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QUISHI [SEEKING TRUTH]

No 10,16 November 1988

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[The following is a complete translation of QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH], a semimonthly theoretical journal published by the CPC Party School in Beijing]

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QIUSHI

No 10, 16 November 1988

Conscientiously Study Guidelines of the Third Plenary Session, Actively Implement the Principle of Improvement and Rectification

OW1312033888 Beijing QIUSHI in Chinese
No 10, 16 Nov 88 pp 2-5

[Article by Li Ximing]

[Text] Setting forth the guiding principles for improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order, the 3d Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee has made the major policy decision of placing the emphasis of reform and construction in the next 2 years on improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order. This is a completely correct decision which is in line with the actual situation, and we firmly support it and will earnestly implement it while doing our work.

I

The central authorities drew up this general policy of improving the economic environment and rectifying the economic order on the basis of a scientific analysis of China's economic and political situation. To implement this policy we must first of all have a correct idea of the situation.

To approach the situation from a Marxist viewpoint, we must fully acknowledge the economic successes achieved during the decade of reform, successes that have attracted worldwide attention. The reform has buffeted the ossified, dogmatic, and traditional small production mentality; broadened people's vision; emancipated people's minds; liberated the productive forces; greatly revitalized the nation's economic development; and expedited economic and social development in all areas. The reform has also substantially benefited the people and improved their living standards. Had it not been for reform, the decade of significant development and progress and the gratifying situation today would not have been possible. Compared with 1978, the total value of Beijing's industrial and agricultural output in 1987 increased 1.2 times, the national income increased 1.5 times, the average per capita net income in rural areas increased 3.08 times, and the average per capita income of urban residents—after being adjusted for price rises—increased 1.03 times. These enormous successes achieved during the decade of reform fully prove that the lines followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the course of reform are entirely correct. Carrying out reform and opening to the outside world have become the common aspirations of hundreds of millions of people throughout the country and an irreversible historical trend.

Persisting in approaching the situation from a Marxist viewpoint, we must, while acknowledging the enormous successes, also soberly realize the difficulties and problems encountered during the course of reform. Today inflation, excessive commodity price increases, unfair social distribution, and certain corrupt phenomena in party and government organs are the most conspicuous difficulties and problems that have appeared in our economic and political life. Whether or not these problems are resolved has become a major issue having a close bearing on the nation's economic and social stability and on the credibility of our party and government. While we must be fully and soberly aware of these problems, we must not write off the successes achieved in reform or the gratifying situation brought about by reform; our conviction in reform must not waver.

Certain difficulties and problems in our economic and political life today are longstanding ones that have been with us for years and have not been completely resolved during reform; certain problems are caused by a lack of macroscopic management and control during the process of the old system being replaced by the new, and some are negative phenomena, which cannot be completely avoided, because of our inexperience in developing the commodity economy. However, we have the confidence, the ability, and the methods to combat and resolve these difficulties and problems confronting us.

First, the party Central Committee and State Council have decided to take firm steps to improve the economic environment and rectify the chaos in our economic life and deepen reform in all fields. The decision has received the support of the whole party and the people throughout the country. The unity of the whole party and the people throughout the country is our greatest source of strength in battling all kinds of problems.

Second, the party Central Committee and the State Council have drawn up, and will continue to draw up, a series of measures for facilitating implementation of the principles outlined by the 3d Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee; certain measures have already yielded some preliminary results.

Third, our party is combat effective. In implementing the party's lines, principles, and policies, the overwhelming majority of grassroots party organizations are able to play their fighting-fortress role and the overwhelming majority of party members are able to bring exemplary vanguard role into play.

Fourth, thanks to the decade of reform and construction, China has greatly expanded its capacity for withstanding economic impacts. We have accumulated a lot of experience, both positive and negative, while doing our work.

Of course, solving the current difficulties and problems in our current economic and political life is a formidable task that requires great efforts and cannot be achieved in a short time. However, we firmly believe that as long as

we understand the current situation fully and correctly and make full use of the favorable factors in all sectors, and as long as all party members and people in the country work in unity with one heart and one goal in mind and firmly implement the principles and policies drawn up by the party Central Committee, we certainly can surmount the obstacles in our way and seize new victories in reform and construction.

II

The principle of improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order set forth by the central authorities is a positive principle. To implement this principle, we must heighten our spirit, deepen reform, and combat the difficulties ahead with a positive attitude. Improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order are to facilitate reform. As a matter of fact, certain improvement and rectification measures are in themselves major reforms. We should regard the principle of improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order as a great opportunity to intensify macroscopic control, further enliven microscopic economic activities, deepen enterprise reform, improve the mechanisms within enterprises, upgrade their management, and achieve better economic performance so our work can reach a higher level in all fields. By no means should we think that improvement of the economic environment and rectification of economic order are incompatible with deepening reform and developing the economy.

Presently, management and technological development in many enterprises and institutions in Beijing are still at a low level, and so are economic performance and efficiency. The productivity of Beijing's industrial manufacturers is lower than that in Shanghai and Tianjin. The gap is even wider when compared with the industrially developed countries in terms of consumption of raw and semifinished materials and energy, and other economic indices. Thus, improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order means setting higher requirements for tapping the potential of enterprises and steadily developing their production. When we scale down capital construction, we force enterprises to expand their production by tapping their inner resources; when we tighten credit, we force enterprises to speed up capital turnover and increase their profitability; when we hold down commodity price increases, we force enterprises to lower consumption of raw and semifinished materials and energy, lower production costs, and increase productivity; and when the state has financial problems, enterprises cannot expect the state to lower taxes, concede profits, or revise contractual quotas, but must do all they can to deliver more profits and taxes to the state. Under such circumstances, enterprises cannot possibly count on raising prices, or receiving subsidies and preferential treatment from the state, or "paternal love" [fu ai zhu yi 3637 1947 0031 5030]. Their only alternative is to rely on themselves by intensifying scientific management, speeding up technological development, tapping potential, and arousing workers'

initiative through better labor grouping. Enterprises must learn how to survive and develop through speeding up capital turnover and increasing profitability and productivity with minimum capital, energy, and consumption of raw and semifinished materials. If they fail to do so they are doomed to go bankrupt, close down, or be taken over in the course of vigorous competition.

All trades and professions must use the opportunity of improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order to upgrade their technology and readjust their product mix. Meanwhile, on an even bigger scale they should deploy productive forces rationally and use their resources more effectively, optimize their production structure, and develop their production steadily and profitably. This is the fundamental way to combat our economic problems and increase effective social supply.

III

Enforcing strict discipline is an important guarantee for implementing the party's line. As we improve the economic environment, rectify economic order, and deepen reform, it is particularly necessary to stress discipline in order to ensure implementation of the party Central Committee's principles and policies.

In strengthening discipline it is necessary to solve one outstanding question—how to properly handle relations between local interests and overall interests. Under socialist conditions the interests of the various areas, units, and groups and those of the state are identical. On specific questions, contradictions between local interests and overall interests may sometimes arise. Local interests should be taken into consideration, but it is all the more necessary to protect overall interests. However, when contradictions occur between local interests and overall interests and consideration cannot be given to both, minor principles must follow major ones and local interests must be subordinated to overall interests; otherwise, the interests of the state or the overall interests will be damaged, and it will be impossible to protect the interests of the various areas, units, and groups. With the implementation of the policies of reform and opening to the outside world, the invigoration of the national economy, and the development of a commodity economy, interests have tended to be polycentric [duo yuan hua 1122 0337 0553] in the past few years. This has aroused the initiative of various localities, departments, enterprises, and institutions. It is an important achievement we have made in carrying out reform and opening to the outside world. However, when interests become polycentric, we definitely need the unified, overall interests. The series of principles, policies, and measures laid down by the party Central Committee and the State Council to improve the economic environment and rectify economic order represent the fundamental interests of the state and the people. In carrying out these measures, some local interests may be subjected to some damage, sacrifice, or suffering. For example, reducing

the scale of capital construction, tightening credit, and controlling the growth rate may bring some difficulties to some units. For the sake of the overall interests, however, those units and departments should gladly and conscientiously make some sacrifice. Under no circumstances should one talk only about principles, take things too hard, and counter a central measure with a local one when one's own interests are at stake. Otherwise, the party Central Committee's policies can never be thoroughly implemented. We should be farsighted, take the overall situation into consideration, observe discipline, and strive for serving overall, long-term interests even at the expense of some local and minor sacrifices.

The key to strengthening discipline is to start with the party, the leading bodies, and leading cadres. On the pretext of delegating power to lower levels, some localities, departments, and units, especially some leaders who are party members, implement only those decisions and decrees of the party Central Committee and the State Council that are to their liking and fail to carry out those which are not; overtly or covertly they resist the party discipline. Delegating power to lower levels is aimed at invigorating the economy and developing productive forces. While invigorating the economy, we must also emphasize discipline; we must not set invigorating the economy against discipline. Under no circumstances must one be allowed to go one's own way or do things in one's own way on the pretext of delegating power to lower levels and invigorating the economy so as to undermine the unified laws and decrees and the development of productive forces in the country.

To strengthen discipline it is necessary to vigorously supervise and check up on work, which should be done through the joint efforts of those at higher and lower levels and those inside and outside the party. It is essential to strengthen inner-party supervision and supervision by the masses and public opinion, to maintain the sanctity of discipline, and to strictly enforce discipline. Leading bodies and cadres at all levels should uphold party principles and wage a resolute struggle against acts breaching discipline and centralism. Efforts should be made to support the work of legal courts, procuratorates, supervision and public security departments, industrial and commercial administration departments, and other law enforcement departments. One must now shield violators of law and discipline, or intercede on their behalf. We must deal sternly with those who have violated party discipline, government discipline, or the law; under no circumstance must we tolerate them or be overlenient to them.

IV

To implement the principle of improvement and rectification, we must intensify and improve our ideological and political work. Effective ideological and political work is an important measure for accomplishing all political and economic assignments. Since the improvement of the economic environment and rectification of

economic order directly affects the readjustment and distribution of power and benefits all departments and social strata, more vigorous ideological and political work is particularly essential.

Ideological and political work must be carried out by adhering to the party's basic lines, focusing on economic construction, and upholding the four cardinal principles, as well as upholding the general principles and policies for reform, opening to the outside world, and reinvigorating the economy. Presently, we must especially emphasize the need to safeguard party leadership and adhere to the socialist course. We must go all out to publicize the central authorities' principles, policies, and measures for improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and deepening reform in all fields so the cadres and the masses will have ideological unity with the principles outlined by the 3d Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee.

Our ideological and political work should be work that emphasizes the training of new, socialist-minded people to become educated people who have lofty ideals and a high sense of morality and discipline. We should educate the vast number of party members and masses to properly handle the relationship between material benefits and spiritual support. Although we do not support the view that "spirit is almighty," neither do we support the view that "money is almighty." We cannot possibly stress material benefits and ignore spiritual support, and turn people-to-people relationships into nothing but a monetary relationship. We must oppose—not advocate—the extremely egoistic money-worshipping mentality, which is not a modern concept. A noteworthy phenomenon has now appeared in some units and among some people: All they care about is money and material comfort and not spiritual values and principles. As far as these units and people are concerned, nothing can be accomplished without using money, throwing dinner parties, or giving gifts. The vast number of cadres and people are eager to see a change in this phenomenon, a phenomenon they resent. We must promote the spirit of dedication and sacrifice among all people, especially among party members, and encourage them to carry forward the fine traditions of plain living and building the country and doing everything diligently and thriftily. We must rally the strength of the whole nation behind the great objective of achieving the Four Modernizations and rejuvenating China.

To ensure the implementation of the principle of improvement and rectification, we should, in accordance with the central authorities' instructions, thoroughly and systematically educate the masses on the current situation. We should cite convincing facts and bravely and persuasively publicize the enormous successes achieved in reform and construction since the 3d Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, factually analyze the current problems and negative phenomena, solicit the masses' views on surmounting these difficulties and, basing ourselves on the party's

principles and policies, seriously answer their questions. We should, by educating the masses on the current situation, increase their confidence for reform and encourage them to act as the masters of their own house and take active part in the great cause of reform and construction.

V

To implement the principle of improvement and rectification, we must bring into full play the party's leading-core role, and rally all the members of the party and the people of the whole country to work in unity in surmounting difficulties and accomplishing all missions handed down by the 3d Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee.

Second, we should bring into play the fighting-fortress role of party organizations and the exemplary vanguard role of party members. Grassroots party organizations must earnestly ensure that the central authorities' principle of improvement and rectification is implemented in their units. They should educate party members on the current situation, give them assignments, set requirements for them, and educate them to uphold the Communist ideals, persist in serving the people wholeheartedly, and use their exemplary deeds to rally the masses and guide them to carry out all policy decisions made by the party.

