of law is outdated" is extremely preposterous. Not only is it not in accord with objective historical facts, but it is not in accord with our country's current social practice. Here, we will discuss the three "traditional" viewpoints of the Marxist science of law, which they believe have already become "outdated." First, the belief by the Marxist science of law that "law is a product of class and class struggle" refers mainly to the origins of law, how it has passed through the tests of historical practice in human society, how it is an objective fact of the historical development of human society, and how it is a social phenomenon independent of man's subjective will. Thus, the problem of whether this conclusion is outdated or not does not arise. The only question is whether we recognize this historical fact or not. It should be pointed out that Marxism does not simply sum up law as "the product of

class struggle." Rather, on the basis of a large volume of historical materials and on the basis of concretely analyzing the historical facts relating to how private ownership and classes emerged and clan organizations were replaced by states following development of the productive forces in the later period of primitive society, it naturally comes to the conclusion that law has not always existed and is rather a sociohistorical phenomenon that emerged following the appearance of the private ownership system, class, and states. Marxism holds that there were no classes, no states, and no law in primitive society. When human society enters the stage of communism, classes will die out, states will die out, and law in the present sense will not exist. This analysis is full of the spirit of dialectical materialism and historical materialism and agrees with historical facts. Thus, it is scientific and is far from "outdated."

Second, "law is the manifestation of the will of the ruling class" generally refers to the essential attribute of law. This principle is a deep-going, scientific revelation of the nature of law. This is a clear contrast to the distortion and concealing nature of the ideas on the nature of law put forward by the many historical and current bourgeois schools of legal science, and completely accords with all forms of law in history. The only differences throughout history have been that the nature of the class that constituted the ruling class has been different, the scope of constituent members of the classes has also differed in size, and the breadth of content in the manifested will differed. These aspects all changed following changes in the objective situation.

People who hold that this basic principle of Marxism, which is that "law is a manifestation of the will of the ruling class," is outdated in our country take as their logic the idea that today, following the basic elimination of the exploiting class in our country, the ruling class and the ruled class do not exist, and thus this principle does not apply to our country's current socialist law. We say that the basic Marxist principle that "law is the manifestation of the will of the ruling class" is not outdated in our country, that it is still applicable to socialist law, and that it should be understood mainly in terms of the basic spirit and essential content of the principle. Certainly, after the exploiting class is eliminated as a class, since a ruled class no longer exists, the corresponding ruling class ceases to exist in name. However, essentially the broad masses of the people, led by the working class, are still the class that holds state political power. As a class entity they have not been eliminated with the elimination of the exploiting class. Rather, their scope is broader than previously. Because, under this special form class struggle still exists within a certain scope and may at times be intensified, our country is still a country with a people's democratic dictatorship that has the working class as its leading force, that is based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and that practices democracy toward the people and dictatorship toward our enemies. The essence of the corresponding socialist law is, as in the period before the elimination of the exploiting class,

still the manifestation of the will of broad masses of people, who are led by the working class. Our country's legal science circles use a Marxist stand, viewpoint, and method to concretely analyze the essential attributes of law at the present stage in our country and, in their expression, quite uniformly hold that "our country's socialist law is the manifestation of the will of the broad masses of people who are led by the working class." Here, the working class and the broad masses of people under its leadership are taken as a unified ruling class and their will as manifested in the law is the unified will of the ruling class. The two are not divided or placed in antagonistic positions. This is because the scope of the ruling class in our country has gradually expanded and the intellectuals have also become a part of the working class. The concepts of the ruling class and the people have melded together. In another respect, the "people" spoken of here do not include antisocialist or antisocial elements. Is not this in accord with the basic principles of the Marxist science of law and in accord with the actual situation in our country? Those people who censure this principle, which Marxism obtains through using class concepts and class analysis, are ignoring the objective realities of our country in the primary stage of socialism, ignoring our development of this principle, and ignoring the social fact that in the majority of countries of the world, the exploiting class is still the ruling class. They just obstinately say that this principle is already "outdated." Even if they do not have ulterior motives in saying this, they are at least misunderstanding this principle.

Third, the Marxist science of law holds that "law is the tool of the ruling class in exercising its rule." This refers mainly to the essential attributes and basic role of law. Law has many political and social functions. In its concrete manifestation, apart from being a tool of class struggle, it can also regulate relationships within the ruling class. Apart from implementing dictatorship and consolidating rule in the political aspect, it also plays an appropriate role in economic, cultural, and social construction. However, these functions all fall under the essential attribute and basic role by which "law is the tool of the ruling class in exercising its rule." They are all concrete manifestations of various aspects of this principle. In the past, we did not consider objective situations such as time, place, and conditions, and simplistically stressed "taking class struggle as the key link." This was of course wrong. However, we cannot on this basis completely negate class struggle or deny that "law is the tool of the ruling class in exercising its rule." In fact, while class contradictions are no longer the major contradiction in our country, class struggle still exists within a certain scope and sometimes it is manifested quite acutely and intensely. The turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion, which emerged under the instigation of international antisocialist forces and the domestic tide of bourgeois liberalization over the last few years and especially in the spring and summer of last year, fully prove this point. Thus, we must adhere to the judgment that "law is the tool of the ruling class in exercising its

rule." As for those hostile forces and hostile elements that are trying to overthrow the socialist system and harm social stability and unity, we must fully employ the weapon of law and resolutely employ it in striking at them and punishing them, so as to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship.

The Marxist science of law is an important content of the treasure house of Marxist theory. Not only does it objectively exist, but it has a major guiding role to play in the building of a democratic legal system in our country and in research into the science of law. Since the founding of the PRC, the various achievements that our country has realized in the building of socialist democracy and a socialist legal system have been inseparably linked with the guidance provided by the basic principles of the Marxist science of law.

Our party has adhered to the basic Marxist principles that law has a class nature, that law is the manifestation of the will of the ruling class, and that law is the tool of the ruling class in exercising its rule, and has combined these principles with China's actual situation. Thereby, in the early period after liberation, it led the people in successful struggle to smash the old legal system and to establish a new legal system of the people's democratic dictatorship. Thereby, it powerfully consolidated the newly emerged political powers of the people and guaranteed and promoted the revival and development of the national economy. In 1954, our country's first socialist constitution was promulgated, which gave our country a basic set of regulations for administering the country. Subsequently, many important laws and regulations were formulated, which guaranteed and promoted the development of the cause of socialist construction. This has been particularly so since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, when our party, taking the basic principles of Marxism as guidance and in light of China's reality, greatly strengthened the building of democracy and the legal system and achieved widely recognized success. Thereby, it has effectively guaranteed the smooth implementation of reform, opening up, and the four modernizations. Our country's legal science circles have seriously implemented the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and they have discussed a series of important theoretical and practical questions. This has played a promotional role in the building of our country's socialist democratic legal system. As for economic construction, reform, and opening up, as well as judicial practice, the law science circles have put forward a large number of questions, carried out serious explorations, published a number of monographs, and published a large number of papers. Education in the science of law has also seen very great development. The law science circles have also participated actively in state legislative work as well as in the formulation of administrative regulations and local regulations, and thrown themselves into the work of popularizing knowledge of the law among the entire citizenry. The practical value of the law has been recognized by an

increasing number of people. All of these achievements are inseparably linked with our adoption of the basic principles of the science of law as our guidance. Facts have proven that the Marxist science of law not only is not outdated in our country, but is still playing an important guiding role. It is a theoretical base for guiding the construction of a socialist legal system and science of law with Chinese characteristics. If we do not take the basic Marxist principles for guidance, but instead do what those persons who advocate bourgeois liberalization suggest and mechanically copy the West, then the building of a legal system and research in the science of law in our country will inevitably deviate from the socialist orientation and our country's socialist legal system will inevitably be transformed into a capitalist legal system. We absolutely must not allow this to happen.

It must be pointed out that we do not deny that in some Marxist works on the science of law there are conclusions that apply only to certain specific situations at certain times under the historical conditions of those times, and not to the present situation. However, we certainly cannot on this basis declare that the basic principles of the Marxist science of law are outdated. Those people who hold that the Marxist science of law is already outdated, on the pretext that the Marxist science of law cannot completely explain and resolve the actual problems in the construction of the socialist legal system, propose that we should carry out a "renewal" or effect a "breakthrough" in the principles of the Marxist science of law. They even propose using the Western bourgeois science of law concepts, which were long ago criticized by Marxism, to effect a "transformation" of the Marxist science of law. This so-called "renewal," "breakthrough," and "transformation" actually indicates their desire to overthrow Marxism from the guiding position in our country's science of law. In 1900 Lenin analyzed the two situations that existed among Marxists at that time in Russia. He pointed out that "one group wants to remain thoroughgoing Marxists and, in accordance with the changing conditions and local characteristics of the various countries, develop the basic principles of Marxism and further study the dialectical materialism and political economics theories of Marx. The other group wants to discard various important aspects of Marx's theory."² Those persons who hold that the Marxist science of law is outdated are indeed those who "want to discard various important aspects of Marx's theory."

III. We Must Firmly Maintain the Leading Position of the Marxist Science of Law Among the "Contending Schools"

Some people hold that we should see the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on law as one element of a plural theory of law. I believe that this "theory of plurality" is, on the theoretical level, nonscientific, and, on the practical level, extremely harmful. Since the emergence of the science of law, there have always existed different understandings of the origin, nature, role, and development

patterns of law. In the different stages of historical development, and especially in modern and contemporary history, different schools of legal thought have emerged. However, regardless of how many schools of legal thought and regardless of what guiding ideology they have, in the end, if they are not idealist, they must be materialist. They have to be one or the other. Facts have proven that there is only one truth, the unitary theory of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. The Marxist science of law is one of the concrete manifestations of this. It is certainly not just "one of the schools" to be lined up alongside the non-Marxist "contending schools" of legal science. We must persist in using Marxism to guide China's science of law and to develop China's science of law. We cannot use other false theories that are divorced from the truth, as this would cause theoretical research in China's science of law to become sidetracked.

The view which depreciates the Marxist science of law as "one element in a plurality of elements" is actually just copying, in the law science field, the so-called "theory of the plurality of truth." However, this viewpoint is essentially a subjective, idealist view. In their view, as the Marxist science of law is "one element of a plurality of elements" and one type of truth in "plural truths," our country's science of law does not have to take the Marxist science of law as guidance and can take the bourgeois science of law as guidance. Thus, some people advocate giving 70 percent of the domain to the bourgeois science of law, for, if this is not done, it will be like seeking an idol for ourselves and limiting ourselves. From this we can see that the efforts to belittle the Marxist science of law as one element of diverse elements is actually an attempt to have the bourgeois science of law occupy the theoretical front line in our country's science of law. Of course, we must adhere to the "double hundred" policy and allow the various different theories to "contend." We must also seriously study and draw in all beneficial things from legal ideas in history and the contemporary Western science of law. However, in these things, we must take Marxism as our guide. In implementing the "double hundred" policy, there has always been a distinction between the true and the false, and the sole yardstick in distinguishing them is whether or not they persist in taking Marxism as their guide. Those persons who obstinately adhere to bourgeois liberalization are, on the pretext of implementing the "double hundred" policy, engaging in opposition to the four cardinal principles. Their idea of "letting one hundred schools of thought contend" is, through confusing people, to engage in bourgeois idealism with "one school contending alone." They basically negate the guidance of Marxism and even deprive Marxism of the right to speak. Thus, in the contention among the one hundred schools, we must always persist in taking Marxism as our guidance and certainly cannot allow the flood of bourgeois liberalization to flow unchecked under the banner of "letting one hundred schools of thought contend."

Summing up the above, the Marxist science of law objectively exists independent of the will of all people, and its basic principles are still today emanating with the brilliance of truth. The various types of bourgeois liberalization and other mistaken views that try to negate the leading position that Marxism holds in our country's science of law, want to basically negate the four cardinal principles so as to facilitate the implementation of capitalism in our country. Thus, eliminating the various manifestations of the views of bourgeois liberalization in the field of the science of law and safeguarding the leading position of Marxism in our country's science of law is not only a major theoretical issue but also a major issue of right and wrong on the political level. We must, in a bold and assured way, thoroughly criticize the viewpoints of bourgeois liberalization and eternally defend the leading position of Marxism in our country's science of law.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 2, p. 82.
2. *Collected Works of Lenin*, Volume 3, p. 584.

Commentary on and Analysis of the 'Theory of the Plurality of Truth'

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[Text] The "theory of the plurality of truth" is an idea which has been quite in vogue among the theory circles in recent years and it is the theoretical basis of the many fashionable ideological tides of plurality (political plurality, ideological plurality, the plurality of the patterns of development of human society, and so on). The people who propose this idea say that, on the basis of summing up the "leftist" lessons in guiding ideology during our country's construction and with the "foundation" of some new developments and new materials in the question of cognition by modern science, they are engaged in the "new exploration" of truth. The "new exploration" they speak of can, in summary, be said to have two bases: First, with respect to the source of the content of truth, there is not only an objective source, but also a subjective source. That is to say, the content of truth is subjective in nature and, with diverse sources, there is inevitably a plurality of truth. Second, in terms of the forms of existence of truth, the truths that exist in the various schools are plural and equal in value and enjoy equal rights. The actual goal of such ideas is to negate Marxism as the guiding ideology, to obliterate the division between Marxism, non-Marxist philosophies, and anti-Marxist philosophies, and to obliterate the distinguishing line between socialism and capitalism. This theory is very deceptive and extremely dangerous, and it is deserving of serious dissection and analysis.

I. The Theory of Subjective Truth, Which Holds That the Development of Modern Science Has Meant That the Content of Truth Has a Subjective Nature, and Which Holds That Different Subjects of Practice Have Different Truths, Negates the Marxist Theory of Objective Truth

All truth is objective and subjective truth absolutely does not exist. This is a basic idea in the Marxist viewpoint of truth. The acceptance of an objective truth inevitably requires acceptance that there is only one correct understanding among people of the same object (or the same aspect or the same level). This is what is meant by the frequently stated idea that there is only one truth, that is, the theory of the unity of truth. However, proponents of the "theory of the plurality of truth" hold that, following rapid strides in the development of modern science, "the subjective element of man has become unprecedentedly prominent, and this has heralded the shattering of the classical epistemological ideal of a reflection that is the true image of the objective thing." "Man's subjective element has already permeated the theory of science, resulting in the content of truth being subjective in nature." Different subjects can, because of differences in cognitive schemata, in ways of thinking, in coordinates, and in scientific instruments used, obtain different truths. Thus, truthful cognition is not unitary and, rather, is manifold in nature.

Can the subjective concepts of modern science result in the content of truth being permeated with subjectivity? That is, is the content of truth objective or subjective (or objective plus subjective)? This is a point of debate between the idea of the unity of truth and the "theory of the plurality of truth." We accept that the development of modern science has indeed shown the major dynamic and creative role of the subject in cognition of an object. However, this role of the subject does not change the principles of the dialectical materialist theory of epistemology. These are: 1) There is an objective reality of the target of cognition, and the object does not rely on any subject for its existence. 2) The content of cognition is nothing but a dynamic reflection of the objective target. That is to say, first, the objectivity of the existence of the target object, which is the basis and precondition of truthful cognition, is not denied. Einstein said that "the belief in an external world which is independent of perceptual subjectivity is the basis of all natural science."¹ Heisenberg also said that "quantum theory does not include true subjective characteristics. It does not draw on the spirit of the physicist as part of the atomic events."² Second, the objectivity of the content of truthful cognition is not denied. Below, we will conduct an analysis of things relevant to the relationship between the development of modern science and the content of truth.

First, the subjective cognitive schema, that is, the relationship between the cognitive structure and the content of truth.

