

JPRS-CAR-90-015  
26 FEBRUARY 1990



**FOREIGN  
BROADCAST  
INFORMATION  
SERVICE**

# ***JPRS Report***

20000121 072

## **China**

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A**  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

### ***QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]***

No 24, 16 December 1989

REPRODUCED BY  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3**

22161

SPRINGFIELD, VA  
5285 PORT ROYAL RD  
ATTN: PROCESS 103  
NTIS

22161  
166

**DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 1**

# China

## QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 24, 16 December 1989

JPRS-CAR-90-015

CONTENTS

26 FEBRUARY 1990

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

### QIUSHI No 24, 16 December 1989

|                                                                                                                                                                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Diligently Study Marxist Philosophy [Published in FBIS-CHI-90-002, 3 Jan] .....                                                                                                                   | 1  |
| Seriously Implement the Principle of Taking Agriculture as the Foundation [Chen Junsheng] .....                                                                                                   | 1  |
| Persist in Implementing the 'Double Retrenchment' Policy [Jing Ping] .....                                                                                                                        | 7  |
| Strengthen the Tempering of Party Members and Self-Cultivation in Party Spirit—Commemorating the<br>60th Anniversary of the Publication of the Gutian Conference Resolution [Zheng Nianqun] ..... | 9  |
| On the Choice of History [Liu Dajian] .....                                                                                                                                                       | 13 |
| Commenting on Bao Zunxin's 'Confucianization of Contemporary Marxism in China' [Yin Yi] .....                                                                                                     | 16 |
| Mao Zedong and His Secretary Tian Jiaying, Part III [Feng Xianzhi] .....                                                                                                                          | 21 |
| Develop Civilization of Socialist Enterprises [Sun Kaifei] .....                                                                                                                                  | 27 |
| Develop Culture of Township and Town Enterprises in the Light of Reality [Lu Guanqiu] .....                                                                                                       | 29 |
| This Is How We Develop the Culture of Enterprises in a Special Zone [Chen Hongming] .....                                                                                                         | 30 |
| Consideration Should Be Given to Both 'Money' and 'Future' [Ma Zhanxiao] .....                                                                                                                    | 32 |

**Diligently Study Marxist Philosophy**

00000000 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 December 1989

[Published in FBIS-CHI-90-002, 3 Jan 90 pp 18-24]

**Seriously Implement the Principle of Taking  
Agriculture as the Foundation**

HK1302140190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 90, pp 11-16

[Article by Chen Junsheng (7115 0193 3932)]

[Text] The CPC Central Committee's Decision on Furthering the Economic Readjustment and Rectification and Deepening Reform takes agriculture as a basic branch of production and attaches more importance to it. In the past, we did not pay sufficient attention to agriculture and other basic production branches. At present, the party's central leadership, the State Council, various social circles, and local governments at various levels have all attached great importance to agriculture. The decision put forward some major measures for developing agriculture. The measures are feasible and practicable, and what counts now is to really put them into practice.

Agriculture is a branch of production ensuring nationwide stability. With stable agricultural production, the country will be kept stable. This is beyond doubt. Without solving the issue of feeding 1.1 billion people, no matter how well other issues are settled, it is still impossible to maintain stability. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our country carried out a series of major reforms, and, as acknowledged by the whole world, the most salient results were achieved in rural reforms. In the first six years of reform, agricultural production was raised to a new stage. The grain output per capita increased from 319 kilograms in 1978 to 393.7 kilograms in 1984. The cultivated land in our country accounts for less than seven percent of the world's total, but we feed more than 22 percent of the world's population. This achievement must be fully affirmed.

At the same time, we should also soberly notice that the state of agricultural production in our country brooks no optimism. The following figures show how serious the situation is. In the 30 years from 1957 to 1988, the area of cultivated land decreased by an average of 8 million mu every year, and the per capita area of cultivated land decreased from 2.59 mu to 1.33 mu; grain output per capita decreased from 393.7 kilograms in 1984 to 362 kilograms in 1988. In 1953, 21 provinces were net grain suppliers; but in 1988, the number of such provinces decreased to only five, and provinces which were not self-sufficient in grain needed to have more than 15 billion kilograms of grain transferred into these provinces.

The present state of agricultural production is still not too bad, but there is a latent crisis in the long run. It is

hard to control population growth. Even if there are floods, drought, and other natural disasters, the population will continue to increase. On the other hand, it is also hard to control the decrease in the area of cultivated land, and the increase in grain output is constrained by many factors. This is the crucial issue in agricultural development and is also a major characteristic in our national condition.

This is related to manifold factors, and the three most important are as follows:

First, agricultural input was decreasing. From 1978 to 1988, state investment in capital construction increased from 50 billion yuan to 154.3 billion yuan, but agricultural investment decreased from 5.3 billion yuan to 4.5 billion yuan, a decrease of 13.2 percent. The proportion of agricultural investment in the total state investment in capital construction fell from 10.6 percent to 3.2 percent; and the proportion of investment in industries related to agriculture fell from the average of 4.2 percent in the first 30 years of the PRC to about 1 percent. After 1987, due to the establishment of the special fund for grain production, the land development fund, and the agricultural development fund, agricultural investment increased somewhat, but not all the funds were actually used for agriculture. According to the statistics of the departments concerned, between January and July this year agricultural investment made by the central and local authorities account for 4.1 percent of the total investment amount; the figure was one percentage point lower than the figure of 5.1 percent in the same period of last year. At the same time, localities, collectives, and peasants also reduced their investment in agriculture, especially in grain production. The input decrease prevented improvement in the agricultural production conditions and made it hard to raise the productivity level in agriculture.

Second, a serious disproportion appeared between industry and agriculture. In the first 30 years of the PRC, the ratio between the industrial and agricultural growth rates remained roughly 2.8 to 1. The ratio in the period between 1979 and 1984 was 1.5 to 1; that in the 1985-1987 period was 4 to 1; and that in 1987 was 6.7 to 1. In 1988, industrial output value increased by 20.7 percent, with that of the processing industries increasing by 23 percent, but agricultural output value increased by merely 3.2 percent. Industrial growth went far beyond the bearing capacity of agriculture and gave rise to a serious disproportion.

Third, over a long time, people did not fully realize the importance of agriculture. When problems occurred, importance might be attached to agriculture; when the situation became better, they tended to neglect it.

Our practical experience shows that without laying a solid agricultural foundation it will be hard to build the whole mansion of the national economy and to prop up a huge industry, and the economic readjustment and rectification will not shake off the serious difficulties.

Without first solving the agricultural issue, our efforts for the economic readjustment and rectification will not achieve expected results. Comrade Xiaoping said, "Our work in other fields may be rather smooth in the 1990's, and we are just worried about whether agriculture will also develop smoothly." He again and again reminded us to pay attention to the agricultural issue.

How should we solve the problems in our agriculture? In my view, we should make earnest efforts to do a good job in the following three areas:

**First, actually increase agricultural input.**

The central government, local governments, collectives, and peasants should all increase agricultural input. The central government should first gradually increase agricultural investment. It is impossible for the state to increase the financial appropriation for agriculture by a wide margin, but the state can play a significant guiding role for collectives and peasants in increasing agricultural input. Cadres at various levels and peasants will see that the state does not merely talk about the importance of agriculture in words. Peasants will contribute the main part of agricultural input, and their part is irreplaceable. It should be noticed that at present, when peasants earn more money, the first thing they want to do is build houses rather than reinvest the money in agriculture. So, more effective guidance should be given to them in this regard. The most important thing is to stabilize and improve the household contract system so that peasant households will be able to manage the land contracted to them on a long-term basis and will be enthusiastic not only for using the land, but also for increasing inputs to the land. It is inadvisable to say that the household contract system was initiated by a certain person, because this will make the peasants fear that the policy may be changed, and will thus discourage them to increasing input.

Through the increase in agricultural input, the ratio between industry and agriculture will gradually be normalized. This is an important goal of the economic readjustment and rectification in the next three years.

**Second, creating an external environment favorable to agriculture through truly solving the following five issues.**

1. We should truly realize the importance of agriculture in our minds. Agriculture is a branch of production prerequisite to the development of the national economy. Without agricultural development, there will not be sufficient food and even no subsistence conditions for the people; then the development of other branches of production in the national economy will not be possible. Therefore, agricultural development is not an affair merely for the agricultural department, but is the common task for all trades and all economic branches. Of course, the achievements in agricultural production will also benefit all trades and promote the development of all other economic branches.

2. All economic departments should correspondingly adjust their own work plans and structures in order to create a more favorable condition for agriculture. For example, the planning structure, the investment structure, the credit structure, the material distribution structure, the foreign exchange distribution structure, and the taxation structure should all be adjusted in light of the requirements of agricultural development. If the economic departments do not make necessary adjustments and keep the old structure of resource distribution unchanged, the policies for supporting agriculture will never be put into practice and the needs in agricultural production will not be satisfied. Then, it will merely be empty talk no matter how we stress the importance of agriculture.

3. According to the requirements specified by the central decision, all economic departments concerned and all local governments must first ensure the supply of energy and raw materials for the production of fertilizer, pesticides, farm-use plastic film, and various farm machines. What should we do if funds and materials are scarce? In any circumstances, we should adhere to this principle: First guarantee the production of food and guarantee agricultural production. Provinces, prefectures, cities, and counties should use most of their local finances for agricultural development and should not merely invest their money in industries that yield quick and large returns.

4. The relevant departments should take the initiative in solving problems that affect agriculture. They should immediately solve those that can be solved and should also take positive steps for solving those that cannot be immediately solved. Comrades who are responsible for managing and allocating money and materials in various departments should not recklessly veto the relevant solutions and should not rebuff proposals for tackling difficulties in agriculture without careful consideration.

5. Steps should be taken to reduce the burdens borne by peasants. In the last two or three years, the burdens imposed on peasants have increased markedly. Although party committees and governments at various levels have noticed this problem and some localities have taken steps to deal with it, this problem has not yet been effectively solved. According to surveys in some localities, levies were imposed on peasants in various strange guises; the number of local levy items exceeded 70 and had increased year after year. The levies increased at a speed higher than the growth rate of the peasants' per capita net income. For example, in a certain province, the per capita net income increased by an annual average of 4.88 percent in the last three years, but the amount of levies per capita increased by an annual average of 9.54 percent.

There are four reasons why peasants have to bear heavy burdens: 1) The wealth possessed by peasants is overestimated. Before reform began, peasant households earned various low incomes. In recent years, collective accumulation in some localities was almost used up. As

prices rose by a wide margin, most peasants are still not well-to-do. For example, in Xiaogang Village of Fengyang County, Anhui Province, which was the first village in the whole country to adopt the household output contract system, the peasants' per capita net income in 1988 was 512 yuan, which was close to the national average of 545 yuan. Yan Hongchang, the village's production team leader, said, "You all say that we peasants have become rich, but we have just reaped more food grain to keep us from hunger." Because the wealthiness of the peasants is generally overestimated, many localities imposed various levies on peasants by arguing that "the undertakings of the people should be run by the people." 2) Government departments did not coordinate their policies; each went its own way, and quotas were increased when they were assigned from a higher level to a lower level. Levies were imposed by some local government departments when they found some excuses. For example, a county found it hard to sell cigarettes well, then it ordered that each household had to buy one pack of cigarettes. The village and team leaders knew that this was not right, but they had no alternative but to arbitrarily sell the cigarettes to the peasants according to the superior's instruction. 3) Some grassroots cadres were just interested in achieving quick results in a short period after they took office. For example, after a villagers' committee chairman took office, he was anxious to establish a decent school. After the school was built, he demanded that his name be carved on a tablet so that his contributions could be known forever. 4) There was lack of a perfect supervisory system. Little information about the specific use of the levies and about the accounts related to the relevant projects was made known to the public. Levies were imposed and used in a reckless and irregular way.

In order to truly lessen the burdens borne by peasants, it is necessary to formulate rules and regulations on restraining the imposition of levies on peasants at an earliest date and to strictly implement such rules and regulations.

### **Third, fully tapping potential in agriculture itself.**

After the enthusiasm of the peasants aroused by the household output contract system reached a certain level, it could hardly achieve new results without the support of certain favorable external conditions. The external environment and conditions include the major measures specified by the central decision. However, we should not think that so long as external conditions are created, the agricultural issue is naturally solved.

In my view, in the next three years or for an even longer period, we must fully tap the potential in agriculture itself. Among other measures, the most important ones include those for breaking new ground in agricultural production and for upgrading agricultural production to a resource-saving and high-yield new pattern.

First, do a good job in promoting comprehensive agricultural development.

Comprehensive agricultural development is a major policy step for promoting our country's agricultural development in depth and in scope. Through comprehensive development, that is, through increasing material and technological input in the existing land resources, we will raise the unit-area yield and raise productivity. At the same time, through exploiting the available new resources, we will expand the area of cultivated land and increase effective supply. This is an effective way to make a breakthrough in agricultural production, which remained stagnant for a few years.

Great potential in our country's agriculture has yet to be tapped. Low-yield and medium-yield fields account for about two-thirds of the 1.49 billion mu of existing cultivated land. In 1984, when grain output reached an all-time high, although our country's total output of cereals ranked first in the world, the unit-area yield ranked in only 13th place. If the per mu yield of the low-yield and medium-yield fields can be raised by 50 kilograms, total grain output will increase by 50 billion kilograms. This does not require too much input, but will achieve quick results. In the next few years, the efforts for agricultural development should be first concentrated on the transformation of low-yield and medium-yield fields.

In our country, a large quantity of agricultural resources has not been exploited. According to rough statistics, some 200 million mu of wasteland can be reclaimed for agricultural purposes in the near future. If 75 percent of this land is reclaimed, the area of cultivated land will increase by 150 million mu. In addition, there is about 20 million mu of shoreland, and most such land has not yet been reclaimed. There is 720 million mu of exploitable grass slopes that can be transformed. There is 250 million mu of fresh water surface, and 75 million mu of it can be used for aquaculture, but nearly 40 percent of such areas have not yet been used for aquaculture. There is 7.38 million mu of sea surface that can be used for aquaculture, but only a third has been used.

In recent years, good results have been achieved in our country's agricultural development. In 1988, the state land development fund allocated 555 million yuan for agricultural development in the five provinces in the Huanghe-Huaihe-Haihe Plain and in the three provinces of northeast China; the Agricultural Bank issued 198 million yuan in special loans for agricultural development; localities allocated 538 million yuan of special funds to support development projects that would eventually transform 12.58 million mu of low-yield and medium-yield fields, reclaim 1.7 million mu of waste land for farming, build 4.52 million mu of shelter forests, and transform 830,000 mu of grassland. According to the eight provinces' statistics through the end of last September, they had completed the transformation of 10 million mu of low-yield and medium-yield fields, accounting for 79.5 percent of their planned target; had reclaimed 1.1 million mu of wasteland, accounting for 64.7 percent of the planned target; had built and improved 4.3 million mu of shelter forests, accounting

for 95.1 percent of the planned target; and had transformed 400,000 mu of grassland, accounting for 48.2 percent of the planned target. By the end of last May, some provinces (such as Henan) had overfulfilled the targets for comprehensive development. In 1988 and 1989, 20 large development projects were started throughout the country. They were distributed in 18 provinces and autonomous regions and involved 612 counties and more than 200 state farms.

The large-scale development projects also promote agricultural development in areas that were not included in the state's key projects. They relied on their own strength to actively carry out feasible development projects. For example, Shanxi Province has transformed 2.87 million mu of saline-alkali land in the past few years, which accounted for 58 percent of the total area of such land in this province. This year, the area of newly reclaimed land in Shanxi was basically equal to the area of cultivated land being used for nonfarming purposes, thus halting the tendency of decreasing cultivated land in this province. In Yongji County of this province, three successive county party committee secretaries consistently led the local masses to reclaim the wasteland on the shore of Huanghe. Now, they have developed 210,000 mu of land, or 80 percent of the land they planned to develop. The area of cultivated land per capita in this county increased from two mu in 1984 to three mu at present. Shanxi was not included in the state's land development plan, but they did not wait for or rely on state appropriations and just relied on their own unremitting and solid efforts. Marked results have been achieved there.

In late October, when I visited Gansu and Ningxia, I found that a good job was done in transforming small valleys there. The local people summarized their experience into several points: "capping the mountains (by planting trees), tying belts around the mountain slopes (by building terraced fields), and putting shoes on the feet of the mountains (by building irrigated farmland)." The work of transforming small valleys raised the grain output, increased animal feed, overcame the shortage of firewood for local people, and effectively controlled soil erosion. These comprehensive transformation and development measures have achieved comprehensive results in the social, economic, and ecological fields. The Lanzhou Desert Control Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences achieved good results in setting up desert control stations in Ningxia and gained successful experience in this regard. Good results were also achieved in the building of shelter forests in north and northwest China. From 1978 to the end of 1988, the area of artificial afforestation reached 138 million mu; 32.4 million mu of mountainous areas were closed to facilitate afforestation; the area of afforestation through airplane sowing reached 3.6 million mu; more than 3 billion trees were planted around houses and villages, on the roadsides, and shores. Afforestation and tree planting achieved marked economic and ecological results in some localities, and were reputed to be "the world's best ecological project" by some international

experts. The transformation of small valleys, the projects for desert control, and the building of shelter forests, in fact, constituted a "green revolution" on the Huangtu Plateau and in the areas frequently troubled by wind and sand.