Third, we must firmly combat corrupt phenomena. One extremely important and urgent issue in party building at the present stage is for party and government organs to preserve their honesty. This issue has a close bearing on whether the principle of improvement and rectification can be implemented, whether we can win the people's support, and whether our reform and modernization can succeed. On the whole, the majority of cadres of our party and government organs serve the people diligently and sincerely and can stand the test as members of the ruling party during the course of reform and opening up. Unfortunately, there are indeed corrupt phenomena in our party and government organs. In certain cases, the problems are quite serious. These problems can be observed primarily in the following cases: 1) squandering of extravagance; 2) abusing authority for personal gains, practicing graft, accepting bribes, and bending the law; and 3) extorting money and reselling merchandise for profiteering purposes. These problems, which have corroded the party, sapped the party's fighting strength, corrupted party and public conduct, and undermined public security and order, have greatly dissatisfied the vast number of party members, cadres, and masses and must be firmly dealt with by taking effective measures during the course of improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order.

To preserve honesty in party and government organs, we must educate them and their personnel to work selflessly for the public interest and abide by law, and help all party members and cadres be more conscious about

being honest in performing their duties. Leading cadres and officials at all levels must set strict demands on themselves and set an example for the masses through actual deeds, beginning with specific issues and themselves. We should establish and improve all regulations and rules, establish crime-reporting centers, and publicize how things are done and what has been accomplished so the masses can see and supervise what we do. We should give full scope to the role of disciplinary inspection commissions, people's procuratorates, and supervisory departments in inspecting and supervising the performance of party, legal, and administrative organs in observing disciplinary measures.

Our party has a glorious tradition. With the masses' supervision, support, and assistance, and with the great efforts exerted by all party members, we have the confidence to gradually combat the corrupt phenomena in our party and restore honesty in our party and government organs. We must continue to strengthen our party's fighting power, do an even better job in mobilizing and rally the masses to accomplish the central authorities' mission of improvement and rectification, and continue to push forward all projects of reform and modernization.

Symposium Discusses Theories on Economic Reform

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[Excerpts of Symposium speeches by Xue Muqiao, Jing Shuping, Tao Dayong, Xiao Zhouji, Ding Ningning, Yang Peixin, Lu Baifu, Zheng Hongqing, Wan Dianwu, and Lu Nan]

[Text] Editor's note: To better implement the guidelines contained in the resolution of the 3d plenary session of the 13th CPC Central Committee, this journal, together with the Central Television Station, and ZHONGGUO SHEHUI KEXUE [0022 0948 4357 2585 4430 1331] magazine, sponsored a symposium on 28 October to discuss theories on improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and deepening reform in an overall way. Over 20 comrades spoke at the symposium or submitted written speeches to it. Excerpts of their speeches are published here and in subsequent issues of this journal.

Deepening Reform Requires Strengthened Macro Control—by Xue Muqiao (Economic, Technological, and Social Development Research Center of the State Council)

The 3d plenary session of the 13th CPC Central Committee set out the tasks for improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and deepening reform in an overall way. This is another new turn in the principle guiding the economic construction of our country.-

The 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee put forward the principle of readjustment and reform of the national economy (including opening to the outside world). The central idea was to reform the economic structure to bring about a sound development of the national economy. At that time, however, because of the serious disproportion among the various sectors of our national economy, it would have been impossible to go ahead with reform without readjusting the proportion among the economic sectors. After 5 years of effort, the task of readjusting the national economy was generally completed in 1983. Accordingly, at the 3d plenary session of the 12th CPC Central Committee in 1984, a proposal was made to conduct an overall economic structural reform based on the thinking of switching from planned management of the product economy to that of a commodity economy. For the purposes of overall development of the commodity economy, the price system should be rationalized, and the law of value should play a regulating role in the development of the national economy. Moreover, the main method used for planned management should be changed from management by administrative means to that by economic measures, and from direct to indirect management. Thus, macro-control over the national economy should be exercised, not only by the Government's Financial Department but, more importantly, through banks. Banks should serve to maintain the balance between the total social demand and supply by controlling the issuance of currency and the construction and consumption funds. They should, through implementation of the credit policy, adjust the production structure and carry out the strategic plan for developing the national economy. No doubt, this general direction was absolutely correct. Unfortunately, in the fourth quarter of 1984, before we learned and mastered how to use banks as an effective tool, extension of credit loans began to get out of control, and an excessive amount of currency was issued. The result is the increasingly conspicuous inflation of currency and the consequent price hikes.

Experience over the past 40 years has told us that if we are to stabilize commodity prices, we must check the inflation of currency, and that the price system can only be rationalized under the condition of basically stable commodity prices. For many years, since our prices have been fixed by administrative means under the old economic management system, they can neither reflect the value of commodities nor show the situation of supply versus demand. Prices are low for those kinds of energy and raw and semifinished materials in short supply. For products turned out by processing industries, the prices are high. Under such circumstances, if we use the market as a regulatory mechanism, there will be a serious imbalance among the various sectors of our national economy. For this reason, reform of the irrational price system is the key to the success of our overall economic structural reform. The basic approach to reforming the irrational price system is to lift the control over prices (excluding charges on monopolized businesses, such as electricity and railway transport charges) and let the

market play its regulatory role in accordance with the law of value. To lift control over prices without triggering a general price hike, we must curb the inflations of currency. With increasingly conspicuous currency inflation, prices have climbed more and more in these years, and the state has to reimpose price control. This has once again distorted the price system, which is almost straightened through our years of effort. Our overall structural reform is confronted with serious difficulties. Under such circumstances, we have no choice but to once again strengthen administrative management to avoid a serious imbalance among the various sectors of our national economy.

The general direction of changing from an administrative management model to an economic management one is completely correct. After direct management, conducted through provisions of financial assistance, is weakened, we do not know if we must strengthen indirect management, which is conducted through provision of credit loans by banks; and, after mandatory direct production plans are reduced, we must develop more indirect plans based on guidelines provided by the Government. These indirect plans include strategic plans (including industry policies) for economic development, and measures to ensure the implementation of these plans. These measures include collecting taxes and providing bank loans (including currency issuance). Mandatory production plans have been greatly reduced in the last few years, but there has not been a guidance plan (that is, a strategic plan for national economic development) to ensure balanced economic development. As a result, total social demand has greatly surpassed supply, resulting in increased inflation. As early as 1956, when we summed up the experience of the First 5-Year Plan, we pointed out the need to maintain a balance between financial revenues and expenditures, between bank deposits and loans, and between material supply and demand. This is an objective law which has to be observed no matter what economic system, including the capitalist one, is at work. Inflation is bound to occur if balance in these three areas is disrupted.

All our current state plans are actually mandatory plans. None of them is a guidance plan. Some organs of the State Council drew up strategic plans for national economic development, but they only contained the principles without specific goals, let alone specific measures for fulfilling the plans. Moreover, these plans were not discussed and decided by the State Council, and therefore were not legal. All provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions, as well as cities under provincial authorities, and counties have drawn up their own development strategy plans. These plans, which have never been reviewed and coordinated by any department of the State Council, are designed to achieve rapid development and launch big construction projects, and are usually aimed at dwarfing others. With these plans at work, how can serious outstripping of total social supply by total demand be avoided? Financial assistance-

accompanied by mandatory plans of the central authorities has been greatly reduced. But there have been much more locally-made development plans compelling banks to provide financial support. Financial assistance, accompanied by mandatory plans, is approved in a measured way by the State Planning Commission, while bank loans extracted by localities are not subject to an overall review by any government body. This, coupled with the Central Bank's lack of authority to control currency issuance, has created anarchy which is even worse than many capitalist countries (these countries can exercise macroscopic control through adopting appropriate monetary policies and controlling bank loans). As long as this fundamental problem is not solved, inflation cannot be checked, prices cannot be stabilized, and reform of the economic system cannot be completely accomplished.

The development strategies and construction plans formulated by various localities for themselves have inevitably disrupted the state production policy and even done harm to the unified market. Moreover, they have competed for high development speed. Particularly, in order to overfulfill revenue contracts, tobacco-producing areas have vied to establish small cigarette factories, wool-producing areas to establish small worsted mills, and cotton-growing areas small cotton textile plants, using high grade raw materials to make low-grade products. Because of the shortage of raw materials, big factories with better equipment and technology have been forced to reduce production or to plunge into big struggles for panic purchase of raw materials. As a result, the price of raw materials has risen sharply, throwing the big processing factories into a predicament. Because of rising prices, a locality has often tried to buy materials cheaper from another locality, and various localities have tried to blockade each other, thus disrupting the formation and development of a unified socialist commodity market in the country. Our present system of responsibility to meet fixed revenue quotas at various levels has aggravated the above problem. In addition, with taxes being collected locally, taxpayers pay tax to local authorities. Because of this, the state cannot use a different tax rate to carry out its special policy, thus losing the regulatory effect of taxation.

Now, the State Council is formulating specific measures to improve the economic environment and rectify economic order. These measures are very important. It is imperative to firmly implement them, and there should be no perfunctoriness in doing so. Even with these specific measures, however, if we do not resolve the above-mentioned basic problems, it will still be impossible to deepen reform in an overall way.

**Long-Term Consideration Versus Immediate Trouble—
by Jing Shuping (Chairman of the Board of Directors of
China International Economic Consultation
Corporation)**

I wish to state two opinions. First, the present currency inflation in our country is due to economic, as well as social and political, reasons. In view of this, while

improving the economic environment and rectifying economic inflation order, we should make comprehensive efforts to solve the problem of currency inflation. There are two things to do in this regard. On the one hand, because of the many reasons for the present currency inflation, we should deal with the problem not only from the economic viewpoint but also from political and other angles. For example, we should be strict with our party members and strive to rectify our party style, the style of our government work, and our standards of social conduct. On the other hand, we should have a clear understanding of the problems which will result from curtailment of the scale of capital construction, and take preventive measures before they actually arise. For example, with the curtailment of the scale of capital construction, coupled with the optimization of the use of labor, the problem of surplus labor will become apparent. We should make overall arrangements for the employment of these surplus laborers. Otherwise, there will be serious social and political problems.

Second, while scaling down the size of investment in capital construction, we should analyze the actual situation and handle each case differently, not trying to achieve arbitrary uniformity like we used to do. As a matter of fact, the investment is getting bigger and bigger today, primarily because of the construction of nonproductive facilities, such as office buildings, auditoriums, and guesthouses; or factories which process goods already in oversupply. These are the projects which should be scrapped. On the other hand, because of a serious shortage of investment, the development in some departments is slow, hindering the nation's economic growth. As for these departments, we should increase, instead of cutting, their investment. In my view, I think we should increase investment in two areas, namely agriculture and education. I should like to call them short-term and long-term issues, respectively. First of all, how does our country's agriculture fare is an issue concerning its destiny. China is a country with 1.07 billion people. A populous country like ours simply cannot rely on importing food to meet its needs. On the one hand, we do not have enough foreign exchange for food imports' and even if we do, there will not be that much food on the international market. Our country's agricultural situation in 1984 was the best. In that year, the total grain output reached 800 billion jin, and the total cotton output reached 120 million dan [1 dan equals to 50 kilograms]. But the success was a short-term one. In recent years, our investment in agriculture has been seriously inadequate. While the agricultural investment from both central and local authorities is inadequate, the farmers also invest very little of their income in agriculture. Today, many farmers have given up farming and become businessmen. Consequently croplands have become wasteland, irrigation facilities are not functional, and the quality of seed strains is getting poorer and poorer. Because of these serious problems, the nation's agricultural production has seen no growth in recent years, and has never been able to return to the

1984 level. Such being the case, we must increase agricultural investment so that the nation will have a substantial agricultural growth. If we fail to do this, there will be no agricultural growth and the situation in 2000 will be worrisome because the population by that time will have increased and the size of arable land would have been smaller. The next issue is education. Because of the "Cultural Revolution," we have lost a generation of people. Can we still afford to lose another generation? I don't think so, but if that is the case, the outcome would be just what Comrade Xiaoping said: The Chinese people's "membership on this globe" would be revoked. Science and technology are productive forces. If our science and education remain underdeveloped, the prospects for China's economic development cannot be optimistic. Aside from the consideration of economic development, we must also realize that the 1.07 billion Chinese people should contribute to world culture and civilization. Our great ancestors contributed enormously to the development of the civilization of mankind. Columbus discovered North America because of the compass, which was invented by the Chinese. Paper is the media of today's highly-developed world culture, and paper is a Chinese invention. In order to be worthy offspring of our great ancestors and the world, we Chinese people must make greater contributions to world culture and civilization. However, if our education is not developed, this is just a empty phrase. Thus, for the sake of our country's future, we must attach great importance to, and increase investment in, education.

**Some Views, Some Suggestions—by Tao Dayong
(Professor at the Beijing Teacher Training University)**

Not long ago, members of the NPC Financial and Economic Committee heard reports from six departments: The State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture, the People's Bank of China, the State Administration of Commodity Prices, and the State Statistics Bureau. The report of the State Planning Commission began with these words: "On the whole, the economic situation is good." According to the other five reports, however, the current economic situation is quite grim. How should this be understood? A sober assessment of the situation is essential for decisionmaking. This is because, if the situation is considered grim, the decision will be a sober one; and if the situation is considered good, the decision will be different. We should admit that the current situation is grim. But if we act now, we still have time to place the situation under control, otherwise it will become even grimmer.