A subject engaging in the cognition of an object involves an active process of reflection. However, how does the

subject actually reflect the object? Since Kant put forward the theory of a priori knowledge, many philosophers of science, psychologists, and scientists of thought have engaged in continuous exploration of this topic. The psychologist Piaget put forward the theory of cognitive schema, while Kuhn and W. Stegmüller noted that observation is subject to the restraints of the "norms" and "patterns" of theory. This idea holds that the subject, through its brain, constructs cognitive schemata, that is, cognitive structures, which process and manufacture external information about the object. These schemata or structures are gradually constructed through the internalization into the brain of the activity schemata, which are formed through millions of practical activities. This is what Lenin called the "pattern of logic." The function of these cognitive schemata is to assimilate external stimuli. On the one hand, they obtain, record, and store external information about objects. On the other hand, they sift, filter, process, and synthesize this information, thereby forming new understandings and conclusions. The process by which the cognitive schemata assimilate and build an objective knowledge structure is the process of externalization of the cognitive schemata. The objective knowledge structure spoken of by Piaget is the ideas constructed by the subject. That is, it refers to this process of externalization. However, when changes occur in the objective environment and the existing cognitive schemata of the subject cannot assimilate the actions and experiences of the subject, then, in accordance with the changes in the environment and the corresponding need to reflect the object, the old schemata readjust and change. Thereby new cognitive schemata that accord with the new realities emerge. This change is referred to as accommodation. In the process by which the subject uses his own cognitive schemata to build an objective structure of concepts, on the one hand it means that the cognitive structure relating to objects is deeply branded with the subject's schema, and on the other hand, it means that the subject is continually accommodating the objects, so that those aspects of the subjective which do not accord with the objective are eliminated and cognition gradually becomes consistent with the objective. Thus, Piaget considered the process by which the subject constructs objects as a process by which the subject freed itself from "egocentrism."

The theory of cognitive schema shows that man's cognition is not a unidirectional process from external stimulus to response by the subject. Rather, it is a process by which the subject's cognitive schema assimilates external objects. Just as the cognitive structure, including the experiences, knowledge, thoughts, and even nonrational elements in the brains of various subjects differ when different people observe the same thing, although the image on the retina is the same, the conclusion obtained through assimilation and construction may be different. The phenomenon of "people seeing what they are accustomed to," which exists widely in real life, is produced in this way. Although there are shortfalls in the theory of cognitive schemata or patterns, in its various explanations of the internal mechanism by which the subject

dynamically reflects the object and the reasons for the diverse forms which exist in people's cognition, it does not admit that the content of truth is subjective in nature. The ideas of this theory about accommodation and elimination of "egocentrism" show that not only do cognitive schemata that do not agree with the characteristics and demands of the object have to be adjusted, but also that subjective fabrications that the cognitive schemata produce have to be continually eliminated.

Second, the relationship between the material operational measures used in cognition and the contents of truth.

As humans continually extend their cognition antennae toward deeper levels of the macroworld, the microworld, and the universe, in order to resolve the difficulties involved in understanding things that cannot be directly observed, it is necessary to use scientific instruments to change the situation of the objects and thereby have them directly show their qualitative and quantitative patterns. Then through logical and nonlogical creative thinking, the essential patterns are grasped and confirmed through experimentation. The physicist Bridgman summed up, on the philosophical level, the methods involved in researching the theory of relativity and quantum theory and put forward the idea of operationalism. According to this idea, the internal relationship of scientific theory is not a two-part relationship involving the consciousness of the subject and the object being subject to cognition. Rather, he saw it as a three-part relationship: Theory = F (subject + procedure of operational instruments + object). From this it can be deduced that if the operational modes of the subjects are diverse, the theoretical models reflecting the object could also be diverse. For example, when people were studying the nature of microparticles, different measuring tools and methods were employed. Thus, in observing the characteristics of wave motion or a particle, which aspect was observed as the characteristic of that wave or particle was determined by the measuring tools and methods, while the measuring tools and methods depended on the theory subscribed to. Different theories determined that there were differences in the models established and also determined that there were differences in the characteristic of an object observed by the subject. Here, the statements of theory are indivisibly linked with the elements of the subject's practice.

Scientific instruments, as extensions of human sensory and thought organs and as the materialization of rational knowledge, certainly can, in specific situations, indirectly observe some phenomena for man and play a role of decisive importance. However, even if this role were greater, it could not prove that the content of truth is subjective in nature. This is because, in deciding whether understandings and conclusions obtained by experiments and observation using scientific instruments are true or not, it is necessary to see whether they are congruent with the objective nature of the target of cognition. If they are not in accord, it will be possible for them to be overturned by the experiments of scientists in the future. For example, in the 1920's, while research

was being conducted on Beta decay of the atomic nucleus, it was discovered that the average energy of the electrons emitted was always less than the energy lost by the atomic nucleus, and it was not known where the missing energy went. The famous physicist Bohr held that energy was not conserved in Beta decay and that the universal validity of the law of conservation of energy had been overturned. However, after people had conducted detailed studies of the process of Beta decay in nuclear reactors, it was found that, at the same time as electrons were emitted, neutral, almost static microparticles—neutrinos—were being concurrently emitted. It was these particles that were taking the energy differential. This more accurate scientific experimentation proved that even in the process of Beta decay, energy was still conserved.

Third, the relationship between the methods of thought and the content of truth.

Scholars of the modern science of thought tell us that in the subject's reflection of the object, not only does the subject use all sorts of continually improving, advanced physical methods, but also, under the guidance and control of cognitive schemata, uses various methods of thought to process and transfer external information from the object. That which is referred to as methods of thought includes selection, addition, combination, distillation, extension and so on. These methods of thought are the expression and externalization in the various cognitive processes of subjective spiritual factors (including the psychology, knowledge, thought capacity, and thought modes of the subject, and the social and national psychology and social consciousness of the group) and value factors (including need, interests, intentions, aspiration, motivation, and evaluation). Because people's cognitive processes are not simply reprographic copying, but involve active reflection involving understanding and creativity, the subject must not only select information which comes from the object, rejecting the dross and accepting the essence, rejecting the false and accepting the true, but must also link up this information and analyze it. On the basis of his own experiential knowledge, he needs to associate, add to, and supplement the incomplete content of the information, and organize it into complete perceptions, concepts, and ideas. At the same time, the subject needs to distill some of the superficial content and, through analysis, synthesis, comparison, abstraction, and other logical methods, eliminate the secondary, nonessential perceptual materials and abstract that which reflects the essence of the thing. This enables cognition to be raised from the specific to the general, from the perceptual to the rational, and thereby allows the grasping of objective patterns. Moreover, the subject also has to use the methods of hypothesis, transferred induction, and so on, to extend the existing knowledge of the essential nature to those objects and processes that have not been studied, and proceed from that which is known to make predictions about that which is not known.

In this way, by processing and creating through a series of thought methods and by manifesting the cognitive results through certain concepts, categories, judgments, and deductions, it is possible to obtain an understanding that is an image of the object and also possible to avoid the permeation of purely subjective elements. There exist the following situations: Some cognitive contents are permeated by a small amount of subjective elements. Such cognition is in the main part congruent with objectivity, with a minor part not being congruent; there are some cognitive contents that are mainly subjective things. In such a situation, only a minor part of the cognition is congruent with objectivity, while the majority is not congruent; some cognition is basically or entirely subjective and concocted. Such cognition is basically or entirely divorced from objective reality. We know that truth and general ideological cognition are different. The various types of "products" which are created by the thought process mentioned above are all ideological cognition, but not necessarily truth. Only after undergoing the test of practice can the content of ideological cognition that is in accord with objectivity be considered truthful cognition.

We can see that, although the subject's thought factors play a major dynamic, creative role when they process and manufacture conceptual object models, whether or not the "products" created by thought are true is not determined by the thought or the thinking subject. Rather, it is determined by whether or not and the degree to which the cognition is in accord with the external objective world, which is the target of cognition. In other words, it is determined by the standard of practice. That is, the dynamic role of the methods of thought cannot, in the end, result in the content of truth having a subjective nature.

From the above analysis, we can see that, in the dynamic process by which the subject reflects the object and its innate mechanisms as revealed by modern science, if we say that the cognition of truth is a process involving the mutual roles of subject and object, it is a process involving mutual stipulation; and that the subject, through practical factors and logical factors of thought causes the object to undergo two changes in the construction of a conceptual object model, then truthful cognition relies on the subjective forms manifested and, without a doubt, truth has a subjective nature. However, if we speak of the content of truth as being those aspects of the subjective that are congruent with the objective, we certainly cannot say it is subjective in nature. The proponents of the "theory of the plurality of truth" obliterate and ignore the basic principles of the objective existence of the target of cognition and the standard of practice, and exaggerate and distort the dynamism of the subject and the indivisible mutual roles of the subject and object in the process by which modern science engages in cognition of objects. They thus concoct the idea that the content of truth is subjective in nature. However, this is just the subjective view of truth cloaked in "modern" attire. They then use this to build an

operational base for their "theory of the plurality of truth" camp. They also falsely accuse the dialectical materialist view of truth of being an "old" materialist view of truth, and malign it as "an old dogma that ignores the subjective nature of truth." Then, with their "modern" subjective, idealist view of truth as a weapon, they engage in lashing and castigating it. This is a struggle between those who adhere to the principles of the Marxist view of truth and those who oppose them.

II. Distorting the Diverse Cognitions of Truth of the Various Schools as Plurality and Using the So-Called Equal Value and Equal Rights of the Truths of the Various Schools To Negate the Leading Position of the Marxist View of Truth

Marxist epistemology, at the same time that it adheres to the objective and unitary nature of the contents of truth, also recognizes the diversity of the forms of existence of truth. That is, it recognizes that there is a diversity in the degree of cognition of truth and the theoretical forms of expression of truth among different subjects (and especially among various schools). The proponents of the "theory of the plurality of truth" proceed from the subjective root of the content of truth and distort the diversity in the cognition of truth by various schools into a plurality and strongly advocate the idea of the plural truths being equal in value and having equal rights. They say that, in the past, a particular school "was conferred with a supreme position" "artificially 'enfeoffed' and 'crowned,' resulting in our limiting ourselves and becoming ludicrously 'conceited,'" and that we should "break through the prescribed bounds of thought, which hold that only we ourselves are correct, and adopt a scientific thought mode in which ideas enjoy equal rights." They use this argument as an attempt to negate the leading position of the Marxist viewpoint of truth.

The diversity of truth and the plurality of truth are two different concepts and cannot be mixed together. The so-called diversity in the forms of existence of truth refers to a relatively fixed objective target, which can be understood from different points of view, different angles, and different levels, and which can be explained through different theoretical forms. Because of the different sides, different levels, and historical changes of objects, and because of differences in the practical elements, logical elements, and socio-historical relationships of subjects (individual and group), seen from the synchronic view, a phenomenon is produced in which different schools explore the essential nature of the same target from different sides, different levels, and different forms of movement. Seen from the historical view, subjects in different stages of development establish different theoretical doctrines about objects which are in themselves in constant movement. This produces a situation in which the same object assumes different combinations and diverse forms in the consciousness of different subjects—this is mainly manifested as schools of thought. Here the following several situations can occur: 1) With the essential nature of the same object as the target of research, two different theoretical schools

can be formed. 2) In relation to a fixed, definite target, different schools grasp the characteristics of different aspects or different levels of the target, forming many different theoretical judgments. 3) Schools that form a system of truth through joining together innumerable strands of truth coexist with schools that grasp only a few of the major elements of truth. However, the plurality of truth is different. It refers to a plurality of sources, origins, or roots. The "plurality" of truth means that truth has many origins and that this plurality is determined by the many sources (including subjective sources) of truth. Someone has put the idea very clearly: "Since the content of truth is subjective in nature, in the same sphere of research, various different schools can emerge. Their theories can all become truthful cognition." It is very obvious that they see the truths of the various schools not as diverse forms of manifestation of a unitary essence (objective truth), but as essentially different (subjective truth and objective truth) plural products determined by the different natures of the schools. This viewpoint goes against the principle that the diversity of the world is unified in its material nature, a principle which has been proven by man's epistemological history and a long period of development of the natural sciences, and also goes against the principle that practice is the sole criterion of truth. Further, as the different schools have diverse origins, and all hold themselves to be right, it will not be possible to carry out dialectical synthesis and unifying of the elements of truth contained in the theories and the different schools. This will thereby result in insuperable barriers to the development of man's understanding and the development of truth.

The proponents of the "theory of the plurality of truth" infer from the truth (or elements of truth) of the various schools the view that these plural truths are of equal value and have equal rights. This viewpoint likewise has no basis.

First, let us analyze the question of the so-called equal value and equal rights of the truths of the various schools. We recognize that, when different schools engage in research on the same target from different angles and to different degrees, the resulting cognition and theoretical systems can have many common elements and similar points. However, we certainly cannot say that they are of equal value or have equal rights. Their theories will be different in terms of depth, quality, and the degree to which they can be applied. For example, both English classical political economics and Marxist political economics had the capitalist relations of production as their target of study, and both had a theoretical system based on the value of labor. However, there were also basic differences between the two. 1) Although the classical school differentiated between the use value and the exchange value of commodities, it did not understand the dual roles of labor. It saw the essence of value as an eternal natural attribute of commodities and did not recognize the social relationships between people which lay behind the products. Marx critically

carried forward the rational elements of those who had gone before and established scientific theories of the dual nature of labor and of forms of value. 2) Although the classical school did make valuable contributions to the theory of surplus value, it did not establish a scientific theory of surplus value. Marx, on the basis of the theory of labor value, established the theory of surplus labor and laid the foundation stone for Marxist economic theory. 3) The classical school saw capitalist relations of production and capitalism's economic categories as "a natural order" in accord with the nature of man and as an eternal, unchanging thing. Marxist economics revealed the capitalist modes of production and the patterns of their emergence, development, and demise, demonstrating the inevitability of the proletarian socialist revolution. It can be seen that what these two theories reflected was truth in varying degrees and levels about the same target. Not only were they not of equal value in terms of their level of theory and scope of application, but they do not have equal rights in terms of their position in the history of the development of political economics.

Second, the proponents of the equal value and equal rights of plural truths often use the example of schools that studied the characteristics of different sides of the same object, such as wave theory, particle theory, empiricism, and rationalism, to prove equal value and equal rights. On the surface, this seems beyond reproach. However, within it are contained many fallacies. This is because truth is a complete thing and, as far as truthful cognition or a truthful judgment, which only reflects the characteristics of one side of an object, are concerned, it is only one element of truth. Only when the two sides are dialectically unified do they form an entire truth that completely reflects the nature of the object. Wave theory, particle theory, empiricism, and rationalism are all like this. If one obstinately wants to say that the two elements of an entire truth are independent truths with equal rights, this will, apart from splitting the integral nature of truth and creating theoretical chaos, have no positive significance.

The main aim of the proponents of the "theory of the plurality of truth" in advocating the equal value and the equal rights of the various sides of truth is to make the belief that the theories of the various schools are equal to the theoretical basis of our ideology, so that we cannot "ban the hundred schools of thought" and "only respect one school." To put it bluntly, it is to oppose the leading position of Marxism.

We should look at this question from two angles: Seen from the angle of epistemological history, every school that has correctly understood the characteristics of one side of an object has made a contribution of historical significance in promoting the progress of science and the development of truth, and in the history of human thought, they should all have a certain status. However, seen from the angle of people's practice, while we can say that in the natural sciences, schools which have grasped a particular aspect of truth have had a definite guiding

significance in the practice of a particular specific science, in social practice any school that has grasped only one side of truth, such as empiricism or rationalism, cannot alone be a correct guiding ideology for practice. Only schools that dialectically link up the truthful elements of all sides and grasp the whole truth (or the entirety of truth), such as dialectical materialist epistemology, can provide an overall world view and methodological principles for us in formulating policies and guiding work. Everyone knows that, in the course of our country's democratic revolution, there were two theories on the united front questions. One advocated "ally in everything and negate struggle" while the other advocated "struggle in everything and negate alliance." Both caused us great suffering. Thus, on this issue, these two theories are clearly not of equal value and do not have equal rights with the theory of "both ally and struggle" put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong. Here, when they talk about equal rights and equal value, they are using a one-sided mistaken viewpoint to oppose overall, correct viewpoints.