At present, a major problem in agricultural development is that the extrabudgetary funds raised for this purpose and the land use taxes cannot meet the increasing financial needs. Localities now have more enthusiasm for agricultural development and hope that the state will give them financial support, but available funds for development are decreasing. For example, it was planned to collect 3.5 billion yuan of taxes from the use of 2.6 million mu of farmland for construction purposes in 1989, and 1 billion yuan of these taxes would be turned over to the central government. However, because capital construction was restrained, only 410,000 cultivated land was used for construction in the first nine months. It was certainly a good thing that less farmland was used for nonfarming purposes, but only 900 million yuan of taxes could be collected and the exact amount of collected taxes was merely 780 million yuan, that being turned over to the central treasury amounted to merely 167 million yuan. It is expected that in the whole year, the central government will collect only 450 million yuan of such taxes. There will be a wide gap between the tax revenue target and the budget for the development projects. As some major land users were in arrears with tax payments, or even refused to pay taxes, the amount of funds for land development would be even smaller. Henceforth, land-use taxes must be collected according to the law; at the same time, it is necessary to expand the revenue sources for the land development fund. There are now four available channels for increasing the land development fund: 1) Shifting part of the state's investment in noninfrastructure construction; 2) allowing resource-poor provinces and regions to make investment in other provinces and regions or conduct compensation trade (for example, Wuxi City has carried out compensation trade in Heilongjiang Province); 3) increasing the proportion of foreign investment in agricultural development; 4) increasing the use of local funds for agricultural development. General Secretary Jiang Zemin pointed out during his recent inspection tour in Yunnan that "it is necessary to make efforts to develop agricultural production, especially grain production. It is not enough for only peasants to have production enthusiasm. The central, provincial, prefectural, and county authorities should all attach importance to agriculture, give serious consideration to agriculture, and increase input." We should truly put his instruction into practice in our work.

With more low-yield and medium-yield fields being transformed and more agricultural resources being tapped, our country will be able to increase annual grain output by 7.5 billion to 10 billion kilograms and increase cotton output by 7 million to 10 million dan.

Second, agriculture should develop a resource-saving and high-yield pattern.

In terms of per capita figures, our country is not rich in natural and material resources. In addition, the limited resources have been wasted seriously. Therefore, great potential exists, and this potential makes it possible to maintain developmental momentum in agriculture over a long time.

#### 1. Save on land.

"Land is the mother of wealth, and labor is the father of wealth." We must ask the people throughout the country to cherish every inch of land. In recent years, township and town enterprises have used large areas of arable land, and peasants have also built houses on the arable land in a disorderly way. When making investigation in northwest China and in Hebei Province, I found that the peasants there built houses mostly on good-quality farmland. In addition, large plots of land were turned into yards around the houses. In some localities, people even built houses for boys below 10 years of age so that they will have their own houses after getting married. Such evil trends must be resolutely checked; otherwise, they will cause consequences too dreadful to contemplate.

At present, many localities have not yet introduced multiple cropping even though they have conditions for multiple cropping. The national average multiple crop index is about 47 percent. We should actively create conditions for all forms of multiple cropping and interplanting. Under the present conditions, some localities in the south can raise their multiple crop index by 20-30 percent, and localities in the north can raise the index by 10 percent. By increasing the multiple cropping area, we will achieve results similar to increasing cultivated land by 1 billion mu. Another effective way to increase output is to broaden the area grown with ratooning rice. In this regard, Hunan and Sichuan have achieved good results in the past years. This year, Chongqing City increased the area of land grown with ratooning rice to 2.94 million mu, and the per mu yield was generally 100 to 150 kilograms. In some places it reached as high as 200 to 300 kilograms, and the highest was 400 kilograms. The planting of ratooning rice increased the city's total grain output by 250 million kilograms this year. Great potential can also be tapped through developing land resources in mountainous areas; this is called "three-dimensional development." Different levels of the mountains can be used to plant different crops, trees, or grass. Thus, forestry, animal husbandry, and fisheries can be developed side by side with farming. In particular, there is some 800 million mu of hilly land in the southern provinces, and great potential can be tapped through three-dimensional development.

#### 2. Save on water.

In our country, the shortage of water resources is merely less serious than the shortage of land resources. At present, the total quantity of water resources is estimated at 27,000 billion cubic meters, ranking sixth place in the world; the per capita quantity of such resources is only 2,600 cubic meters against 20,000 cubic meters in the

Soviet Union and 15,000 cubic meters in the United States. Our country is not only poor in water resources, but the distribution of such resources is extremely uneven and there is a big gap between the north and the south in water resources. If the total quantity of water resources is divided by the total area of cultivated land, arable wasteland, and grassland requiring irrigation, the annual average quantity of water resources in the whole country is less than 800 cubic meters. In the northern, northwest, and northeast regions, the quantity of available water resources is far less than the national average. In recent years, the gap between available surface water resources and actual need was getting wider and wider in the northern areas. Ground water there has been excessively exploited. At present, it has been found that the ground water level in more than 50 large areas was lowered to a much deeper level. At the centers of these areas, the ground water level was lowered by 10 to 30 meters or in the most serious case, by 70 meters.

In our country, some 500 billion cubic meters of water are used every year; 80 percent of such water is used for irrigation and other agricultural purposes. Grain crops need much water. According to a survey conducted by comrades in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, each mu of paddy fields in southern provinces needs 600 to 900 cubic meters of water, and that in the north needs 1,100 to 1,200 cubic meters of water; each mu of fields sown with wheat needs 300 cubic meters of water; each mu of fields sown with corn needs 240 cubic meters. However, the effective water utilization rate in areas where farmland is irrigated through ditches is merely 40 percent, while the rate in areas where farmland is irrigated with well water is about 65 percent.

In the Huanghe-Huaihe-Haihe Plain, the average quantity of water used for irrigation reaches 50 billion cubic meters a year, but some 30 billion cubic meters of water are simply evaporated or lost through seepage. Ningxia is a dry area, and each mu of land grown with wheat needs only 260 to 300 cubic meters of water according to scientific calculation. However, 700 to 800 cubic meters of water are actually used to irrigate the fields there. On state farms where the irrigation systems can better save on water, each mu of fields still needs 400 to 450 cubic meters of water. In view of available water resources in the northern areas, it is very hard to meet actual needs. However, water resources are still wasted to such a serious degree. Therefore, it is extremely urgent to develop a water-saving pattern in agriculture.

Various localities have gained certain successful experiences in saving on water, and such experiences should be spread to other localities. For example, Henan's Yanshi County succeeded in its "dropping irrigation" experiments on 1,000 mu of wheat fields. This method can reduce the use of water by 70 percent. In Shunyi County of Beijing, the method of spraying irrigation can reduce water usage by 50 percent. The tube irrigation method in Hebei and other provinces can reduce the use of water by 20-30 percent. In September, I saw in Yuncheng City, Shanxi Province, that the people there invented a special

method of irrigation through closed ditches and tubes. This method can save on both land and water, and can also build the irrigation system at a lower cost. The effective water utilization rate reached as high as 95 percent. If all 20 million mu of fields in this area were irrigated with such tubes, 200 million cubic meters of water could be saved in a year, and the water could be used to irrigate another 500,000 mu of land; in addition, the irrigation facilities can reduce the use of land by 30,000 mu. The cost of such tubes is only two yuan per meter. If such tubes were adopted for all irrigated land in the whole area, the costs of irrigation systems could be lowered by more than 15 million yuan as compared with the seepage-proof ditches built with concrete. The use of water can also be reduced through adjusting the cropping structure. For example, in some dry areas, the area of wheat fields can be appropriately reduced, while the area of cotton fields can be increased. This is because wheat needs more water, particularly in the dry season, and cotton needs less water. In addition, fields should be plowed deeply and soil should be scarified so as to increase the moisture of the soil.

At present, in most areas of various provinces and autonomous regions, peasants are still used to the traditional irrigation methods of channeling large quantities of water into fields, and still think that the more water used, the better. Such traditional methods should be thoroughly changed.

Recently, in a national academic symposium on developing water-saving agriculture and new irrigation and drainage technologies in Xinxiang City, Henan Province, experts and professors analyzed the seriousness of water shortages faced by agriculture in our country, especially grain production. They also put forward some measures for saving on water. For example, a nationwide network can be set up to monitor changes in water supply and demand in farming; and technological transformation should be carried out for the purpose of raising output and saving on water. They proposed that the state take the development of water-saving agriculture as a major research item and include it in the state scientific and technological development plan in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

### 3. Save on fertilizers.

Our country is also short of chemical fertilizer, but the effective utilization rate is merely 30 percent, half the average utilization rate of developed countries. The main reason is that we do not use fertilizer according to soil conditions and according to scientific prescriptions. In recent years, people did not like to use organic fertilizer, and this caused a disproportion between nitrogenous, phosphate, and potash elements in the soil, and it also caused a disproportion between organic and inorganic fertilizer in the soil. According to the survey conducted by the State Farm Bureau of Ningxia Autonomous Region, leaving 500 kilograms of wheat straw as fertilizer in each mu of the fields will achieve the same fertilizing result as applying 9.6 kilograms of standard

chemical fertilizer, and this will also add more organic fertilizer to the fields and make the inorganic fertilizer applied to the fields more effective. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the use of organic fertilizer.

A major measure for mitigating the fertilizer supply-demand contradiction is to research and develop new types of chemical fertilizer. According to the comrades in the Chinese Academy of Sciences, the Applied Ecological Research Institute in Shenyang has succeeded in developing a type of urea with prolonged effect; this product can raise the fertilizing effect by 20 percent. If half the country's urea plants adopt the new method, the result will be similar to building three synthetic ammonia plants, each with a production capacity of 300,000 tons.

### 4. Save on farm chemicals.

Our country produces 280,000 tons of farm chemicals each year, and the output ranks third in the world. However, various localities still complain about the shortage of farm chemicals. Apart from the lack of certain chemicals, the peasants still lack knowledge about the use of chemicals, and this has caused serious waste. According to some experts, at present, it is not unusual that too high a dosage of chemicals is used. If peasants have better knowledge about the use of the pesticide, they will reduce the used quantity by 20 percent. If they use the chemicals more scientifically and skillfully, half the chemicals can be saved. At present, many people think that pesticides should be used earlier, even before insect pests and diseases appear, so that the chemicals will not only kill pests but will also prevent pests. The correctness of such a theory is rather doubtful. In fact, if too much pesticide is used, this will only result in increasing the pest's resistance. In Longhua Town, Jing County of Hebei, the chemicals used to kill pests only cost 54 yuan per mu in the cotton fields. Last year, some professional teams were established for eliminating and preventing pests according to the technical service contracts signed with peasant households; the peasants paid only 30 yuan per mu of the fields for eliminating pests, and the results were satisfactory. In fact, the professional teams could still earn 8 yuan per mu after their cost of 22 yuan was deducted. Their secret was to use the pesticide in a scientific way and apply it in good time in light of pest conditions to a large area of fields.

### 5. Save on seeds.

Great potential can be tapped in saving on seeds. At present, peasants in most areas of our country are still following the traditional farming methods of applying a great deal of fertilizer, irrigating fields with a large quantity of water, and sowing a unit area of land with a large quantity of seeds. According to a survey in Hebei Province, the traditional method needs 15 kilograms of wheat seeds to sow one mu of land. In 1986, the province began to spread some standard wheat and corn planting techniques. Under the guidance of agrotechnicians, the peasants there used much fewer seeds to sow the fields

more carefully. The quantity of seeds used to sow one mu of land was reduced by 6-7.5 kilograms. In Hebei, the area of fields sown with wheat is 35 million to 37 million mu. If this method is adopted for sowing all these fields, nearly 200 million kilograms of seeds can be saved.

In short, great potential still exists in our country's natural and material resources for agriculture, and such potential can be fully tapped when agriculture is turned into a resource-saving and high-yield pattern.

To achieve this purpose, we must rely on science and technology. According to our present national strength, it is hard to substantially increase input to agriculture and fully satisfy the needs of agricultural development. Under present conditions, by increasing input in the scientific and technological field, we will be able to more efficiently utilize available resources. Science and technology will help increase output, while input is not increased or is increased only modestly.

Comrade Xiaoping deeply pointed out not long ago that "it is also necessary to study the agricultural issue. Science may eventually solve this issue. Science is something wonderful. We must attach importance to science." His remarks precisely summarized our experience in developing agriculture in the past decades, and showed us the basic guideline for agricultural development in our country against the general background of rapid development in science and technology in the world. We should follow the spirit of Comrade Xiaoping's instruction and truly take concrete steps to develop agriculture by relying on science and technology.

### **Persist in Implementing the 'Double Retrenchment' Policy**

*HK1602074390 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89, pp 17-18*

[Article by Jing Ping (2529 1627)]

[Text] The "decision of the CPC Central Committee on further improving, rectifying, and deepening the reform" adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee has won the wholehearted support of the whole party and people of the whole country. At present, various localities in the country are studying and implementing it. The "decision" pointed out that firm insistence on implementing the "double retrenchment" policy in financial credits and loans is an important link in carrying out improvement and rectification, and is a fundamental measure in retrenching society's gross demand. We must thoroughly understand it and carry it out.

Over the past 10 years, construction and reform in our country have achieved great success. Our economic strength has been augmented and the standard of living of urban and rural residents has been manifestly improved. This is something people of the whole nation have seen with their own eyes and felt personally. At the same time, in the economic life of our country, many

difficulties and problems are found. That we had success must be fully affirmed, but as for the difficulties, we must give them due esteem, neither too high nor too low. Seen from the ideological side of certain comrades, the major problem at present is to guard against an insufficient estimation of the difficulties.

The economic difficulties we are currently facing are outstandingly manifested in the severe currency inflation, imbalance in gross demand and supply, irrational structure, and confusion in economic order. These difficulties definitely did not occur suddenly in a single year or two, but have accumulated through the years. From 1984 to 1988, the national income increased by 70 percent, (an increase of 149 percent if calculated at current prices), whereas investment in fixed assets by society increased by 214 percent and the monetary income of urban and rural residents increased by 200 percent. The construction scale must conform to national strength. This is a truth attested to repeatedly by actual practice, but the present national strength cannot stand the weight of this enormous construction scale and the serious inflation in social consumption demand. Hence, basically speaking, the difficulties and problems existing in the national economy of our country, such as social gross demand exceeding social gross supply and excessive distribution of the national income, have been caused by factors of many years' standing. They have been the results of being ideologically anxious for quick accomplishments and the failure from beginning to end to continuously and firmly depend on a guideline for sustained, stable, and coordinated development.

There are two principal methods to make social gross supply and social gross demand regain a general equilibrium. One is to increase effective supply and the other is to depress effective demand. But increasing supply must go through a definite procedure and there must be a fixed scale each year, but, at the moment, the gap between supply and demand is rather large. Hence, for the present we must seek ways and means to tap the hidden potential of enterprises and, simultaneous with expanding effective supply, be determined to depress demand and undergo a few years of retrenchment.

Under the conditions of overly sustained growth in demand and the continuous rise in commodity prices, it is very difficult to readjust the industrial and product structures. It is even more difficult to consolidate or rectify market order, and the enterprises themselves will pay little attention to making their products more marketable, to improve quality, or to lower the cost of production. Hence, if no determination is made to depress demand and pass several years of retrenchment, then the problems of improving the structure, rectifying order, and raising the benefits can hardly be solved and the national economy will not be able to manifest a true turn for the better that has a firm foundation. Regarding this point, we must acquire a clear-minded understanding.

Loosening credits and loans in finance and allowing excessive distribution of the national income, of course, can for a time raise production speed to a high level and rapidly increase the income of the peasants, but this procedure can hardly last long and to a certain degree the bubble will surely burst. Last year, there was double-digit inflation and panic-buying occurred three times. In reality, this was a yellow ticket of warning issued by the residents to us. It can thus be seen that adopting this method of excessive distribution of the national income is not beneficial to either the country or the people, and the road that should be taken is one of sustained, stable, and coordinated development of national income and gradual improvement in the people's standard of living.

Some comrades are of the opinion that, while an overheated economy may lead to society being unable to stand the high level of currency inflation, an overcooled economy likewise makes society suffer from a high unemployment rate and a drastic reduction in financial receipts. Balancing the two, the difficulties brought by retrenchment may be even bigger than those from decontrolling or opening up altogether. Although this view embraces certain rational factors, on the whole it is still not correct. The guideline advocated by the party Central Committee to enforce "double retrenchment" definitely is for the purpose of halting the overheating of the national economy, but it does not proceed to the extent of making the economy dead cold. As a result of the many existing difficulties and problems at present and the highly difficult tasks of solving them, the party Central Committee has also decided that we cannot expect immediate success in carrying out the improvement and rectification work, but that we should devote at least three years' time, or even longer, to gradually lower the inflation rate, eliminate financial deficits, and ease off the various kinds of contradictions arising from the irrational industrial structure and the distortion in prices. At the same time, we should maintain a suitable economic growth rate and fight for an average yearly GNP growth rate of 5-6 percent. This growth rate is by no means low. In the past eight years, the GNP has already been doubled, and if the average annual growth rate of the economy can be maintained at around 8 percent in the next 12 years then the strategic target of doubling and redoubling GNP by the end of the century can be realized. It can be seen that the guideline advocated by the party Central Committee was a positive, safe, and stable one. We may discuss the methods and steps in improvement and rectification, but as for the guideline of implementing the "double retrenchment," we cannot be in any way muddled and wavering.

In addition, some comrades have said that the current retrenchment "has reached the right point" and in certain places has proceeded even farther. For the present, it is no longer the problem of demand inflation, but that of consumption insufficiency and market weakness. There is a dire need now of loosening the money market as soon as possible. This sort of view likewise possesses certain rational factors, but, viewed from the

situation as a whole, it is still not correct. After more than a year's improvement and rectification, the tasks of the improvement and rectification have not yet been accomplished, although a few factors have appeared, for example, fixed assets investments have come under control, the speed of industrial development has slowed, the state of the returned flow of currency to the treasury has turned for the better, and the upward trend in commodity prices has slowed. The too-rapid growth in consumption funds has been checked somewhat, but is still not entirely controlled. The tendency of rising commodity prices has eased, but commodity prices are still relatively high. Through the years there has been a rather large accumulation of surplus purchasing power, and the current weakness of the market and the stagnant sales of a portion of the commodities are only temporary phenomena. Seen as a whole, commodities are still insufficient and social gross demand is still larger than gross supply.