Some people within theoretical circles should be blamed for today's inflation. After 1984, people began to write articles advocating high consumption, saying that moderate inflation was good for economic growth. Their advocacy is the cause of today's inflated construction investment and soaring consumption. China should never permit inflation, and those of us from the old society have experienced it. Even bourgeois economists

and governments of Western countries denounce and reject the theory of inflation. While we should not copy what Friedman advocates, we should hear his advice that the money supply should be controlled.

Some comrades say that there are many favorable conditions for harnessing inflation, but I must say there are also many unfavorable ones. I agree with Jing Shuping's view that people today are not as easy to unite as before. In the past, whenever the party Central Committee or the State Council issued bans or prohibitions, lower departments would follow. Now, they are not so obedient, and they have ways of countering the policy of higher authorities. Therefore, in order to harness inflation, we must first strengthen macroscopic control and impose appropriate centralization. China is different from capitalist countries. They have perfected their market mechanisms over a period of several hundred years. Since we do not have a sound market or market mechanism, the market is bound to be chaotic once it has been decontrolled. Because of the separation of financial authorities in recent years, the central authorities' financial strength and power have been sapped substantially. If we do not appropriately centralize control, harnessing inflation will be just an empty phrase. This is because we are going to scale down construction investment by 150 billion yuan, not 50 billion yuan. If we can scrap 50 billion yuan from budgetary investment, what about the several hundred billion yuan of investment which is unbudgeted? If we cannot scale down such expenditure, their growth cannot really be slowed down. Next, we should raise the interest rates of loans in order to change the situation where such rates are lower than those of deposits or commodity price rises. Then, we should clearly explain the problems to the people, so that they will work concertedly to battle difficulties.

As for the stocks and shares system advertised some time ago, my view is: I do not oppose the system per se. Private enterprises and partially or wholly foreign-funded enterprises can, by all means, adopt the system. But state enterprises should be cautious because: 1) The Constitution provides that state enterprises are publicly owned, whereas as the stocks and shares system is of mixed ownership. If state enterprises are allowed to sell stocks and shares, the Constitution should first be revised. 2) The system requires a securities market. China today does not even have a commodity market, let alone a capital one. If there is the need to raise money, we can do so by floating bonds, not by selling stocks and shares! 3) If state enterprises are allowed to issue stocks and shares, who is going to represent the state? Since reform requires the separation of government and enterprises, how can this be achieved if representatives of state, enterprise, and individual shareholders one day meet at a shareholders' meeting? 4) The stocks and shares system in a state enterprise will create friction among workers, some of whom may be shareholders. Since those who are not shareholders will think that their surplus labor has been taken away by those who are, there can be confrontation between the workers.

Finally, I must appeal to society to attach great importance to agriculture. China is a big country which cannot rely on food imports. The nation's agricultural production has not had any substantial growth for nearly 3 years. Although we expected a total grain output of 150 billion jin this year, it dropped by 20 billion jin. Without special measures, substantial investment, and functional irrigation facilities, we cannot possibly expect a total grain output of 820 billion jin. Thus, while we cut capital investment, we have to increase agricultural investment. We must also have a long-term plan for solving China's agricultural problems. While it takes 2 to 3 years to harness inflation, we need at least 5 years to solve our agricultural problems. So the earlier we start, the better it will be. Second, we must attend to the issue of foreign debts. Compared with controlling soaring foreign debts, controlling inflation is easy. But we must start thinking how to control borrowing because most of the debts have to be repaid in 1992. I think we should recall the borrowing authority of lower level departments, which is excessive. The third and biggest issue is education. Since I teach, I understand the current educational state quite well. Today, from primary schools to universities, no student sets his mind on studying, except those who want to go abroad. In their case, they are working hard studying foreign languages. School libraries used to be crowded with students, now they are almost empty. Many primary and secondary school teachers have given up teaching and become businessmen, causing a serious drain of teachers. This is because the life of intellectuals is too hard. I propose that we should increase educational investment, while scrapping construction projects. I hear that Comrade Xiaoping has ordered a halt to construction of offices, auditoriums, and guesthouses, and urges the building of more teachers' dormitories instead. If this is true, I have to shout Long Life to Him! Only by attaching great importance to education can China be saved.

Be Sober Minded, Optimistic About Seeking Improvements

We are currently facing a grim economic situation. The inflation rate reached double digits in 1988 after it had soared relatively high for 3 consecutive years. It will be very difficult to make next year's rate of price increases noticeably lower than this year's, even if we adopt many emergency measures from this point on. However, we must understand that the general direction of reform and opening to the outside world in the past 10 years is correct, and that we have attained noticeable achievements. Our conditions for overcoming difficulties are much more favorable than those in the early 1950's and 1960's, when we also encountered inflation. Therefore, I think, we should not fear the current economic situation, although it is grim. We should be optimistic, without being blind to the situation. We should keep a sober-minded, though optimistic, attitude. The current economic difficulties are caused by many factors, of which some are economic in nature and some are not (for example, unhealthy practices, bureaucratic profiteering,

etc.) The unscientific decisionmaking and nonstandard decisionmaking process are also partly responsible. However, the principal culprit is an imperfect economic structure.

It is imperative for us to take resolute and effective administrative measures in the current efforts to improve the economic environment and rectify economic order. These steps are aimed at helping reform, creating a favorable environment for it, and establishing a normal order to facilitate its implementation. Therefore, the measures taken to improve the economic environment and rectify economic order must be in conformity with the direction of reform; that is, they must be favorable for the market mechanism and contribute to the market's regulatory function. If we return to the old system and back track, we shall not ease the current contradictions even slightly; rather we shall sharpen the contradictions and cause even greater difficulties for future reform.

When improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order, it is naturally impossible to work out and implement many reform plans. However, we should focus on "deepening" reform. In a word, we must sum up our experience, consolidate the achievements of reform, and improve and provide supporting measures for the ongoing reforms to make them function even better. We must expedite the implementation of reform measures that help improve economic order. For example, we should make more efforts in promoting the shareholding system on a trial basis and expedite housing reform.

Some comrades put forward the idea of "seeking advances through stability." I think we should "seek advances through reform." There is no contradiction between reform and stability. Reform is a guiding ideology and a general direction, while stability is a method and a step. While persisting in reform, we must use prudent methods and take steady steps. For example, we must reform commodity prices according to the requirements of a planned commodity economy. However, price reform must be carried out methodically. The goal of price reform can only be realized gradually. Never can it be realized in a stride.

We must reduce the speed of economic development and prevent the economy from overheating in order to check inflation. However, we must pay attention to the following three issues when reducing the economic developmental speed and scaling down economic construction:

First, we must keep an appropriate speed that will neither be too fast nor too slow.

Second, we must not resort to a sudden brake to decelerate; rather, we should brake in a stable manner. We should never suddenly reduce speed.

Third, we must not reduce speed in a rigid manner. We must regard the readjustment of production structure as important. We should never slow down the development of high-technology projects which produce good economic results and generous foreign exchange; rather, we should support them and contribute to their quick development by providing financial and credit facilities, materials, and access to foreign exchange.

Only After Clearly Understanding the Situation, Can We Take Resolute Measures—by Ding Ningning (Economic, Technological, and Social Development Research Center of the State Council)

When improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order, we should first achieve unity in thought and solve the problem of modes of thought. My views are as follows:

First, we must soberly judge the current economic situation. If we repeatedly talk about a very good situation simply to highlight the achievements of reform, and turn a blind eye to the existing problems, we shall be unable to tackle any problems and may still face the same situation we have been in since 1984. Whenever a tight policy has been implemented since 1984, it immediately arouses people's fear of stagflation. As a result, we resort to issuing more money to maintain the speed [of economic development]. In so doing, we actually backtrack in our financial policy. If we fail to achieve unanimity, take irresolute measures, and postpone solutions, inflation will deteriorate.

Second, we must objectively analyze the causes of inflation. We should currently change the thinking of attributing all economic problems to the old system. We should not regard a probe into the real causes of various economic problems as an attempt to discredit reform. In fact, failure to successfully carry out reform and promote living standards are exactly the causes of current inflation. China's reform has been carried out in a very unfavorable situation. Psychologically, the Big Leap Forward has seriously dampened most people's enthusiasm, and the "Great Cultural Revolution" has again led to a crisis of confidence. Therefore, China's reform cannot be plain sailing. The course of economic development is long. It takes at least 10 years for an average nation to achieve anything. A large country like China cannot attain achievements within 20 years. However, we fail to understand this, are too impatient for quick results, and are excessively optimistic, resulting in an unduly large scale of capital construction and the excessive growth of consumer funds. If we cannot understand, we shall be unable to solve the problem of high speed, and the economic situation will not take a turn for the better.

Third, we must first solve the problem of decentralization of administrative power [xing zheng xing fen quan 5887 2398 1840 0433 2938] before solving the current inflation problem and tiding over difficulties. Administrative power should be properly centralized. This

should not be termed a restoration of old ways, for facts have proved that a relatively centralized system is favorable for dealing with crises and special situations. The retreat is aimed at advance. If we cannot solve the current inflation problem, we simply cannot make further advances in reform and development. We must explain the difficulties to the people and seek their understanding, since they are reasonable. There is no panacea for treating the current economic problems. Tiding over the difficulties relies on the Chinese people's joint efforts and hard struggle. Only after overcoming the current difficulties, can reform continue to march forward and China have a promising future.

Two Points To Add—by Yang Peixin (Researcher of the Economic, Technological, and Social Development Research Center Under the State Council)

In Issue No 9 of QIUSHI, I discussed some basic points on how to curb inflation. Now, I would like to add some points of view.

First, effectively reducing the scale of capital construction is of particular significance in bringing total social demands under control and curbing inflation. 1) The investment scale is indeed overextended. Particularly, the construction of some office buildings, auditoriums, and guesthouses has far exceeded the economic capability of the state. I recently visited Beidaihe, where I saw sumptuous guesthouses and a tourist resort, which can be compared favorably with that of some tourist resorts in France and Italy. Those buildings are used for only 6 months of the year and remain empty for the rest of the year, and they need one or two persons to maintain them in the cold season. In addition, the occupancy rate of the newly-completed Shuijingong Hotel in Tianjin is less than 10 percent, and its earnings are not even sufficient for its day-to-day expenses. This has caused a big waste of labor. 2) Some redundant projects have aggravated shortages of supply. When some enterprises have just gone into operation and not yet brought their potential into full play, localities start building similar projects because of decentralized economic decisionmaking powers. This has increasingly widened the gap between investment and the supply of materials. The inevitable outcome is: On the one hand, prices of raw and semifinished materials skyrocket, and even get out of control; on the other hand, 40 percent of investment funds turn into consumption funds, speeding up the increase in consumption needs. For this reason, the State Council's decision to reduce investment in capital construction by 50 billion is correct and unshakable. In reducing the scale of capital construction, however, we cannot ask all areas to do the same thing at the same time. But investments in basic industries, such as energy, communications, and transportation, not only cannot be reduced but must be increased, because they constitute a foundation for a steady, sustained, and coordinated growth of the national economy. If we fail to do things in

order of importance and urgency, and reduce investments in such basic industries, it would inevitably cause a slump in industry and the economy.

Second, I want to discuss relations between improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order on the one hand, and deepening reforms in a comprehensive way on the other. Comrade Li Peng said that reform should be subordinated to the efforts to nomic results and generous foreign exchange; rather, we improve the economic environment and rectify economic order. This is correct because inflation would compel us to reinstitute the system of unified state purchase and sale of products. Internationally, Federal Germany and Japan also first curbed their inflation and then transformed their controlled economies into market economies. It should also be noted that rectifying economic order will fail without the systematic deepening of reforms. This is because only through reform will it be possible to separate government administration from enterprise management and to improve the enterprise managerial contract system. Now, control over big and medium-sized enterprises is still too rigid. If enterprises do not change their mechanisms, it will be impossible for them to arouse producers' initiative and creativity; and production cannot vigorously develop. It is, therefore, necessary to deepen reforms comprehensively to invigorate enterprises. Only thus will it be possible to increase total social supply and curb inflation.

Causes of Present Inflation in Our Country and Measures To Control It—by Lu Baifu (Researcher of the Economic, Technological, and Social Development Research Center of the State Council)

With regard to improvement of the economic environment, the central authorities have pointed out that the main task is to curb total social demand and check currency inflation. This is a guiding principle which hits the nail on the head.

As to whether the present currency inflation in our country is attributable to a "single" cause or "multiple" causes, theorists have different opinions. Some comrades believe there is only one "single" cause, that is, primarily the excessive amount of currency issued. Other comrades hold that there are "multiple" causes, that is, the problem is a result of many interwoven factors. In my opinion, the inflation problem in our country is caused by a combination of factors, including augmented demand, high production costs, and structural adjustments in certain fields. For this reason, if we are to control currency inflation, we must take remedial steps according to the causes and make comprehensive efforts to do so. This is the only way to achieve good results.

The following is an analysis of the causes: 1) The cause of "augmented demand": From the macro viewpoint, this is mainly due to improper overall planning by three departments—planning, financial, and banking departments. Consequently, the rate of economic growth is too fast and incommensurate with our national strength.