Third, with respect to the relationship between Marxism and non-Marxist schools, it is even more absurd to talk about equal value and equal rights. We know that in every specific historical period there has been a school of thought (in class society, it has been the system of thought of a class) that has quite objectively reflected the objective world, because the class interests and historical mission that it manifests have been congruent with the demands of social development. Thus, in that period it becomes the school that masters the most truth. That is, it masters the dominant truth of the times. It thus becomes the ideological banner leading that historical period forward. For example, in the period of the bourgeois revolution, it was not feudal thought, small agricultural producer thought, or so on, but the ideological system and schools of thought of the bourgeoisie that reflected the demands of development at that time and grasped the spirit of the times. In the same way, in the time of the proletarian socialist revolution, it was not the ideological schools of other classes that grasped the dominant truth of the times, but rather it was Marxism, the ideological system of the proletariat. There is an essential difference between Marxism, which now grasps the dominant truth of the times, and the other theoretical schools, which grasped the dominant truth of the times in the past. The difference lies in that the latter did not establish a true scientific ideological system. For example, although the classical philosophy of the modern bourgeoisie clearly realized quite high achievements in those times, it did not unify materialism and dialectics. Even less did it apply materialism in the analysis of sociohistorical development. It was only Marxism, which unified these various aspects into an organic theoretical system on a scientific basis, forming dialectical materialism and historical materialism and, through analyzing capitalist social forms, created the theories of surplus value and scientific socialism. Thereby, it formed a complete system of scientific truth

which harmonized with the patterns of movement (natural and historical) of the objective world. Thus, in terms of its high degree of ability to bring together (and still bring together) mankind's advanced ideologies, thereby achieving a complete science, as yet, there are no other theories of schools that can compare with Marxism, let alone surpass or replace Marxism.

In brief, regardless of whether we look from the angle of the relationship between different schools in the natural sciences or the relationship between Marxism and non-Marxist schools, the claim for equal value and equal rights of plural truths is wrong and unscientific. Also, any advocacy that tries to use other schools to replace Marxism or tries to have other schools form, together with Marxism, the theoretical base of our ideology, are also wrong and reactionary. We deny the plurality of truth and the equal value and equal rights of the truths of the various schools. However, we do not deny that other schools have, in the natural sciences and social sciences, grasped certain contents of truth in different spheres at different levels and from different sides. In the social sphere, Marxism is the highest contemporary system of scientific truth. However, Marxism does not and cannot conclude truth. It only opens a wide road for people to increasingly understand more objective truth. Especially in the current situation, where modern science and technology are progressing so swiftly and socialist practice and capitalist development are continually showing new characteristics, Marxism must continually draw in beneficial nutrition from other schools and continually develop and perfect itself.

III. The Essence of the "Theory of the Plurality of Truth" Is Subjective Idealism, and the Strategic Aspect of Its Political Inclination Is That It Provides a Theoretical Base for the Advocacy of Liberalization and for the Negation of the Four Cardinal Principles

Above, we have analyzed the erroneous nature of two arguments of the "theory of the plurality of truth" in terms of the content of truth (that is, the nature of truth) and the forms of existence of truth. Here, following the locus and line of thought from the image to the essence, we will further analyze the essence of this theory and the strategic aspect of its political inclination.

From the foregoing analysis, it is not difficult to see that the "theory of the plurality of truth" belongs to a school of extreme subjective idealism. In order to camouflage its true colors, this school adopts extremely covert methods. On the one hand, it uses some new concepts and terminology from the development of modern science to give itself the hue of modern "scientific philosophy." On the other hand, it uses the ideas that both subjectivity and objectivity are sources of truth and that the truths of this school and that school have equal value and equal rights, and it adopts a so-called unbiased "neutral school philosophy" to cover up the nature of its subjective idealism. However, we can observe that none of these actions has changed its nature in the slightest. Although they speak of objective and subjective sources,

what they mainly stress is the core role of "subjective elements" and hold that "the basic principle of classical epistemology is the principle of objectivity. It takes the object as the axis and cognition as a reflection or duplication of the original object. The primary principle of nonclassical epistemology is the principle of subjectivity. It takes the subject as the axis, and cognition is the activity of creation by the subject. The essence of this activity is reconstruction." "The content of scientific theory is nothing more than stipulations and explanations made in observation by the subject in accordance with the subject's own innate thought structure." "Existence can be known only through perception." Some people even raise the dynamism of the subject to the position of "creator" and hold that scientific truth is "freely created" by people. "Old materialism did not recognize this free creation and thus overlooked the subjective side of truth." They also speak of the subjects of the various schools as "everyone," thus seemingly moving away from the idea that "only I am correct." However, the facts are completely opposite, for when they speak of the subjects of the various schools, it is as abstract subjects divorced from the restrictions of objective historical conditions. Thus, there is no distinction between the schools of different classes and also no differentiation between advanced, medium, and backward schools or between idealist and materialist schools. These subjects of schools that stand aloof from the objective restrictions of class and historical practice have only purely subjective characteristics and unlimited subjective dynamism and creativity, and this gives all these schools a supreme omnipotent cognition and the ability to master a truth which is of "equal value" and the "equal right" to "freely create" truth. From this we can see that the so-called diverse origins, plurality, and diverse schools that they speak of are nothing but pretence and signboards. In their heart of hearts, they have but one element, that of subjective idealism, and they are all of the one school of subjective idealism.

The appearance of the ideological tide of the "theory of the plurality of truth" is not an isolated, coincidental phenomenon. It is the synthesis and continuation of the Machist, pragmatist, and positivist philosophies of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, in modern guise. If we examine their "genealogy," we can see that the predecessors not only used the cover of "science" and being a "neutral school" to disguise themselves, but also used the same concepts about truth. For example, Bogdanov said that "truth is a form of ideology," that "the content of truth are subjective in nature," that truth is "socially organized experience" of "universal significance," that "truth exists in every school," and that "the truths of the various schools are plural and have equal value and equal rights." The pragmatists also noted that "truth is created by man for use by man," that "truth is 'freely created' by man," and so on. These ideas are no different from what these schools are saying today. This blood relationship and inheritance between them lets us see more clearly that the "theory of the plurality of truth" is not something

new, but rather is a new variety of old subjective idealism under new historical conditions.

Lenin penetratingly pointed out that in philosophy there is a struggle between parties. "This struggle is, in the end, a manifestation of the tendencies and ideological systems of antagonistic classes in modern society."³ What, then, is the key point in the political tendency of this "theory of the plurality of truth," which is a new variety of subjective idealism?

It is to provide an epistemological basis for negating the four cardinal principles and to provide a spiritual weapon that those person who engage in liberalization can use to oppose the party, oppose socialism, and restore capitalism. The ideological origin of all of the major false theories of liberalization and especially of the various false theories related to "plurality" can be traced back to this.

First, the "theory of the plurality of truth" must inevitably lead to pluralization of guiding ideology. "The theoretical base guiding our ideology is Marxism-Leninism." Those who engage in liberalization also understand that if they want to change the course of China's socialist ship, it is necessary to first "create public opinion" and change this guiding ideology. The "theory of the plurality of truth" is the weapon they are using to achieve this objective. In their theory, Marxism, which is our guiding truth in this age, is not only an ordinary school among many schools, but it is just one element with equal value and equal rights in a plurality of elements. Further, they hold that taking this element of Marxism as a guide will lead to "becoming closed," to a "dictatorial style," to "ossification," and to "a situation that leads easily to extremes." Some people even say bluntly that "Marxism is a truth for revolution and class struggle, not for construction. In engaging in modernization, we must choose Western theories." In fact, Marxism does include many basic principles relating to revolutionary questions, such as those on class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, party building, ideological and political work, and so on. These principles still have guiding significance. However, it also includes principles on the basic characteristics of socialism (such as ownership of the means of production, distribution according to work, and so on). More important, the core content and highest achievement of Marxism is its world view and methodology. Its guiding significance in all socialist practice lies not in that it has "ready-made answers" but that it is a guide for answering these questions. However, this universal guiding significance and role of Marxism is completely obscured by the "theory of the plurality of truth," which considers Marxism just "one" of the "many," just a partial truth applicable only to class struggle, and actually wants to replace it with Western theory. It can be seen that, although the "theory of the plurality of truth" claims it has the pluralizing of guiding ideology as its aim, in fact it wants to implement Western theory as the guiding ideology.

Second, the "theory of the plurality of truth" is the theoretical foundation of political pluralization (with the multiparty system as its core). People who engage in bourgeois liberalization, in order to serve their own political aim of a multiparty system in which parties "take turns holding political power" and which Engels bitterly denounced as "the most filthy method," use the "theory of the plurality of truth" in a hundred and one ways to revive its reputation and to give it, in a majestic way, the holy and pure spirit of "truth" and to crown it with the laurels of the interests of the majority of people and of democracy. Some people directly state that, as truth is plural, all political parties have equal value and equal rights and, thus, "only by implementing the multiparty system is it possible to completely grasp truth, reduce the possibility of making erroneous decisions, and guarantee the interests of the majority of people." This view seems to be very rational, but in fact it is a fallacious idea, which has evil intent. Anyone who has even the slightest knowledge of Marxism understands that truth, as the correct reflection of the objective patterns of things, has nothing to do with the number of parties there are, and that "the acknowledgment of the majority of people" is not equivalent to truth. Rather, it is conditioned on whether the class nature of the political parties is advanced or not. Generally, when the class characteristics and class interests represented and manifested by a political party are congruent with the demands of social development, that is, when the party has an advanced nature, it will have no misgivings on the theoretical level and will be brave in pursuing truth. Thereby, it will be able to recognize and master the truth of the times quite well and represent the interests of the majority of people. If this is not the case, the reverse will occur. Although a communist party in a socialist country is the political party of the working class, the class interests of the working class are consistent with the interests of the vast majority of people. Its characteristic of being able to finally liberate itself from its class nature only after having liberated the whole of mankind is also congruent with the historical trend of human social development.

Thus, the Communist Party, as the political party of the working class, is able to recognize the dominant truth of the times and use it to formulate a line as well as principles and policies that manifest the interests of the vast majority of the people and guarantee that the people truly become the masters of the state and society and enjoy a high degree of socialist democracy. The people who engage in bourgeois liberalization advocate that "only by implementing a multiparty system will it be possible to grasp truth in an overall way." Their aim in this is to form a bourgeois political party that represents their political interests, to slander the Communist Party and force it to step down, to negate socialist democratic politics, and to form a bourgeois dictatorship republic that is a vassal to foreign capital.

Third, the "theory of the plurality of truth" will inevitably lead to the idea of parallel existence of the socialist

system and the capitalist system and the idea that they will merge into each other and together move toward communism. Truth is a correct reflection of objective patterns and the objective content of truth and the patterns of the objective processes of things are consistent. In his work *Materialism and Empiriocriticism* Lenin referred to "objective patterns" and "objective content" as objective truth. Thus, those who advocate that the plurality of truth determines that the patterns of the overall process of social development are also plural, and thereby, in an overall sense, negate the existence of a unitary historical pattern in human society that is the existence of a pattern of successive progress through five social forms, also negate the mutual antagonism between socialism and capitalism and the historical inevitability of the former replacing the latter. One article says that just as China and the Soviet Union could skip capitalism and go straight into socialism, Britain, the United States, and other developed countries could also skip socialism (which would be more thoroughgoing than "growing into" socialism) and enter communism. They consider that the "doctrinaire theory, which sticks rigidly to five production modes" and the belief that socialism cannot be skipped over, does not definitely hold true.

We recognize that the processes and forms of historical development of various countries all have their own special characteristics, diverse elements, and variations, and that, seen in terms of specific nations and countries, there are not many that have advanced in accordance with the five stages. However, seen from basic threads of the overall situation and overall processes of mankind's social development, there is in general a unitary historical logic. Marx's and Engel's theory of the five social forms reflect the patterns by which the five different stages in the overall process of human social development change in a set succession. The greatest and most important contribution and practical significance of this theory lies in the fact that, through revealing in an overall way the historical inevitability of the ordered succession of the social forms in mankind's history, it shows that, as old social forms will inevitably be replaced by a new social form, so today's capitalist society will inevitably be replaced by socialism, which is the first stage of communism. It is thus that it has become the theoretical guide of the proletariat in all countries for engaging in socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is also thus that all those people who engage in bourgeois liberalization particularly oppose this theory. They understand that only by rejecting as "dogmatism" the pattern of the set succession of the five social forms, which lays stress on explaining the historical inevitability of socialism replacing capitalism, will it be possible to define the series of major questions in the relationship between socialism and capitalism in terms of the interests of the bourgeoisie.

To sum up, it is not difficult to see that, on the sociopolitical level, the aim and endeavor of these few people who advocate the "theory of the plurality of truth" is to discredit socialism and to prettify and prepare the way for capitalism.

Footnotes

1. *Collected Works of Einstein*, Volume 1, p. 292.
2. *Physics and Philosophy*, p. 22.
3. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 365.

Three Kinds of Relations Must Be Properly Handled in In-Depth Development of Party Style and Clean Government

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[Article by Chen Zuolin (7115 0155 7207)]

[Text] Since the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the whole party has been devoting major efforts to strengthening the improvement of party style and the building of a clean and honest government under the leadership of the party Central Committee with Comrade Jiang Zemin as the nucleus. In accordance with the guidelines of the central authorities and in light of local conditions, party committees and discipline inspection committees at various levels have concentrated their efforts on doing a few things of popular concern, further pushed forward the work of investigating and handling cases involving the violation of discipline within the party, and achieved notable results in punishing corruption. However, we should see that problems in this connection are far from being completely and thoroughly resolved. We should conscientiously sum up our work in the past, consolidate achievements already made, and continue our efforts to improve party style and build a clean and honest government. Based on my observation in my recent fact-finding missions to Jiangxi and Fujian Provinces, I think we should pay attention to the proper handling of three relations in order to be able to do this:

1. We must properly handle the relationship between passiveness and initiative, further enhance people's understanding of the importance of improving party style and building a clean and honest government, and continuously increase our awareness in work.

The whole party, from top to bottom, is now engaged in doing a few things of popular concern. However, although everyone is working toward this goal, there is still the difference between "being asked to do things" and "asking to do things." After the political storms at home and the sudden changes in the international situation last year, many comrades realized that the punishment of corruption indeed had an important bearing on the survival and prosperity of the party. In the spirit of the guidelines of the Central Committee, they actively took the initiative to overcome phenomena of pessimism and corruption. Their attitude was firm and their measures effective. For instance, through hard work, Jiangxi comrades have, within a not too long period, basically resolved a number of longstanding problems such as wining and dining at public expense, securing agricultural supplies through pull or influence, and misuse of

public money by cadres and staff. Progress has also been made in sorting out the problem of cadres building houses for themselves in violation of law and discipline. In combating corruption, the discipline inspection committees at various levels in Fujian Province have shown courage in tackling tough jobs and have investigated and dealt with a number of cases of major importance involving the violation of law and discipline by units handling funds and resources as well as by law and discipline enforcement units. Last year, a total of 103 cases involving discipline violations by leading party cadres at and above the county level (including five cases involving cadres at the prefectural and departmental levels) were investigated and dealt with, more than double that in the previous year. However, there is still a lack of understanding of the importance of combating corruption among party members and cadres. Pressed by the situation, some people were forced to restrain themselves somewhat from acts violating law and discipline, but they took a wait-and-see attitude, watching us to see how long we can last. Some party organizations and their responsible persons did take steps to grasp the work of building a clean and honest government arranged by the higher authorities, but their efforts were passive. Their mentality was: You asked me to do it; I did not ask for it. They tried to stop the wind on the one hand and watched the wind on the other. They looked around them, pointing out how loose others were in enforcing policies and fearing that they might find themselves "in an unfavorable situation" if they were too strict. Still others were afraid that if they were too strict in enforcing the relevant policies, economic work might be affected.