Naturally, the current too-rapid fall in the economic growth rate and the stagnant sales of many light industrial products are phenomena seldom seen since the establishment of the republic. They should attract our important attention and certain measures should be taken for their solution. In the fourth quarter of this year, the banks should increase the number of loans to help ease the difficulties enterprises caused by the overtightening of their circulation funds. But the granting of loans by the banks should not apply universally to all nor be made without any exceptions. Rather, it must follow the general industrial policy and apply to major projects only. Seen from current conditions, major efforts in the granting of loans should aim to protect major capital construction, to ensure that large and medium-sized enterprises possess sufficient circulating funds to meet production of marketable products, and to strictly conform to the government's industrial policy. It also must ensure sufficient funds for the purchases of agricultural products such as grain and others. Furthermore, more loans should be granted to the commercial and foreign trade systems to enable them to purchase more and to increase their commodity reserves so as to perform the role of serving as a "reservoir." By so doing, it will be possible to seek and maintain a relatively normal economic growth rate in the first quarter of next year. To sum up, retrenchment must be able to make various sides generally capable to stand the strain to a suitable degree, and it does not affect the situation as a whole. Generally speaking, it is necessary to continue implementation of the "double retrenchment" guideline in credits and loans in finance, otherwise it would not be possible to solve the problem of the imbalance in gross supply and demand. We must definitely remember past lessons; we cannot cry out when entrenchment is imposed and then loosened upon hearing the acclaim. To do so would only make the improvement and rectification work half-done and then eventually obsolete.

Certain comrades are of the opinion that implementing the "double retrenchment" guideline and advocating

several years of austerity are tantamount to universally lowering the standard of living and may even mean returning to a difficult three-year period. This is a misinterpretation. Implementation of the "double retrenchment" policy aims at checking excessive inflation in the investment in capital construction and in consumption funds, and at cooling down the heat for investment and high consumption. In particular, it is meant to stifle the evil wind of extravagance, waste, and luxurious living. It decidedly does not have the purpose of restricting people's normal consumption or of lowering the people's standard of living.

In the retrenchment of social demand, the most important measure is to cut back capital construction. The scale of fixed assets investment must mark time at the original level for at least two years, or even cut back a little. We must be resolved to undertake less construction of a general nature, not to put up new buildings or clubhouses, refrain from too much widening of the roads, demolish fewer people's residences, occupy less cultivated land, and truly pass several years of austerity. Naturally, the weak and fragile links in basic facilities and the basic industries must still be attended to, but this cannot be a universal rule. What we should do is to act within our capability, but ensure that there are provisions for the indispensable investment needs.

Controlling the rapid increases in consumption demand is an important target in implementation of the "double retrenchment" guideline. The state must surely protect the normal consumption of the populace, but the high consumption and excessive consumption blindly advocated a few years ago have produced serious consequences. They must be rectified. High consumption and excessive consumption in the economy not only cause the super distribution of national income, but also raise the appetite for consumption by the masses and serve to increase the expenses of administrative enterprises, greatly fanning the evil wind of extravagance, waste, and luxurious living. During the three-year improvement and rectification period, we must make a firm determination to halt this evil wind and cool down the high consumption fervor. Accompanying the development of production and the increase in national income, the consumption fund also needs to be increased correspondingly, but the size of increase in the consumption fund must be smaller than the scale of increase in national income and the labor productivity rate. This principle must be adhered to strictly and cannot be broken. Only by so doing can we keep currency inflation in check and enable the economy to develop in a healthy manner.

Firmly insisting on the "double retrenchment" guideline and advocating several years of austerity not only are extremely important in overcoming the current economic difficulties, but also carry a great and important significance in straightening out party behavior and the general social air as well as in restoring the party's glorious tradition of hard toil and difficult struggle. The difficulties we are currently facing are far smaller than

those met in the period of the revolutionary war and those in the three-year difficult period. At the moment, our economic strength and material living conditions are much better than those periods. All the past difficult days have passed and have been endured. For us now to slightly lower the consumption growth rate, to slightly reduce the scope of expenditures, and to halt the evil wind of extravagance, waste, and luxurious living should be an entirely easy matter. But to have the whole country go through several years of austerity, first of all the party must make the start, the party cadres must also make the start, and the several years of austerity must be organically combined with construction in thrift and diligence on the part of the party and government organs.

The difficulties we are currently facing are difficulties met with in the course of advance. If only the whole party and the various nationalities of the whole country can closely unite around the party Central Committee, refresh their spirit, and join together in the struggle, then it will surely be possible for us to overcome the current temporary difficulties, complete the tasks of improvement and rectification, and realize long-term, sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy.

### **Strengthen the Tempering of Party Members and Self-Cultivation in Party Spirit—Commemorating the 60th Anniversary of the Publication of the Gutian Conference Resolution**

*HK1402085190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 pp 19-22*

[Article by Zheng Nianqun (6774 1819 5028)]

[Text] This December marks the 60th anniversary of the publication of the Gutian Conference Resolution.

The Gutian Conference Resolution, in full, the Resolution of the Ninth Party Representative Conference of the 4th Corps of the Red Army held at Gutian in western Fujian in December 1929, is not only the programmatic document for the Red Army's political work at that time but also for the development of our party at all times. For 60 years there have been tremendous developments and innovations in the development of our party, but the basic line has remained the legacy of this resolution.

The Gutian Conference Resolution is an important piece of didactic material that our party can turn to in strengthening its members' self-cultivation in party spirit. For 60 years, under the brilliant guidance of this resolution, all CPC members have been continuously strengthening their self-cultivation and tempering their party spirit, making our party the leading force in the whole nation's firm struggle of revolution and construction. Although our party is now confronted with different things from those in the past, there are still a variety of incorrect ideas in large quantity in the party. Particularly in recent years, the problems in ideology, work style, discipline, and organization in the party have been aggravated as a result of weakened party building

and political-ideological work. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping has seriously pointed out, our party should and has to be rectified. After checking the turmoil and suppressing the rebellion, to restudy the Gutian Conference Resolution is of great immediate significance to the strengthening of party members' tempering and self-cultivation in party spirit and of the party building. From our point of view, the main task in strengthening party members' self-cultivation in party spirit at present is to find solutions to the following problems.

### **I. Studying Marxism With Great Effort Comes First in Strengthening Cultivation of Party Spirit**

It is a matter of prime importance in strengthening cultivation of members' party spirit to conscientiously study Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, adopt a correct world outlook and methodology, and to upgrade understanding of political theory. Sixty years ago, at the initial stage of the Red Army, large numbers of peasants, as well as officers and soldiers from insurrectionary armies, joined the revolutionary force, replenishing it on the one hand and bringing with them all kinds of nonproletarian ideas on the other. Therefore, the party and the Red Army had to face harsh reality and start strengthening the building of the Army and the party. The Gutian Conference was held under such circumstances. The conference decided that the most fundamental way to redress the various incorrect ideas of the time was to strengthen party members' theoretical cultivation, and it decreed that all party members make a study of Marxism and Leninism. The publication of the resolution saw a subsequent upsurge in studying Marxist theories in Red Army party organizations. Nowadays, there are also many serious problems in our party. A considerable number of party members have relaxed their study of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought, giving the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization a chance to step in. Some members are not sensitive enough to the various fallacies of bourgeois liberalism and even take them as "fresh ideas." Some regard deviations from the four basic principles as "pioneering innovations" and some are unable to disprove them in theory and pinpoint their erroneous justly and forcefully, although they are antipathetic toward them. Marxism, the scientific world outlook of the working class and the great crystallization of the spiritual civilization of mankind, is the guideline for our thinking and the basis of our socialist modernization drive. We cannot do without it even for a moment. In the past, our party overcame innumerable hardships and obstructions and scored numerous victories in the Chinese revolution and construction under the guidance of Marxism, Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought. Today, in our efforts in the reform, construction, and pursuit of solutions to the various problems we face, we still must rely on the guidance of Marxism. Some party members often relax their theoretical studies with the excuse that they are busy in the present period of construction. However, the turmoil and the counterrevolutionary rebellion alerted us to the fact that the moment we relax our study and

education in Marxist theories, we will lose our soul and provide a hotbed for the propagation of various incorrect ideas. Consequently, ideological confusion will crop up and the strong spiritual backbone will be absent. We should fully realize the unique importance of studying Marxism, conscientiously study basic Marxist theories, and, through study, further recognize the supreme status of Marxism in party ideology.

To strengthen the tempering of party spirit of Communist Party members means making efforts to remold world outlook under the guidance of Marxism. The Gutian Conference held study of political theories as the way to distinguish between "the Red and White Armies" and "the CPC and KMT [Kuomintang]," and to help party members learn the approach to understanding the world correctly. These years the term "world outlook" is seldom mentioned and "remolding world outlook" has become an even more unusual notion. In reality, however, the issue of world outlook is never absent. It is a Communist's commitment to adopt the dialectical and historical materialistic world outlook and methodology, and outlook on matter, practice, motion, development, values, and life. In this way, we will be able to see through the complicated and confusing appearance to the essence without feeling at a loss in the intricate struggle. And we will then be able to have a correct understanding of various social, economic, and political problems and handle them properly. In the recent turmoil and rebellion, some party members lost their bearings. An important reason was that they had not truly adopted a correct world outlook and were therefore unable to tell the true from the false in times of trouble. There are two ways to acquire a correct world outlook: One is through participation in social practice and the other is by studying Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought. Nowadays, people tend to be keen on handling practical problems, such as those of remolding the objective world, that crop up in the course of construction and reform. They have neglected the fact that better remolding of the objective world is possible only when one's subjective world is also being remolded at the same time. If one relaxes the remolding of one's world outlook and considers oneself in the right, one will sooner or later meet with a setback and make mistakes. Both one's own and the party's cause will then suffer.

Studying Marxism must be in keeping with the study style of integrating theory with practice. Unity of theory and practice is a salient hallmark of Communist Party spirit. The Gutian Conference Resolution pointed out: "Subjectivism has taken root in some party members' minds, which is detrimental to the analysis of the political situation and guidance on work." It continued to warn that subjectivist analysis of political situations and subjectivist guidance on work "will inevitably lead to either opportunism or putschism." These remarks were made 60 years ago, but they still sound so pertinent to our present situation. Some of our comrades do make subjectivist mistakes from time to time when providing guidance for work, fail to see the two aspects of many

things, and have a serious metaphysical mentality as shown in shifting from one extreme to another between the "left" and the right. The root cause of this is that they have not applied the principles of Marxism to practical work and have a tendency to divorce theory from practice. This is a departure from the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, set by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Studying Marxist theory is for the purpose of applying the stand, viewpoint, and methodology of Marxism intelligently to the explanation and analysis of various knotty problems that obstruct the socialist revolution and construction, so that we can make our work guidance more consistent with reality, the wishes of the people, and our national conditions. The broad policy for the four modernizations has been determined as "one focus and two basic points," but when it comes to practical work, many problems have yet to be studied and correct analyses and judgments are yet to be made on them. Inadequate adherence to the approach of integrating Marxist theory with practice is equivalent to a lack or inadequacy in party spirit. Therefore, each party member should adopt a firm style of integrating theory with practice, make his subjective understanding consistent with his objective practice, and put his work under the guidance of Marxist theory.

## **II. Strengthen Cultivation of Party Spirit; We Must Uphold the Ultimate Goal of Serving the People**

A Communist's party spirit finds good expression in his relationship with the masses. A true member of the Communist Party must always place the interests of the people above everything else. The Gutian Conference Resolution further defined the goal of our party and our Army as constantly bearing in mind the interests of the people and it directed harsh criticism to the various tendencies in Red Army party organizations that swerved from the ultimate goal of serving the people. Our party is now in power and many members hold certain leading posts in state power organs, enterprises, or institutions and have power in their hands to various degrees. Whether they can wield and exercise their power properly for the good of the people is a touchstone for testing the purity of a Communist's party spirit. As early as 1962 Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that, since we had entered the cities and taken power, we had to decide whether we should practice bureaucracy or become servants of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong studied the same question many times and said that there were two possible attitudes in this regard, to practice bureaucracy or to become servants of the people. If the latter is our choice, we should serve the people wholeheartedly. This indicates that as we move into the period of peaceful construction when circumstances have changed, conditions have improved, and material interests are better catered to, it is of even greater importance to the cultivation of party spirit of party members to always stick to the ultimate goal of serving the people, seek no personal gain or remuneration, and devote themselves to the common cause.

Today, when we review the Gutian Conference Resolution and Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech, in view of the present rectification of party conduct and strengthening of government improvement against corruption, we become fully aware of the necessity to unfold a partywide campaign of restudying the ultimate goal of serving the people.

In order to hold on to the ultimate goal of serving the people we must eradicate extreme egoism. Egoism is out of tune with the party spirit of Communists and it met with the most criticism at the Gutian Conference, which brought to light the harm it had done to party work and demanded that Red Army party organizations eradicate the destructive influence of egoism for the good of the masses. Serving the people wholeheartedly is the supreme code of conduct for each Communist Party member. This shares a common destiny with our party and will not change so long as the party exists. If this changes, the party will be divorced from the masses and lose its virtue. It is also the fountainhead of the faith, goal, motive force, wisdom, and criterion of right and wrong in our party. During the revolutionary wars, many of our party members cherished the goal of serving the people and were indomitable and unhesitating in dedicating their lives to the cause of the people. By so doing, they won the heartfelt love and sincere support of the masses. In this new era, however, some party members, and even those holding certain leading posts, are growing less and less interested in maintaining close links with the masses and unhealthy tendencies, such as bureaucracy, egoism, and instances of corruption, have continued to develop. Some party members, when faced with an advantage or disadvantage, give their first concern not to the masses but to themselves. They take care of their wives, children, houses, private cars, and money, while leaving public interests totally out of account as if they were lords of the people. There are some other comrades who discharge their duties well, but devote their extra energy to finding "a way out" for themselves, which could also lead to their own ruin. Facts have told us that, in order to strengthen their self-cultivation in party spirit, party members must always guard against egoism and reinforce the sense of serving the people wholeheartedly.

In order to hold on to the ultimate goal of serving the people, we should get rid of hedonism and maintain a just and honest working style. A good Communist Party spirit can also facilitate withstanding trials and tribulations and upholding the spirit of struggle in adverse conditions at all times and under all circumstances. The Gutian Conference Resolution pointed out that "hedonism" was present in party organizations in the Red Army, that some comrades "were not work-oriented but pleasure-seeking" and "detest working in Red areas where life is difficult," and that these tendencies had to be checked with strenuous efforts. Today, various expressions of fear of hardships in the party are grossly more serious than at that time. In the past decade, our country has enjoyed rapid economic development and

people's livelihood has improved, but because the chief person in charge in the party relaxed and neglected political-ideological work for some time, the spirit of tough pioneering has been on the wane. As a result, some people were devoured with selfish desires and even risked great danger to grab money, reducing themselves to fanatical money worshippers. They bartered the power endowed by the party and the people for money, offered and took bribes, practiced graft in defiance of the law, and became morally corrupt and degenerate. Under the temptation of the bourgeois lifestyle, they abandoned their revolutionary stand and moved to the opposite side; they lost all their party spirit, undermined the party's prestige, and caused the utter discontent of the general public. This has been a shocking lesson calling for the serious attention of the whole party. In order to serve the people we must carry forward our party's "Spirit of Jinggangshan," "Spirit of the Long March" and "Spirit of Yanan," all of which are, in fact, the spirit of sharing joys and sorrows with the people and maintaining flesh-and-blood relations with them. Today, we should still keep up the momentum, the revolutionary enthusiasm, and the death-defying spirit that we used to have during the revolutionary wars. Only in this way can we enhance our party spirit cultivation, heighten our party's fighting capacity, and give more vitality to our cause.

### III. To Strengthen Cultivation of Party Spirit We Must Take Up the Weapons of Criticism and Self-Criticism

In party spirit cultivation, an important thing for a party member to do is to exercise criticism and self-criticism conscientiously and check various deviant trends in ideology. The Gutian Conference Resolution pointed out that "mutual criticism is an important weapon for consolidating party organization and heightening its fighting capacity." In order to strengthen our cultivation in party spirit, we must renew our party's fine tradition of criticism and self-criticism. What if party members do not try to overcome their shortcomings by means of criticism and self-criticism? Either liberalism prevails, because party members do not express their opinions to their comrades within the party or at meetings but do so to nonparty members or after meetings, thus weakening the party's fighting capacity; or the shortcomings are unchecked and develop from small lapses into gross mistakes, to the detriment of other comrades and the whole party; or they are lost in flattering or attacking each other, disorganizing the party. Some party members have been seriously infected with these tendencies. Taking trivial mistakes as seriously against the principle or adopting an overcritical attitude is a form of the "left" tendency in party conduct, whereas forsaking principles or practicing liberalism is a form of right tendency. The dominant trend at present is that normal criticism and self-criticism cannot be carried out. Criticism and self-criticism are vital to strengthening the cultivation of party spirit and, in the present situation, taking up these weapons brooks no delay.

The problems that have cropped up in our party in connection with criticism take the following forms: First, some members dare not criticize others for fear of giving offense or receiving retaliation and some are not in a position to do so because they themselves are not unimpeachable. Second, some members do not accept criticism and they fly into a rage at the slightest offense or even abuse their power to make things hard for the critic. Third, some members lack dexterity in criticism, neglect political tactics, and criticize without providing evidence. Fourth, some members flatter others and set out their merits in the name of criticism, but shy away from commenting on matters of principle. The atmosphere of sticking to principles is lacking among party members and even unprincipled disputes occur. This will definitely corrode the organism of the party, undermine its inner unity, weaken its fighting capacity, and seriously affect the future of the cause.