From the micro-economic viewpoint, since enterprise reform has not been completed, enterprises still lack a self-restraining mechanism. Since this further increases demand, even though supply improves somewhat, the economy as a whole will still be in a state characterized by imbalance between supply and demand. 2) The cause of "high production costs": "High production costs" are due mainly to the following reasons: a) Enterprises have sharply increased their wage disbursement. In recent years, the rate of increase in wage disbursement has far exceeded the rate of increase in labor productivity. b) In recent years, the prices of most farm and sideline products have been decontrolled. This has increased enterprises' disbursement and raised their production costs. c) With the implementation of the "double track" price system for marketing of the means of production, the prices of some raw and semifinished materials, which were once cut down, have risen sharply. The prices of many finished products, which were already high, have climbed up further to "catch up" with the trend of price hikes. As a result, the price level as a whole has been artificially pushed up, causing a sharp rise in enterprises' production costs. 3) The cause of "structural adjustments": The effects of "structural adjustments" include mainly the following: a) During the past few years, we have taken the initiative in adjusting the price ratio for some products. In principle, the adjustments consist of rises and falls; in reality, the adjustments are "raising low prices, but not reducing high prices." The effect of this is a rise of 1 to 3 percent per year in the general price level. b) The change in the consumption pattern is not in line with the adjustment of the production structure. The problem of inadequate supply to meet demand has appeared not only for farm and sideline products, but also in the case of many high- and medium-grade industrial consumer goods with the result that prices have gone up, and that there is no such thing as a decline in price. c) The adjustment of the exchange rate and the reform of the foreign trade system have touched off competition in buying commodities for export. This has not only raised the cost of export commodities which earn foreign exchange, but also added to the problem of high level of domestic prices in general.

Then, what policies and measures shall we adopt to control currency inflation at present? Based on an analysis of the abovementioned causes and effects, I think that the steps to be taken should be reducing the development speed, controlling the investment scale, cutting expenditures, tightening the money in circulation, and stabilizing market order. Specifically, we can do this by taking the following 10 measures:

1. We should maintain a reasonable economic growth rate. The economic growth rate of a country is indicative of the general level of its economic development. It shows the country's overall economic strength for a particular period and cannot be decided at will. In light of the current economic situation of our country, it is fairly appropriate to maintain our economic growth rate (gross value of industrial and agricultural production) at 8 percent and industrial growth rate at 12 percent.

2. The scale of total investment in fixed assets must be brought under control. At present, the sum total of projects under construction in our country has reached 1,060 billion yuan—a staggering amount which is far beyond our national financial strength to afford. Unless it is brought under control in time, we will not be able to rein in the runaway deficit once demand increases.

3. Financial expenditures must be strictly curbed to eliminate the financial deficit. Our financial operations have been overloaded in recent years. If we want to balance financial revenue and expenditures, we must make vigorous efforts to slash running expenses, reduce the amount of investment, help enterprises avoid losing money and improve earnings, and decrease subsidies for prices.

4. Control over money supply must be appropriately tightened; and the central bank must reduce the issue of basic currency [ji chu huo bi 1015 4342 6303 1578] in the market. If we want to control the amount of currency in circulation in the market, the most fundamental measure is to strictly control the amount of the central bank's renewed loans [zai dai kuan 0375 6313 2949] to every specialized bank, in addition to such important measures as paying close attention to the recovery of loans on credit, withdrawal of currency from circulation through savings deposits, and recall of commodities from circulation [shang pin hui long 0794 0756 0932 4705]. It is the key to controlling the amount of basic currency put in circulation.

5. Unreasonable loans for operating funds must be placed under strict control to coordinate with the campaign to rectify economic order. The system by which banks provide loans to enterprises for all their operating funds needs to be reformed. At present, we must curb unreasonable loans for operating funds to force manufacturing enterprises and their circulating links to "disgorge" goods, materials, and commodities they have excessive stocks of. By doing so we may on the one hand reduce the total scale of loans; and on the other hand, we may bring about favorable conditions for the improvement of market supply.

6. We must tighten control over cash payments, especially large-amount payments enjoyed by some institutions and enterprises that just sit idle and do not merit such payment [zho zhi 0976 2388]. Tightening control over cash payments is still an important link in our efforts to strengthen management of the macro-economy. In particular, cash payments in excessive amounts to enterprises and institutions that just sit idle and enjoy such benefit at will must be strictly banned. Only by plugging this loophole can we control the amount of cash flow among the operating links.

7. We must be determined to consolidate and merge some deficit-ridden enterprises and even declare them bankrupt. At present, the losses suffered by enterprises of the industrial, commercial, grains, and trade sectors

have reached 40 billion yuan. Except for a few enterprises of the grains and trade sectors, whose losses are due to policy factors, the majority of losses are a result of poor management and operations and have to be offset by financial revenues. It is time to firmly resolve to break with such a system whereby "the state bears all the burdens." In particular, state subsidies for industrial and commercial enterprises should be cancelled to rid the state of this "baggage" as soon as possible through consolidation, merger, bankruptcy declaration, auction, and so forth.

8. We must work successfully to consolidate the three big links of circulation, namely, goods and materials, commerce, and foreign trade. A considerable portion of the disorder in market management and operations today is caused by an unhealthy trend in some areas in state-owned departments dealing with goods and materials, commerce, and foreign trade themselves. In our efforts to stabilize commodity prices and order in the market, we must, first of all, tackle these links of circulation of the state.

9. We must endeavor to streamline administration, handle the problem of redundant personnel, and make administrative departments uphold honesty in performing official duties. The current inefficiency in carrying out a number of state policies and measures for macro-economic control and regulation has a great deal to do with the organizational overlapping and overstaffing in state administrative departments. This calls for streamlining the administrative structure and resolutely cutting down on the number of redundant personnel, so as to improve the image of government organizations which are being criticized as "operating neither like government organizations nor enterprises."

10. We must strengthen macro-economic control to improve the overall regulatory system for economic activities. Decisionmaking on policies at different levels is an important aspect of reform. However, precisely because decisions on economic policies are made at different levels, it will be all the more necessary for the state to carry out effective overall macro-economic regulation. It is unrealistic for the State Council to directly coordinate control of all economic activities. We need a small body of competent experts, picked from among veteran, middle-aged, and young comrades with rich experience in comprehensive economic work, who submit their proposals on regulation to the leadership of the State Council for consideration. After approval, these proposals will be implemented.

**The Main Line of Reform in the New Period—by
Zheng Hongqing (Member of the State Commission for
Restructuring Economic System)**

The principle of improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and deepening reform in all areas laid down by the party Central Committee is mainly designed to curb inflation. To implement this principle, the causes and characteristics of inflation at present should be analyzed.

The current inflation is different from that we experienced prior to reform. Back then, decisionmaking power in economic policy was highly concentrated, and consumption funds were rigidly controlled, so inflation was mainly the result of excessive investment in capital construction projects specified in state plans. Quick results could be obtained by making swift, determined, and relentless slashes. Now the situation is different. On the one hand, the scale of capital construction projects is out of control due to the relative decentralization of decisionmaking power in economic policy, the diversification of funding sources, and the readily available investment channels. On the other hand, consumption funds have also gotten out of hand. We have given enterprises more power in the distribution of wages and bonuses before their ownership and property rights have been clearly defined, and before they could fully engage in effective competition. We encouraged people to achieve prosperity in every possible way when the market was still not fully developed, the rules of competition were far from adequate, and taxation could not fully function as a leverage. We opted to compensate for the relatively rigid restrictions on wages and bonuses of office cadres by increasing administrative expenditures and institutional purchasing power. All these factors combined to rapidly inflate consumption. Therefore, relying solely on curtailing the scale of capital construction to check the current inflation will produce limited effect. Experience in other countries, like in Federal Germany after World War II and in Great Britain in the 1980's, shows that they successfully curbed inflation by comprehensive use of financial and banking policies while applying the revenue policy to effectively reduce the amount of people's savings and control the increase of this money.

Looking from another angle, inflation is inevitable if prices are drastically readjusted and decontrolled before there is effective market competition. A misunderstanding in the past was that once prices are decontrolled, effective competition will occur in the market. Now we see that this is an oversimplified view. Actually, to encourage effective competition in the market, the basic requirement is that enterprises be qualified participants of the market. Three minimum requirements are needed: First, enterprises must be truly capable of independent operations and produce things needed by the market, and must not set their eyes on the market while expecting assistance from the government. Second, enterprises must be truly responsible for their own losses and profits. If enterprises sustain losses due to mismanagement, they should be declared bankrupt and close down. Nobody is going to pay the debts they owe. Third, enterprises must be open entities. Labor, capital, and other production factors can flow freely in the market as enterprises expand or reduce their scale of operation. If prices are decontrolled before enterprises meet these three requirements, the result will be overall price increases, rather than effective readjustment of supply and demand.

Therefore, the fundamental way to curb inflation and improve the economic environment is to deepen reform in all areas and hasten the transformation of the enterprise mechanism.

To reform the enterprise mechanism, it is not enough simply to reform managerial power. A close check-and-balance relationship should be established between owners, managers, and producers. This is the foundation of normal operation of the commodity economy, and cannot be avoided in the course of reform. My opinion is: First, resolute efforts should be made to clear small enterprises out of the state-owned economic sector by selling them off, and turning them into private enterprises, partnership enterprises, or companies with limited liability. Second, large state-owned enterprises should gradually become shareholding companies equipped with modern enterprise systems. This should be the major goal of enterprise reform.

While transforming the enterprise mechanism, we should also speed up reform of the social security system because shutdowns and bankruptcies of enterprises will leave some people jobless. Bankruptcies and shutdowns are effective remedies for laziness and stagnation. We should get this mechanism started. However, people temporarily out of job should have certain safeguards in their basic livelihood, otherwise, social instability may result. We should establish a social security system while implementing the shareholding system and selling off small enterprises. Part of the money derived from selling off small enterprises may also be used as security funds, or some shares may be designated directly to social security institutions for the establishment of unemployment funds. This mechanism will bring vitality and stability to society.

Generally speaking, the main line of economic reform in the new period should run from the enterprise system to the employment system to the social security system, and collateral reform should be carried out in all aspects along this main line. I suggest that the Party Central Committee and the State Council assign special personnel, like those assigned to tackle pricing reform, to do solid research in collateral programs, decrees, and policies in this area.

**Suggestions for Curbing Inflation—by Wan Dianwu
(Researcher of the Economic Research Institute Under
the Commerce Ministry)**

Drastic measures are needed to curb inflation, which is seriously damaging the national economy⁶ and the reputation of reform. I offer the following suggestions from the banking and financial points of view:

First, substantially raise the bank interest rates on savings deposits. To put a firm hold on the more than 300 billion yuan of savings deposits, which have been likened to "a ferocious tiger in a cage," so that they will not wreak havoc with the market and prices, it is imperative

to set bank interest rates higher than the price indices, or we could implement the "parity savings deposits" system practised in the early period of liberation. Recently, banks have offered value-guaranteed savings, which has helped to stabilize savings deposits and ease the people's mind. This service should be continued and expanded. Second, tighten money and substantially raise interest rates on loans. Of course, in raising interest rates, we should also apply different interest rates rather than setting a unanimous rate for all loans. In accordance with actual needs, the state may formulate corresponding policies to readjust interest rates, so that enterprises which do not benefit the national economy are charged higher interest rates on loans, while enterprises badly needed by the state are given preferential treatment. This will help curb blind investment and loans, excessive scale of capital construction, and other symptoms of investment hunger.

Third, enhance the role of the People's Bank as a central bank. The People's Bank of China should undergo structural reform. It should stop acting as a "cashier" for financial departments, and should not allow financial departments to "overdraw" from banks. Half of the newly issued currency in recent years is in the form of financial overdrafts. This is the chief cause of inflation. I suggest that the People's Bank be placed under direct supervision of the NPC Standing Committee.

Fourth, it is necessary to reduce the financial deficit. So far, domestic and foreign debts, including money overdrawn from banks, have been counted as financial revenues. Such practice of playing with numbers cannot truly reflect the deficit, and can only create an illusion of having a healthy financial situation, thus causing waste and extravagance which may create blunders.

Fifth, it is necessary to enhance the creditability of price indexes. 1) A state department in charge of statistics or commodity prices should organize a committee to openly evaluate price indexes, and invite experts, scholars, and well known personages from various circles to jointly assess price indexes. Moreover, the method of determining price indexes should be made public so that it can be creditable. 2) At the same time, nonofficial price indexes should also be compiled and published by a prestigious university or research institute. By so doing, the government will be able to enhance the creditability of price indexes, and thus win popular understanding and support to tide over difficulties.

Make Determined Efforts To Curb Inflation—by Lu Nan (Director of the Research Institute of Commodity Prices Under the State Administration of Commodity Prices)

Price rises, which have continued for several years, have aggravated since the beginning of this year, arousing universal concern and anxiety among the masses. The big increase in commodity prices is an inevitable result

of inflation over the past years. An excessive issuance of currency and a total demand greatly exceeding total supply will definitely spur a drastic increase in commodity prices.