The above-mentioned problems and situations, though different in nature, all affected the in-depth development of the work of improving party style and building a clean and honest government. Efforts to stop the practices of extravagant wining and dining and building private houses in violation of law and discipline some years ago suffered repeated setbacks and the situation went from bad to worse primarily because some party organizations and leading cadres had not freed their minds of misgivings. When they encountered obstacles in their work, they became hesitant and wavered in their determination. Around the Spring Festival this year, the practice of extravagant wining and dining again prevailed in some places. This had a direct bearing on people's state of mind. The important thing is to truly understand that the rectification of unhealthy practices is a serious political issue that concerns relations between the party and the people and is where the interests of the party and the people lie. This way, we will be able to change the mentality of "being asked to do things" into "asking to do things," and change passiveness into initiative in actual work. In this connection, we must pay attention to tackling the following two tasks:

First, we must deepen the work of combating corruption and must not stop. In some localities, efforts must be made to consolidate the achievements already made and guard against the reemergence of problems (such as

wining and dining at public expense). In other localities, it is necessary to step up the investigation and handling of cases involving violations of law and discipline and guard against the tendency to give up half way (as in the case of cadres building private houses). Some trades, departments, and units have not done a good job punishing corruption. They must catch up in their work. Serious efforts must be made to resolve the problems that have aroused great discontent among party members and outside the party but have never been properly resolved (such as overcoming the phenomena of passiveness and corruption in the political and ideological realms and in the work of making organizational and personnel arrangements). The struggle to combat corruption is a process of continuous development in breadth and depth. We must incessantly strive to locate the weak links and make up for shortcomings in order to develop the work in depth.

Second, we must continue to improve the microclimate in order to influence and consolidate the macroclimate. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, the whole party stepped up its efforts to develop party style, build a clean and honest government, and punish corruption. This excellent macroclimate has had a decisive influence on work in various localities. However, the macroclimate is the sum of microclimates. Various localities and units must not concern themselves merely with "the snow on their doorsteps." If corrupt practices are not eliminated in a certain locality, the guidelines of the Central Committee cannot be implemented automatically and it will be difficult to consolidate and develop the macroclimate. At present, some comrades find themselves mentally torn: They want to tackle the problems in their localities and units, but when they see that there are far more problems in the surrounding areas and in society at large they cannot resolve to go ahead. Some comrades have misgivings when they hear satirical remarks, such as people teasingly saying that they were trying to build a "clean government special zone." They are afraid of being isolated. I have spoken to some comrades, and they all agree that at the crux is the question of whom we compare ourselves with and try to keep up with. There are correct and erroneous thoughts and deeds in society. Our efforts to improve party style, build a clean and honest government, and punish corruption involve the use of correct thoughts and deeds to fight erroneous thoughts and deeds. When we uphold what is correct, we must be prepared to find ourselves "in an unfavorable situation," but ultimately we are doing things that benefit the party and the people. When we uphold what is wrong, we may be able to achieve personal or temporary gains, but what we are doing is detrimental to the interests of the party and the people and will ultimately court disaster for ourselves and for our locality. In our society, positive factors and correct things constitute the mainstay. These are the criteria that we should emulate against which we should compare ourselves. If we all uphold what is correct, keep tabs on ourselves, and

influence others with our example, we will be able to form a good social environment.

2. We must properly handle the relationship between temporary and long-term measures and further clarify the guiding ideology in the work of developing party style and clean government.

In order to carry the work of improving party style, building a clean and honest government, and punishing corruption to greater depth, we must combine temporary measures and shock tactics with long-term measures. In cases where corruption is serious and public resentment is strong, we must concentrate our efforts on doing away with evil practices and investigating and dealing with cases of major importance, and build up a momentum that will intimidate those who practice evil and fill the party and the people with enthusiasm. This is an essential and important task that should be resolutely grasped in the years to come. However, we cannot stop here. We must do something about long-term development in order to tackle the problems at the root step by step. The major measures in this connection are as follows: First, we must unwaveringly strengthen study and education on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and on basic knowledge about the party, strengthen the tempering of party members' party spirit and work style, and clarify muddled and erroneous ideas on basic issues such as the nature, ideals, and aim of the party and the criteria and role of party members, in order to continuously improve the political quality of party members. Second, we must reinforce internal restrictions on the exercise of power, strengthen supervision over party members, particularly leading cadres, gradually developing this into a healthy system, and guard against and minimize the abuse of power. Third, we must strengthen the work of managing, selecting, and appointing cadres; guard against the entry of people who are not correct in thinking and in behavior into the leadership at various levels; and ensure that the ranks of cadres are correct in their work style and honest in performing their official duties. Fourth, we must improve and perfect relevant rules and regulations. We must enforce these rules and regulations strictly and punish corruption in accordance with law. Fifth, we must do a good job of improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order and deepening reforms, and strive to solve as quickly as possible problems like double-track pricing, which can easily breed corruption. Sixth, we must develop in the whole party and the whole society, particularly in party organizations at various levels, the regular practice of improving party style and building a clean and honest government.

In their present efforts to develop party style and clean government and to wage a struggle against corruption in depth, it is very important that the party's discipline inspection organs do a good job of the following:

First, improve the political quality of party members. Party style is the reflection of the advanced nature of the party on the actions of party organizations and party

members. In grasping the development of party style and clean government, it is not sufficient just to resolutely rectify unhealthy practices and overcome corruption. It is also necessary to educate and arm party members with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and energetically advocate and carry forward the fine tradition and work style of the party. We must continuously try to amplify the positive factors within the party and eliminate and minimize the negative factors. In conducting education among party members, the party committees and discipline inspection committees in many places dissected negative cases on the one hand and established positive examples on the other. Through years of persistence, they achieved notable results. For example, in Longyan Prefecture, Fujian Province, party schools were set up by party committees at the prefecture, county, and township levels. In these party schools, the party committees and discipline inspection committees trained party members all year round, propagated the "spirit of the Kutian Meeting," carried forward the spiritual superiority of the old revolutionary bases, and conducted education on the party's line and tasks and the party's obligations in the new period, thereby strengthening party members' faith in communism. Even when bourgeois liberalization was at its peak several years ago, they still carried on as before. With a solid ideological foundation, party members will be able to consciously resist the attack of erroneous ideological trends and evil practices. In the political storm last year, the vast numbers of party members and cadres in these places took a firm and clear-cut stand in opposing the turmoil and rebellion and set a good role model for the masses. This shows that continuing to address the problem of helping party members join the party ideologically is still a matter of paramount importance. At no time should we overlook ideological and political work. An important concept of Marxist philosophy is that external causes are the conditions, while internal causes are the basis, and external causes become operative through internal causes. We should consciously apply this concept in understanding issues and in guiding work.

Second, do a good job of consolidating and building party organizations, particularly leading bodies at and above the county level. Improving party style, building a clean and honest government, and punishing corruption must be carried out under the leadership of the party. How party organizations play their role has a direct bearing on the development of these tasks in depth and breadth. In my recent fact-finding missions, I noticed that some places that were beset with problems in the past have undergone great changes of late because the local party committees insisted on grasping with both hands, carried out management boldly and took prompt actions as soon as problems were discovered. When assessing the work of a locality or unit, we have to see whether or not it has problems, and whether its party organization faces the problems squarely and makes an earnest effort to solve them, or if it lets matters take their own course and gets involved with evil practices. This is why we have been stressing over the years that the key to

improving party style lies with leading cadres. When helping party committees grasp the improvement of party style, discipline inspection organs must pay more attention to the consolidation and building of leading groups.

Third, grasp the investigation and handling of violations of discipline and tackle problems that reveal tendencies to violate discipline. Unhealthy and corrupt practices that resulted in criminal cases require investigation, but investigation forms only a small part of the work. The problem is largely one of ideology and work style. It is the unshirkable duty of discipline inspection organs to seriously investigate and deal with violations of discipline, particularly cases of major importance, strictly enforce disciplinary measures, eliminate corrupt elements inside the party and maintain the purity of party organizations. They must do this job well and must not show any sign of slackening. At the same time, they must make good use of various channels to understand and familiarize themselves with the implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies by party committees as well as the situation regarding the work style and honesty of party cadres. They are to discover problems which show particular tendencies and promptly help party committees solve these problems before they develop into "hot issues" arousing the strong resentment of the masses. Over the years, many localities and units have explored and found effective measures in this regard and have developed certain systems. For instance, the system of examining the party style and honesty of leading party cadres, the systems of party style responsibility and inspection, the system of party style supervisors, and the practice of "warning" leading cadres whom the masses have complaints about, have been established. These systems should be improved, perfected, and upheld in the light of new situations. When we have grasped well work in this regard, we will have greater initiative in work and will be able to achieve better results. The secretary of a prefectural discipline inspection committee in Jiangxi explained to me how his committee did its work regarding leading party cadres. In his figurative language, he described this work as "guarding the four passes." The first pass was the "epidemic prevention pass." This means carrying out universal education on party spirit, style, and discipline to strengthen people's immunity against unhealthy practices. The second pass was the "out-patient service pass." This means having talks with comrades who are weak in their immunity and have made general mistakes, pointing out to them that they are being criticized and complained about by the masses and asking them to resolutely mend their ways. The third pass was the "hospitalization and operation pass." This means taking action and enforcing discipline against comrades who committed serious mistakes despite education and warning. The fourth pass was the "return visit pass." This means requiring cadres who were subject to disciplinary measures to pay return visits. Those who show improvement in their ideological conditions and work should be given affirmation.

In short, we must, in accordance with the guidelines of the Central Committee and proceeding from reality, make long-term plans and arrangements for the improvement of party style and the building of a clean and honest government in our own localities or units. We should strive to develop this work in depth and breadth, conscientiously and effectively, and avoid having a fine start but a poor finish.

3. We must properly handle the relationship between what to grasp in our work and how to go about it, and grasp well the key points and methods of the development of party style and clean government.

Grasping party style is a task prescribed in the party constitution for discipline inspection organs. The building of a clean and honest government and the punishment of corruption have a close bearing on the development of party style. Discipline inspection organs at various levels should conscientiously do a good job of grasping these tasks. All party members are the objects of the work of discipline inspection organs. Discipline inspection organs at various levels have the duty to overcome and correct deeds that harm the body of our party. They cannot shirk their responsibility, saying that this or that job is of no concern to them and can be ignored. At the same time, these jobs are also the tasks of the whole party, and require the joint efforts of all departments and quarters. This involves the question of how discipline inspection organs should coordinate with the departments concerned and positively give scope to their function and role under the leadership of the party and the question of the key points and methods of work. In this connection, we must pay attention to grasping the following three tasks:

First, we must view the work of discipline inspection organs from the high plane of upholding the party's program and the party constitution and upholding the party's basic line, principles, and policies, and have a clear idea of the objects of work. As clearly shown by the three tasks prescribed for discipline inspection organs in the party constitution, discipline inspection organs have a strong political nature. The essence of their tasks is to maintain the party's purity, prevent the party from degenerating, and ensure that the party always maintains close ties to the masses so as to smoothly fulfill their political missions. After last year's turmoil and rebellion and the sudden changes in the international arena, understanding this becomes all the more important. Some of the work carried out by discipline inspection organs in building a clean and honest government and punishing corruption fall within the jurisdiction of administrative departments. Why then was the work carried out by discipline inspection organs? The fundamental reason is that evil practices and violations of law and discipline, which are manifestations of corruption, have seriously damaged the party's image and prestige, undermined relations between the party and the people, and endangered the party's cause. Discipline inspection organs must look at things from a political level and must not simply view and handle matters as they are.

Second, we must grasp the focal points of work. Problems inside and outside the party are by no means few, and the work of discipline inspection organs has its own order of importance and urgency. We must grasp the focal points of emphasis. On the one hand, we must devote major efforts to the handling of typical cases and other cases of major importance involving leading bodies and leading party cadres, tendentious problems that may have adverse effects on the party's line and major decisions and on unity and solidarity, as well as erroneous ideas concerning political orientation and political principles. On the other hand, we must stress the exemplary and demonstrative role of leading cadres. On the matter of observing law and discipline, being honest in performing one's duty and combating corruption, we must set demands on all party members in accordance with the party constitution, "Several Guiding Principles on Intraparty Political Life" and other basic regulations of the party. Demands on leading cadres should be higher and stricter. As proven by the experience of some localities, in dealing with those problems that affect large areas and involve a lot of people, such as wining and dining at public expense and building private houses in violation of law and discipline, it is better to start with leading cadres and organs at higher levels and gradually work our way down to the ordinary party members and the lower levels. This way, there will be fewer obstacles and results will be better. According to comrades in Jiangxi, the practice of wining and dining used to be prevalent in the province. Cadres who went down to work wine and dine whenever they went, and the situation was so bad that they were called "the locusts" by the masses. Last June, the provincial party committee stipulated that when cadres of party and government organs at various levels go down to work in lower levels, they are to have meals separately and no guests should be invited to help entertain them. Leadership organs and leading cadres at various levels were asked to take the lead in observing this regulation. After the announcement of this stipulation, a number of departmental cadres were caught violating this regulation. They were promptly and seriously dealt with; some of them were dismissed from office, and others were criticized in the newspapers. With those at the top setting an example, those below all took the matter seriously. The practice of wining and dining was thus effectively checked.

Third, we must adopt various methods of work. As seen in some localities and units, besides relying on discipline inspection organs to directly grasp party style and the investigation and handling of cases, other methods, such as assistance, encouragement, urging, and coordination, may also be adopted. This means assisting party committees and local governments in launching the work of improving party style and building a clean and honest government; encouraging and urging the party and government leaders of those trades, departments and units where problems abound to take steps to solve problems and give full scope to the role of functional department; and working in coordination with state procuratorial,

administrative control and economic supervisory organs and departments in investigating and dealing with cases where party, political, and legal discipline overlap. Many other localities have found feasible methods in this connection, and these will be further summed up in the course of practice. If we attach more importance to work methods ideologically, resolutely persevere in our work, and gradually work out a set of effective systems and methods for combating corruption, we will be able to develop in depth the work of improving party style and building a clean and honest government, and achieve results that are satisfactory to the masses.

Several Views on Maintaining Closer Ties Between the Party and the People

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[Article by Wang Maolin (3769 5399 2651), deputy secretary of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee]

[Text] The "Decision on Strengthening Ties Between the Party and the Masses of the People" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee summed up the positive and negative aspects of the historical experience of our party in handling relations between the party and the people, especially the fresh experience gained since the reform and open policy. It has extremely rich historical substance and has a vivid bearing on reality. It represents a new generalization and development of the party's mass line, and is of great significance in that it provides guidance to the work of ensuring the long-term peace and prosperity of our socialist motherland and promoting the healthy development of the great socialist cause with Chinese characteristics. All party members, particularly leading party cadres at various levels, must conscientiously study this "Decision" of the Central Committee and thoroughly grasp its essence. This is very important in our efforts to implement the guidelines of the Sixth Plenary Session. Bearing in mind the question of how to maintain close ties between the party and the people, and with reference to the understanding I gained in actual work, I will say a few words about my experience in studying the "Decision."