Self-criticism is a fine tradition of our party. A true Communist must go through constant self-criticism if he is to keep heightening his party spirit. A veteran comrade once commented on the present situation of self-criticism. He said that during the revolutionary wars our party members never spared their own feelings when analyzing their demerits in their self-appraisals and made balanced comments on their merits. Today, however, in the self-appraisals of some party members, merits are treated at length and even played up, whereas demerits are touched upon lightly or simply not mentioned at all. There is little chance of finding any clue to the ideological cause for any mistake that a party member has made by going through his record. This phenomenon is quite common. Some comrades have classified the present practice of self-criticism into several types. The first is the "objective-influence type." That is, stressing the influence of objective factors in self-criticism and scarcely touching on the subjective cause of the problem. The second is the "pay-more-attention type." Instead of pinpointing where the trouble is, they tone down the problem by stating that they need to "pay more attention" to certain things. The third is the "not-enough type." They keep saying that what they have done in certain respects is generally good but, in terms of higher requirements, they have not done well enough. The fourth is the "stick-to-the-principle type," which means talking about their shortcomings discursively and attributing to themselves the sort of demerits that fit everyone. Whether or not a party member can grasp self-criticism is an indication of the extent to which he is faithful to the cause of the people. We should take up the weapon of self-criticism and wage a struggle against the various deviant tendencies in our ideology and conduct, so that the cause of the party and personal improvement can both benefit. Party organizations should judge the level of party spirit of party members by referring to whether or not they can exercise self-criticism conscientiously.

Improving the system of various forms of regular party activities is the institutional guarantee of criticism and

self-criticism. Strengthening self-cultivation in party spirit entails study and practice on one's own and should also be put under the supervision of various systems, of which the most important is the system of party conferences. The Gutian Conference Resolution made it clear that one of the ways to check the various wrong tendencies in the party was to strengthen its conference system. It has been a longstanding practice of our party to solve the ideological, political, and organizational problems in the party through party conferences. Many veteran members of the party have been able to maintain a high party spirit and stick to the party principle consistently for several decades. An important reason is that they have been battle-tested, gone through all sorts of harsh trials under different circumstances, and placed themselves under supervision in various forms. Today, however, some party members are frequently absent from regular party meetings and even hate the trouble of paying membership fees in person and entrust it to someone else. This phenomenon must be firmly checked. We should normalize, regularize, and institutionalize the various forms of party meetings in order to strengthen the party's supervision, consolidate the links between party organizations and their members, extend the channels of communications, and invigorate the party's political life.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping says that the party plays an exemplary role in society. Commemorating the 60th anniversary of the publication of the Gutian Conference Resolution, we should study the thrust of the resolution in great earnest, renew the old tradition of our party and carry it forward, take solid measures to strengthen party members' self-cultivation and tempering of party spirit, and remove the "contaminants" from the organism of our party, so that it may grow stronger and more competent in leading the whole nation in the great cause of construction.

### On the Choice of History

HK1602120090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 pp 23-26

[Article by Liu Danian (0491 1129 1628) of the Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] The history of modern China has been interpreted differently by different people. The fact is that it should best be interpreted from the perspective of the choice of history. The term "modern China" refers to the entire semicolonial and semifeudal period, which we sometimes refer to as the period of democratic revolution. This period, which does not cover a very long time but involves considerable changes, occupies an important position in the development of Chinese society. It is preceded by the feudal society and followed by the socialist society. China did not go through the stage of independent development of capitalism, but, instead, went through the unique stage of semicolonial and semifeudal society. The situation in modern China was more complicated than at any time in the past, and

contradictions and struggles were more acute than ever. As the China of yesterday, it was closely linked to the China of today. Understanding this period of history will increase our knowledge of various aspects. As the common saying goes, history always has its main line of development. The anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle in the semicolonial and semifeudal society was the main line of development in the history of modern China. In terms of "national conditions," this struggle was the basic national condition of old China. Understanding this period of history means understanding the basic national condition of old China, and this has a direct bearing on our correct understanding of a question of paramount importance in our present-day life, that is, why China chose or embarked on the socialist road.

Some time ago, in the ideological arena, newspapers and magazines were filled with arguments expressing doubt about and the negation of Marxism and the socialist road. In evaluating education in New China, a newspaper devoted to discussions of philosophy and dialectics confirmed the view that education in China over the past four decades had been a failure. It then went on to assert: "Naturally, this failure is the concentrated expression of failure in such areas as politics, economics, ideology, the concept of value, system, and ownership. It is failure over the choice of culture. It is cultural failure in form and in deed."<sup>1</sup> The central idea of this absurd "theory of total failure" is that the Chinese made a mistake and therefore failed to choose Marxism and the socialist road. The fact that propaganda of this kind was conducted on the forum of philosophy and dialectics shows that this view was quite fashionable in the ideological sphere. It was encouraged and supported by some people and applauded by others. In this kind of fashionable propaganda, shocking views that one might expect to find in discussions of history were inevitable. Studying the modern history of Marxism means making clear the cause and effect of China's decision to take the socialist road.

The first time the question was sharply raised of what road China should choose and in what direction it should head was after the Opium War, 110 years before the birth of New China. Defeated in war and faced with foreign capitalist invasion, China was faced with two options: Either be reduced to a colony of foreign countries or develop capitalism independently, using the West as its model. Foreign forces of aggression had chosen the first option for China. They wanted China to take this road and this road alone. It was only because the Chinese people had put up relentless struggle and resistance, and had grown stronger with the fighting that the road to becoming a colony chosen by the foreign bourgeoisie for China did not become a reality. In the meantime, some progressive Chinese and a handful of people within the ruling class chose the latter option. The basic content of this option was to learn from Western capitalism and seek help from it. The landlord class and Westernization faction, which raised the call to "make the nation rich and strong" and "make use of Western

learning," were compelled to acknowledge and stress the need to learn from the West, although this was contradictory to their stance of refusing to renounce feudal rule. After the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, which saw the Qing government suffer a major defeat and the Westernization movement go bankrupt, the issue of wither goes China became all the more keenly felt. Many patriotic intellectuals with bourgeois ideological inclinations, from the reformist faction headed by Kang Youwei to the revolutionary faction headed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, thought that China should take the beaten track of foreign capitalism in order to shake off the colonial and semicolonial rule of foreign countries, to win national independence, and to make the nation rich and strong. This was the most correct road that people at the time knew and could choose. They fought for it, and so did people after them who cherished the same hope, but they all fell short of their goal.

In recent years, some people put forward the view that, by switching to capitalism at an early date, China will be able to solve all its problems and the level of productivity will go up as a matter of course. The argument of this view is that China had never practiced capitalism. These people obviously did not know that capitalism did exist in the semicolonial and semifeudal society, that the other half of semifeudalism was capitalism. Is it not true that during the period of Qing rule enterprises that were run by foreign businesses in China, subsidized industry under government supervision championed by the Westernization faction, as well as enterprises run by commercial units were, in fact, practicing capitalism? Is it not true that capitalism was practiced under the rule of Yuan Shikai and the Northern Warlords? Is it not true that capitalism was practiced under the rule of Chiang Kai-shek? What was the outcome? The crux of the problem lies not in whether China had practiced capitalism, but in the fact that independent national capitalism never existed in China. During the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, Japan stipulated that enterprises in occupied central and northern China must be owned 51 percent by Japanese interests and that Chinese capital must not exceed 49 percent. China wanted to practice and develop capitalism independently, but the imperialists wanted to practice monopoly capitalism in China. China had its own bureaucrat-monopoly capital, but that which dominated it from behind was still foreign capital. Colonial and semicolonial rule determined that Chinese national capitalism would never be able to cast off the yoke around its neck. The Chinese people had followed the road of capitalism for over 50 years between the Reform Movement and 1949, or for 110 years, if we count from the groping stage just after the Opium War. The conclusion drawn by history is that the idea that "capitalism can save China" will get us nowhere. If the Chinese nation wants independence and prosperity, it must take the other road—the road of socialism, which also happens to be the latest road.

Socialism is the lofty ideal of mankind. Its translation into direct reality in China occurred after the founding of

the People's Republic, not before. The 1954 Constitution of the PRC ultimately established the socialist system in legal form. However, the choice made by the Chinese people to take the socialist road could be traced back to a much earlier date, and was closely connected with the protracted struggle during the democratic revolution, particularly the struggle waged by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party to seize political power across the country. The beginning of the new democratic revolution also coincided with the time China actually chose to take the socialist road. Without observing the entire historical process, one cannot say where socialism originated and why it cannot be avoided.

Of course, choice here refers to the result of man's subjective wishes. History is created by man, and man creates history with given subjective wishes and will. History can never be separated from man's subjective activities, but then again history will not evolve according to the subjective wishes and will of just any person. Who, then, chose the socialist road for China? People may say, without having to think, that the choice was made by Communist Party members. However, it was not the choice of the subjective wishes of a handful of Communist Party members, but was rather the outcome of historical development. From the outset, Communist Party members met with resolute opposition and ruthless oppression from those who cherished diametrically opposite wishes when they first chose the socialist road and actively fought for it. The imperialists resolutely opposed China's decision to choose a socialist future, but never had their wishes fulfilled. The landlord classes resolutely opposed this choice, but never had their wishes fulfilled. The big bourgeoisie resolutely opposed this choice, but never had their wishes fulfilled. They joined forces and did all they could to oppose it, but all their attempts fell through. In terms of strength, they had overwhelming predominance. If history were determined by their subjective wishes and will, socialism would never have appeared in China. Why is it that Communist Party members, who represented such an insignificant force in those early days, had their wishes realized while their powerful opponents found all their wishes came to naught? What we have been told by the history of modern China is: First, the decision to choose the socialist road was made only after three or four generations of progressive Chinese people, who fought hard taking the capitalist road, had run into snags everywhere and, seeing the country's situation going from bad to worse and the nation becoming more and more calamity-ridden, were forced to sum up experience and lessons and start all over. Among these progressive Chinese people were great democratic revolutionaries like Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Founders of the CPC like Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and Mao Zedong also took part in the struggle in the democratic revolution before converting to socialism. Second, the choice was made by the leadership of the CPC. This is common knowledge. Recently, the Japanese newspaper ASAHI SHIMBUN noted in an article, that "even to this date, the Chinese song *Without*

*the Communist Party There Is No New China* still has a certain kind of persuasiveness."<sup>2</sup> The CPC turned this choice from possibility into reality by combining Marxism with China's revolutionary practice. Third, the choice was made by the majority of Chinese people under the leadership or influence of the CPC, after their awareness had been enhanced to an unprecedented height through the intense struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Here, it is of special importance that our attention be drawn to the savage aggression of imperialism. It brought the Chinese people untold suffering, but it also aroused the consciousness of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. The harder imperialism tried to turn China into a colony, the more keenly the Chinese people felt the threat of being enslaved. They had no other future to choose. Socialism was their only choice. Evil thus turned into goodness, things negative thus turned into things positive, and factors for retrogression thus turned into factors for progress. Misfortune and fortune may change places under given conditions, and the misfortune of imperialist aggression paved the way for the fortunate turn of China toward taking the socialist road. This overwhelming majority, most of whom were laboring people who stood at the juncture of history, rose to their feet and took part in choosing the socialist road. The advocacy of a number of Communist Party members was thus turned into the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people, which then merged to form a huge historical torrent. This torrent was so sweeping and irresistible that one had to go along with it. This was the origin of China's decision to take the socialist road.

Society and history are changing. There is no outcome that is without cause, and there no cause that is without outcome. Those who thought that it was purely accidental that Communist Party members had chosen the socialist road for China and that everything would have turned out well had China chosen capitalism in the first place, obviously did not understand the whole history immediately before us. They not only did not understand that the Communist Party operated amidst the great torrents of history, but failed to comprehend the experience and lessons of continuous hard struggle accumulated by the three or four generations of people prior to the victory of the Chinese Revolution. Still less did they understand that imperialist aggression had, in a negative way, aroused the consciousness and resistance of the Chinese masses, and prompted them to take an active part in choosing the socialist future and rejecting the capitalist future. Some people "failed to understand" or "had forgotten" the entire course of struggle of the democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism in modern China. Their point of departure lay not in the reevaluation and reappraisal of history, but in the reevaluation and reappraisal of reality. Having misinterpreted the history of the preceding period or the cause, it is quite natural that they would be unable to arrive at a correct perception of socialist reality, that is, the outcome. As a result, the more they discussed, they more mistakes they made.

We now understand how China came to take the socialist road. The history of modern times has provided us with two basic points of understanding: First, the fact that China chose to take the socialist road was not determined by the subjective wishes of any individual, but was the outcome of protracted and repeated struggle between various classes and social forces in the arena of modern Chinese history. As far as foreign aggression was concerned, imperialism, which played a vicious role in Chinese life, occupied a special position. If we say that the movement of history and major outcomes are the result of a "combination of forces," in the "combination of forces" that chose the socialist future for China, much contrary to its own wishes, imperialism had contributed an important share from the negative perspective. In other words, socialism is the choice of history. One will never be able explain history from the angle of man's subjective wishes. The wishes of the Communist Party were realized only because they were in accord with the trend of historical development in China. Second, the change to socialism after the victory of the democratic revolution is the continuation of the choice of history. No force can stop or change this choice nor this continuation. There may be room for change where the timing and specific form of the practice of the socialist system are concerned, but this room for change is unlikely to be large. This is because the historical preconditions have been set, the international environment has been fixed, and conditions at home are already present. The practice of this system is unavoidable and reasonable. Nothing can overturn this inevitable and reasonable cause. These two points of understanding have a close bearing on the correct appraisal of today's reality and the specific answers to some of the practical problems. Although we have made important achievements in the study of the modern history of Marxism, there are still problems that require more in-depth study. In this respect, the greater our achievement, the richer will be our understanding of the history of China's decision to choose the socialist road.

After establishment of the socialist system, a series of decisive changes took place in China. The major changes were: First, a system of ownership based mainly on public ownership replaced the hereditary system of private ownership. Gone was the time when the laboring people were exploited and oppressed. Second, the semi-colonial and semifeudal society was ended and Chinese society once again embarked on the road of independent development. Social productivity quickly picked up following the formation of an independent industrial system. The question of feeding one-fifth of the world's population was fundamentally resolved. Third, the birth of a strong and united country with solidarity and harmony among various nationalities changed the age-old state of confrontation and war between regions and nationalities, and eliminated the obstacles to concerted efforts at development by the people of different regions and nationalities. A period of peace and stability never before seen in the history of modern China thus emerged. Fourth, China had changed from being the

subject of aggression and humiliation by capitalist powers, to being a member of the league of big countries in the international arena. As a force for the defense of world peace, it now stands indelible in the East. All this demonstrates the complete necessity and correctness of China's decision to choose the socialist road and proves the universal efficacy of the science of Marxism.

The world is changing all the time. International capitalism is changing and improving itself, and so too are Chinese and international socialism. The two are influencing each other. The reality of Chinese socialist society is simpler than what it was in the past, but then again there are new complications. The burdens left by old society remain heavy. Although we have entered the stage of socialism, it does not mean that everyone will become saints and, therefore, be immune from corruption and evil under the old system. Our policy decisions are sometimes at fault. The fact that they are so fickle has affected the improvement of social productivity and made it impossible to bring the superiority of socialism into full play. As long as international capitalism exists, it will not be reconciled to seeing socialist societies operating on this globe. Investment and technological exchanges across national boundaries reflect the needs of new times. On the other hand, the architects, plotters, and executors of the international bourgeoisie have set aside a portion of the profits of capital, and are spending these sums on economic and cultural activities in socialist countries under various pretences in an attempt to buy out socialism and convert it into capitalism. They are not short of responders and salesmen in everyday life. Facts show that history has chosen the socialist road for China, but it has not laid down rules saying that this road will be "smooth and straight like the road to Zhou" nor that there will be no obstacles or twists and turns. The socialist system needs to be improved continually. In observing the movement of history, the important thing is that we cannot make correct judgments by simply looking at things right under our nose. A changing and long-term perspective is the perspective of history.

Today, the socialist system is at the dawn of a new period in the history of mankind. Some objects are blurred and confused, now appearing and now disappearing, and strangers must strain their eyes to make them out. However, now that dawn has come, time will not move back to the darkness of midnight. History has destined that China must choose the socialist road. How we can learn, as quickly as possible, to follow this road with great vitality and be adept at surmounting the ups and downs in the course of advance, is a problem to be revolved by people of this generation and those of future generations.

#### Footnotes

1. "The Task of Saving Education Brooks No Delay," ZIRAN BIANZHENGFA BAO [JOURNAL OF DIALECTICS OF NATURE], 4 March 1989.

2. "China Is Put to Test as It Greet the 40th Anniversary of Its Founding," ASAHI SHIMBUN editorial, 30 September 1989.

#### Commenting on Bao Zunxin's 'Confucianization of Contemporary Marxism in China'

HK1402114590 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 pp 27-32

[Article by Yin Yi (1438 1837)]

[Text] It was not by chance that Bao Zunxin played the role of plotter and organizer of the recent turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing. For a long time, he had stubbornly held fast to the stand of bourgeois liberalization, arbitrarily attacked and negated traditional Chinese culture, and exerted his utmost to spread the view and sentiment of national nihilism under the pretext of opposing Confucianism. At a symposium on "The Development and Prospects of Confucianism" convened abroad in 1988, he went further to spearhead opposition to contemporary Marxism in China, in a vain attempt to negate Mao Zedong Thought under the pretext of opposing Confucianism. The relationship between Mao Zedong Thought and Confucianism is really an important matter of principle, and needs be clarified in earnest.

#### I

Bao Zunxin said, "The so-called Marxism with Chinese characteristics" is precisely the "legitimization and authorization of Confucian tradition under the pretext of Marxism and socialism." This statement cannot be more explicit, and means precisely that contemporary Marxism in China is only nominal, and is Confucian in essence. That is an entirely malicious distortion and an attack.