While inflation is escalating, grain output has decreased this year, thus intensifying the shortage of foodstuffs and causing big increases in commodity prices. Meanwhile, overheated industrial growth and excessive capital construction investment have imposed tremendous strains on the supply of raw and semifinished materials. Moreover, speculation by "official profiteers," big or small, have been rampant and driven up prices of production means. As all prices went up, the masses rushed to withdraw money and bought everything in sight in order to protect the value of their savings.

The 3d plenary session of the 13th CPC Central Committee has put forth the correct principles for improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and deepening reform in all fields. In order to implement these principles, the State Council has adopted a series of necessary measures which should be earnestly carried out by all quarters. Intensified supervision by commodity price departments alone cannot effectively bring inflation under control. Under the present circumstances, it is necessary to take action to control rises of commodity prices set by the state by postponing the readjustment of commodity prices set by the state, applying such administrative means as setting price ceilings, giving prior approval to controlling price rises of certain commodities, and stepping up the inspection and supervision of prices. All these measures are aimed at creating favorable conditions for improving the economic environment and rectifying economic order in a short period of time. To keep prices of major commodities at the same level for a long time may aggravate price distortions, and impede the development of the national economy and the progress of reform. The fundamental measures to stabilize commodity prices are strengthening macro-economic control, improving the economic environment, rectifying economic order, and curbing inflation.

Party Members Must Serve the People's Interests
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[Article by Gao Di 7559 3695 of the Beijing Municipal Education Bureau]

[Text] Party members are the working class' vanguard fighters imbued with communist consciousness. As there are many advanced elements among nonparty members, it cannot be asserted that only party members are advanced. Nevertheless, party members must be advanced elements serving the interests of the majority. One is not qualified to be a party member if he is not an advanced element in this respect.

A party member should fight for his belief in communism. A communist society is the most ideal and rational society of mankind, because in such a society people lead a happy life. In a communist society, the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is upheld, thereby making it possible to thoroughly satisfy the needs of people. The following two conditions are required for the realization of this goal: First, social wealth must be sufficient to meet people's needs; second, the awakening of an individual must have reached a level where he no longer desires to possess social wealth apart from what he needs; that is to say, great efforts must be made to develop society's productive forces and to heighten people's consciousness.

The founders of Marxism held that communists' interests are the same as those of the proletariat as a whole and that the proletariat can emancipate itself only by emancipating the whole of mankind. The proletariat's interests are identical to those of mankind. This dictates that party members must serve the people wholeheartedly and devote their whole life to consciously fighting for the emancipation of mankind.

As the whole includes the part, society's overall interests include the individual interests of every member of society. Communists are not monks practicing asceticism, nor can they do without eating. Of course, party members want to lead a good life too, and they also have their personal interests. When we say working selflessly for the public, we don't mean to negate party members' indispensable, appropriate personal interests, but the purpose is to require that party members must not seek personal interests selfishly by deviating from or even harming the interests of the people. As awakened communists, party members must understand and also put in practice this principle: When the river rises, the boat goes up. Individual emancipation comes only when all have been emancipated. Do you want a good life? If you do, you must take part in a collective effort to raise the living standard of the whole. When this is done, you will lead a prosperous life too. The duties of party members are to be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy themselves. In brief, they must serve the people wholeheartedly.

The party has urged that part of the people should become well-off first, hasn't it? Should party members become well-off first? Party members are engaged in building socialism in order to pave the way for the realization of communism. The purpose of this is to enable all to lead a happy, prosperous life. Party members are doing everything in the interests of the people. If the efforts can be called humanitarian efforts, then they are the broadest and most thorough humanitarian efforts. However, things always develop unevenly. It is impossible to bring about prosperity for the people in only one morning, and it is inevitable that some will become well-off first and others later. The call for some people to become well-off first is a policy the party has formulated in accordance with the objective laws of

development. The call accords with the dialectical development of things that exist objectively and with the overall interests of the people. Not only is it permissible for party members who are directly engaged in production management and labor, for instance peasants and individual workers, to become well-off through their own arduous work, but this practice should be encouraged. Party members should take the lead in implementing party policies particularly when they are not thoroughly understood and trusted by some people. Otherwise, people may say: Nobody dares to become well-off because party members are not bold enough to take the lead. But, to enable some people to become well-off first is not our final goal. Common prosperity or prosperity for all members of society is our final goal. This requires that party members provide guidance and help the masses achieve common prosperity. Party members should in no way try to enrich only themselves without caring for other people; still less should they seek to get rich by employing immoral or even illegal means. Party members are not the same as an ordinary citizen. Even an ordinary citizen should strive to become well-off by arduous work and through the observance of laws. It is impermissible to injure the public interests to profit the private interests and to injure others for one's own advantage.

Party cadres, particularly party cadres of party and government organizations, must observe stricter requirements. Cadres of party and government organizations wield part of party and government power. As this power is given them by the people, party members wielding such power should exercise it with discretion on behalf of the people, serve the people wholeheartedly, and not under any circumstances use such power as a means for seeking interests for an individual or a group. Party and government functionaries are not directly engaged in production management and labor, that is, in creating social wealth. Therefore, the question of becoming well-off first does not exist here. On the contrary, they should set a good example by adhering to the principle: "Be the first to show concern and the last to enjoy oneself." Party and government organizations must be honest, upholding honesty with frugality. Party and government organizations are not qualified to become administrators of society if they are not honest. Party and government functionaries must not engage in commercial undertakings. A ganging up between functionaries and commercial establishments will certainly be harmful to society. As everything tends to turn into its opposite, it is necessary to strip power from functionaries who abuse power to seek personal gain and who refuse to change their ways. They must be punished if they violate laws and discipline.

The party should be able to withstand the test of being in power, of reform, and of opening to the outside world. It is most important that it should be able to withstand the test with regard to money and execution of power. "It is easy to die a martyr's death, but not easy to preserve chastity after the death of one's husband," goes the

saying. This is not totally correct, because it is not easy to die a martyr's death and sacrifice one's life for the revolution. Yet there is some truth in the saying, because it is truly very difficult for one to preserve his honesty and devote himself entirely to the service of the people until death. The test with regard to money and the execution of power is sometimes more rigorous than the test with regard to life and death. The focal point is power. Properly executed, power benefits the people, while misuse of power will harm the people. Whether power is properly used or misused has to do with the system, but since rules and regulations are made and executed by people, the final outcome concerning the proper use or misuse of power still depends on the quality of the executors of power and on the communist consciousness of party cadres.

Very few people talk about world outlook nowadays, but in fact it is always there whether it is discussed or not. Our action is controlled by our thinking, while our thinking is controlled by our world outlook. The world outlook of party members is the materialist conception of history, which believes that man's action and knowledge must accord with the objective laws of social development. Human society is bound to advance to a communist society. Therefore, the world outlook of party members is also called the world outlook of communists. A party member must be at the same time an awakened communist. From the day he joins the party, he should devote all his life to the great cause of communism. World outlook is concrete, not abstract. In the final analysis, the world outlook of party members involves a reply to this fundamental question: What is the purpose of becoming a party member or a cadre? A party member can answer this question with words, but more importantly, with deeds. Practice is the criterion for judging truth and is also the criterion for judging the awakening of party members and cadres.

Party members highly value self-sacrifice and contributions. If a party member joins the party to seek personal gain rather than to make contributions to the people and society, he is either an opportunist or there is a question about his motives for joining the party.

Nowadays, people like to talk about human values. The concept of values differs according to individuals. Party members' concept of values is contribution and service. The value of an individual is determined by his contributions to the society and the people, not by his wealth, power, or what he receives from society. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said that "leading means serving." In assuming a leading role, party members should not act as officials, but should serve the people. The more people they lead, the more people they serve.

Service is mutual. As one serves society, the society in turn serves him. If everyone serves other people, he will in turn be served by other people. Therefore, I agree with this slogan: "If we serve others, others will serve us." Some people advocate "serving oneself subjectively and

serving the society objectively." In my opinion, this principle does not hold water. There will be no problem when society's interests are identical to an individual's, but when the interests of the society and the individual are in conflict, it is difficult to say whether it is possible to serve society.

[Words indistinct] There are always conflicts of interest between society and individuals. The awareness of an individual is judged by whether he is willing to consciously subject his personal interests to those of the society and collectives when their interests are in conflict. The awareness of a party cadre is judged by how he handles the relationship between individuals and collectives and the relationship between the part and the whole, and by whether he is willing to subject the interests of the part to those of the whole when their interests are in conflict. We advocate the unity of motives and effects [xiao guo 2400 2654] and subject and object, and that all should be duly benefited in the course serving society. Herein lies the purpose of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

There are different levels with regard to people's awareness. At this stage, it is unrealistic to demand that every member of the society consciously serve the interests of the society and people. Party members must be able to do this. If a party member fails to do this, he is not fit to be a party member, or at least he is not a qualified one. Unqualified party members should be educated, and if education fails to achieve the results, they must be asked to withdraw from the party. Strict measures must be taken to improve the party, and its members must be asked to fulfill strict requirements. Any party member who thinks there is nothing to be gained in joining the party should withdraw. The party does not need members who are not ready to make sacrifices and who think only of making profits at the expense of others.

[Words indistinct] The number of genuine advanced elements is always in the minority. But the small number of advanced elements is the mainstay of the people and the state, representing the direction for social development. So long as the advanced elements among the party members and nonparty members play a vanguard and exemplary role, they will be able to unite the masses and encourage and lead them in the effort to advance our society.

Invigorate Internal Departments of Education
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[Article by Tao Xiping 7118 6007 1627 of the Beijing Municipal Education Bureau]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, general education has developed rapidly in China's capital city. To carry out the reform of education more deeply and comprehensively and to

further raise its quality, we must currently pay more attention to invigorating the internal forces of education. The key to this lies in enhancing the spirit of the comrades on the education front. The physical conditions and the standards of the faculty are important to the success of school. However, they are not the decisive factors. Some schools with considerably inferior conditions have produced good performances. Take the Beijing Shuguang Road Middle School, formerly a school of inferior quality, as an example. Teachers at local primary schools used to warn mischievous pupils: "If you do not behave and study hard, 'Shuguang' will be yours." However, with an invigorated spirit, Shuguang's faculty members and workers have achieved great improvements. Today, students entering Shuguang are above average in the whole district in terms of examination scores. On the other side of the spectrum are the key municipal middle schools, which are mostly endowed with better conditions. A survey of more than 20 such key schools shows only 8 or 9 schools performing well and 7 or 8 doing poorly. Education departments and schools are also beset with egalitarianism, which is common in other sectors. To invigorate the internal forces of education means to deepen educational reform and to explore new ideas and put them into practice. The public is paying close attention to the question of acquiring new education concepts and the way to deepen education reform, and the issues have become the subject of public discussion. This development is an inevitable result of the times. What is the background of this development? I believe it has four primary causes:

First, it is the inevitable result of the development of reform and modernization. Our country today is undergoing profound changes. We want to build socialism with Chinese characteristics and to develop a socialist commodity economy. The course of events will inevitably lead to changes in every aspect of society (for example, the forms of labor, distribution, exchange, and the way of life). These changes, in turn, will generate different responses in the ideological field. For example, challenges to the old concepts of value, ethics, and morality will inevitably force many comrades to do some soul searching—are the old concepts still valid following the development of a socialist commodity economy and reform of the economic structure? The course of events in reform will inevitably lead to new concepts and perspectives in the ideological field, which will inevitably be reflected in education. This is because education itself involves the question of what kind of concept we want the new generation to have.

Second, this development is the result of soul searching. After going through the "Great Cultural Revolution," people have entered a period of soul searching. They want to look back to the road they have taken in the past several decades, to review their experiences and lessons. This is only natural for them. This soul searching will also touch education. For example, they saw that, because of the "Great Cultural Revolution," many young people today lack good basic knowledge, a strong

sense of responsibility to society, and a strong sense of discipline. This forces people to do some soul searching on the kind of education given to the children during that period. Some comrades look at the education of the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in contrast with that of the 17 previous years. They reject the former and accept the latter. Some comrades, however, take it a step further. They point out that, while the ignorance, stupidity, blindness, anarchy, and lack of revolutionary humanitarianism reflected in the actions of the Red Guards were the results of many causes, education itself was also to blame. Therefore, they call for soul searching on the education of the period before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Soul searching will produce new concepts and make people understand the need for education reform.

Third, the development is the result of comparison with foreign education. With the introduction of foreign education thinking and practice to our country in recent years, comrades have done comparisons between Chinese and foreign education. As a result of these comparisons, they have discovered certain problems in our educational system and have become aware of the need to reform education.

Fourth, it is the result of the problems faced by the contemporary general education front, such as the inferior quality of education and the one-sided emphasis on the student's ability to enter school of a higher grade. When people become aware of these problems and are confronted by them, they have to do some soul searching.

Thus, new concepts and new ways of looking at education had their background. However, we must not think that all the concepts presented today are new and have great force. In the ideological field, new concepts, before they are established, will always go through a process. Education is no exception. I believe that, after a period of discussion, people will be able to examine the many concepts and thinking presented, and select as our guide the ones which will push forward our education.