1. The Fundamental Way To Maintain Flesh-and-Blood Ties Between the Party and the People in the New Period Is To Take Economic Development as the Central Task and Help the Masses Become Well-Off Together

The nature of our party determines that the sole aim of the party is to wholeheartedly serve the people. The party's line, principles, and policies give concentrated expression to the interests of the broad masses of people. As the vanguard of the proletariat, our party has assembled within its ranks a large number of advanced elements for socialist revolution and construction. Whether in rejuvenating and developing factories, mines, and enterprises, or in helping the poverty-stricken areas become well-off, the vast numbers of party members are

duty-bound to play the role of "file leaders." Their words and deeds will always have an effect on the image of the party in the eyes of the masses. Shanxi is an old revolutionary area. From the work done by the primary party organizations in Taihang, Taiyue, Shanxi-Suiyuan and other old liberated areas in maintaining and developing fresh-and-blood ties between the party and the people, we have come to the following understanding:

Resolutely implementing the party's policy of bringing prosperity to the people and leading the masses in shaking off poverty and becoming well-off is the fundamental way to maintain close ties between the party and the people in the new situation. As shown by development in 100 representative villages in the old liberated area of Taihang, the ties between the party and the people have a close bearing on the improvement of the peasants' living standards. In 1989, per capita net income in 19 of these administrative villages showed a fivefold increase or more over 1978; 53 villages achieved a threefold to fivefold increase; 19 villages achieved a twofold to threefold increase; and nine villages achieved increases of 100 percent or less. In villages where economic development was swift and where the people's livelihood had seen notable improvement, the party branches had strong fighting power and the ties between the party and the people were amiable. In individual villages where economic development was sluggish and where the problem of feeding the people had not been completely resolved, members of the party branches lacked resourcefulness, were apprehensive of difficulties, and lacked an enterprising spirit and a sense of responsibility. In these villages, the ties between the party and the people were strained. As their "longing" turned into "resentment," the masses felt they could no longer have faith in or depend on their party branches. Hence, the work of maintaining close ties between the party and the people in the direct leadership level must take economic development as its central task and be combined with efforts to end poverty and bring about prosperity. As to the method of work, it is necessary to give guidance according to different situations and strengthen the party's ideological and organizational development with salient problems in mind. Efforts must be made to select to leading posts those who truly believe in building a party that serves the interests of the people, are dedicated to their work, have a sense of responsibility and can represent the party in bringing about happiness and prosperity to the people. As regards the small number of villages where the cultural quality of party members is too poor, it is necessary to send cadres who are devoted to their work and have both ability and drive to stay and work in these villages for prolonged periods. Through these down-to-earth measures, it will be possible to properly resolve problems in primary party organizations and lead the masses in working for prosperity.

Should party cadres strive to make themselves rich or should they lead the masses and strive for common prosperity? Should they work for the well-being of the people or for their own interests? This is the most

sensitive issue in the relations between the party and the people. The most outstanding feature of the development of the commodity economy in rural areas is the coexistence of diverse economic forms, with collective, individual, associated, and cooperative economies developing side by side. There are two things that leading party cadres at the grassroots level must do. First, they must, in the course of bringing benefit to the people, strive positively to think of ways and means to help the poverty-stricken people become prosperous. Second, in handling the relationship between individual prosperity and common prosperity, they must consciously make demands on themselves in accordance with the party's aim, strive for the development of village and township enterprises and other collective economic undertakings, and, by expanding the collective economy, lead more people in taking the road of common prosperity. In the course of achieving common prosperity, they will be able to maintain flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people and enhance the prestige of the party among the people. These two points should be seen as important distinctions between efforts by grassroots party cadres in the rural areas and by the ordinary masses to shake off poverty and strive for prosperity. Resolute steps must be taken to oppose and resist deeds perpetrated by leading party cadres who abused their authority and ignored the demands and appeals of the masses to feather their own nests, build up their influence, and cash in on their power, as well as attempts at giving special favors to relatives and friends, squandering collective property, abusing one's power for personal ends, and benefiting oneself at the expense of public interests in the contracting of collective enterprises and orchards and in the distribution of residential bases. Cases involving individual party members who have established private enterprises on their own or in association with others and who are serving as village cadres at the same time must be handled properly.

Doing concrete and good deeds for the people, deeds which the masses would want to see done but are not in a position to do or do well, is an important channel for maintaining close ties between the party and the people. The interests of the people are above everything else, and serving the people is the bounden duty of party members. After the institution of the output-related system of contracted responsibilities in the rural areas, opportunities for the vast numbers of grassroots party members to do concrete and good deeds for the masses have not been reduced. In fact, many things still demand their prompt attention. In economically developed areas, many concrete things concerning spiritual development still need to be done. In areas where economic conditions are poor, party cadres will still be relied on to organize and carry out the development and construction of economic projects; in mountainous areas, old liberated areas, and border regions, people will still look to party cadres to solve problems affecting production and the people's livelihood, such as building roads and supplying electricity and water. In order to cement closer ties to the people, party cadres must begin with those areas about

which the people most care and feel most strongly, bring honor to the party, bring prosperity to the people, and make the people feel the warmth of the party and the dedication of party members and party cadres by doing concrete and good deeds. Efforts must be made to thoroughly eliminate the pessimistic and despondent view that "with everyone attending to one's own responsibility fields, ties between the party and the people will have difficulty developing." Every primary party organization and every party member must formulate annual plans for doing concrete and good deeds for the people. Plans are to be formulated at the beginning of each year and examined at the end of each year, and this practice is to be upheld for a long time to come. If everything, big or small, is given constant attention, it will definitely be possible to further consolidate and develop flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people.

2. The Basic Way To Maintain Flesh-and-Blood Ties Between the Party and the People in the New Period Is To Resolutely Adhere to the Mass Line in Policymaking and Turn These Policy Decisions Into the Conscious Deeds of the Masses

Methods of leadership are the sum total of the behavioral patterns of leaders in exercising their leadership functions. They represent the bridge and link between the policy decisions of leaders and actual practice. In the protracted practice of leading China's revolution and construction, members of the CPC headed by Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied materialist epistemology, dialectics, and the materialist conception of history in their leadership work, and formed a set of basic leadership methods with Chinese characteristics. The practice of "coming from the masses and going to the masses" is the foundation of the party's scientific methods of leadership. It is not only the gist of "the integration of the general and the specific, the integration of the leadership and the masses" and other basic methods of leadership, but is also a specific requirement for combining the maintenance of close ties between the party and the people with the establishment of a scientific and democratic policymaking process by leading cadres.

By upholding and developing this basic method, it will be possible to effectively improve the quality of efforts by leading cadres to maintain close ties to the masses. In our present work, it is relatively easy and possible for leading cadres at various levels to have direct contacts with the masses in grassroots units and have a superficial look at things. However, it is not that easy to truly comprehend the process of getting in touch with the masses from the high plane of maintaining closer ties between the party and the people and establishing a democratic and scientific process of policymaking. Practice has proven that the aim of going to the masses determines the means. As far as communists are concerned, it is far from enough to treat the maintenance of close ties between the party and the people merely as the work of "sizing up conditions at the lower levels" and "visiting the poor." We must advocate and uphold the practice of organizing leading cadres to go among the

masses. They are to bring with them their tasks, cater to the needs of the grassroots units and the masses, go deep into the realities of life, and dissect the "sparrows." Leading organs and cadres at various levels have very few chances for direct contact with the masses. If they would study one or two practical issues in great depth every time they go down to the rural areas and get in touch with the cadres and masses at the grassroots level, the feasibility of implementing the policies formulated by the party will be increased. This is an important link in maintaining close ties between the party and the people, as well as a major channel for changing the work style of party and government organizations and closing the links with the masses. We advocate combining the maintenance of closer ties to the masses with the establishment of a democratic and scientific process of policymaking by leading cadres not because we want to please the public. We are not going to put on a show or merely go through the motions. Rather, we are going to truly and sincerely learn from the masses. When leading cadres and party and government cadres go down to the grassroots levels, they must go after actual results and refrain from formalist practice. A good leader not only must consciously strive to correctly handle the relationship between the public servant and the master, respect the rights of the people as masters of the country, and hold himself responsible to the masses in everything, but also must humbly learn from the grassroots units and the masses and draw nourishment from the rich experience gained by the cadres and the millions of people in the four modernizations in order to develop his own abilities and continuously improve his skills in serving the people.

By upholding and developing this basic method, it will be possible to improve the policymaking standards of leading cadres. Mistakes in making policy decisions are mistakes of the worst kind. The greatest hope that the masses have in leading cadres at various levels is for the latter to formulate good policies that are in accord with conditions at the lower levels and are to their satisfaction. As far as the present modes by which policy information are circulated among leading cadres at various levels are concerned, the major channels include accounts of meetings, bulletins, reports, and the announcement of statistics. It should be acknowledged that the modes of circulation mentioned above have all played an important role in the formulation of policies. However, it must be clearly understood that improvement of the policymaking mechanism involves two mutually dependent and yet independent subsystems, namely, "policy" and "decision." "Policy" must give expression to different plans, channels, and choices; while "decision" is the concrete embodiment of the comprehensive quality of leaders. A leader who works for modernization not only must pay attention to giving full scope to the role of his consultants and the department to which he belongs, but must consolidate and improve the standards of his "policymaking." It takes more than just theoretical and scientific knowledge to improve one's own "policymaking" standard. The most

important thing is to cater to the needs of grassroots units and the masses, persevere in the practice of "coming from the masses and going to the masses," and heed the voice of the masses through making direct contacts. We must, through direct contacts with the masses and grassroots units, strive to discover the pitfalls of policies already introduced and grasp signals and main points for the formulation of new policies.

Upholding and developing this basic method is a creative process. We often talk about integrating the line, principles, and policies of the central authorities with the actual conditions of our locality. What this means in essence is to "concretize" universal policies, in other words, to localize national policies. This process of "concretization" and "localization" is also the process whereby leading cadres combine the maintenance of close ties between the party and the people with the establishment of a democratic and scientific policymaking process. Natural and historical factors notwithstanding, the disparity in work performance between different regions often finds expression in whether or not they can creatively implement the line, principles, and policies of the central authorities. Where local leading cadres are concerned, he who has made a correct appraisal of the strong points of his locality and has studied and explored the strong points thoroughly will be able to take the initiative in "concretization" and "localization" and will be able to work creatively. The establishment of a democratic and scientific policymaking process is a task that is inseparably linked with the maintenance of close ties between leading cadres and the masses. The tremendous energy needed for the rejuvenation and development of the regional economy and society can be found among the masses.

A deeper meaning of the combination of the closing of the links between the party and the people with the establishment of a democratic and scientific policymaking process by leading cadres is that it requires leading cadres at various levels to make policy decisions and "then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them, and translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action."¹ At present, poor implementation of specific policies is a salient problem that demands prompt solution. The reason for this is that some of our local and grassroots leading cadres have forgotten the fine tradition of "coming from the masses and going to the masses," and are unwilling to go to the masses to propagate, mobilize, and explain. There is no denying that an important reason for this is that they simply see their role as that of a "relay station" or "dispatch room." To solve the problem of poor implementation, we cannot simply resort to general calls. We must see the problem from the high plane of party and government discipline, and establish the necessary supervisory and control mechanisms on the basis of the combination the closing of the

links between the party and the people and the establishment of a democratic and scientific policymaking process. For instance, in order to examine the implementation of every specific policy of the central authorities, especially policies concerning the national economy and the people's livelihood, we must go directly to the masses and rely on their knowledge and degree of understanding to find out how leading cadres at various levels implement the policies. On this basis, effective control measures can be drawn up to govern the work style of leading cadres at various levels. Through the maintenance of close ties between the party and the people, the problem of poor implementation of the party's policies can truly be resolved.

3. An Important Link in Maintaining Flesh-and-Blood Ties Between the Party and the People Is To Persevere in the Struggle Against Corruption and Project a Good Party Image

Taking the fight against corruption and the building of a clean and honest government as an important link in maintaining close ties between the party and the people has been a basic principle upheld by our party all along. Back in the democratic revolution period, Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed during the Yanan rectification that communists must strengthen their self-cultivation in party spirit, guard against following the same old disastrous road as that traversed by revolutionaries of past generations in moving from success to failure, and strive to prevent degeneration and bureaucratism after victory. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly warned the whole party that they must be on guard against the bourgeoisie's attack with their "sugar-coated bullets" and prevent the possibility of being defeated by these "sugar-coated bullets." In 1982, Comrade Deng Xiaoping listed bureaucratism as one of the main drawbacks of the leadership and cadre systems of our party and state. He sternly pointed out that, if bureaucratism and other phenomena "were not seriously put to an end, we would have great difficulty meeting the pressing needs of the modernization drive and would seriously become estranged from the broad masses."² Upholding the party's basic principles, our party's third generation of leadership collective headed by Comrade Jiang Zemin adopted at the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee the "Decision on Accomplishing a Few Things of Popular Concern" and unfolded on a national scale a struggle against corruption. These have won the support and praise of the masses of the people and have, to a certain extent, alleviated the grievances of the masses and improved ties between the party and the people.

Since coming to power, its role as the party in power has made our party better able to serve the people, but it has also brought about the danger of alienation from the masses. This danger comes on the one hand from the change in the party's status, and on the other hand from the change in the condition of party members. Joining

the party during the war years implied hardship, shedding blood, and even sacrificing one's own life, but in times of peace, it becomes a ticket to officialdom and power. If some of them have insatiable appetite for personal gain, advancement, and power, serious estrangement from the masses will inevitably occur. Practice since our party first became the party in power, particularly in the 10 years since implementation of the reform and open policy, tells us that party cadres given leadership responsibility must attach utmost importance to the fight against corruption, the practice of being honest in performing one's official duties, doing a good job of party building, and consciously safeguarding the party's image in order to be able to pass two tests: being in power and implementing the reform and open policy. As we often see, some cadres have indeed exerted themselves and toiled to bring prosperity to the local economy and bring about improvements in their own units. However, they should never turn this into their capital for personal gain and still less allow a "dislocation" to occur in their thinking by erroneously linking reform and the open policy to the idea that "corruption is inevitable." Should this happen, they would ignore party discipline and state laws, squander state and collective property, engage in bribery and bribe-taking, and believe that "fortune comes from bribery." Or, they would resort to all means, fair or foul, for the sake of their own units or departments, even going so far as to infringe on the interests of the public at large. These erroneous ideological tendencies and deeds will inevitably ruin the lofty prestige of the party among the masses and undermine the reputation of the reform and open policy. The bad impression created by people who adhere to this creed has completely offset their achievements in work. What the masses would like to see is prosperity and rejuvenation under the precondition of maintaining a clean and honest government, and achievements made on the basis of wholeheartedly serving the people.

Leading cadres at various levels must take the lead in fighting corruption, strengthening the building of a clean and honest government, and maintaining close ties between the party and the people. Leading cadres of the party and the state at various levels are the ones who draw up and enforce policies, decrees, and rules and regulations; they are the organizers and leaders of the masses. The key to improving the general mood of society and bringing about amiable ties between the party and the people lies in whether or not the leadership strata and leadership organs are honest and diligent in performing their official duties and are capable of setting an example for the people. This is what Confucius meant when he said that to govern means to be correct; if you set a correct example, who would dare do the wrong things. Judging from the present state of our ranks of party and government cadres, the majority of our party cadres are honest in performing their official duties and diligent in serving the people. They resolutely adhere to the party's line, principles and policies, and are devoted to the cause of the party and the people. They work

conscientiously and selflessly for the public interest, and strive zealously to forge ahead and blaze new trails. They represent the mainstream of party and government cadres. However, we must also see that problems do exist among some of our party and government cadres. In order to further cement flesh-and-blood ties between the party and the people, it is necessary to strengthen the concept and education on clean government, and eliminate and overcome problems of dishonesty among a small number of cadres. All party and government cadres must adopt a correct attitude toward the power in their hands, correctly handle relations between personal power and the interests of society and the masses, and eradicate ideas of the private ownership of power. They must deal properly with their children, relatives, power, and money, further cultivate the mentality of being public servants, uphold Comrade Deng Xiaoping's political principle of "leadership means service," and strive to win the trust of the people with concrete acts of fighting corruption and maintaining a clean and honest government.