As we all know, contemporary Marxism in China is referred to as Mao Zedong Thought. The Chinese Communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their representative, applied basic Marxist tenets to China's concrete practice and derived a theoretical generalization from a series of original experiences in long-term revolution and construction, out of which theoretical generalization Mao Zedong Thought took shape. Therefore, Mao Zedong Thought is the offspring of the marriage between Marxist basic tenets and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, the application and development of Marxism in China, and, hence, contemporary Marxism in China. History showed that this scientific ideological system is the proletarian world outlook and methodology, and it entirely and thoroughly serves the basic interests of the Chinese people.

However, Confucianism originated in the period of the Spring and Autumn, and the Warring States; a school with Confucius as the founding father. It paid attention to "righteousness and human-heartedness," "rituals and music," "loyalty and forgiveness," "the golden mean," "rule of virtue," "policy of benevolence," "benevolent

government," and attached importance to morals and ethics, and the cultivation of moral character, and so on and so forth. Since Emperor Wu Di of the Han dynasty "banned the hundred schools of thought with the sole exception of Confucian ethical theory, Confucianism became the predominant philosophy of the Chinese court and dominated the ideological and cultural spheres. In the protracted feudal society, Confucianism met the needs of feudal reign in different phases, despite changes in the doctrine itself. Basically, it always safeguarded the feudal system, ethics, guiding principles, and disciplines. Confucianists were violently pounded upon by revolutionary cultural and ideological trends in the wake of the May 4th Movement. The birth of New China and the founding of the socialist system finally terminated the dominant role of Confucianism in the ideological and cultural spheres. As a doctrine that took shape in history, Confucianism is, beyond a doubt, an important national cultural heritage, and it deserves a materialist historical assessment. As to its structural connotations, methodical line, merits and demerits, advantages and shortcomings, and prospects of its development, discussions and contention on them can be unfolded as entirely academic issues. However, from the angle of its being an integral ideological system, which represents and reflects feudal ideological concepts, it was, and has been, the subject of our opposition and repudiation, whether in the new democratic or socialist period. Mao Zedong Thought and Confucianism are two diametrically opposed ideological systems. They are diametrically opposed in world outlook, methodology, and in the class interest each represents and reflects. This is a point that we should by no means confuse.

Bao Zunxin asserted that "contemporary Marxism in China has been Confucianized," which means that Mao Zedong Thought is not the application and development of Marxism in China, but the duplication and extension of Confucianism; it is not the world outlook and methodology of the proletariat, but those of the feudal landlords; and it does not serve the basic interests of the Chinese people, but those of the feudal ruling class. Such an absurd view has entirely negated and castrated the scientific nature and class nature of Mao Zedong Thought. Here lies the crux of the so-called proposition that "contemporary Marxism in China is Confucianized."

That Mao Zedong Thought is the application and development of Marxism in China refers primarily to the application of the Marxist stand, viewpoints, and approach in analyzing and studying the real problems in China. Its basic spirit and essence are totally different from traditional Chinese thinking, including Confucianism. However, it is undeniable that, in the course of Marxism becoming Chinese in characteristics and in the shaping and development of Mao Zedong Thought, it must have undergone historical ties to traditional Chinese thinking, including Confucianism. As with the founding of Marxist theory itself, which was inseparable from utilizing ideological and cultural accomplishments,

ideological and cultural materials in Chinese history were inevitably utilized in the shaping and development of Mao Zedong Thought. However, by no means does it mean that "the Confucian tradition has been legitimized under the pretext of Marxism," but refers to taking the Marxist stand, rejecting the dross, and selecting the essence of traditional culture, including Confucianism, namely, transforming and inheriting it on the basis of criticism. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "A splendid old culture was created during the long period of Chinese feudal society. To study the development of this old culture, to reject its feudal dross and assimilate its democratic essence, is a necessary condition for developing our new national culture and enhancing our national self-confidence."<sup>1</sup> We may say that Mao himself was most outstanding in putting this into practice. In a certain sense, without criticism of Confucian feudal thinking there could not have been the birth of Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, Mao Zedong Thought has made a thorough criticism of the feudal dross in traditional culture. On the other hand, Mao Zedong Thought has contained in itself a collection of all the best things in traditional culture. Here, the important thing is that we must have a clear understanding that the essence of traditional culture lost its original meaning once it was included in the system of Mao Zedong Thought, but was instilled with new connotations. For example, we all know that "seeking truth from facts" was first seen in *History of the Han*, the chapter on the biography of King Xian, Hejian, in which there is a statement, "He studied hard, and was fond of ancient books in order to find out about the truth in everything." Yan Sigu's annotation of the phrase says, "In pursuing facts, truthfulness is a must." In his article "Reform Our Study," Mao Zedong referred to the phrase with a brand-new explanation: "Facts" are all the things that exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations, that is, the laws governing them, and "to seek" means to study. Examples like this characterized by such appropriate inheritance and elaboration of historical and cultural materials as well as allusions and idioms from Confucian doctrine, and even some concepts with insight, are manifold in Comrade Mao Zedong's works. However, with the quotation and explanation by Comrade Mao Zedong, they became an appendix to, and render service to, Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific analysis of China's specific issues with the approach of Marxist basic tenets. They no longer have any value and significance in their independent existence. Obviously, it is not Marxism being Confucianized; on the contrary, it is the transformation of the essence of Confucian doctrine by Marxism, and it is being included in the system of Mao Zedong Thought, thus such essence of Confucian doctrine is inherited and brought forward. Therefore, we can see that Marxism with Chinese characteristics and Marxism being Confucianized are entirely two different concepts; by no means should they be confused.

According to Bao Zunxin's vicious slander, "the tradition of Confucianism has been legitimated under the pretext of Marxism and socialism"; not only is the nature

of the Chinese new democratic and socialist revolutions problematic, but everything going on today must undergo reassessment. The CPC armed with Mao Zedong Thought is not a political party of the proletariat, but a party Confucianized; and the social system founded under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought is not socialism, but feudalism, and so on and so forth. That is not just some logical inference, for that is precisely what a number of people who have stubbornly held fast to bourgeois liberalization (including Bao Zunxin) actually believe. Has not Ge Yang and her like put it bluntly that "the socialist society pursued in China is a kind of feudal society in essence, and its leader is inevitably the emperor"? It is not difficult to see that Bao Zunxin's proposition of "the Confucianization of contemporary Marxism in China" is, in essence, to totally negate the four cardinal principles under the pretext of opposing Confucianism.

## II

Bao Zunxin has confused Mao Zedong Thought with Confucianism in entity and has slandered that "contemporary Marxism in China has been Confucianized," moreover, he made specific attacks as follows:

1. He criticized our party for "overstressing the role of ideology, and restricting every sphere of social life with political and ethical principles," and for establishing "the ethical examples" of "Lei Feng, Wang Jie, and Ouyang Hai," which, in essence, fall into the category of "Confucian ethical standards."

We should acknowledge that, whether in the period of the new democratic revolution or the period of socialist revolution, our party stressed the role of ideology and paid attention to ideological and ethical education. For example, it conducted education in the revolutionary spirit, "fearing neither hardship nor death, the revolutionary ideal of striving for communism for one's whole life, and the propaganda and education in selfless collectivism. Because ideology and ethics run through all spheres of social life, it is natural to unfold ideological and ethical education in all spheres of social life. This is self-explanatory. All heroes like Lei Feng, Wang Jie, and Ouyang Hai were of universal significance as moral examples; therefore, they inevitably became examples for all trades and professions. However, as the ideological and ethical principles in the contents of our propaganda, they have never been isolated and abstract, but specific and dependent. They are derived from, and serve the needs of revolution and construction and the basic interests of the masses; they are subject to, and embodied in the party's general lines and tasks of different periods. Therefore the issue of taking ethics and standards does not exist. True, even the best education in ethics and morals cannot resolve all problems in revolution and construction, but without such appropriate education, people would be devoid of a spiritual pillar, and it would be impossible to carry on revolution and construction. Are these not very clear facts and the truth?

Actually, there was the one-sided practice of neglecting the principle of material interest, while the spiritual role was overstressed in the past, but the root cause lay in "leftist" ideological interference and effects. They were deviations of practical work, and had nothing to do with "ethical standards." In recent years, however, another kind of one-sidedness has surfaced, characterized by neglecting education, including education in ethics, and has resulted in grave mistakes; the lessons were bitter. Our party is now drawing a lesson from such mistakes, improving and augmenting work in ideological and ethical education. Bao Zunxin has rigidly labeled "Confucian ethical standards" to our attaching importance to ideological and ethical education. His attempt is to do away with ideological and ethical education in socialism and collectivism, and to allow bourgeois value concepts and lifestyles to ride roughshod—we must thoroughly reveal his vicious attempt.

2. He criticized Comrade Mao Zedong's advocacy that, "while transforming the objective world, the proletariat should also transform their own subjective world" as "turning the proletariat as the subjective aspect of transforming the objective world into the subject of self-remolding," and the "approach and channel" were likened to "the study of the mind by Lu Jiuyuan [7120 0046 3220] and Wang Shouren [3769 1343 0088]."

Marx pointed out that "one aspect of human activity is the transforming of nature. Another aspect is the transforming of men themselves." In addition, he said "that the changes in environment fall in line with human activities, or changes in men themselves can only be regarded, and reasonably understood as revolutionary practice."<sup>2</sup> Obviously, Comrade Mao Zedong's statement, "while transforming the objective world, it is necessary to transform one's own subjective world," is in conformity with basic Marxist concepts. The transformation of the subjective world is based on that of the objective world and is realized through practice, which is also an objective truth expounded repeatedly in Marxism. Marx and Engels pointed out with emphasis that, should the proletariat fail to transform themselves in revolution and "give up all old and dirty things in themselves," it would be impossible for them to become the "groundwork" of the new society. In his book, *The Cultivation of Communists*, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said, "We should look upon ourselves as being in need of and capable of changing for the better. We should not consider ourselves as unchanging, perfect, sacred, and in no need of and incapable of change. It is not insulting ourselves when we propose the task of transforming ourselves in social struggles, but it is the requirement given us by the objective law governing social development. Should we fail to do so, it would be impossible for us to make progress and to realize the tasks of transforming society in reality."<sup>3</sup> Here, the ideological remolding and self-transformation referred to are different from the study of the mind by Lu Jiuyuan and Wang Shouren, whether in purpose or approach. The study of the mind by Lu and Wang paid attention to

"intuitive knowledge," "the cultivation of one's character by shutting oneself up to seek truth," and advocating that "the mind is the truth," believing that the truth of all things is in the mind, and that everything will go on smoothly so long as "the truth is clear in the mind." Obviously, that was the doctrine of self-cultivation of the literati and officialdom in feudal China, a doctrine that is characterized by separating themselves from society, and being divorced from practice and idealism at that. Bao Zunxin has deleted the factors of practice and class nature and has confused the transformation of the subjective world referred to by Comrade Mao Zedong with "the study of the mind by Lu and Wang"; that is a depreciation and tarnishing of Mao Zedong Thought.

3. Bao criticized our giving "prominence" to collectivism, and that "collectivism has been elevated to a plane that nullifies human dignity and the independent value of the individual, and any affirmation of the individual in that aspect will be regarded as bourgeois individualism"; thus, it follows that such practice has failed to eradicate the network of human relations based on Confucianism.

Collectivism is an important principle of Mao Zedong Thought, and a basic moral standard that we have persisted in and repeatedly stressed over scores of years. Marxism held that, in comparing the collective and the state with the individual, the former cannot but be put in a primary place. Marx and Engels pointed out that "only in a collective will the individual acquire the means to develop his talent in an overall way; in other words, individual freedom is possible only in the collective"<sup>4</sup> Collective and national interests focally represent the basic and long-term interests of the workers, especially under socialist conditions. Therefore, where there is a contradiction between the interests of the individual, the collective, and the state, the individual should subject his interest to the latter. It is very clear that collectivism opposes only behavior of extreme individualism that impedes or injures the interests of other people, the collective, and the state, and the vicious expansion of the self-centered so-called "human dignity" and "independent value"; proper individual rights and human dignity will be respected and protected by collectivism, and will develop healthily and fully under the guidance of collectivism. For some time past, there actually had been mistakes in handling relations between the interests of the individual, the collective, and the state; consequently, proper interests of the individual were neglected, and even confused with individualism. However, the question did not lie in the principle of collectivism, but in the inappropriate handling of their relationship; such practice fell into the category of effects of "leftist" thinking. To correct such a deviation, by no means should we negate the principle of collectivism, but should more efficiently adhere to the principle, so that the interests of the individual, the collective, and the state may be better combined. Bao Zunxin's charge against collectivism as nullifying "individual dignity" and

"independent value" is entirely groundless. Especially absurd is the fact that he has placed collectivism on a par with the Confucian network of human relations. True, in Confucian thinking, there were lots of discussion on man, from Confucius and Mencius to the Cheng brothers and Zhu Xi, but most of them served to repress and restrict individualism and independent value. Confucians did not understand nor were they able to propose the concept of collectivism, not even the bud of such a concept. Although Confucians also said something about the collective, they set the collective against the individual, thus making the collective empty and void of any significance. So what has it got to do with the important discussions of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought on the importance of the collective and society? Bao Zunxin slanderously said that collectivism falls into the category of Confucian thinking; his aim is to advocate, with all-out efforts, the moral concept of bourgeois ultra-egoism under the pretext of opposing Confucianism and feudalism; and to create the public opinion for implementing capitalism in China.

4. Bao Zunxin held that, because "the Confucian tradition was a closed, noncritical ideological system," it follows that contemporary Marxism in China is also "a closed, noncritical ideological system" and "modern scriptures" at that. In addition, he slanderously said that "from modern scriptures to 'the two whatevers' was the progress of Marxism in contemporary China."

True, in the course of propaganda and practice of Marxist theory in China, the deviation of dogmatism and book worship has occurred on more than one occasion. This is characterized by the use of quoting some sentences and phrases out of context, and mechanically reciting individual concepts and conclusions in Marxist classical works. Further more, these out of context sentences and phrases were used to explain real life facts. Our criticism of Wang Ming's "leftist" line and "the two whatevers" evidenced such typical examples. However, anyone with some common sense knows that dogmatism is not Marxist, but anti-Marxist. Contemporary Marxism in China is a scientific theory full of vitality, which develops continuously. It has not only successfully applied basic Marxist tenets to specific practice in China and found a solution to many important issues of the new democratic revolution, socialist revolution, and construction, it has also enriched and developed Marxism with its own peculiar theory. Contemporary Marxism in China has all along followed the principle of seeking truth from facts, characterized by proceeding from reality and linking theory to practice, firmly opposing the study of Marxism by departing from the actual conditions of Chinese society and revolution. History showed that in the course of analyzing and resolving China's specific problems in the light of basic Marxist tenets, the concepts of practice, development, and creation have always been adhered to, and contemporary Marxism in China has never regarded itself as "a perfect and complete" system of ultimate truth, with the gate leading to the truth always open. It is precisely

because of this that contemporary Marxism in China possesses strong vitality and power. That Bao Zunxin criticizes contemporary Marxism in China for turning into "modern scriptures" and "being a closed, noncritical ideological system," has shown that he is ignorant and that his criticism was an attack with an ulterior motive. In passing, I should like to point out that even with Confucian doctrine, we should not simplistically regard it as "a closed, noncritical ideological system" without historical analysis. Although critical interpretation of ancient texts, textual research, annotations, and expounding scriptures made Confucian doctrine closed and noncritical, it still has its openness and critical quality. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to explain the historical phenomena by which Confucians of the Han, Jin, and Tang dynasties had absorbed and merged the thinking of Buddhism and Taoism. Regarding this, Bao Zunxin and his ilk have refrained from mentioning it. This fact alone is sufficient to prove that their academic vision with their political aim is extremely narrow.

### III

When Bao Zunxin criticized, saying that "contemporary Marxism in China has been Confucianized," his aim was to oppose building socialism with Chinese characteristics and "the villain's design is obvious."

The proposal of building socialism with Chinese characteristics is the offspring of the marriage of Marxism with the specific practice of contemporary China. Of course, "Chinese characteristics" cannot but be affected by Chinese traditional culture (including Confucian culture), and cannot but absorb and transform the essence of China's traditional culture. In the course of guiding Chinese revolution with Marxism, Comrade Mao Zedong had precisely conducted this work earnestly, in a scientific way, and founded "Marxism with Chinese characteristics," namely, Mao Zedong Thought. Bao said, "What does it mean, 'Chinese characteristics'? How can we establish 'Chinese characteristics'? Nobody has made a convincing exposition to date," and he expressed great "worries" about the "advocation" of "Chinese characteristics."

What "worries"? Bao Zunxin's true intention is to eliminate all things with Chinese characteristics. He believes that "the value system of traditional culture and modernization are incompatible with each other. Without breaking up this value system, modernization will never be realized." At the same time, he advocated that, "because the West has already accomplished modernization, it is an indispensable step for us to import their accomplishments and to refer to their experiences. Even if that step means imitation and 'Westernization,' it will certainly be favorable to modernization, and there is nothing to be alarmed about." It is very clear that the so-called "modernization" Bao Zunxin referred to means: 1) Precisely to totally negate Chinese traditional culture and to nullify the entire civilization created by the Chinese nation; and 2) total Westernization, by

copying everything belonging to Western civilization. National nihilism and blind worship of anything foreign are the two sides of a coin. In his concept of "modernization," his true feature of a slave has been fully exposed, and not an iota of Chinese is left in him. We are building socialism with Chinese characteristics and realizing the modernization of Chinese characteristics; we have adopted a critical attitude in a scientific way, by rejecting the dross and absorbing the essences, regarding whether it is Chinese traditional culture (including Confucian culture) or Western culture. In other words, we will never kowtow to either traditional or Western culture. The arbitrary criticism of our correct attitude and practice are entirely the dirty tricks of Bao Zunxin and his ilk.