What is the traditional concept of education? This is a complicated question. The origins of the dominant thinking and concepts of education could be traced to many sources. The formation of these thoughts and concepts has been influenced by many things, such as the feudal education system going back several thousand years, the education in the old liberated areas, the Soviet educational thinking we learned after liberation, the "left" ideological line in force for many years, and the foreign educational thinking we introduced in recent years. A number of advanced educators have made great contributions to the formation of China's traditional educational thinking. There are many fine elements in our traditional educational thinking worth carrying forward. However, as the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Education Structure" has pointed out, traditional educational thinking contains

decadent elements which must be removed. These decadent elements come primarily from the influence of feudal education and the "left" ideological line, particularly the deep-rooted feudal educational thinking. In this regard, we need to study and do at least the following things:

1. Eliminate the Influence of the Imperial Examination System of Feudal Education

Traditional education concepts have not been able to escape from the influence of the imperial examination system of feudal education. The imperial examination system has the following characteristics: (1) It is based on selection, which also means elimination. The entire course of education is a process of continual selection and elimination. (2) All the subjects and teaching methods are for the purpose of meeting the goal of selection. (3) The goal of education becomes the selection of persons of ability. Whoever is selected becomes a person of ability and whoever fails becomes a person of no ability. Basic education is deeply poisoned by this, and has been unable to escape from its influence. Thus, the entire school education is to help students enter schools of a higher grade, and the subject and teaching methods also serve this goal. Academic credentials become the mark of a person of ability. While one-sided emphasis on the student's ability to enter school of a higher grade has its broad social causes, misguided educational thinking is a contributing factor.

The education process involves selection. However, education itself is not merely to serve the selection process. Some people have cited two reasons to justify "education of selection." One is what they call the needs of society, and the other is the unavoidability of differences. They believe that persons with the most advanced ability are the hallmark of the level of a country's development and, therefore, the task of basic education is to lay a foundation for turning out persons with the most advanced ability. This in itself reflects their one-sided understanding of the meaning of a person of ability.

There was indeed a time when we tended to regard persons with the most advanced ability as the principal hallmark of the quality of our people. As a result, we failed to pay due attention to improving the quality of our nation as a whole. The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure" defined "persons of ability" as hundreds of millions of educated, skilled, and professionally competent workers, as well as tens of millions of organizational and administrative personnel doing practical work, and tens of millions of writers, educators, scientists, and theorists. Together, they constitute a magnificent army of people of ability. Our country's revitalization and our nation's take-off depends on a large number of highly skilled labor force, as well as an advanced technological force. This shows that, from the perspective of meeting the needs of society, our education cannot be orientated to selection and elimination. On the other hand, there are

indeed differences and differentials between people. We need to study the causes for these differences. Today, college professors blame the inferior quality of high school education, high school teachers blame junior middle school education, junior middle school teachers blame primary school education, and primary school teachers of higher-grade classes blame lower-grade class teaching. Finally, teachers of the first-grade classes have no one else to blame. (Some have tried to blame the pre-school education.) However, we cannot reasonably blame only teachers of the first graders for the inferior quality of our basic education. There are certain reasons for the poor quality of basic education. It has been verified by modern science that there are no big differences in the intelligence levels of people. A survey by U.S. scholar (?Bloom) shows that exceptionally smart children constitute 1 to 2 percent and those below average, 2 to 3 percent, and that the intelligence quotient of the remaining 95 percent is about the same (a survey in Beijing reveals similar results). Therefore, according to Bloom, there is no scientific basis in the prevalent practice of grading students according to the curve and dividing them into three groups—good, average, and poor. Why have the 95 percent of students with the same learning aptitude received different scholastic achievement scores? There are three factors, i.e., differences in the quality of basic education, the motivation for learning on the part of students, and professional competence of teachers. Obviously these factors are not inherent. The quality of basic education and motivation for learning is determined by a student's history of learning (including pre-school family influence). Therefore, if the aim of education is selection and elimination, it can sow seeds of discord among students and accelerate a downgrade in performance of poor students. The feeling of teachers is conveyed to students even without verbal expression. A child who feels his teacher's confidence in him will try harder to study, and one who does not have that feeling will give himself up as hopeless and lose interest in learning. Differences among students are acquired, and this problem can be solved in a more satisfactory manner if we shift the focus of education from selection to development. The aim of education is not only to select a group of top-notch personnel, but to open the channels for training and developing all people. A teacher should be more than a Bo Le [a famous ancient horse trainer] in being able to distinguish good horses. Bo Le selected good horses and eliminated bad ones. Teachers should not do the same. In short, education should be oriented to developing people, not selecting them, because, first of all, our society needs capable people at all levels, and second, everyone has the potential to become a talented person.

2. Do Away with Traditional One-Sided Education, Foster a Concept of Total Optimal Teaching Process

China's education in the past 3 decades or so since liberation has been rather one-sided. This one-sidedness is manifested, most of all, in orienting education to serve

politics rather than economy, and in serving proletarian politics, education had been onesidedly interpreted as serving political campaigns for a long time. As political campaigns were characterized by a concerted effort to launch an allout assault on a certain tendency during a given period, a new tendency would emerge after the old one died out. Hence, one-sidedness was always rectified by temporary measures, and our guiding principles and work on education vacillated for a long time. For example, when ideological and political work among students was found to have slackened, we emphasized politics and neglected teaching; when we realized a lowering of quality in education, we stressed intellectual, at the expense of moral, education; when we attached importance to social practice, we negated the need for classroom teaching; when we stressed classroom teaching, we totally divorced ourselves from social practice; and so on and so forth. The guidelines and work on education were constantly changing, devoid of content to achieve a sustained and steady improvement in quality. It is necessary to point out that the teaching process is a system which includes various factors such as moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic education, and education through manual labor, as well as knowledge, abilities, intelligence, cultivation, development, classroom teaching and extracurricular activities, and school, family, and social education. These factors are interrelated and interact on each other, and they penetrate into, and contradict, each other. Advance in teaching is a process of movements by these contradicting factors. Only by proceeding from the overall situation in properly and comprehensively handling the relations between these factors can we achieve a steady and sustained improvement in teaching quality.

One-sidedness also existed for many years in the goal of training students to meet the required quality. We discussed comprehensive development, but carried out the work with one-sidedness and paid little attention to an overall improvement in the quality of students. Students we are training should be able to live and work under the reformed economic structure, develop a socialist commodity economy, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. These new requirements set by the times for the quality of students are not found in previous education. The concept of efficiency, for example, was never mentioned in the previous work on education, which only emphasized grades and neglected the time and effort required to achieve good grades. As students spent a tremendous amount of time doing homework, often given without a specific purpose, how could they be aware of the importance of efficiency, and how would they value time, competition, coordination, democracy, and law? There should also be a new definition of the concept of "comprehensive development." Without a total optimization of the teaching process, it is difficult to achieve a comprehensive improvement of the quality of students. In order to optimize the whole teaching process, we must overcome one-sidedness and uncertainty. The so-called total optimization is to proceed from the realities in properly handling all contradictions between relevant factors in the teaching process for

formulating an optimal teaching program aimed at improving the quality of people in all aspects. To achieve total optimization in the teaching process, we should properly handle three questions: First, it is necessary, on the one hand, to make comprehensive arrangements for the various factors in the teaching process to achieve a comprehensive development of students and, on the other, enable the various factors to penetrate, and interact with, each other. Second, it is necessary to stress efficiency and make practical arrangements according to the actual conditions in each school. Third, it is necessary to strive for a breakthrough and popularize this particular experience in optimization. Instead of paying equal attention to all factors and optimizing them simultaneously, we should choose one factor to achieve a breakthrough in optimization.

3. Eradicate the Influence of Traditional Closed Education, Foster a Concept of Open Education

The closed nature of traditional education is manifested, most of all, in its teaching process. This is a closed cycle, which begins with a teacher imparting knowledge from books to students, who then study, practice, and review what they are taught, and answer the teacher's questions. In the teaching process, students do not gain new knowledge, and the traditional closed education reveals its shortcomings in the following three areas: First, book knowledge is emphasized, while the spirit of seeking truth from facts is neglected. Knowledge from books is important, but negligence of the truth-seeking spirit can lead to trouble. After studying and memorizing books for a long time, students are prone to rely "solely" on books. Second, the leading role of teachers is emphasized, while the creativity of students as the mainstream of education is neglected. In the process, the intelligence and creativity of students, who are always in a passive situation, are not developed, and their knowledge is not enriched. Hence, students are prone to base everything "solely" on whatever their teachers have taught. Knowledge from books and teachers' teaching are important, but they should not become the "sole" source of knowledge. Third, the general character of students is emphasized, while the development of individual character is neglected. Currently, the same teaching materials are used by the same teachers to teach and give the same tests to students, who are then evaluated according to the same criteria. Therefore, there is a tendency of evaluating talented people on the basis of a standard formula, such as the "three good" formula, which we evaluate and reward good students for achieving high grades, fulfilling the target, and observing discipline. However, students should be allowed to supplement their weaknesses with their strong points. For example, a student who gets top grades in physics, but is mediocre in language arts should not be told to put in extra efforts in language arts to become a "three good" student. In fact, many accomplished, talented people today were not "three good" students at school. As you know, we all admire Comrade Lang Ping and hope there will be more talented people

like her. However, many teachers are fearful of having a volleyball enthusiast like Lang Ping in their class. This is because we standardize good students as those with balanced development. A student with balanced development is a type and should not be the only type of good students. The standardization could strangle the growth of many talented people to maturity. Under the prevailing system, many talented people have to complete the training of basic education. Education is compulsory as well as service-orientated. It is compulsory in training the general character of talented people needed by society. However, modern education should not overemphasize the training of general character and should also serve the development of the individual character of students.

The closed nature of traditional education is also manifested in its teaching milieu. Currently, information is instilled into students through the unitary channel of schools and classrooms. Therefore, students are divorced from social practice, and school education from that by family and society. In moral education, for example, we try hard to build a fence around students in order to protect them from all kinds of ideas in society. This method of moral education can produce two different consequences: (1) The students reject what they are taught because they feel it is incompatible with things they have learned from society. (2) The students accept what their teachers teach them but, after contact with society, feel it is not the case, and thus become frustrated and bewildered. Our education should aim to teach students to be able to recognize, understand, and thus transform society. Students who are capable at school should also be able to handle social problems. The fence we are trying to encircle students in is actually a defective fence. Therefore, school education should be integrated with that by family and society. Recently, two campaigns have been launched in Beijing: One is to invite accomplished alumni back to school to give lectures on how the education they received at school has helped them accomplish what they are today. The other is to encourage factories, enterprises, and stores to open to visits by students. Moreover, we have also encouraged students to take part in all kinds of social practice and volunteer activities. This is an important way to increase the openness and understanding of society.

The closed nature of traditional education is also manifested in the different stages of schooling. There are basically no connections between pre-school and primary school education, primary and junior middle schools, and junior and senior middle schools, and these stages of schooling are closed to each other. In order to break this closed education, many comrades have explored ways to connect kindergarten and primary school education, and primary and junior middle school education. In some sectors, education is understood as school education. This is an outdated view. Efforts have been made to promote "life education." However, there is no link between school education and life education,

which are also closed to each other. At school, students are not taught how to be responsible to themselves after graduation and, therefore, lack the ability of self-study.

The traditional closed education is the product of, first, the natural economy, which does not aim to exchange commodities and therefore is a closed form of economy. Second, it is influenced by the feudal education of private schools, which taught students "not to listen to what's happening outside the window," and therefore, was closed education. Modern education is to eradicate the influence of traditional closed education and foster a concept of open education. Take moral education, for example, on which we are confronted with quite a few problems. Some comrades call for strengthening moral education, while others stress updating the contents and methods of moral education. In moral education, instead of imparting information to students through a single channel, at one level, and according to a formula, they should be taught to handle information through multiple channels, at different levels, and according to diverse and flexible formulas. In teaching students about understanding, feeling, will, and behavior in moral education, we used to stress understanding and devoted a large portion of ideological education to discussing principles, thus divorcing understanding from practice. In fact, the process of character formation should involve various aspects and should especially stress feeling and behavior during the stage of basic education.

4. Eradicate the Traditional Educational Idea of Stressing Only Individual Labor, Foster the Concept of Attaching Importance to Education Administration

Today, our society has begun to show respect (although not sufficient) for teachers' labor. However, education administrators have not been given due respect. In order to raise the quality of modern education, we should not rely alone on the individual labor of teachers. Educational administrators play a vital role in improving the quality of education. There is a prevalent view which believes that teachers, not school principals, are crucial to the quality of education and regards principals as the "second front." In fact, the teaching process, especially the total optimal teaching process, is in itself a systems engineering project. The quality of a school depends on the level of its total optimization, or the quality of its principal. As we practice the multiple-subject teaching system, there is no single teacher who can teach all subjects. The growth of a student is the fruit of collective labor by all teachers. To organize the collective labor of teachers, we need an administrator whose quality will decide the level of coordination among teachers of different subjects. A good administrator will bring into play the advantages of the school and set up a well-structured contingent of teachers. Nowadays the importance of managerial expertise for modernization of industry is fully recognized. However, people have only a vague idea about the role of school principals. It is manifested in the low priority of school administration and poor remuneration of school principals. As a result,

it is difficult to recruit school administrators and many principals are reluctant to stay on the job. Negligence of educational administration is also a product of the natural economy and traditional education of feudal society, in which management was not needed by small-scale household production nor by feudal private schools. Unless we attach great importance to raising the level of educational administration, there is no bright future for our education.