In order to fight corruption and maintain a clean and honest government, it is necessary to establish a broadly based mechanism of supervision. On the one hand, we must resolutely eliminate corrupt elements who ruin the party's and people's cause and seriously undermine the ties between the party and the people. Once they are discovered, they should be dealt with promptly. Not a single one should be allowed to slip through, for to tolerate evil is to abet it, and leaving evil unchecked spells ruin. Criminals who have violated the criminal code must be resolutely punished according to law. On the other hand, we must fully understand that the driving force behind the struggle against corruption and the maintenance of a clean and honest government lies with the masses, and we must have faith in and rely on the masses if we want to thoroughly eliminate corrupt elements. Power not subject to supervision will lead inevitably to corruption. All departments and units must make public work procedures and results on "hot" issues of popular concern. All discipline inspection and supervisory organs must establish effective mechanisms of mass supervision. On this basis, we should gradually establish and perfect the system of supervision within and outside the party, with supervision from top to bottom and from bottom to top. Fundamentally speaking, the starting point in fighting corruption and maintaining a clean and honest government lies in educating the majority and improving the quality of party members. We must combine the fight against corruption and the maintenance of clean and honest government with the encouragement of healthy trends and the bringing into play of the exemplary vanguard role of party members, and enthusiastically commend those outstanding comrades within the party who showed a staunch party spirit and conscious spirit of sacrifice, wholeheartedly served the people, boldly forged ahead and carried out the party's policies, and fulfilled the party's tasks in an exemplary way. Only in this way can we "strengthen the roots and dispel evils."

Our party achieved victory in the Chinese revolution by relying on honesty and the practice of wholeheartedly serving the people. In socialist construction, we will also be able to maintain and carry forward this fine tradition, and bring about the rejuvenation and development of the Chinese nation.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, combined edition, p. 854.
2. *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, 1975-1982*, p. 287.

Actively Promote the Public Functionary System With Chinese Characteristics

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[Article by Zhao Dongwan, minister of personnel affairs]

[Text] Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee there had been an extensive study on and headway in reforms of the cadre personnel system in China. An important point of such reforms was that the 13th CPC Congress decided to establish and promote a public functionary system in our country. At present, the trial of the system is being carried out smoothly at selected places, and the formulation of laws governing public functionaries are actively under way. In particular, the system of exchanging cadres and the withdrawal system, which are important parts of the public functionary system, was adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee as part of its "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Strengthening Relations Between the Party and the Masses." Based on our experience gained over the past year and more, it is necessary that we, under the guidance of the party's basic line, seek a unanimous understanding about the necessity for and the basic ideology about establishment of the public functionary system in our country, so as to promote an in-depth development in reforming the cadre personnel system in China's government organs.

I

China's public functionary system was formulated under the guiding ideology of Comrade Deng Xiaoping on reforming the cadre personnel system. It has carried forward the fine tradition of the party and the state on personnel work and embodies our experience in reforming the cadre personnel system. It is thus a relatively scientific personnel administrative system for government organs.

The establishment of the public functionary system in our country is to meet the objective need of socialist modernization and is also the natural result of the reform of our cadre personnel system. The so-called public functionary system, through enacting laws and regulations, scientifically manages the personnel of government organizations who enforce state administrative

power and carry out official duties. It includes the classification by post of public functionaries. In the process, candidates are selected after legitimate examinations and open contests; the assessment is done in accordance with statutory criteria and procedures. All decisions on promotion, demotion, awards, and punishment must, under the precondition of emphasizing the political and ideological attitude of the candidate in question, be made on the basis of actual performance; and the right to receive training, wages, and welfare, as well as retirement, are protected by law. The public functionary system is a move to reform and perfect the existing personnel system, to make the cadre personnel system of the organs more scientific and democratic, and to strengthen its legality. It is also a move that promotes the work of strengthening and improving the party's leadership over the personnel work concerning cadres. That helps us cultivate administrative personnel with both ability and political integrity, strengthen the building of clean government organs, and improve the efficiency of the government.

Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party confirmed the political line of undertaking socialist construction. This requires us to immediately train and select a large number of qualified personnel who can meet the needs for undertaking the four modernizations. However, the existing cadre personnel system cannot meet perfectly the needs of the new situation. For a long time, there have been no top-to-bottom administrative laws and regulations governing the responsibility of party and government organs, as well as personal responsibility, or procedures for the recruitment, reward and punishment, retirement, and dismissal of cadres. Therefore, it will be very difficult to dismiss or demote a cadre once he has been recruited or promoted, no matter what his performance, and he will thus have obtained an iron bowl. This is unfavorable to outstanding personnel, who cannot find an opportunity to display their talent, and unfavorable to a rational utilization of personnel. In view of the problems, Comrade Deng Xiaoping immediately put forward that we must "be bold in reforming organizational systems as well as personnel systems that no longer conform to the situation; we must expend major efforts in training and recruiting, and break rules to promote, whenever it is necessary, outstanding qualified personnel," so as to enhance the revolutionary spirit, attain a younger age, improve the educational level, and promote their professional skills. He also stressed that in reforming the cadre personnel system, "the key rests with the systems of election, recruitment, appointment, dismissal, assessment, impeachment, and replacement, and, according to the conditions, the formulation of appropriate and explicit regulations governing the term of office (including the election, appointment, and employment) and retirement of various leading cadres at all levels."

Under the guidance of Comrade Deng Xiaoping on such important ideology, we acted according to the principle of the four modernizations of cadres in the 1982 structural reform. We shuffled members of the leading group at

various levels, established a retirement system for cadres, and abolished the lifelong employment system, which had existed in reality. At the same time, many localities and departments did a lot of work in studying reforms of the cadre personnel system. For example, some departments recruited cadres through examination, selected and employed cadres for towns and townships on a contract basis, assessed cadres by democratic means, promoted among organs the system of job responsibilities, established a training system, trained cadres through varied forms and channels, and so forth. We made remarkable achievements in all these reforms and gained valuable experience. In most cases, however, it was difficult to make effective reforms in a single system or to make the personnel administration of cadres more scientific and to strengthen its legality because there was no flexible and overall coordination. In order to conduct systematic and coordinated reforms of the cadre personnel system, the departments concerned, on the basis of their experience in reform, began in 1984 to draft the "Regulations on the Working Personnel of State Organs." Although the regulations were later renamed the "Provisional Regulations on Public Functionaries in Our Country," the object remained the formulation, based on our practical experience in reform, of explicit regulations governing various aspects of the "import" and "export" administrative system of cadres in government organs, and the establishment of a scientific and comprehensive system of personnel administration in accordance with the ideology of Comrade Deng Xiaoping. For this reason, the 13th CPC Congress decided to list the establishment and promotion of a public functionary system in our country as the key point of reforming the cadre personnel system. The government work report adopted by the First Session of the Seventh NPC [National People's Congress] further stressed that "we must grasp firmly the establishment and gradual implementation of the public functionary system in our country."

Judging from the foregoing, we can come to the following conclusions: First, reform of the cadre personnel system in China was conducted in accordance with the guiding ideology of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, our chief engineer, who proposed the establishment of a public functionary system in our country. It was the result of implementing Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideology on reforming the cadre personnel system. Second, the proposal of a public functionary system was an inevitable result of an in-depth reform of the cadre personnel system in China's government organs. It should be said that to establish a public functionary system with Chinese characteristics not only conforms to China's national situation and the orientation of its political system reform; simply put, it also conforms to the spirit of the party's basic line.

II

China's public functionary system is rich in content. While it adopts the scientific methods of foreign countries in certain aspects, it comprehensively embodies the experience of the party and the state in cadre personnel work and carries forward the fine tradition of the party and the state in this area. It is not an indiscriminate copy

of others. Rather, it is a revised adaptation of foreign methods designated for China's purposes and is done according to its actual situation. While establishing and promoting the system, we have thoroughly understood the guiding ideology for establishing the system, have correctly understood the socialist nature, as well as the Chinese characteristics, of the public functionary system, which are of particular significance in ensuring that work concerning the public functionary system will develop along the correct direction.

The objective of establishing the public functionary system in our country is to strengthen and improve leadership over personnel work in government organs, rather than to discard, weaken, or diminish leadership by the party. The CPC is the leading core of China's socialist cause. Being the ruling party, the party leads the government organs not only in terms of political and ideological leadership, but also in organization. During the historical period in which we carry out the opening up and reforms, leadership by the party must be strengthened, not weakened or diminished. Meanwhile, it is just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, only when we continuously improve the party's leadership, can we strengthen leadership by the party. In connection with the current situation, we must further improve and strengthen the leadership of the party over personnel work in government organs. On the one hand, we should put an end to the situation where cadres in the party and government organs, in the mass organizations, as well as in enterprises and institutions, are under the same the administrative method; and we should build a personnel administrative system for government organs according to their own characteristics. On the other hand, we should transform through certain procedures the party's organizational line, as well as its cadre policy, into laws and regulations on personnel administration in the government; and we should administer according to law the working personnel of government organs. The establishment of the public functionary system is an important and practical step in this direction.

When establishing the public functionary system, we must not copy indiscriminately from the West. Instead, we must base ourselves upon China's national situation and build a socialist public functionary system that suits the situation of our country. China may no doubt draw lessons from the West in building its civil service system when establishing its public functionary system. However, it is inevitable that the personnel system of a particular country must conform to a certain economic basis and political system and manifest the wishes of the ruling class. Furthermore, the conditions of a Western country, whether the social-historical conditions of the early days of the civil service system or the current political and economic conditions, are different from ours. This thus determines that, when we adopt the Western civil service system, under no circumstances must we copy indiscriminately the principles and clauses of the Western civil service system, which were derived from the multiparty system, and the division of administrative power into three branches, the concept of value

of the Western civil service system, or the tedious and formalistic approaches of the system. When designing the overall framework of China's public functionary system, we fully considered that it must conform to the planned commodity economy based on public ownership, and that it must be favorable to consolidating and perfecting the state's system of people's democratic dictatorship. We summed up our experience in our effective administrative methods of the past in the formulation of various specific administrative systems for the public functionary system. In the implementation and promotion of plans for the public functionary system, we paid attention to coordinating them with the current key task of rectification and consolidation. We made the plans dovetail with reforms of personnel systems in enterprises and institutions and emphasized a smooth transition from the existing administrative and personnel systems of cadres. Therefore, the public functionary system is a personnel administrative system for government organs that conforms to China's national situation and is convenient for enforcement.

Under no circumstances does it mean that to establish the public functionary system is to totally negate China's current cadre personnel system. On the contrary, it is just a self-development and self-perfection of the cadre personnel system in China under the new historical conditions. The cadre personnel system in China was gradually formed after the founding of the party and developed in the years of revolutionary wars. In the course of revolution and construction over the past decades, we accumulated a wealth of valuable experience, and it developed into a complete set of fine tradition. The public functionary system is developed on this solid basis. It reforms certain shortcomings found in the current cadre personnel system and absorbs and carries forward the valuable experience and fine tradition reflected in the cadre personnel system in China. It fully embodies the criteria of employment, such as subordinating oneself to party leadership, taking the mass line, and having both ability and political integrity, and it embodies such fine traditions as emphasizing ideological and political work, emphasizing education in Marxist theory and practice among cadres, and so forth, which were developed over a long period of time.

It is just because we stand firm in upholding party leadership, base ourself on China's situation, and base ourself on carrying forward the fine tradition of China's cadre personnel work that the public functionary system in our country has special characteristics that are conspicuously different from the Western civil service system.

First, the public functionary system in our country stresses adherence to the four cardinal principles.

The so-called "political neutrality" flaunted in the Western civil service system forbids all civil servants from joining any campaign activities of any political party and to be "neutral" to all parties. Under the public functionary system, it is explicitly stipulated that public

functionaries must stress adherence to the four cardinal principles. In their duties, the public functionaries should earnestly implement the party line, principles, and policies. They should be politically and ideologically in keeping with what the CPC Central Committee requires of them. Not only may public functionaries join the political party and its activities, but they should also actively participate in the political life of our country. Public functionaries who are party members must observe party discipline, subordinate themselves to the decisions of the party, participate in the organizational activities of the party, submit themselves to the supervision and inspection of the party, set strict requirements for themselves, and play the role of vanguard in accordance with the requirements of being a party member.

Second, the public functionary system in our country is a component part of the party's organizational line and cadre system. It adheres to the principle of having the party supervise the cadres.

As Western countries adopt the multiparty system, two parties or more contest with each other and take turns ruling the countries. In order to avoid confusion caused by a large-scale shuffle of government personnel, which is a result of the change of ruling party, the system emphasizes that civil servants are under an independent administrative system that is free from intervention by and separate from the political parties. The multiparty system, as well as to take turn to rule the country, is not found in China. The public functionary system is established under the guidance of the party's organizational line and cadre policy. In China, though there are distinctive characteristics in the public functionary system, the personnel system of enterprises and institutions, and that of mass organizations, they are the specific implementation of the party's organizational line in various areas. Also, they are a component part of the party's cadre system. To have the party supervise the cadres is an important principle of China's cadre system. It is manifested mainly by the fact that the party formulates principles and policies of the work concerning cadres, that it gives guidance for reform of the cadre personnel system, and that it administers and supervises at the macroscopic level the personnel work concerning cadres, while it promotes and administers key cadres. It is just as the case in China where the key cadres of governments at all levels are subject to inspection and recommendation by the party committees at respective levels, and are elected or appointed by the organs of state power at various levels according to the law.

Third, the public functionary system in our country gives expression to the standard of employing "people with both ability and political integrity," and it places one's political stand and moral character in the first rank.

To have "people with both ability and political integrity" is a practice that was developed with protracted struggle and has been proved in the past as an effective principle of the party for selecting and employing cadres. That is, we must, in the process of selecting and

employing cadres, judge them by the criteria of "ability" and "political integrity," and demand that they have both. In addition, they must give top priority to the practice of unswervingly upholding the political standpoint as well as the correct political orientation. The principle of having "people with both ability and political integrity" is embodied in various specific administrative systems of the public functionary system. For instance, our system of examining and recruiting public functionaries not only tests the education level and professional capability of the candidates, but also their political attitude and the quality of their ideology. Therefore, the content of examination competitions that we have mentioned are different from those of Western countries. They are not simply a competition of education level and professional capability, but also a comparison of candidates in various areas, including political condition, quality of ideology, and professional capability. Besides, candidates come from sources that meet the requirements of the state plans and those of the posts. Their sources are intentionally classified. The required qualifications of the candidates are explicitly stated so that the process of recruitment will not be done in a blind manner, and this guarantees the quality of candidates. Such a system of recruitment through examination carried forward the ideology of Comrade Deng Xiaoping that "we should, in future, recruit candidates to fill posts and confer upon them the titles, in a large number of areas whenever they have passed the examination." While this has got rid of the shortcomings in recruitment, has unified the standards of recruitment, and has widened the field of vision of the examiner, it is different in principle from the civil service examination system of the West. Similarly, the promotion and assessment systems of the public functionary system in our country stress political attitude and quality of ideology.

Fourth, the public functionaries of our country are people's servicemen who should persist in serving the people wholeheartedly.

To ordinary people, civil officials in Western countries are government officials; and to the government, they are employees. The relation between the government and the officials is that between an employer and employees. The civil service system of the West emphasizes the protection of special interests of the officials, who are under a closed system. People undertaking other trades have no chance to join it. Once a person has joined it, he may take up the post for the rest of this life. In order to protect their interests, the officials often propose demands and hold talks with the government through their organization. Thus, the government sets up special organizations to coordinate relations with the officials. In China, the public functionaries are servants, public servants, of the people. It is stipulated in the public functionary system that a public functionary must serve the people wholeheartedly, must handle matters honestly, must not use his power for personal gain, and must submit to supervision by the masses. We advocate that the public functionaries should struggle hard and

share weal and woe with the masses. They should be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts. None of them is allowed to have any privileged rights. Likewise, the public functionary system is not a closed system. Cadres of the government organs may be exchanged with those of other sectors under certain stipulated procedures and conditions. Therefore, it is impossible for public functionaries to form a special interest group.