The fact that the so-called cultural "elite," including Bao Zunxin, wrote at length to oppose Confucianism was not confined to negating traditional Chinese culture, but primarily targeted Mao Zedong Thought and the entire four cardinal principles. Such a political intention has been put clearly by some people abroad. A professor at a cultural research institute under a university in Hong Kong said, "Some people who oppose Confucianism and tradition, young people in particular, often link the CPC authorities to traditional Chinese culture, of which they have a vague idea, as the subject involved in the term 'tradition.' Some concepts left over from traditional culture actually exist universally in Chinese society, among which are some things that have already lost their effect, but continue to affect the Chinese attitude toward life; most of the major personalities of the CPC, like the rest of the Chinese, have not successfully eradicated the effects of those cultural remains. Therefore, those people who oppose Confucianism would mix all their resentment against the CPC rule with repugnance to traditional culture." A professor of a U.S. university has set forth a "wandering soul" theory regarding the impasse of modern Confucianism—institutionalized Confucianism is dead today, and has become a "wandering soul." Will this wandering soul be devoid of substance forever, or will it attempt to restore the essence of Confucianism by "reentering the flesh"? He believes that there is the possibility of that "wandering soul entering the flesh of the party," namely, that Confucianist tradition will find expression within the CPC. Therefore, he explicitly announced, "Opposition to Confucianism is, in essence, opposition to the party, and opposition to Confucianism is being conjured up in the party's corpse." In short, opposing the party and socialism under the pretext of "opposing Confucianism" is precisely the essence and secret of the doings of Bao Zunxin and his ilk.

Bao Zunxin is no scholar, but an out-and-out counter-revolutionary. In the political turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion in Beijing in spring and summer of this year, he gave a thorough performance. Together with Yan Jiaqi and others, he repeatedly published "open letters" or "open statements," saying that the political turmoil to topple the socialist system was a "patriotic democratic campaign." He frequented Tiananmen

Square, delivered speeches, extended his "condolences," and spared no effort to indulge in bewildering counter-revolutionary propaganda. He actively made preparations for and organized the illegitimate "Beijing Federation of the Intelligentsia," and played the role of its leader, and he published the illegitimate journal, XINWEN QUAXUN [THE EXPRESS]. Especially vicious was the fact that, in the "May 17th Declaration," he and Yan Jiaqi cursed, "The government has forgotten its responsibilities and is devoid of human nature." It called on "the students to announce with their own actions that the current student unrest is not turmoil, but a great patriotic, democratic campaign to eventually bury autocracy and the imperial system in China." When the Central Committee and State Council took decisive measures to announce the enforcement of martial law in some areas in Beijing, Bao Zunxin and Yan Jiaqi again published "Pledge of the Intelligentsia," threatened that they "would never surrender to autocracy," and swore that they would fight to the end against socialism, the proletarian government, as well as the party and people. Bao Zunxin's doings in the turmoil and counterrevolutionary rebellion have provided the most marvelous footnote for his proposition, "the Confucianization of contemporary Marxism in China," consequently, the veil of his being a "scholar," was torn up by himself. Those people who have run counter to historical law will inevitably be punished by the historical law itself. Bao Zunxin's fall is once again evidence that this objective law cannot be changed.

#### Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Volume 2, pp 667-668.
2. *Feuerbach*, pp 32, 84.
3. *Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi*, Volume 1, p 98.
4. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 1, p 82.

#### Mao Zedong and His Secretary Tian Jiaying, Part III

HK0902060090 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 pp 33-39

[Article by Feng Xianzhi (6646 0341 4249) of the CPC Party Literature Research Center]

[Text] X. Emphasis on Investigation and "Antibookishness"

By the winter of 1960, many serious problems had surfaced in the countryside. The central government issued on 3 November "Emergency Instructions on the Policy Toward Rural People's Communes," known for short as the "12 Articles," which called for a thorough redressing of the error of egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources and a start on rectification of incorrect styles of work and checking up on cooperatives. From 24 December 1960 to 13 January 1961 Mao Zedong chaired the Central Working Conference and

presented the "Summary of Discussion on the Rectification of Incorrect Work Styles and Checking Up on Cooperatives in the Rural Areas and Related Policy Issues." On 13 January, the last day of the conference, Mao put forward the idea of encouraging investigation to make 1961 a year of seeking truth from facts. This conference paved the way for the 9th Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee to be held from 14 to 18 January. Because of Mao's advocacy of investigation, our party was able to formulate policies in accordance with reality and to effectively redress errors that we were aware of. The party's good tradition of seeking truth from facts had, to a certain extent, been restored.

As the Plenary Session came to an end, an article entitled "Investigative Work" appeared before Mao. Mao was delighted. This was a lost article he had written 30 years before about which he had been thinking. Tian Jiaying delivered it in person to Mao. This is how it was discovered. In 1959 the Museum of the Chinese Revolution was built. Efforts were made to collect relics related to the revolution. The party committee of Longyan Prefecture, Fujian Province, came across a lithographed copy of this article. In 1960 comrades of the Political Research Center of the CPC Central Committee borrowed it from the museum. While everyone felt this was an important piece of work, they did not fully realize the role it performed in the development of Mao Zedong Thought and its true value. No one could predict the extent of influence the reappearance of this article would have on the ideological construction of the party and the importance researchers would attach to it. Once Tian knew about this document, he got hold of it and presented it to Mao. Mao wrote a note dated 11 March 1961 on this article. He also mentioned and explained it in two speeches at a Guangzhou conference in March. From the note and the two speeches one can see why and how this article had been written, and how much Mao liked it.

The note of 11 March 1961 is as follows:

This is an old article. It was written to attack dogmatism in the Red Army then. There was no such term as "dogmatism" then. We called it "bookishness." The article was written around spring or summer of 1930 and had been lost for 30 years. It was suddenly located in January 1961, in the Museum of the Chinese Revolution, which had, in turn, gotten it from the party committee of Longyan Prefecture, Fujian Province. It still appears to be of some value, so I had a number of copies made for comrades' reference.

At the Guangzhou conference on 13 March 1961, Mao said:

I found an article I had written 30 years ago on investigation. It still makes sense to me. How others see it I do not know. There is a saying that "one's own writing is always the best." I do not like each and every one of my articles, but I do like this one. It was produced after a heavy struggle. In the winter of 1929,

the 9th Congress of party representatives of the 4th Army of the Red Army reached a conclusion on this struggle. After that, in the spring of 1930, I wrote this article. In the last few years I had been searching for it, but to no avail. Then it appeared in January this year. Please read it and give your comments on points you agree or disagree with. If you basically agree with them, just say so and do not bother to explain.

At the Guangzhou conference on 23 March 1961, he said:

This article was written around the spring or summer of 1930 to conclude the experience of that period. A short piece had been written before it, entitled "Anti-bookishness," which can no longer be located.<sup>1</sup> This article has been relocated only recently. I do not remember other things when they are relocated, but I do remember this one.<sup>2</sup> It is a surprise reappearance. I am so happy about it.

To me, two points of what Mao said about this article at the 23 March conference are particularly important. First, when explaining the third question, "antibookishness," Mao said there is the question of criticizing and doing away with superstition here. At that time, everything was good as long as it was from a superior. An example was the resolutions of the 6th Congress of party representatives. How could you implement them? Without concrete measures no resolution could be realized. Even if the resolutions of the 6th Congress were correct, without concrete measures and investigation, they could not possibly be realized, not to mention the fact that they did have some shortcomings and errors. Second, when explaining the sixth question, that is, "the victory of China's revolutionary struggle depends upon Chinese comrades' knowledge of China," Mao said, "Paragraph 6 appears to still be useful now and in the future. The victory of China's revolutionary struggle depends on Chinese comrades', not foreign comrades', knowledge of China; nor can we rely on foreign help to win this battle." At that time Wang Ming's line or Li Lisan's line had not surfaced. For a time we relied on the Communist International to write resolutions and programs for us and to give us instructions.

It was a good thing that "Investigative Work" reappeared just when Mao advocated investigation. Its important value was rediscovered and it became a powerful weapon to push the party to conduct investigation and to change ideas and style.

Despite its importance, Mao was cautious about whether to publish this article. He said at the conference on 23 March, "I do not think it should be published at this point. It is enough for it to be circulated internally." He also said, "What is the use of this article at this point? Some people do not understand it. Why? It talks about the question of democratic revolution then. Democratic revolution is the question of antiimperialism and antifundamentalism. The question now is to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction. Readers of this

article must understand this point." He reminded the audience again that, "When this article is relayed to those at lower levels, some parts require explanation. The main thing is to talk about fundamental methods. Investigation is required both during the period of democratic revolution and the period of socialist construction. Even after 10,000 years investigation will still be necessary. This method is a good one. This article talks about resolving the question of bourgeois democratic revolution. The present question is a different one. I just want to make this point clear."

These words of Mao already embodied a dialectical spirit and the spirit of antidogmatism.

Mao changed the title of "Investigative Work" to "On Investigative Work" and revised the language a little. For example, he replaced "Bolshevik" with "communist," "Soviet" with "government," "6th Congress" with "6th Party Congress," and so forth. Then, on 11 March, he distributed copies of the article to the comrades attending the Guangzhou conference.

With the passage of time, more and more people came to understand the use and meaning of "On Investigative Work." Many comrades inside the party suggested that it be published. With Mao's consent it was first published in 1964 in the book *Selected Readings From Mao Zedong's Works*.

That version incorporated some linguistic revision by Tian. Trying to ascertain the time this article was written, Tian wrote in a note to Mao when he presented the manuscript to Mao on the evening of 25 March for Mao's final checking and approval, "I hope the chairman will try again to recall when this article was written. If you remember where it was written, or notable events that happened before or after it was written, we can follow these clues and arrive at a closer date for this article."

Mao returned the final version of the manuscript to Tian the same evening and changed its title to "Antibookishness." He also added a note to it: "This article was written in 1929, but I do not remember where. It was preceded by a short piece entitled 'Antibookishness,' which was written in Xunwu County. Afterward I thought it was too short, and might not convince the comrades. So I rewrote it into this long article. The content is basically the same, but there is more elaboration in the long article. Both articles had mimeographed copies then." The reader is reminded here that Mao added a line in his handwriting on this final version of the manuscript: "We should study the book of Marxism, but must do so in the context of China's reality. We need 'books,' but must correct the kind of bookishness that is divorced from reality." This is the only change involving content that Mao made to the article. This is no doubt an important addition. Actually, the idea is already in the article, but it is not expressed in such a concrete way.

Tian had doubts as to whether this article was written in 1929, so he invited a comrade at the Political Research

Center to compile a list of Mao's activities in detail from the winter of 1929 to May 1930 and sent it to Mao. Having seen the list, Mao changed the date of the article to May 1930.

"Antibookishness" is an important historical document. It is especially crucial to research on the history of the CPC and the development of Mao's thought. It has both scientific value and relevance to reality. The ideas have a universal meaning and will shine forever. The reader can see that the basic themes of Mao Zedong Thought, that is, seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line, and self-reliance, are already in this article. This article was relocated, received much attention, and was then published. We must thank those who collected documents at that time, the comrades of the party committee of Longyan Prefecture, Fujian Province, and comrades at the Museum of the Chinese Revolution and at the Political Research Center, and especially Tian Jiaying for it.

#### **XI. The Zhejiang Investigation and the "60 Articles" on the People's Commune**

Mao summoned Tian to the 9th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee as it was about to end in mid-January 1961, and said, "Why didn't I know you would not attend this meeting?" Then he had comrades of the conference team deliver a set of conference documents to Tian.

On 20 January Tian received a letter from Mao.

Comrade Tian Jiaying:

1. Please send a copy of the article "Investigative Work" each to Chen Boda and Hu Qiaomu, and add the note that I invite them to revise it (in language and content).

2. I have asked Chen and Hu to each lead an investigation team like you do. There are three teams altogether, each with six members, seven including the team leader. The team leaders are Chen, Hu, and Tian. The teams should be set up within three days from today. Each member should be of high caliber. Those of low caliber are not considered. Each should be issued a copy of "Investigative Work" (the spring 1930 version) for discussion.

3. You will conduct investigation in Zhejiang Province, Hu in Hunan Province, and Chen in Guangdong Province. The investigation will be on the rural areas. The six members of each team will be further divided up into two small groups, each with a group leader and two members. Chen, Hu, and Tian are the team leaders. A small group (three persons) will investigate the worst production team, another the best production team. An average production team need not be studied. The time spent should be 10 to 15 days. Then you should go to Guangdong, and all three teams should meet with me and make a report to me. Then

you should conduct investigation in the city of Guangzhou and investigate the industry there, which will take a month. Altogether the work will take two months. Then you will all spend the Lunar New Year in Guangdong.

Mao Zedong

1600, 20 January

P.S. This letter should be read by all 21 persons on the three teams. And it is very important for them to discuss it.

As I was compiling the titles of the complete works of Mao at the Central Archives Bureau with some comrades there on the afternoon of 20 January, a surprise telephone call came from Tian. He asked me to return to Zhongnanhai immediately. So I rushed back. After reading Mao's letter, I prepared for the trip.

The Zhejiang investigation team under Tian's leadership was soon formed. It left Beijing the next day and reached Hangzhou on 22 January.

This investigation was conducted at a time when the national economy continued to deteriorate almost to the point of collapse. Mao was still sober, even in the face of economic difficulty. It was also a time when Mao emphasized the importance of investigation and was determined to turn the difficult situation around. Tian had always been keen on rural investigation and worried about the difficulties of the nation. He was, of course, delighted to be assigned an important task just at this very moment and to be able to contribute to the nation and the people.

After discussion with the Zhejiang provincial party committee, the Zhejiang investigation team, in accordance with Mao's approach of studying both the best and the worst, decided to choose for study a poor production team in Jiashan County (later merged with Jiaxing County) and a good one in Fuyang County. I was assigned to the poor production team, named Hehe Production Team. Tian viewed it as a key study point. It was called a production team then and was later called a production brigade. It was something close to Daziran Village now. Some comrades in the investigation team were from Zhejiang Province. Xue Ju, then assistant secretary general of the Zhejiang provincial party committee, took part in the investigation from beginning to end. Mao was staying in Hangzhou and was ready to listen to the report of the investigation team and gave advice to it.

Under Tian's leadership the work was outstanding and full of life. We discovered some important questions in the course of investigation and also became role models to local cadres.

Tian's guiding thought on the investigation could be summed up in two lines: "Open up your minds," and "be bold to discover problems." He drafted an antithetical couplet as the work ethic for the team. The first line was

"Eat together, live together, but do not labor together," and the next line "Dare to think it, dare to say it, but do not dare to act it out." He also wrote "Be of one heart and one mind; be concerned about our country and our people." Why did he say "do not labor together?" It is because it was during the slack winter season, but the work of investigation was busy. If all were to labor together, it would be so only in appearance and would not do anything good to the work. Tian was very strict toward members of the investigation team in daily life and made it clear that they should not enjoy any privilege. Once, when a small investigation subgroup arrived at a commune, commune cadres brought them a large bowl of pork, and the comrades of the subgroup ate it up. When Tian heard about this, he rushed there and reproached them. He said furiously: The masses did not even have enough rice, and you eat pork! These comrades made a criticism of themselves. Later, at a meeting summoned by the Fuyang County party committee, Tian made a self-criticism on this incident to the cadres there. He said, "The shortcoming of the investigation team is that when the commune gave them meat, they did not decline. It's our mistake." "Dare to think it and dare to speak it" referred to breaking away from obstacles in the mind, doing away with taboos on opinions. "Do not dare to act it out" meant if there were opinions on work outside the investigation team, especially on local work, they must be reflected through the team to leaders of the provincial party committee. In no case should team members order people around and interfere with local work.

During the investigation, Tian paid much attention to maintaining good rapport with the cadres there. He respected them and used Mao Zedong Thought and party principles to guide and educate them. At a meeting attended by cadres from both the county and the commune and members of the investigation team, Tian said that "comrades of the investigation team must not be arrogant and condescending. The central government sent investigation teams to work for the masses, not to get a share of government grain. Therefore the teams usually give the people a good impression. The lives of commune cadres are not any better than ours, but you get all the blame and we get all the praise. These words were a good reminder to comrades of the investigation team. They also showed Tian's understanding of the difficulty the local cadres faced and served to promote the communication and unity between the investigation team and the cadres.

To tell the truth, as long as we had a good attitude, it was not difficult to identify problems. In fact, there were many problems. But it was not that easy either. The key was whether we could break through barricades in our minds and dare to bring up the problems. After the antirightist movement, our minds were tightly confined and we dared not move beyond the boundaries. Some problems were evident, but people dared not point them out. When something was problematic, some people pretended it was all right. Take the mess hall as an

example. Two subgroups of the investigation team had two contradictory views. One subgroup investigated a mess hall, but not thoroughly enough. Confined by old thinking, it concluded that the solution was to improve the mess hall. Another subgroup fully understood the people's strong discontent with mess halls and concluded that it would not be feasible for mess halls to continue and that they should be disbanded. Tian took part in the latter group and agreed with their conclusion. However, being able to identify problems was one thing, and daring to report sensitive problems, such as the mess hall issue, to Mao, was another. At that time, quite few people still argued for continuing the mess halls, including some senior leaders and some other investigation teams. It was still fresh in the memory that before, some people had been labeled "rightist opportunists" because of the mess hall issue. Also, the central government had just issued instructions with 12 articles, which stipulated that "mess halls must continue to operate." Tian did take all this into consideration, but in the end he still reported the actual situation to Mao and gave his opinions on it. That Tian was bold enough to tell the truth was demonstrated again at this crucial point. Another question was, what really caused a sharp decline in agricultural output? As far as we could tell from the site of our investigation (which was quite representative), it was not caused by natural disasters, the democratic revolution not being thorough enough, or the revival of the class enemy. It was entirely caused by the five tendencies (to effect the transition to communism prematurely, to exaggerate, to give orders arbitrarily, to rely on commandism, and to behave as the privileged). Tian also reported this view to Mao. Hehe Production Team, where our investigation was conducted, was situated on a plain next to a lake. It was rich in fish and rice. The paddy yield per mu was usually some 600 jin. In 1960 it was only 291 jin. This figure truly shocked Mao. He had the secretary of the responsible county party committee come to him for a long meeting and criticized him.