In strengthening educational administration, it is necessary to pay attention to work in the following fields: (1) Intensify construction and improve the quality of the contingent of managerial personnel, which is a prerequisite to exercising effective supervision. (2) Further promote the structural reform of school administrative system. In reforming the system, it is necessary, first, to straighten out relations between responsibility, power, and interests. A serious malady of the old system is the lack of a clear definition of the responsibility and absence of powers entitled to administrators, making everybody bear the responsibility of all, or nobody in charge of anything. The structural reform is aimed at defining the responsibility of departments at different levels, as well as powers required to perform that responsibility. Take the principal's responsibility system, for example. Without including principals' powers in personnel and financial matters, the responsibility system is a mere skeleton. Only when a principal is empowered to engage personnel, reward and punish teachers, staff, and workers, and dispose school funds can he or she make comprehensive arrangements for the school, engage the best teachers, and optimize the structure of labor for streamlining personnel and raising the efficiency of the school. Second, it is necessary to stress end results of the administrative system. In working out, or reviewing, plans, we used to enumerate things we had performed regardless of their efficiency. In making reform, we must see to it that the system can produce good results, and problems are identified and solved. To achieve good results means to continually improve teaching quality and build the strength of students. Third, it is necessary to reform the method of administration and especially exercise scientific and democratic management. Scientific management calls for efforts to seek truth from facts and proceed from realities in conducting serious investigative studies, grasp scientific rules, and do things according to those rules. Scientific management and improvement of cadres' quality are part and parcel. In managing cadres, we should effectively apply theory to the work. Democratic management, which means mass participation in management, should become a system, rather than just improving the democratic style of leaders. A leader who accepts the masses' suggestions cannot solve problems existing in democratic management in a true sense. Taizong of the Tang Dynasty was willing to listen to the masses, but he was still an emperor, not a democrat. The best way for teachers to really participate in school management is by attending congresses of teachers, staff members, and workers, which is also the most important means of strengthening democratic

management. In addition, the system of democratic management should include students at the middle school level. In short, at the root of management is the question of responsibilities, powers, and interests. It is necessary to clearly define responsibilities, grant powers, respect interests, protect legitimate rights, and induce the mechanism of competition to schools to give full play to the role of people in various sectors, the large number of teachers in particular, through establishing and perfecting relevant rules and regulations. Only by so doing can we harness the enthusiasm of teachers and invigorate education.

Lastly, it is necessary to reform ideological and political work, with particular emphasis on "simplicity," that is, to get rid of a perfunctory and flashy style of work. Simplicity in ideological and political work calls for showing reasonable sense. For a fairly long period, ideological and political work was under the influence of "taking class struggle as the key link," and thus was basically carried out negatively. Among the many perfunctory practices of ideological and political work was, for example, the half-day weekly study meeting, which, in fact, was a gathering for chatting and newspaper reading. Political study was a special activity in everyday life. Everyone was compelled to prepare and say something in a special language at the study meeting so as not to appear unusual. Therefore, ideological and political work must, most of all, be reasonable and aimed at increasing mutual understanding. It is not necessarily carried out at a given time or in a prescribed form. I was deeply impressed by leaders of the Beijing No. 12 Middle School on two occasions. At a New Year's party for school teachers, staff members, and workers, they were given a quiz of 10 questions about the teachers, including "name of the teacher with the longest years of service," "name of the teacher who lives farthest from school, but is never tardy," "name of the teacher who received an award at this year's symposium," and so forth. The teachers rushed to answer the questions, and those who got the answer were given prizes. The teachers named in the questions were later invited to the podium. This was not a big deal and was only a game. However, the 10 teachers named in the questions were deeply touched by the kind concern and positive evaluation from the school authorities. On another occasion, the school posted two pictures of each teacher, one showing a young teacher just taking up a job at the school, and the other was a gray-haired teacher in a recent picture. The contrast of the two pictures revealed the teacher's devotion to education over the years. Ideological and political work must be reasonable to persuade people; and to be persuasive, it is necessary to realistically state the past, present, and future.

Discussion of educational ideas should not be aimed at criticizing the ideological influence of traditional education on teachers, but at exchanging views about various theories. We should discuss things to avoid, and still more, how to do, things. Arguments are bound to emerge in the course of discussion. Therefore, we should do

away with the outdated concept of metaphysics. It is not necessarily to declare the right and wrong side in each argument. Life is in itself a complex matter. Contention does not always mean mutual negation nor rejection; sometimes it implies mutual understanding and learning from each other.

We should encourage all kinds of practical measures for reform. Educational reform is being carried out in two forms—from macroscopic to microscopic and from microscopic to macroscopic. The former regards the latter as small-scale action, incapable of resolving problems, while the latter regards the former as devoid of substance. In fact, both are aimed at integrating macroscopic with microscopic education. In reforming the educational system, we should encourage all schools of thought to try out various measures and contend with each other. With all schools of thought being fostered in Beijing, the ideology will be invigorated and a new, vigorous outlook will emerge on the educational front.

Effective Supervision by Public Opinion Lies in Rule by Law

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[Article by Zhang Zonghou of the Legal Institute of the Research and Development Company of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Complex]

[Text] Supervision by public opinion is one of the effective instruments of democracy in modern society. It is essential to democracy in that it provides feedback for policymakers, expresses and reflects people's opinions, allows the mandate-givers (masters) to monitor the mandate-receivers (public servants), makes politics more open to the public, and permits the masses to exercise their right to acquire knowledge and to participate in and comment on politics. In recent years, especially since the 13th National CPC Congress, calls from cadres and the masses for stronger supervision by public opinion have been on the rise, and supervision by public opinion began to play a more important role and assume a greater influence on society. That some people who play with bureaucratism or engage in unhealthy tendencies "may defy in-party warnings but have great fear of being exposed by the media" is a vivid example of that.

However, it is also noted that supervision by public opinion is far from being a universal, stable institution in our society. At any given time, it may be observed in one place but be a bit lax in another place. Some localities may at one time pay great attention to it but completely neglect it at other times. Again, there are people who play it up when they feel that supervision by public opinion can benefit them, but they may suddenly become lukewarm or even opposed to it once supervision by public opinion affects themselves or becomes a disadvantage to them. All this shows that a corresponding legal mechanism is needed to ensure that supervision by public opinion becomes institutionalized and exert its influence on a long-term

basis to promote commodity economy and democracy. In other words, effective supervision by public opinion is nurtured by a corresponding rule by law.

Public Opinion's Objectiveness and the Legal Environment It Requires

During the "Cultural Revolution" period, one of the frequently heard slogans was "whip up revolutionary opinion." Even to this date, this slogan is still heard in some places.

What is public opinion? Can it or can it not be fabricated? Here are some of the definitions given by scholars at home and abroad: "Public opinion is a summary opinion representing the general trend of the public as a whole"; "public opinion is a discussion by the public on matters concerning itself"; "public opinion is an effective opinion of the majority of people on a certain matter." In other words, public opinion is objective. It is not something made up willfully by someone, but an opinion or consensus reached by many people based on their understanding or judgment about a certain matter. Throughout history, farsighted statesmen, regardless of where they come from, have all paid great attention to public opinion, because they can learn from it whether they have the support of the people and whether their policy decisions have been wise. The right way to handle public opinion is to learn from correct public opinion whether a policy is successful and, if not, move on to revise it; and to guide not quite correct public opinion back on the right track. But we must never try to whip up opinion to defile public opinion. In theory, disregarding public opinion and whipping up one's own opinion violates materialist voluntarism; in practice, it is forcing one's subjective opinion on others and on this false basis make a decision for them, which inevitably will lead to one or other kind of mistake.

Public opinion has tremendous influence. Being a conclusion reached by many people on a certain matter, it often exerts great influence on society. People's moral concepts are formed by public opinion, and the scale and depth of its effect often exceeds that of law. When people faced with a problem can not solve it by themselves, they seek out public opinion. And this is where the source and power of supervision by public opinion lies.

In our socialist country, people are the masters of the country and society. In terms of purpose, the basic interests of the party, government, and the people are one and the same. In tackling social ills (including corruption within the party and government), the people, party, and government must stand together through thick and thin. Therefore, in fully exercising supervision by public opinion, we need not whip up any opinion. All we have to do is to create an environment where public opinion can be presented and actively guided, and sure enough the ills of the time will be rectified without much difficulty. Of course, in a society where various interests

exist at the same time, different people may have different opinions about a certain matter. And thereby we see the diversity of public opinion. For example, on the issue of price and wage reform, different people may have different opinions, because of their different economic status and the shifting of interests caused by reform. In such a situation, policymakers must not try to whip up opinion through their own subjective thinking, because without an exhaustive study and analysis of the structure and direction of public opinion, their policy may either go wrong or develop a snag for want of understanding and support from the majority of society. Only if we can reach a basic consensus in an environment where the majority of society is allowed to speak freely, only if we can sort out among the various opinions one that meets the fundamental interests of the majority of society and follows the trend of social development, and only if we can win the understanding and support of more people through public opinion, can reform be carried out smoothly and achieve its projected goals. In modern society, such an environment can only exist under the rule of law instead of rule by people. Based on commodity economy and democracy, based on the general rights of society's participants and safeguarded by democratic procedure and legal mechanism, rule by law is the political and cultural atmosphere in which supervision by public opinion exists. No one can ever claim that he represents or can control public opinion, but everyone more or less participates in the forming of public opinion and more or less influences public opinion. Under rule by law, major decisions are always reached through a democratic procedure which combines the opinions of the majority, and therefore in general follow the direction of public opinion. By contrast, under rule by people, the inevitable imperfections on the part of the leader will not be able to guarantee the flesh-and-blood relationship between decision and public opinion, and may even lead to a situation where his own opinion replaces public opinion, his arbitration suppresses public opinion, or he acts on his own will in disregard of the will of the majority. Rule by law nurtures and fosters public opinion.

Supervision by Public Opinion Exerted Through Evaluation and Openness

Under normal conditions, public opinion exists as a special social consciousness. A person's economic conditions, social status, education, and political inclination, legal ideology, and moral concepts all affect his judgment on matters and therefore from various angles influence public opinion. The development of public opinion at a given time hinges on the development of social consciousness. In turn, social consciousness hinges on the material living conditions and the development of politics and culture they control. Before the 3rd plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the highly centralized economy and correspondingly highly centralized government, a few slogans (regardless of whether they were right or wrong) were able to unify the thinking of 1 billion people. In such a situation, lively public opinion was simply nonexistent. Where there is no lively public opinion, there is no supervision by

public opinion. In recent years, as reform and opening up advanced further, lively activities in material production inevitably stimulated lively activities in mental production, the liberation of forces of production triggered the liberation of thinking (of course, along the way we also saw interaction between the two), and the development of commodity economy gave impetus to the development of democracy, which provided a very favorable environment enabling us to promote supervision by public opinion.

Public opinion must be openly expressed so as to be able to comment and appraise. In other words, public opinion must always openly comment on and appraise economic, political, legal, moral, social, cultural, and other issues in real life by expressing support or opposition and praise or condemnation. Openness and the function of making comment and appraisal are the two basic characteristics of public opinion; they are also the two levers by means of which its supervisory role is brought into play. For instance, it is by no means adequate to rectify such corrupt phenomena as abusing power for personal gain, blackmail, and extortion existing in society today by means of ideological and political work and persuasive education alone. Law can only solve the most conspicuous problems which have already caused serious consequences to society. Only with the help of public opinion can we turn corruption into a disgusting spectacle like that of rats running across the street, condemned by everyone. Meanwhile, supervision by public opinion is also a weapon instrumental in ideological and political work, an important form of expression in the mass line, and a foundation of public opinion for carrying out rule by law. Therefore, while stressing that rule by law is the nurse who helps public opinion grow, we must not overlook the fact that supervision by public opinion itself is a factor that promotes the development of rule by law. They nurture and supplement each other.

Supervision by public opinion is closely associated with democracy. Therefore, smooth implementation of the former exists in a corresponding democratic mechanism. Concerning this issue, there are three tendencies which deserve our attention. First, some decision-makers fear or refuse to hear different opinions. In their persistence in seeking "harmony" and "stability," they miss the truth to be found in the comparison and debate of different opinions. Second, some decision-makers prefer or are in the habit of substituting public opinion with their own opinions or those of the handful of people who surrounding them. Thus, retaining only the name of democracy, decision-making loses the solid foundation of popular support. Third, some people still cherish the outmoded concept of democracy. They use public opinion as a pretext to repel select and elite personnel of society and prevent them from participating in their work.