Essentially, the difference between the public functionary system in our country and the Western civil service system is that between the socialist political system and the capitalist political system. China's public functionary system is a product of integration of the adherence to the four cardinal principles with the practice of upholding reforms and opening up. Therefore, it is not only inevitable, but also necessary, for China's public functionary system to differ from the Western civil service system. To uphold these differences is a manifestation of making a clear distinction between adherence to the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalism in our practical reforms of the cadre personnel system in government organs. It is also the standpoint and starting point for building a public functionary system with Chinese characteristics by proceeding from China's national situation.

III

At present, the gradual establishment and promotion of the public functionary system has a positive and immediate significance in strengthening the building of a clean government, raising the quality of government workers and the efficiency of government offices, preserving and developing social stability and unity, and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship.

The establishment and promotion of the public functionary system help us overcome the phenomenon of corruption, rectify unhealthy tendencies, and strengthen the building of honest government organs. The recent phenomena of corruption and unhealthy tendencies have seriously undermined the image of the party and the government and have corrupted our cadres. Thus, to strengthen the building of an honest administration is an urgent demand of the masses for the government organs. It is also a prominent issue faced by us in the building of cadre teams. To build an honest administration is a comprehensive task. Basically, we first must do well in the building of cadre teams in order to improve their quality; and second, we must perfect relevant administrative systems, so that honest administration will be protected by law. One of the objectives for establishing and promoting the public functionary system is to fundamentally put an end to the issue of corruption among government organs. It has been widely known that whether or not an administration is honest is an assessment of the public functionaries of that country. Acts of enacting laws governing the rights, obligations, recruitment, assessment, promotion, withdrawal, exchanges, and rewards and punishment of public functionaries,

and acts of working out explicit regulations on the democratic supervision over them, on opening the government affairs to the public, and so forth, will help check that they act according to law and not abuse their power and will help prevent them from infringing upon the people's legitimate rights. Moreover, this will ensure in terms of law and system that they will handle affairs honestly and perform their duties for the people. Undoubtedly, these regulations will effectively promote the building of honest government organs.

The establishment and promotion of the public functionary system also help cadres of the government organs strengthen their concept of law, as well as their sense of political responsibility, thereby helping us oppose and fight against bourgeois liberalism. Conflicts between adherence to the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalism will continue to exist for a long time to come. It is inevitable that the thinking of bourgeois liberalism will exert influence on cadres of the government organs. Some cadres of the government organs were influenced by bourgeois liberalism in last year's political turmoil, so that they lost their direction at a critical moment. In connection with this, we have learned a lesson in various aspects. From the viewpoint of cadre administration, an undeniably important reason for this was that, for a long time in the past, there were insufficient laws to govern the standards of behavior of cadres in government organs. China's public functionary system explicitly stipulates that public functionaries must "adhere to the four cardinal principles," "are not allowed to spread remarks that may undermine the reputation of the government, and acts of opposing the government." Undoubtedly, the promotion of the public functionary system will help these cadres strengthen their law concept and their sense of political responsibility. Thus, the demand that public functionaries "adhere to the four cardinal principles" does not simply mean the demand from the viewpoint of ideological awareness. It also includes the demand from the viewpoint of legal relations between them and the state, and the viewpoint that they must perform their obligations. Such constraints of law play a complementary role with the ideological and political work. This helps them resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalism and adhere to the socialist political orientation. Furthermore, an enhancement of the law concept as well as the sense of political responsibility among the cadres will inevitably help every one of the masses improve their law concept, and their political awareness.

The establishment and promotion of the public functionary system also help improve the political and professional quality of working personnel in government organs, help them overcome bureaucratism, and help improve their efficiency. With the system of recruiting public functionaries through examination, and the promotion system, we may select qualified personnel in accordance with the criteria of recruiting "people with both ability and political integrity" after we have introduced the competition mechanism, and we can stress their political ideology and professional capability. Following the classification of posts, we are able to assign

jobs to a post, recruit a suitable candidate for a particular post, and clarify the specific jobs of the post. Following the standardization of the training system, we are able to continuously improve the political and professional quality of public functionaries. With the assessment, reward and punishment, wage, and other systems, we can set up a correct incentive mechanism and encourage public functionaries to work hard and perform their duties. In other words, by promoting this system, we may solve in a better way such problems as overstaffing and bureaucratism in government organs, and we may improve the quality of public functionaries, so that the organs can undertake in a better way the important task of organizing and administering the socialist modernizations.

Of course, the establishment and promotion of the public functionary system is a reform with abundant content and is also very arduous work that requires meticulous attention. It requires us to conduct continuous explorations in this area and to constantly perfect it through practice. There must be a process of change and transition from the old system to the new one, and another process for improving the administrative skills of government departments. In particular, there must be a certain coordinated external environment as well as external conditions for the establishment and operation of the public functionary system. Therefore, we must start the work gradually and promote it with steady steps. At present, the most important tasks include the legislation of laws and regulations, the trial of the system at selected places, and the training of cadres in order to lay down a good foundation for the work. At the same time, various government organs should first enforce some related individual systems in personnel management and work gradually toward full implementation of the public functionary system. Provided we have reached a common understanding, are determined to reform, and take active and steady steps of implementation, we shall certainly build a public functionary system with Chinese characteristics.

Study Philosophy Well, Enhance the Ability To Understand and Resolve Problems—A Survey of the Study Philosophy Drive for Cadres Organized by the Qinhuangdao City CPC Committee

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[Article by Liu Wei (0491 0251); dated late December 1989]

[Text] [Editor's note] At present, a nationwide study philosophy drive for cadres is underway. In support of this study drive, this journal will run a "Cadres Study Philosophy" column beginning with the present issue. This column will carry questions and answers on practical issues of philosophy, articles on understanding gained from the study of philosophy, exchange of ideas

on study, and so on. It is sincerely hoped that readers will give us support and help us run this column well. [end editor's note]

Recently, the party Central Committee with Jiang Zemin at the core has repeatedly emphasized the need to conduct education on Marxist philosophy among cadres at various levels with a view to enhancing their ability of understanding and resolving problems. A new nationwide drive of cadres studying philosophy is underway, and Qinhuangdao City has set the pace in this connection.

The Basic Situation of Study

The Qinhuangdao City CPC Committee began organizing cadres to study philosophy at the end of 1988. At that time, the principal responsible comrades of the city party committee and city government deeply realized in the course of practice that in order to enhance the ability of controlling the overall situation and resolving all sorts of problems, it is essential to study Marxist philosophy. Hence, they made the appeal to study Marxist philosophy at a meeting concerning cadres.

In April 1989, after former Mayor Gu Erxiong [7357 0059 3574] was transferred to be secretary of the city party committee, the first thing he did was to organize the city party committee's standing committee to discuss how to launch a study philosophy drive among cadres of the whole city. This was followed by the "Decision of the Qinhuangdao City CPC Committee on Organizing Cadres at and Above the County Level To Study Marxist Philosophy." The "Decision" clearly stipulated that the aim of study is to "fundamentally raise the theoretical level of leading cadres, learn to make use of the scientific world outlook and methodology in giving guidance, and enhance consciousness in implementing the party's line, principle, and policies so as to meet the needs of the developing situation." "As for the method of study, the emphasis should be placed on studying on one's own, to be supplemented by full-time study in short courses run by party schools. Cadres at and above the county level, with the exception of those who are old (above 50 years of age) and weak (cannot persevere in normal work), or those who have attended philosophy courses run by the central or provincial party committee party schools or other institutions of higher learning in the past two years, must undergo training by stages and in groups by taking part in full-time study in party schools for two weeks this year and next year."

As planned by the city party committee, the party school under the city party committee organized the first course for cadres to study Marxist philosophy between 22 May and 3 June 1989. A total of 29 cadres, including 25 county-level cadres and four cadres of departmental grade, took part. Pressed for time and lacking experience, the first course concentrated only on the study of some of the basic viewpoints of Marxist philosophy. From 30 October and 30 November, the city party committee's party school held the second study course.

This time 28 cadres took part. This time, cadres not only studied the basic viewpoints of Marxist philosophy prescribed by the city party committee, but also studied *On Feuerbach's Program*, *Eight Letters on Historical Materialism*, *On Problems of Dialectics*, and *On Practice* by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Zedong, as well as *Emanipate the Mind*, *Seek Truth From Facts*, and *Unite as One in Looking to the Future* and six other important writings by Deng Xiaoping.

On the basis of preliminary experience, the city party committee issued on 21 October 1989 the "Circular of the Qinhuangdao City CPC Committee on Organizing Cadres at All Levels of the City To Study Marxist Philosophy in Depth." Thus began a citywide drive to study philosophy.

In order to ensure in-depth and sustained study, the "Decision" and "Circular" of the city party committee put forward specific requirements and made conscientious arrangements for cadres to study Marxist philosophy. The following are a few examples:

1. Organization and personnel departments should take cadres' theoretical level and performance in study as important yardsticks for the assessment of cadres. In future, all comrades who have been promoted to leading posts at and above the county level must, within their one-year probation period, finish studying the prescribed philosophy texts and obtain a certificate at the end of their philosophy study course as a condition for formal appointment.

2. The city party committee, city People's Congress, city government, city People's Political Consultative Conference, city discipline inspection committee, organs directly under the administration of the city, and leading organs of various districts and counties must set up study philosophy central groups.

3. When summing up their work at the end of each year, cadres at and above the county level should review and reflect on their work during the past year from the high plane of philosophy and compare notes in order to enhance their consciousness and initiative in studying philosophy.

4. As required by the city party committee, cadres of organs and public institutions directly under city or county (district) administration must come together for a two-day study session each month. In general, these sessions should fall on the last day of the month and the first day of the following month, subject to postponement in the case of Sundays or holidays.

5. News and propaganda departments must adopt a variety of measures to publicize the significance of studying philosophy and do a good job of popularizing philosophy.

Conduct Study in Accordance With the Needs of the New Period

There have been a number of partywide drives for the study of philosophy in the history of our party. Two of these study drives have had a great and positive impact on reality. One occurred during the period of Yanan rectification before the founding of the people's republic and was directed against dogmatism and the left opportunism represented by Wang Ming. The other started toward the end of 1978 and was directed against idealism and metaphysics represented by the idea of "two whatevers." Today, after 10 years of reform and opening the country to the outside world, China has seen enormous changes in the realms of politics, economy, science and technology, education, culture, and foreign exchanges, changes that have attracted the attention of the world. Why is it necessary to organize cadres to study Marxist philosophy anew at this juncture? The answer provided by the Qinhuangdao City CPC Committee is:

First, this is necessary in order to gain an all-round and essential understanding of the situation. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the most important question confronting our party and government is how to guide our socialist modernization onto a healthier road of development through "improving the economic environment, straightening out the economic order, and deepening reform." For various reasons, some of our comrades lacked an all-round understanding of this policy. They were overly pessimistic about the economic situation, seeing only the temporary difficulties that retrenchment would bring to economic work. The conscientious study of Marxist philosophy will enable us to see the current situation in a dialectical way. We will be able to see the difficulties, but we will also be fully confident that we can overcome these difficulties.

Second, this is necessary in order to correctly sum up experience and scientifically guide future work. We have gained brilliant achievements during the 10 years of reform, but we have also made mistakes of one sort or another. The city party committee is of the view that achievements and mistakes both have a lot to do with one's world outlook and methodology. Gu Erxiong, city party committee secretary, told this author in a conversation, "Confusion in practice stems from confusion in thinking, confusion in thinking stems from theoretical confusion, and theoretical confusion is, in the final analysis, philosophical confusion. In order to unify thinking and make fewer mistakes, we must study Marxist philosophy well." Our task in the next stage will be both arduous and complicated. For instance, we have to persevere in improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order while preventing recession; develop democracy and the legal system while preventing extreme democracy and anarchism; uphold the system of overall leadership by the factory director while giving full scope to the role of party organizations as the political nucleus of enterprises, and so on. Only by properly handling these dialectical relationships on the

basis of the Marxist world outlook and methodology will we be able to prevent ourselves from going from one extreme to the other.

Third, this is necessary in order to wage a struggle against bourgeois liberalization. Due to the slackening of Marxist theoretical education in recent years, some cadres, including certain leading cadres, have become muddle-headed on major theoretical issues. Faced with the ideological trend of liberalization, some of them lacked political sensitivity and firmness and were incompetent in upholding the four cardinal principles. A few of them even sympathized with this trend. Unless Marxist theoretical education is grasped, it will be very difficult to enhance cadres' ability to see through appearances to get at the essence, and see through the evil motives of the handful of people who engaged in bourgeois liberalization and attempted to overthrow the party's leadership and subvert the socialist system.

Fourth, this is necessary in order to improve the Marxist theoretical qualities of the ranks of cadres. A large number of middle-aged and young cadres have been promoted to leading posts in recent years. Take Qinhuangdao, for instance. Between 1984 and October 1989, as many as 299 cadres have been promoted to posts at and above the county level. This number accounts for 44.2 percent of the total number of cadres at and above the county level. Most of these comrades have good educational backgrounds, but the majority of them have technology as their specialty. Lacking training in Marxist theory, they are often unable to comprehend the party's line, principles, and policies accurately and in an all-round way. Lacking the ability to control the overall situation, they sometimes lose sight of other things when attending to one thing. Hence, organizing cadres to study the scientific world outlook and methodology of Marxism is a strategic measure for strengthening the ranks of cadres.

"Getting a Taste of the Sweetness" for the First Time

After studying for some time, a fine atmosphere of consciously studying and applying philosophy has initially developed among Qinhuangdao cadres. This is of positive help to improving the theoretical qualities and leadership level of cadres at various levels.

First, this has enabled cadres at various levels to understand the party's basic line more precisely. Several years ago, Deng Xiaoping and other leading cadres repeatedly stressed the need to uphold the basic line of "one focus and two basic points." For various reasons, however, deviations have appeared in the implementation of this basic line. The most salient problem is the stress of material development at the expense of spiritual development. Through study, Qinhuangdao cadres came to understand that, although there were many reasons for this deviation, an important reason was that some cadres were poor in their Marxist theoretical qualities and did not understand that "one focus and two basic points"

was, in fact, a dialectical entity. Based on this understanding, Qinhuangdao put forward the task of improving the social and political environment while striving to improve the economic environment in early 1989. It set up a leading group for improvement in the social and political environment, and it assumed unified leadership over the work of promoting clean government, education on professional ethics, striking at corruption, and consolidating public order, thereby creating the necessary external conditions for improving the economic environment and straightening out economic order. After the Fourth Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, Qinhuangdao continued to grasp economic work without letup in a new situation where the importance of party building and ideological and political work was highlighted. By adopting various measures to prevent industrial and agricultural production from sliding, they were able to avert the possibility that one tendency may conceal another.

Second, this has enabled cadres at various levels to enhance their ability to analyze major current issues and has reinforced their political firmness. In the course of studying Marxist philosophy, the Qinhuangdao City party committee organized cadres at various levels to discuss major issues such as how to correctly understand the party's leadership and the socialist system, how to correctly appraise reform and the open policy, and how to look correctly at corrupt practices and unfair social distribution in the light of reality, guiding them to see through appearances to get at the essence and correcting their one-sided thinking. In late spring and early summer 1989, turmoil erupted in Beijing and quickly spread to other parts of the country. Qinhuangdao was also affected. The city party committee promptly organized cadres and theoretical workers at various levels to write articles reviewing and analyzing the turmoil from a philosophical and theoretical perspective. The collection *Philosophical Reflections on the Turmoil* was published and supplied to cadres as reference material in their philosophy study. This has positive effects on enhancing the level of understanding and unifying thinking.