Tian attached much value to historical investigation. He directly supervised my work and had me and a comrade from the province conduct a detailed investigation of the production and entire history of Hehe Production Team from the land reform to the people's commune movement. Not too many people took part. We invited an old poor peasant, an old farm laborer, an old middle-level peasant, and a production team leader to take part. We got together and exchanged questions and answers. It was both an investigation and a discussion. This went on for about five or six days. In this way, we had a profound understanding of the history and present situation of the production team. This helped us to understand the stages of development in the history of the Chinese countryside after the land reform. Through comparison with the past, it was clear what was good and should be restored, what was undesirable and should be got rid of, and current problems. Tian made a report on this production team, from its past history to the current situation (including the scope, system, production, and so forth) to Mao.

It was in this report that Tian suggested that the central government formulate regulations on the work on people's communes, which was accepted. When Mao mentioned how the regulations came into being later at a meeting in Guangzhou, he said, "Whose words did I listen to? I listened to Tian Jiaying, who said it was better to work out some regulations. When in Hangzhou, I had a discussion with comrades Jiang Hua, Lin Hujia, and Tian Jiaying, and we agreed on the necessity to work out some regulations. The idea did not come from me, it came from someone else. I just pursued it."

Mao raised some important opinions when he listened to the report by Tian and others on 6 February. I put down the main points below according to what was relayed to me then.

1. The question of how to overcome the "five tendencies" and change the situation. The crux of the problem lies in the "five tendencies" and blind commands. Besides allowing families to keep a private plot and a vegetable plot, three percent of the land should be assigned to the small team (later called the production team) for flexible use so it can grow a variety of vegetables.

2. The question of paying compensation. We must be determined to pay compensation even if we are bankrupt. He who made the decision should be responsible for the payment. We must make the cadres understand that we must in no way expropriate the peasants and that to do so would be counterrevolutionary and destructive, rather than constructive, to socialism.

3. The question of the family private plot. It was alternately taken back and given to peasant households several times, and each time there was a good reason for it. Both reasons are in the final analysis one reason—to give peasants a private plot. The reason for the repeated reversal in the practice must be explained to the peasants, and cadres at the grassroots level must learn a lesson and a theoretical basis from the reversal. If the policy continues to fluctuate, hunger, disease, escape, famine, and death will follow.

4. Draft some work regulations to stipulate how the three levels of the commune should work. When conducting investigations, look at both the negative and positive aspects, otherwise we will get into a blind alley. (Tian reported mainly on the situation of Hehe Production Team, which was a bad one. Mao was referring to this point.)

5. The question of scope. Hehe Production Team is too large. Should it be split into three, or should the subproduction teams be changed to a basic accounting unit and the production team changed to a brigade and, in this way, reduce the scope of the latter while it is elevated to a higher grade? The subproduction teams would become a production unit and a consumption unit. There was much disparity among these several subproduction teams, and if resources are distributed equally among

them, their initiative will be hampered. The basic principle should be to increase production.

6. The question of the mess hall. Practice should respond to the wishes of the masses and it should be diverse. Single men and those with strong labor power who do not cook for themselves want the mess hall to operate throughout the year. Most people want the mess hall to be open during busy seasons; and a few prefer to cook for themselves. This question should be studied so that the mess hall meets the needs of the masses. If five out of 30 households request a mess hall throughout the year, then there should be one. It is all right for those who raise pigs to cook at home. In short, we should meet the needs of the masses, otherwise we will collapse.

7. The question of dishonesty by cadres. About 30 to 40 percent of them are involved in graft, and about 70 to 80 percent are dishonest in minor ways in handling money. It is impossible to fire them all. In handling these cases we must do as the masses say. If the masses find the cases tolerable, we will not pursue them. If they find the cases intolerable, we will fire those concerned.

The above roughly reflected some of Mao's basic views on the people's commune and on policies toward rural areas. Some were established, others were in the making. Later, Mao heard the reports from the Hunan and Guangdong investigation teams. This paved the way for the Guangzhou conference and the drafting of "Regulations on the Work on People's Communes (Draft)" (known as the "60 Articles" for short).

Tian and I followed Mao's instructions and left Hangzhou for Guangzhou on 21 February. On 23 February, the three investigation teams met in Guangzhou and prepared for the drafting of the regulations on the work on people's communes.

The drafting proceeded under Mao's guidance at all times. On 26 February the drafting committee called a meeting chiefly to set a framework and the basic content of the regulations. Those present were Tao Zhu, Chen Boda, Hu Qiaomu, Tian Jiaying, Liao Luyan, Zhao Ziyang, Deng Liqun, Xu Liqun, Wang Li, Wang Lu, and myself. The actual drafting started on 27 February and was mainly done by Liao Luyan, Tian Jiaying, Wang Lu, and Zhao Ziyang.

The conference of three major southern regions chaired by Mao started in Guangzhou on 10 March. Those who attended included central bureau secretaries from the three major regions of the central-south, east, and southeast, and secretaries of the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. The conference was mainly on the regulations on the work on communes and agriculture. At the same time, Li Shaoqi chaired a conference of three major northern regions (the north, northeast, and northwest) in Beijing.

Mao gave an important speech to the conference on the three southern regions on 13 March, the theme of which was opposition to two kinds of egalitarianism, namely,

egalitarianism between individuals and that between production teams. This was based on an idea he developed after listening to the reports of the three investigation teams. It became the crux and foundation of the regulations on the work on people's communes.

The opposition to two kinds of egalitarianism may not sound remarkable today. However, when we look at a question we must not separate it from reality then and there. None of the three other investigation teams raised this question, although each put forth some good and valuable opinions and suggestions. Mao abstracted this idea from a large amount of data from investigation. It was precise and perceptive. One could not help admiring Mao for his perception and ability to abstract and grasp the fundamental nature of problems. Of course, the opposition raised by Mao to the two kinds of egalitarianism was restrained by both the objective historical conditions of the time and his own subjective knowledge, and so it was not thorough enough. In any case, this was important progress. It became the party's guiding thought for a period of time in the resolution of problems in the rural areas.

On 14 March, the conference on the three southern regions and that on the three northern regions combined and continued to take place in Guangzhou.

On 15 March the regulations were revised into a second draft. The next day it was presented to Mao. At 1500 the same day, Mao summoned Chen Boda, Hu Qiaomu, Tian Jiaying, and Liao Luyan to talk about the regulations and decided to distribute copies of the draft to the conference for discussion. The discussion lasted two days. A point of contention was whether the small production team (later to become the production team) should become a basic accounting unit, but no conclusion was reached.

On 15 March Liu Shaoqi said something at the small group sessions of central-south and north. He said that: 1) To implement the partial supply system among households enjoying the five guarantees is, in effect, social security and the peasants would support it. However, distribution to the rest should be according to labor. Those who labor more should get more. Living labor transformed into materialized labor is money and material resources. To divide up economic work into smaller and smaller fragments is to save labor time and raise labor efficiency. Therefore, overtime work must be paid. 2) It is economic democracy to let the people run family sideline production and cultivate their private plots. These words of Liu's are very important and embodied profound thought. This shows that even then Liu had a negative view of the egalitarian supply system.

Revision of the second draft of the work regulations began on 19 March. One to three persons from each large region were invited to take part in it. The north was represented by Tao Lujia, the northwest by Bai Zhimin, the northeast by Feng Jixin, the central-south by Wang Yanchung and Zhao Ziyang, the east by Lin Hujia, Xue

Ju, and Wei Wenbo, and the southwest by Huang Liu. Hu Qiaomu relayed what Mao had said at midday that day to the drafting group. According to the notes I made then, it was as follows:

"What about these regulations? No danger? The question of agriculture is grasped a bit late. This time we must be determined to resolve the problems. At the second Zhengzhou conference, the problem was not thoroughly resolved. The conference lasted three days only. Several conferences took place at the same time. The way the conference proceeded was problematic too. The Lushan conference should have continued to resolve problems that had not been resolved at Zhengzhou, but something happened in the middle of it—antirightism. Actually it should have been antileftism. The Shanghai conference in 1960 also mentioned briefly the question of the rural areas, but it discussed mainly international issues. The Beidaihe conference also discussed mainly international issues. The '12 Articles' had a great impact, but only resolved the question of indiscriminate transfer of resources, not the question of egalitarianism. The Central Working Conference of December resolved only some minor problems. The problem of the rural areas had emerged in 1959 already. The Lushan conference attacked rightism and aggravated the problem. By 1960 it had become more serious. People died of hunger. This was not reported to the central government until the summer of 1960."

On 22 March the Central Working Conference passed "Regulations on the Work on Rural People's Communes (Draft)." On the same day, the party Central issued "A Letter to All Party Comrades on the Discussion on the 'Regulations on the Work on Rural People's Communes (Draft)'" to all regions and asked them to carry out serious discussion on it, so as to thoroughly resolve problems in people's communes based on past experience.

On 23 March, the last day of the Central Working Conference, "A Letter to Central Bureaus and Provincial, Municipal, and Regional Party Committees on the CPC's View on the Issue of Seriously Conducting Investigation" was passed. Hu Qiaomu drafted this letter for the party Central. It was a long letter and most people will have forgotten what it said, except for this line: "When conducting investigation, do not be afraid to hear diverse opinions with substance, and do not be afraid that predetermined judgment and resolutions will be proved by practice to be wrong." When this letter was passed, Mao invited Tian to sit beside him on the chairman's rostrum. Tian read the letter out, while Mao explained it. Lastly, Mao explained and elaborated on the article "Investigative Work" (that is, "Antibookishness"). That evening, Mao had a conversation with Tian and instructed him to extend the investigative work until May and to conduct investigation in three places in Jiangsu Province again for some 20 days. It turned out that we did not go to Jiangsu, but continued the investigation in Zhejiang.

The Guangzhou conference was an important one. In Mao's words, this was the first time comrades of the central government had sat down together since the commune movement to discuss and thoroughly resolve problems in agriculture. The main product of the Guangzhou conference was the formulation of the "60 Articles" on people's communes.

The "60 Articles" reflected the opinions and demands of the masses and cadres. However, were they correct? Were they in line with reality? Were they feasible? What other problems needed to be resolved? It was necessary to find out what the masses thought about it and to test it in practice. This was the method of the mass line that Mao had all along advocated.

#### Footnotes

1. See Mao's note dated 25 March 1964.
2. In what Tian relayed then, there was also this line: "It is like thinking of one's child."

#### Develop Civilization of Socialist Enterprises

HK1402074890 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 pp 40-41

[Article by Sun Kaifei (1327 0418 7378) of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] I

In the past two years there have been heated discussions about "enterprise culture." Many meetings have been held and numerous articles published on this topic. We find that there have been certain misconceptions in some arguments, particularly as seen in the confusion between "culture" and "civilization" or "ideology." Some articles seem to define "enterprise culture" as inclusive of the whole package of spiritual civilization of an enterprise and virtually the entire connotation of socialist civilization, since it involves the ideological development and some economic and political issues in an enterprise. For this reason, we think "enterprise civilization" is a more appropriate term than "enterprise culture" in this context. What matters here is the understanding of the distinction between the two notions of "culture" and "civilization."

The longstanding confusion between "culture" and "civilization" or "ideology" is due largely to the influence of some foreign scholars' ideas as well as the inadequacy of our studies in this area. In fact, "culture" is vastly different from "civilization" or "ideology." Our party has made great progress in studying this issue since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and managed a clarification at the 12th Central Committee by defining that the development of socialist civilization incorporates improvement on material civilization and that on spiritual civilization, the latter of which has two aspects to it, ideological and cultural.

In the recent past, a handful of so-called "cultural elite," who advocated bourgeois liberalization and overall Westernization, made a big fuss on the topic of "enterprise culture" in an attempt to completely denounce the worthy experience and tradition of the management of our socialist enterprises, and to indiscriminately adopt the capitalist managerial system of Western enterprises. A point should be made here that much of the art of management in the capitalist world can be used for reference and adopted by us. Nevertheless, there is principled difference between the managerial system of socialist enterprises and that of capitalist ones. Despite weaknesses and problems in management in the past, we did have plenty of worthy experience and tradition, such as "Daqing spirit," "the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," and the more recent successful experiences of the Jilin General Corporation of Chemical Industry and Wuhan Iron and Steel Works. They should not be completely denounced, but synthesized and popularized.

In short, it is our belief that calling for extensive efforts in developing civilization of socialist enterprises is of great significance to the present campaign of deepening enterprise reform and propelling the socialist modernization drive.

#### II

The development of material civilization is the foundation of the development of the entire socialist civilization in enterprises. An enterprise is not a cultural institution, but an economic organization engaged in production, buying and selling, transportation, and service activities, which are largely economic undertakings, not the work of cultural creation. This is why developing material civilization is the main task of enterprises.

Generally speaking, developing material civilization in enterprises means boosting production, promoting economy, enhancing product quality, extending the range of goods, lowering costs, and, by so doing, providing the society with commodities in larger quantity and of better quality and offering superlative services to the general public. It is a departure from civilization if production remains at a low level, if the reject rate is high, if quality is inferior as a result of shoddy workmanship or even forgery, or if enterprises practice profiteering through reselling or spending without constraint. In the course of the present modernization drive and reform, an essential task of enterprises is to transform the material foundation of technology. Modernization of production management means technological innovation and equipment updating by means of advanced science and technology so as to upgrade productivity.

Developing material civilization also includes protecting ecology and environment, utilizing the three wastes, and beautifying the environment. Many enterprises tend to

neglect these aspects. It is also a departure from civilization if ecological protection and environmental beautification are not given due attention, the three wastes are left unattended, and the environment is polluted.

Developing material civilization in enterprises should also include improving the living conditions of workers in all respects, so that each worker can live in materially comfortable conditions. It is being one-sided to pay attention to production without caring about workers' livelihood or, on the other hand, to ease and comfort in life regardless of production and management.

### III

Developing the socialist democracy and legal system in enterprises means establishing and perfecting various rules and regulations, which is also an important aspect of the development of civilization in enterprises. What we should develop is an unequivocally socialist democracy and legal system that are, without question, the fruit of all efforts to develop democracy and a legal system throughout human history, and include some worthy experiences that we ought to draw upon in the same endeavor of the capitalist world. Nevertheless, there are fundamental differences between the socialist democracy and legal system and their capitalist counterparts, the former being the higher form of democracy and legal system and more developed version of people's democracy in human society.

In the past, our democracy and legal system were underdeveloped and defective. This requires development and improvement, but we cannot copy the capitalist political system.

In our opinion, an important purpose of developing our socialist democracy and legal system in enterprises is to give full play to and protect the initiative, creativity, and master's mentality of workers, skilled personnel, and even the families of workers in production and management, with a view to successful enterprise operation. Democratic centralism is to ensure better incorporation of the wisdom and strength of workers for the good of the enterprise. It also includes rules, regulations, and rigorous organizational discipline to ensure efficient production and management in enterprises and to make them more scientific, accurate, and up-to-date.

In the current development of democracy and legal system in enterprises, how to handle well the relationship between the party committee and the factory director or manager and that between the leadership and the masses is an important issue. It is wrong that the final say goes either to the secretary of the party committee alone or to the factory director or manager alone. Successful enterprise operation is only possible when the party leadership is strengthened and improved, the factory director or manager is playing his role to the full, and the enthusiasm of all workers is aroused. The "two participations, one reform, and tripartite cooperation" (namely, leadership's participation in productive labor and workers' participation in management; reforming

irrational rules and regulations; and cooperation among the leadership, experts, and workers) that we proposed in the past were given serious attention and adopted by Japanese entrepreneurs. But we have abandoned it ourselves. There are some other systems of enterprise management with distinctive Chinese features such as the post responsibility system, quality control responsibility system, and the "three gearings, five cases for presence" (gearing to the masses, to the basis, and to the production; leader's presence when directing production, doing political work, supplying material, carrying out scientific research or drawing up plans, and providing services for helping worker life) and "three democracies" (in production, technology, and economy) required of leading organs, all practiced in Daqing oilfields. Such good experience should be carried forward and further developed.

### IV

The development of socialist spiritual civilization in enterprises has two sides, ideological and cultural. Ideological development refers mainly to strengthening and improving the political-ideological work of enterprises and educating workers with a Marxist world outlook and scientific theories. They can, therefore, adopt communist ideals, faith, and ethics; the master's mentality, collectivist ideas, senses of rights, duties, organization, discipline, democracy, and law that all conform to socialism; and the selfless spirit of serving the people and the communist attitude toward work. At the conference commemorating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Jiang Zemin said that the true implication of developing spiritual civilization is to upgrade the quality of the whole nation and bring up a new type of people with socialist ideals, ethics, education, and discipline. To run an enterprise well, manpower is the chief factor, and one's behavior is governed by his ideology, moral concepts, and values. If political-ideological work is overlooked in an enterprise, we will be unable to maintain the socialist orientation of the enterprise, lose our spiritual impetus and the will to fight, become vulnerable to the corrosive influence of various corruptive factors, and even get on a path of deviation and degeneracy. In the past, our political-ideological work was marred by crudeness and the tendency to neglect individual and material interests. This should be improved upon. But, recently, some people had gone to another extreme, advocating "money first" and "individual first," and causing to spread the tendencies of seeking private benefit at public or others' expense, graft and embezzlement, profiteering through reselling, hankering after ease and despising work, and degenerating morally. As a result, the production and management of enterprises could not operate normally and the state and the people have suffered great losses. This lesson is to warn us against any relaxation in developing socialist spiritual civilization and in political-ideological work. Some people have denounced our fine old traditions completely and regarded "Daqing

spirit" and "the spirit of Anshan Iron and Steel Company" as outdated and no longer workable. This is an incorrect idea. At present, for the purpose of developing the civilization of socialist enterprises, it is especially necessary to copy and develop the following commendable spirits and work styles: from Daqing oilfields, the revolutionary spirits of strenuous exertion, self-reliance, pioneering under harsh conditions and selfless devotion to work, and the ethic of "three requirements on honesty (in character, words, and deeds) and four on sternness (strict demands, close-knit organization, serious attitude, and rigorous discipline); from Anshan Iron and Steel Company, the master's mentality, innovative drive, down-to-earth attitude, death-defying spirit, and the selfless devotion; and, as well, the Bethune spirit, Lei Feng spirit, Iron Man spirit and the blazing Zhang Binguai spirit.

The cultural development of enterprises includes mainly the cultural education and technical training of workers. Upgrading the workers' level of education and enhancing their knowledge of science determines the boosting of productivity and management efficiency of enterprises. Economic takeoff and progress in production are dependent on cultural education, which is of special importance in this age of high technology and has become the secret to economic advancement in all countries. In a socialist country, we should never seek to raise so-called economic returns in enterprises by means of forcing up prices, skimping on work and stinting on material, forgery, and profiteering through reselling. We must make sure that all economic development is a result of progress in science and technology and of upgrading workers' cultural quality. For this reason, we should encourage enterprises to run training schools, night schools, and correspondence schools for workers and to ensure good services through libraries, reading rooms, and cultural centers. It goes without saying that in cultural development it is not sufficient to care about cultural education alone; attention should also be given to workers' entertainment and sports needs. Leaving their intense work, workers can derive wholesome pleasure and spiritual enjoyment from healthful, convivial, lively, and colorful entertainment and sports. This also helps enterprise management. Ideological development should be integrated with cultural development so that cultural entertainment is enriched with morals.

By effectively integrating the development of material civilization and that of spiritual civilization in enterprises and coordinating the two, we will surely be able to open up a road with distinctive Chinese features in developing the civilization of socialist enterprises.

### Develop Culture of Township and Town Enterprises in the Light of Reality

HK1202114790 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 p 42

[Article by Lu Guanqiu (7627 0385 3808), director of Hangzhou Universal Coupling General Plant]

[Text] Our plant, the Hangzhou Universal Coupling General Plant, is a township and town enterprise. It was merely a blacksmiths' workshop with only seven workers 20 years ago. Today, it has emerged as China's largest plant specializing in manufacturing universal couplings for automobiles. Our plant is now producing more than 200 types of universal couplings. With an annual capacity of 3.2 million pieces, this plant's annual output accounts for 46 percent of all the universal couplings made in China. In 1988 the plant's output value totaled 41.47 million yuan, including more than 10 million yuan as profits and taxes and \$3.02 million in foreign exchange. The changes in this plant were achieved through promotion of enterprise culture. Here, I would like to present a summary of our immature experience:

Improvement of ideological and political work for enterprises and enhancement of moral integrity of the staff and workers should be placed first among other work of enterprises; efforts in this aspect can usually play a role that advanced equipment and large-scale investment cannot play. Ideological work must not be empty talk, but should cope with real needs. This means that our ideological work must be in keeping with reality, suit the actual circumstances, and be carried out in a down-to-earth manner and in earnest. To be in keeping with reality means to tell the workers the truth, doing away with big talk and empty promises. To suit the actual circumstances means to take the workers' actual needs into account, to carry out ideological work according to different personal needs, and to eradicate the practice of demanding uniformity. To carry out ideological work in a down-to-earth manner means not to cherish too high expectations but to start by resolving actual problems facing the masses, to do a good job in everyday ideological work, and to take specific steps while aiming at high goals. To carry out ideological work in earnest means to consider ideological work important, to staff the leading groups in charge of ideological work with competent personnel, and to open a new path for ideological work under the conditions of socialist commodity economy.

The ideological and cultural quality of most staff members and workers of township and town enterprises is not good enough. In order to enhance ideological understanding of staff and workers, we must let them know the relations between personal interests on the one hand,

and state and collective interests on the other. If the staff and workers do not have a sense of devotion to the state and the collective, then they cannot be expected to display lasting enthusiasm; they may even seek personal interests at the expense of the interests of the state and the collective. Therefore, we have always taken improvement of the staff and workers' material living standards as an incentive mechanism, while trying to imbue them with a lofty spirit of devotion to the state.

We have conducted education in patriotism by starting with cultivation of love for the plant. We always tell new workers that this universal coupling plant has a high reputation and is making great contributions to the state, and all its achievements can be attributed to the great efforts of the staff and workers; to keep this good reputation all of us must work hard. So we have made our staff members and workers understand that "the workers' honor or disgrace is linked to the plant's fate." On this basis we have put forth the slogan "Make Contributions to the State Just in Your Own Posts," and thus spur the staff and workers to give full play to their sense of being master and to work hard.

Cultivating a fine enterprise spirit is a precondition for maintaining a correct socialist orientation for enterprises, the promotion of a lofty goal of enterprises, and the development of township and town enterprises. Some people say that township and town enterprises survive simply by taking advantage of loopholes in state policies. This is indeed a misconception. To be sure, state-owned enterprises are the main productive force at the initial stage of socialism. But state-owned enterprises cannot possibly take care of everything. So, when certain products are in short supply, township and town enterprises can take the opportunity to produce these goods to meet market demand. This complementary function is the very advantage of township and town enterprises. But township and town enterprises on their part must uphold a correct socialist orientation, set lofty goals, and cultivate a fine enterprise spirit. If they resort to dishonest practices and take advantage of state policies in pursuit of profits, they will be going counter to the socialist orientation and they certainly will not enjoy sustained prosperity. We have set the goal of "striving for development based on domestic conditions and earning foreign exchange by exploring the world market," and have cultivated an enterprise spirit of "seeking truth from facts and encouraging innovation." And we have urged all our staff and workers to strive to fulfill this magnificent goal.

Promoting a sense of enterprise reputation among the staff and workers is a guarantee of fulfillment of the enterprise's goal. Both the equipment and technical conditions of township and town enterprises are pretty poor. To ensure product quality, we must not only constantly improve equipment and update production technology, but must also strengthen quality control. At the same time, we must promote education in the importance of product quality and enterprise reputation among all staff members and workers, making them

understand that product quality is the lifeblood of an enterprise and poor quality means lack of competitive power. In recent years, our products were honored with the titles of ministry's fine quality products and national fine quality products. Having reached the world's advanced standards, these products have been well received among Chinese and foreign consumers.

Enhancing the technical quality of the staff and workers is a guarantee of higher labor productivity. Township and town enterprises are pretty backward in terms of both production technology and equipment. This weak point becomes still more conspicuous in the wake of increasingly keen competition on the market. To survive and develop, township and town enterprises must value science and technology, attach importance to qualified personnel, and strive to enhance the technical quality of their staff and workers. In our plant we have invested a lot of money to train staff and workers, which we believe is a sort of investment in expanded reproduction. Since 1980, we have offered training to all staff members and workers, organized training courses, set up an evening school for the staff and workers, and sent some people to study at colleges. Relying on science and technology and on qualified personnel, our plant has flourished. In 1986 our plant was elected a national outstanding unit in enterprise management; in 1988 it was upgraded to be a grade-two state enterprise, the first township and town enterprise in the country ever to be honored with such a title.

### **This Is How We Develop the Culture of Enterprises in a Special Zone**

*HK1602103690 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 p 43*

[Article by Chen Hongming (7115 1347 2494), party committee secretary, managing director, and assistant general manager of Shenzhen Kangjia Electronics Co. Ltd.]

[Text] Our company, the Shenzhen Kangjia Electronics Co. Ltd., is one of the first group of joint-venture electronics enterprises approved by the former State Foreign Investment Management Committee, in December 1979. It is also the first electronics factory run with Overseas Chinese funds and is a backbone enterprise designated by the state for the production of color televisions and recorders. In the 10 years since it was first set up, it has produced more than 210 models of electronic products of 14 varieties, including color televisions, recorders, and music sets, with more than 85 percent of the products being marketed overseas. We are an "export-oriented" enterprise and an advanced "foreign-exchange earning" unit in Shenzhen. We have been cited as one of the 10 major economic achievements of the Shenzhen Economic Zone for the past decade and won the title of Advanced Enterprise of Guangdong Province. In 1988, we were upgraded as a second-class state enterprise, and in 1989, our party committee was

awarded the glorious title "National Advanced Grass-roots-Level Party Organization" by the CPC Central Committee's Organization Department. An important reason why our company has been able to achieve satisfactory economic returns and social effects is that we have persisted in exploring and developing the culture of enterprises.

When our company was first founded, the social environment and internal background were extremely complicated. These brought a series of setbacks to ideological and political work and to the enterprise's leadership. Faced with material hardship, lack of cultural life, tight production schedules and stringent management requirements, many asked for transfers or resigned. The enterprise thus lacked vitality. Under the circumstances, it would be very difficult to convince the young workers, still less the members of the Hong Kong staff, had we carried out ideological and political work according to the usual contents and methods. We could not rely on the economic means of bonus incentives because of our insufficient financial means. We could not resort to the administrative means of "giving employees the sack" because this could only be applied to a small number of people. Neither could we solve problems fundamentally by simply relying on leading cadres and party members to set an example and to be the first to bear hardships. All this showed that new measures were needed in enterprise management, that ideological and political work in the enterprise must be improved, and that a spiritual force was urgently needed that could cement better ties of cooperation between the Chinese and Hong Kong sides and stimulate the two sides to press ahead.

In view of the background of the enterprise and the actual problems confronting staff and workers, we put forward in 1981 the "16-character factory work style," which required everyone to "cherish the motherland and the factory, work in solidarity and cooperation, observe discipline and law, and study hard for advancement," and we clearly spelled out the requirements. This "16-character factory work style" was praised by the Propaganda Department of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee as "the sprout of enterprise culture in Guangdong," noting that this work style had played an important role in bringing about ideological stability among staff and workers and in helping the enterprise smoothly tide over difficulties during its founding years. One year after the establishment of our company we were able to announce a profit of 5.77 million yuan.

Since the second half of 1986, we have conscientiously studied the principles and policies of the party and the government on enterprises and continuously summed up experience in the course of practice. This has brought about the gradual transition of the work of developing enterprise culture from an unconscious and spontaneous effort, to a conscious effort for itself. In conjunction with the central tasks of our company, we have attached great importance to the proper handling of relations between the development of enterprise culture and other work in order to ensure that enterprise culture can truly become

a driving force that promotes material and spiritual development. In terms of specific methods, we have adopted the following major measures:

1. Take enterprise spirit as the main thrust in developing enterprise culture. In October 1986, we launched a campaign to rally the Kangjia spirit in the whole company. It was decided that the Kangjia spirit would be to "explore with concerted efforts and carry out innovation in a realistic manner"; that the aim of Kangjia was to "put quality first, with reputation serving as the foundation"; and that the target of Kangjia was to "lead the country and catch up with the rest of the world." We adopted a combination of methods to cultivate the Kangjia spirit. The slogan was written in huge characters and hung prominently on the wall. We hand-picked and trained a team of correspondents and broadcast propagandists, and saw that bulletins and wall newspapers were published monthly and that broadcast announcements were made daily, in order to publicize the principles and policies of the enterprise as well as the good people and good deeds around the central tasks of different periods. We also formulated short-, intermediate- and long-term programs for the development of enterprise culture and launched a competition for a factory song, flag, and emblem in an effort to further stimulate the desire of staff and workers to consciously dedicate themselves to the enterprise and society.

2. Bring into play the exemplary role of leaders and advanced models. Our company's leaders at various levels consciously exemplified in their words and deeds the principles highlighted in enterprise culture and set an example in building enterprise culture. At the same time, positive efforts were made to nurture and foster advanced personages and collectives, and called on all staff and workers to emulate their good work through such means as holding report meetings, exchange meetings, and citation meetings, and printing their colored pictures in honor lists and newspapers.

3. Conduct the work of developing enterprise culture throughout the entire course of the enterprise's production and operational activities. In recent years, we have conducted a range of activities aimed at promoting enterprise culture, such as our efforts to "develop a top-notch environment, train top-notch personnel, acquire top-notch skills, produce top-notch products, provide top-notch services, and create top-notch results." By developing enterprise culture around the basic behavior of the enterprise, we have been able to help the staff and workers cultivate an enterprise spirit and a sense of responsibility as masters, bring about a notable improvement in the quality of staff and workers, and increase the enterprise's ability to develop new technologies and new products.

4. Attach importance to the promotion of friendly relations within the enterprise, show ardent concern for the material benefits and spiritual life of staff and workers, carry out democratic management, and arouse the subjective initiative of staff and workers to the maximum.

In this connection, major efforts were devoted to the following three areas: First, satisfy the desire of staff and workers to seek career satisfaction. Second, show concern for the needs of staff and workers in their material and cultural life. Third, satisfy the needs of staff and workers to take part in democratic management.

### Consideration Should Be Given to Both 'Money' and 'Future'

HK1202055190 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]  
in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 89 p 44

[Article by Ma Zhanxiao (7456 2069 2699), from the Propaganda Office of the Political Department of a certain People's Liberation Army unit]

[Text] In developing a commodity economy, it is impossible to avoid money matters. On the other hand, thinking about money at every turn and being greedy at the sight of money has gone too far. This author personally witnessed the following: A pupil returned home from school and reported to his father with a smile, "Daddy, I picked up a 100-yuan note today and handed it over to the teacher. The teacher commended me..." The father slapped the boy's face, saying, "Damn you, I have to work hard for a whole month to earn 100 yuan. How can you hand over the money without telling me?" The boy was dumbstruck. What does the father intend to do by beating the child?

The tendency to put money above everything else, regardless of conscience, moral values, consequences, and later generations, has prevailed in recent years. Some people speak and think of money at every turn, regarding it as dearer than their parents. As a result, they do more with more pay, do less with less pay, and do nothing at all without pay. Some even act in a slick way after getting the money, trying to do less with more pay. This tendency to only consider "money," regardless of the "consequences," is indeed troubling.

A newspaper carried an article saying that "money is respected and yearned for and sought after by people in the same way as the medals of combat heroes and the honor of labor models." Another newspaper also issued an article entitled "Is It Good or Not To Speak About Money at Every Turn," saying that "If you need help from others, you must pay for it," and "The practice of speaking about money at every turn is the indication of a highly developed commodity economy." Like pestilence, this tendency toward money worship and putting money above everything else has turned relations between men into relations based on money. In recent years, the fallacies that "you can gain access to God through money" and "money is omnipotent" have gained ground and also made a show of force. In the past it was said "with justice on your side, you can go anywhere; without it, you can't take a step." Now it should be changed to "with money in your hand, you can go anywhere; without it, you cannot take a step." While driving on a certain occasion, the car of an "upstart" from a certain locality knocked a peasant down and

injured his leg. He then asked the driver to drive backward, saying: "Just crush him to death and we can save a lot of trouble by simply paying some tens of thousands of yuan to his family." After the accident, both were sentenced. However, it was reported that the "upstart" was released. It is true that "with money, you can make the devil turn the millstone." This is indeed lamentable and abominable.

It is said that there should be some places that the wind of the "omnipotence of money" cannot reach. Unfortunately, even the cultural, education, and propaganda departments are not lucky enough to escape. Take some publishing houses for example: For the sake of money, they do not care about content and consequences. Last year I was studying at a certain locality. I intended to go to some bookshops one Sunday. I visited a dozen bookstalls run by individual businessmen as well as post offices and noticed that all of them carried photographs of naked women. While I was on a trip in July, I visited a bookstall in a railway station. Good heavens, I was dazzled by the uniform "sex culture": *A Licentious Woman Who Lost Her Lover*, *Sexual Maniac and Lustful Woman*, *Sex World of 24 People*, *The Women I Embraced*, *A Lustful Women Who Loved Men*, and so on and so forth. There were 21 kinds altogether. To avoid poisoning the minds of our readers, I don't think it is necessary to emunerate them here one by one.

According to a report, a criminal named Chen, formerly a cadre of a frontier guard post in Guangxi, was sentenced to death for raping a young girl. In his written statement of repentance, he said, "After enlisting in the Armed Forces, I joined the party and became a cadre. Technically proficient, I fulfilled my tasks with distinction and received awards on four occasions for the outstanding service I rendered. Because I slackened my efforts to remold my ideology in recent years, I became gradually infatuated with pornographic books. I ruined my life in order to taste 'forbidden fruit.'" These examples are by no means rare in the legal newspapers.

True, the disgraceful end of Chen and his like has its own reason. Does this mean that our leaders and publication departments bear no responsibility at all? It is perniciously harmful to merely take immediate interests into account and not to consider the consequences. Lu Xun once issued a call to "save the children." Today, we should loudly appeal to the public: Save our children and the young people!

The young people are the hope of the motherland. It would be a great mistake to ignore the training of young people. It would be distressing to see this state of affairs happen. Young people are at the stage of developing physically. As they have scanty experience in life, are curious about everything, and do not know how to distinguish between good and bad books, they fall victim once they are exposed to "spiritual opium." It is by no means alarmist talk to say that spiritual food offered to young people has a direct bearing on the future of the

motherland. As a matter of fact, those producing and selling bad books are aware of the consequences. This author had an acquaintance in the Publication Department. On a certain occasion, I asked him jokingly whether he had taken some of these books home. He replied, "How can I do that? They would poison my family members." Thus, it can be seen that he knew they

were "poison." Why couldn't he show the same kindness to the children of others that he showed to his own? At a time when a drive to wipe out pornography is under way, one parent was so excited that he shouted, "Long live the drive to wipe out pornography." We should thoroughly deal with the practice of paying more attention to money than to moral values and consequences.