Furthermore, it has enhanced the ability of leading cadres at various levels to control the overall situation and has improved the scientific quality of policy decisions. In the past, many cadres were used to minding their own business and they paid little attention to coordination between their own department or unit and other departments or units, as well as different task groups within their own department or unit. Hence, policy decisions often tended to be one-sided. Through study, some comrades came to understand that the most important ideological cause of this one-sidedness was the metaphysical way of thinking. Objectively speaking, as the responsible person of a region or department, even if one does not study philosophy, he or she will still inadvertently touch on relations between different concrete tasks, since all things in the world exist in relation to one another. The important thing is that the study of Marxist philosophy will help us make a conscious effort

to grasp the interrelations of things. If we do not consciously grasp the interrelations of things, we are likely to see the tree and lose sight of the forest in our work, and even make mistakes in our orientation.

The study of philosophy has also enhanced consciousness on the part of cadres at various levels to maintain close ties to the masses. Marxism holds that the masses are the creators of history. Heroes, past and present, Chinese or foreign, are heroes because they expressed the wishes of the masses to various extents. In the course of organizing cadres to study philosophy, the Qinhuangdao City party committee took the mass viewpoint of historical materialism as an important topic. Through study, cadres came to fully understand that a very important reason why our party has been able to lead the Chinese people from victory to victory is that we have the scientific guidance of historical materialism and the fine tradition of maintaining close ties with the masses. The problems confronting us in the new historical period are numerous and complicated. In order to successfully resolve problems, we must follow the mass line, be eager to meet the needs of the masses, and share the thoughts of the masses.

Move Up One Level To See as Far as the Eye Can See

Philosophy is the knowledge of understanding, the knowledge that will help temper people's ability to see "as far as the eyes can see." Mastery of philosophy will enhance one's ability. This is the consensus of all aspiring people, past and present, Chinese or foreign. The ancient Greeks referred to philosophers as "men of wisdom." Marx referred to philosophy as "the quintessence of the spirit of the times." From this perspective, the Qinhuangdao City CPC Committee has indeed made a far-sighted choice deciding to grasp the work of organizing cadres to study philosophy as an important task.

Comparing previous party wide study philosophy drives with the current drive launched by the Qinhuangdao authorities, my view is that, in order to deepen and sustain the Qinhuangdao study drive as well as the forthcoming study-philosophy drive across the nation, it is necessary to clarify certain issues and exert in certain areas.

First, we must strengthen systematic study and properly handle the relationship between systematic study and study with emphasis. Marxist philosophy is a science which concerns the most fundamental law governing nature, society and man's thinking. It is an integrated system. Materialism, dialectics, epistemology, and historical materialism are all linked to form an integrated world outlook and methodology, and we often have to rely on other parts to understand a particular part. In their study, cadres must put particular emphasis on certain basic viewpoints of Marxist philosophy, firmly bearing in mind the problems currently confronting us. But study with emphasis must be combined with systematic study. Without systematic study, it will be difficult to gain a profound understanding of the basic points

studied with particular emphasis. In organizing cadres to study philosophy, the Qinhuangdao City party committee has concentrated on study with emphasis and paid little attention to systematic study. The effects could have been better if the entire stock of theories of Marxist philosophy were itemized and a list of the main points of study, bibliography, and questions for pondering were compiled. This will make it easier for cadres to study on their own and to systematically understand Marxist philosophy. Objectively speaking, it will be very difficult for a district or city to do this by relying on its own theoretical force. Unified arrangement on a national scale is necessary. This is an inspiration that the Qinhuangdao experience has to offer to the nationwide drive of cadres studying philosophy.

Second, we must cultivate the concept of long-term effect and do away with the potential influence of "getting instant results." This is closely connected to the question discussed in the paragraph above. Marxist philosophy, which is the study of scientific world outlook and methodology, is not something that can be mastered overnight. Comrade Chen Yun once said, "Once we have mastered it, we will benefit from philosophy all our lives." What this means in essence is that we must, through studying Marxist philosophy, learn to resolve the problem of world outlook and methodology from a long-term perspective. This is the summary made by proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation of the experience gained by our party in studying philosophy during the past decades. In the past, there were great success stories of cadres studying philosophy. However, the deviation of being overanxious for quick results was evident in varying degrees. "Getting instant results" was a typical slogan of this deviation. It seemed that the study of philosophy, just like some of the concrete work tasks, could be accomplished in a rush within a few days or months, and could be applied as a shock tactic in practice. The natural result of this mentality was that people went through the motions, were content with superficial understanding, and were unable to truly resolve problems concerning world outlook and methodology. Putting too much emphasis on certain basic viewpoints at the expense of systematic study also bears obvious traces of the mentality of being overanxious for quick results. The systematic and scientific nature of Marxist philosophy and the complexity of the general laws governing nature, society, and man's thinking that it reveals, require that we cultivate the concept of long-term effect in our study of philosophy.

Third, we must give the present study drive a higher starting point and new content. Half a century has gone by since cadres were first organized to study philosophy during the period of the Yanan rectification. During these 50 years, the political, economic, and cultural scenes at home and abroad have undergone enormous changes. Philosophy itself has also seen considerable changes. The treasure house of Marxism has been greatly enriched by the large numbers of articles and speeches written and made by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and

other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation on the basis of continuously summing up past experience. Hence, the present study philosophy drive must meet the needs of the changed situation and the new level of natural and social science and the science of thinking. Because of the rise in overall cultural standards of the Chinese nation, the existing ranks of cadres have the necessary cultural requirements to study Marxist philosophy in the light of the new situation. In organizing cadres to study philosophy, the Qinhuangdao City party committee has taken note of this fact. For instance, it has closely observed the new situation and taken note of new sciences. However, it still has to find a way to skillfully integrate Marxist philosophy with the new situation and the new sciences. This will require the joint effort of cadres and theoretical workers throughout the country.

The study philosophy drive in Qinhuangdao has achieved some success, but there are a number of shortfalls caused by various limitations. I believe that its successful experience will be helpful to the nationwide drive of cadres studying philosophy, while its shortfalls will arouse people's attention and will be gradually overcome in the nationwide study drive.

Reflections on National Self-Confidence

HK0905095390 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 8, 16 Apr 90 p 47

[Article by Sikong Qi (0674 4500 2494)]

[Text] Some days ago, I read two items in the newspaper and was deeply aroused. One item said an artist who took part in the Antarctic expedition was so upset at being repeatedly mistaken for a Japanese in Australia that he wrote the words "China, Beijing" on his shirt. The other was a historical anecdote. Ji Hongchang [0679 7703 2490] was being scorned while on a mission to the United States in 1931. His counsellor suggested that he pass himself off as a Japanese, saying that this way he would be accorded courteous reception. Greatly enraged, he made himself a name tag bearing the words "I am Chinese" and proudly paraded himself among the Americans. These two stories occurred 50 years apart, but both aroused the reader deeply. Any Chinese person who has an upright character will attach great importance to national dignity and self-confidence.

These stories reminded me of some shameful practices. Manufacturers of household electrical appliances and daily consumer goods, whether individual proprietorships, joint ventures, or state-owned factories, all racked their brains trying to think of foreign names for their products and had operation manuals printed in foreign languages, to be sold to foreigners. They gave not the slight thought to whether domestic users would be able to understand. Accidents like people getting hurt because they could not read the foreign-language instructions on the wrappings of firecrackers occurred. Even barber shops have to be "modernized" and take on modern

names like "Mini Hair Salon" or "Dreamland Beauty Parlor," and the simplified characters for the words "hair" and "parlor" have to be replaced with their full forms to show they are different. The book *Sun Zi's Art of War* was available on the domestic market and aroused people's attention once again only after it had become a hit in Japan and some European countries. There is no denying that national self-confidence is indeed weak among some people.

In my opinion, we should be able to make a sober and realistic appraisal of everything, whether foreign or domestic. If something foreign is good, we should honestly admit it. This should not be regarded as fawning on foreigners, just as we will not laugh at foreigners and say they are fawning on the Chinese because they praise our *Book of Changes*, qigong, Great Wall, and Qin terracotta warriors. The important thing is, we should not unduly humble ourselves and become weak-kneed before other people's strong points.

It is true that China is relatively backward. Old China had a poor foundation to start with. After liberation, we made quite a few mistakes and things did not turn out as we wished. However, any fair-minded person would have to agree that we have done many good things these past years. Of course, many of our products are still a long way from international advanced standards. To narrow this gap, we must think of a way, and the way before us is to make a determined effort, knowing full well that the going will be tough, rather than trying to delude others by means of simple tricks like adopting a foreign name. When China is strong, the Chinese language will become popular. Is it not true that a "craving for things Chinese" is appearing in many countries? The Maotai bottle looks antiquated and clumsy, as many would agree, but because the wine is excellent, the bottle also becomes something sought after. There is one and only one reason for this, and that is because the wine is good.

People have come up with all sorts of ingenious suggestions for changing the state of backwardness. Members of the "elite" have also recommended some drastic approaches: One is to turn China once again into a colony under the rule of foreign devils. The proponents even suggested that China would have to remain a colony for 300 years to be of any hope. The second and more thoroughgoing approach is to do away with the Chinese race altogether and replace it with a new race. These suggestions are drastic all right, but they have solicited little support from the Chinese. The approach supported by everyone is one which Comrade Jiang Zemin has been emphasizing of late: The key lies in improving ourselves, promoting our economy, and doing a good job in all fields of work at home.

In order to do our work well, we need to have aspirations, step up education on patriotism and national integrity, and strengthen national dignity and self-confidence. An old writer once said that he had only seen two imported cars during his weeklong stay in Seoul. If

we had imported more car-manufacturing technology and equipment rather than cars these past years, our auto industry would definitely look very different today. If we have patriotic spirit, national confidence, and long-term strategic thinking, we will import things that are useful, prohibit the import of things that are either useless or are not essential to poor people like us at this stage. For instance, what about cutting down on or prohibiting the import of foreign cigarettes, wines, and spirits and beverages?

As far as the millions and millions of common Chinese people and their outstanding public servants are concerned, their national self-confidence is never in doubt. They quietly keep working at their respective posts, trying to build the new great wall of the Chinese nation with their own blood and sweat. We need not make a special effort to search through our reference materials to find examples. Just cite a few names mentioned in the press lately and one is sure to be deeply touched by their deeds. It is true that there are people out there exploiting their position for private gain. However, provincial governor Tie Muer [6993 2606 1422], who has been an official all his life, has never given his relatives in the countryside any special treatment. It is true that deserts are bringing us increasing damage. However, Wang Kangfu [3769 1660 1381] and Jiang Jin [5592 3866], two aging scientists, insisted on dedicating their energy to the control of deserts and succeeded in finding the way to check the spread of deserts. It is true that carbon fibers are a gap in our science and technology. However, ordinary peasant Sun Zhiming [1327 5268 2494] was willing to spend his last cent to storm this stronghold...

Against the view publicized in newspapers that "there is nothing left of national dignity and self-confidence," Mr. Lu Xun indignantly asked this question back in 1934: "Have we Chinese lost our self-confidence?" To find the answer, Mr. Lu Xun suggested, "We cannot base ourselves on the writings of accomplished scholars or officials. We have to look under our feet" and look at the "muscles and backbone" of the Chinese people.

If we all have the determination to be the muscles and backbone of the Chinese people, China will have great hopes.

A Solemn and Stirring Paean of Faith— Impressions of the Feature Film *Juvenile Prisoners of War*

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[Article by Zhao Baohua (6392 5508 5478)]

[Text] There have been many films depicting the hard and arduous lives of the Red Army. For some time, however, with the screen being dominated by love stories and killings, this genre has become a rare commodity. Stories about the Red Army has been neglected as something stale and of no interest. Here we are not going to discuss whether this genre has any great practical

significance today. Genre itself will never become outmoded. The important thing is how it is expressed in its artistic format. New angles of vision and new discoveries often give traditional genres a new artistic life.

Although the feature film *Juvenile Prisoners of War*, produced by the China Children's Film Studio (screenplay by Cao Wenhan [2580 2429 3352] and Wang Xingdong [3769 5281 2639] and directed by Lin Yuzhuang [2651 3558 8369]), is just a story about the Red Army in its traditional vein, the audience still finds it new and fresh and deeply touching. From an unique angle, the film presents the heroic and moving story of how Red Army prisoners of war kept their faith and will to fight in adversities.

The film is based on a touching real-life story that took place in the West Route Army of the Red Army. In March 1937, the West Route Army, which was entrusted with the mission of building an international passageway along the Hexi corridor, was besieged by the Kuomintang. Eventually it was defeated, having run out of ammunition and food supplies. Among the captives was a regiment of the Young Communist International. *Juvenile Prisoner of War* is about the fate of these young captives. Young people of today may not identify with this course of struggle of the Red Army, and one rarely sees Red Army prisoners of war as a film topic these days. With a solemn sense of duty to society, the film's director reexamined this period of revolutionary history and picked out this serious and important motif. The film is a paean of faith, one that we have not heard for ages. It helps the vast audience among children and youngsters to understand how the Red Army and the Chinese revolution developed and to what we owe our life today. It sincerely urges the audience not to forget the history of revolution.

The film truthfully depicts the special war waged by the juvenile Red Army fighter against the Ma family troops of the Kuomintang. The Ma family troops wanted to turn the Young Pioneers Battalion of the Red Army into the Young Boys Battalion of the Kuomintang, which was to serve as a reserve of the Kuomintang regular troops. The young Red Army fighters were disarmed, weak, and feeble. Isolated and cut off from help, their fate was completely in the hands of the Ma family troops. They were bullied and trampled upon by their captors. Should they submit to the reorganization and live in degradation, or should they refuse reorganization and fight on? This was a test of faith and will power. The faith of the young prisoners of war found concentrated expression in their pursuit of their revolutionary ideal. Through adaptation and creation, the film builds up its dramatic conflict and uses this as the main axis of its plot. As the plot unfolds, the angle of vision widens to show and give a complete picture of the temperament and spiritual outlook of individual captives. All this is set against the complexity of the given historical period (after the "Xian incident" and before the "7 July incident," the Communists and the Kuomintang had begun negotiations,

although there was still confrontation) to give the characterization a sense of history.

In this special battle which is part adaptation and part creation, the images of the juvenile captives are revealed one by one. They all have their individuality: Little Bajin is simple-minded, Tang Baoyuan is naive and good-natured, Duomeng is straightforward and brave, and Ouyang Shi is mature for his age and quick-witted. They have all left the audience with a deep impression. The salient general character shared by them is that they are all dedicated to their faith and are willing to sacrifice for their faith. The negative characters are there to provide a foil to the juvenile captives. Casting away the aesthetic mentality usually found in children's films, the director refrained from giving the negative characters a superficial treatment. Neither did he resort to caricaturization or typification. The characterization and mental development of the regimental commander of the Ma family troops, from hostility to the juvenile prisoners of war to attempting to draw them to his side, and eventually becoming perplexed, shows the bankruptcy of the Ma family troops' intention to "reorganize" the juvenile captives. One will find it hard to forget the meaningful

ending of the film: On the pastureland, the regimental commander walks over to the body of Tang Baoyuan, who was hit by a bullet while helping his comrades-in-arms escape, picks up from the ground the two silver dollars that he had given Tang Baoyuan earlier as reward, and feels perplexed. This shot deepens the theme of the film and vividly hints at the barrier between the two kinds of faith. From the steadfastness shown by the young captives in their pursuit of revolutionary faith and their spirit of sacrifice, it is not difficult to see the reason why we won a great victory in the democratic revolution. Reviewing this tragic and heroic history today will be of great help to our endeavor to adhere to the socialist road and continue to fight for the communist ideal.

We can see that this film attempts to break the barrier between children's films and adult films. While appealing to popular tastes, the story carries a profound meaning. The characterization is simple and the situation is complicated. The film endeavors to win the acceptance of the juvenile audience and the appreciation the adult audience. These efforts are both admirable and commendable.

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