Many people may appear plausible and impressive when talking about supervision by public opinion, but when it comes to implementation in earnest and when debate arises over different opinions, some of them are not used

to it or show their immediate dislike. Because the universal culture and tradition of harmony on the basis of letting things take their own course [a Taoist concept of human conduct], the Confucian doctrine of the golden mean, humanitarianism, and justice, and the heavenly principles [feudal ethics as propounded by Confucianists in the Song Dynasty] existed for ages among China's cultural traditions, it seems out of tune with science, creativity, and competition as required by the modern commodity economy at present. The highly centralized management pattern of the economy, together with the corresponding political system, has made the concepts of "unification," "showing no difference or acting in unison," and "unanimous public opinion" become synonymous in the minds of some people who reject different opinions. The controversy over the issue of "easy to have jobs done with more people" versus "the need to control population growth" in the 1950's has taught us a bitter lesson. If we could have seriously listened to and studied the different opinions at that time, how could we come to shoulder the big "population baggage" now? One basic characteristics of current decision-making is that leadership should rely on the collective wisdom and, in particular, attach importance to the role played by expert groups rather than depending on an individual leader's "saintly sagacity" or "genius." Some leaders, in theory, do not object to making decisions in a democratic and scientific manner. However, since they do not understand the true implications of democracy and science, they like to have preconceived ideas keep a strong hold in decision-making or pick only those ideas which agree with their own opinions in presenting exposition and proof. As a result, decision-making has the appearance of being carried out in a "democratic manner," while in reality it is still being done by giving a "pat on the pate" [pai nao dai 2143 5207 5915]. More often than not, the chance to correct mistakes or defects in decision-making exists in having different opinions. When one rejects different opinions, one misses the chance to correct one's mistakes.

The "word" democracy is not a flowery word which can be used for no other purpose than simply keeping up an appearance. It has a rich connotation and requires specific operational procedures. In modern interpretation, democracy is associated with liberty, equality, rule by law, and scientific rationalization. Although it requires that the final decision be made in accordance with the will of the majority of people, it is by no means a simple autocracy by the majority because democratic procedure should provide the minority an opportunity to successfully persuade the majority in their difference of opinions. In modern society, due to the availability of a tremendous amount of information and a very detailed minute division of labor, experts may come to understand the proper pattern of things and matters sooner than ordinary laymen. If experts are denied the opportunity to explain their understanding so as to influence and persuade those people who do not

yet understand the proper pattern of matters on hand, a simple decision by a vote of the overwhelming majority will then become a decision which negates science in the name of democracy.

Therefore, in my opinion, modern democracy is a scientific and rational policy which respects the rights and interests of the minority while ensuring that the will of the majority prevails. The characteristic of such a policy is rule by law in appearance. Only when a standard which conforms to the spirit of democracy and rule by law is worked out, and decisions are made in a truly democratic and scientific manner, can we effectively give full play to the role of public opinion role in supervising such meetings as party meetings, meetings of organs of power, government meetings for discussing official business, decision-making meetings of mass organizations, enterprises, institutions, and units, and so forth.

"Holding Reporters Responsible for Facts, and Holding Newspapers Responsible for the Law" Is the Legalistic Environment Essential for the Survival of Supervision by the Mass Media

Among the various forms of supervision by public opinion, the most common, widespread, and modern form is supervision by mass media such as newspapers, radio, and television. Mass media are open to the public, are widely circulated, and carry commentaries, so they are best suited for demonstrating the open and judgmental nature of public opinion. We can say that in a modern society, supervision by mass media is the most important and effective form of supervision by public opinion.

Back in the years when "uniformity of public opinion" was emphasized, "one thousand newspapers spoke in the same tone, and 1,000 buddhas wore the same looks." Mass media which had been capable of transmitting information in both directions were turned into unidirectional loudspeakers. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to exercise supervision by public opinion, primarily because the mass media were directing their eyes only toward the higher-ups, while disregarding the proponents of public opinion, that is, the broad masses of people. How can a newspaper, which is responsible to the higher-ups but not to the masses, reflect public opinion (the opinion of the masses)?

This brings up the question of the system of press administration. If a newspaper office cannot work in an independent and responsible manner, and if the readers are not in a position to judge the newspaper's strong and weak points, then that newspaper is incapable of discharging its responsibility of exercising supervision by public opinion. This can be illustrated with a fairly typical example. In the past, the approval of the departments concerned must be obtained before criticism could be published in a newspaper. Although some good critical work came out of this practice, it was unreliable, and much was left to the realm of probability. Press

circles demanded improvement. Therefore, at this year's discussion meeting on journalism, it was proposed that "reporters and writers of articles are responsible for facts, that newspapers are responsible for policy and the law," and that newspaper editors decide what should and should not be published. However, press circles have shown little improvement in making criticism and exercising supervision. Why? A newspaper's chief editor said: In the past, when we made criticism and ran into trouble, the people or agencies who approved the criticism were there to defend us. Now that we are here to decide for ourselves, who will be responsible for us if we get in trouble? Most of our newspapers have "mothers-in-law." Judging from the division of labor among newspapers, criticism in newspapers is controlled by these "mothers-in-law," very few of whom will ever allow their dirty linen to be washed in public. Hence the following scenario: A "mother-in-law" wants to be glorified (this is very common in a system where officials consider themselves all-important), so the newspaper has to "cover up her faults and publicize her merits." Some newspaper leaders attach more importance to official positions than to truth, and put their personal promotion ahead of the people's interests. Supervision by public opinion is thus laid aside and neglected. Therefore, in order to effectively exercise supervision by mass media, we must enact a law on journalism, reform the press administration system, and let the law, rather than individuals, supervise the mass media as soon as possible.

Some people are worried that party leadership may be weakened if the mass media enjoy more decision-making power. This worry is unjustified, because, under the rule of law, government agencies as well as party organizations should be dealt with in accordance with the law. Responsibility to the party should not be taken to mean responsibility only to party leaders, but mean responsibility to the party's program and constitution, as was consistently stressed by Lenin. I suggest that chief editors of party newspapers be appointed and recalled by the party congress of the corresponding level, and be responsible to that party congress; and that chief editors of newspapers of government agencies be appointed and recalled by the people's congress of the corresponding level, and be responsible to that people's congress. Only in this way can we guarantee that press units will work in an independent and responsible manner, prevent undue intervention by administrative units and individuals, and develop a fine situation where "everyone exercises supervision while being subject to supervision."

Of course, China's press structure is a multiform structure with official party and government newspapers as its main body. Fundamentally speaking, management of the press should shift from rule by people to rule by law. The supervision exercised through newspapers by citizens' public opinion is an important aspect of the freedom of speech and of the press. "The people's freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of association, their freedom of thinking and religious

belief, and their freedom of person are the most important freedoms" (Mao Zedong). "Without the freedom of the press, all other freedoms vanish," and "the freedom acknowledged by law in a country exists in the form of law" (Marx). Therefore, in the course of carrying out the reform of the political structure and constantly enhancing democracy in China, the constant expansion and assured legal protection of the citizens' freedom of speech and of the press are basic factors of the development of supervision by public opinion.

During the shift of the press from the rule by people to rule by law, it is very important to introduce international practice, draw on the experience of other countries, and adopt advanced management methods. The history of the journalistic laws of foreign countries shows that the transition from a preventive system to a punitive system is an universal trend. Put in simple language, the preventive system means that the authorities tell you what to publish or not to publish beforehand, or impose various administrative restrictions. The punitive system means that there are no prior restrictions, and that newspapers are subject to legal actions if they publish something in violation of the law. The preventive system is characterized by rule by people, a high degree of arbitrariness, and very little freedom of the press. The punitive system enables the press to work independently, but must exercise media supervision in a very prudent and responsible way because of legal responsibilities.

Forge Ahead While Rethinking, Exploring, and Breaking New Ground—A Brief Discussion on Philosophy Over the Last Decade

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[Article by Xing Bensi 6717 6321 1835]

[Text] As far as philosophy is concerned, the decade following the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was a decade of exploring and breaking new ground; but since rethinking is the basis of exploring and breaking new ground, we can also say that it was a decade of rethinking.

Rethinking is one of the characteristics of philosophy. However, when the "leftist" line was dominant and personality cults ran rampant—especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution"—the philosophical function of rethinking was almost totally gone. With their minds controlled by only one way of thinking, the 1 billion people in the country could not think what they wanted to think or say what they wanted to say. Philosophy became a dependent or tool of that way of thinking. It was indeed very unfortunate that philosophy should fall into such a state. Such an occurrence was not merely a misfortune for philosophy, but also for the whole nation.

Following the crushing of the "Gang of Four," a turn for the better appeared in all quarters in the country. Philosophy also saw a lively spring. The restoration of the philosophical rethinking function signaled the arrival of the spring of philosophy.

I

The discussion of the criterion of truth was the earliest and the most conspicuous expression of the restoration of the philosophical rethinking function. In the Marxist theory of knowledge, the criterion of truth is an issue of common sense. Why did such a nationwide debate occur after the crushing of the "Gang of Four?" It was directly related to the proposal of the "two whatevers," which appeared quite unexpectedly at a time when the people throughout the country, after going through a catastrophe, were thinking their painful experiences and demanding reforms and a new beginning on the basis of past experiences. According to the proposal, anything in the past was sacrosanct and should remain as it was. That was a challenge to the masses' demand and a challenge to the movement of mental emancipation which was sprouting. The "two whatevers" were continuity of the ossified way of thinking under the new situation. Thus, satisfying the masses' legitimate demand and facilitating the sprouting movement of mental emancipation by repudiating the viewpoint based on "whatevers" with the viewpoint based on "practice" was the people's need and the call of the time. When we say the discussion of the "criterion of truth" was rethinking, not only do we mean that it was an act to reunderstand and reevaluate an important principle of the Marxist theory of knowledge, but more importantly, we mean that it was an act to reunderstand and reevaluate the philosophical foundation of the lines that the CPC had been following for a long time. During the discussion, people began to understand that personality cults as well as the theory that willpower can determine everything were the philosophical foundation, and that the substitution of criteria set by practice by means of the criteria set by [Mao's] quotations was their form of expression. That was the ideological cause of our repeated frustrations, which eventually led to the eruption of the great turmoil—the "Great Cultural Revolution." If we failed to totally discard such an idealistic and metaphysical philosophy, we could not really have learned from our lessons from the "Great Cultural Revolution," and neither could we have had the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee nor the progress thereafter. In this sense, the nationwide discussion of the "criterion of truth," an in-depth philosophical rethinking, was mental preparation for the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The session deepened the discussion and spread the results to all fronts and all spheres, initiating a new historical period for China's development.

Acknowledging the criteria of the productive forces is another conspicuous expression of the restoration of the philosophical rethinking function. If we say that the

criterion of truth is a fundamental issue of the theory of knowledge—an issue that was not correctly understood for a long time—then the criteria of the productive forces was a fundamental issue concerning the conception of history—another issue that was not correctly understood for a long time. What are the fundamental driving force and the crux of historical development? This is a question that historians and philosophers of slave owners, feudal lords, and bourgeoisie were never able to answer for ages, and an age old myth that Marx has solved. He points out that the development of production patterns is the basic force driving the development of human society; that productive forces are the most active elements of all production patterns; that the development of the productive forces triggers corresponding changes in production relations; that the development of production patterns gives rise to political, statutory, ideological changes, and other superstructure changes; and that human society is moving forward step by step in this pattern from lower classes to higher classes. Unfortunately, such a basic principle was forgotten for a long period of time. We paid a dear price for this forgetfulness. At one time, the viewpoint that underscores the productive forces—a viewpoint in line with the principle of historical materialism—was denounced as the "theory that productive forces determine everything," and as a so-called "revisionist theory of the second international"; whereas the viewpoint that willpower determines everything—which disregards the development of the productive forces, which "takes class struggle as the key link," and which regards class struggle as the driving power of production development—was hailed as brilliant dialectical thinking and so-called creative Marxism. When personality cult ran rampant, this theoretical anomaly could hardly be corrected by theoretical means. Practice, however, is an impartial judge, and theoretical mistakes can be seen most clearly in actual practice. When the "theory that the productive forces determine everything" was widely condemned and when class struggle was waged feverishly, production dropped sharply and the economy was on the brink of total collapse. Following the crushing of the "Gang of Four," and especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, people have come to realize, through serious contemplation, that the seemingly revolutionary slogans—such as "taking class struggle as the key link," "grasping revolution, promoting production," and "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"—actually covered up the historical idealism which is incongruous with, or even diametrically opposed to, historical materialism, and historical idealism was specifically the theoretical foundation that misguided our work for a long time. Despite the dear price that we paid for a long period of time, the issue was not resolved theoretically until the convocation of the 13th National Party Congress.

The criterion of truth and the criteria of the productive forces are two related issues. The former lays the foundation for the party's ideological line and the line of cognition, and it is also the precondition for the latter;

whereas the latter lays the theoretical foundation for the party's basic lines during the new period, and is also the embodiment and the in-depth development of the former. The solution to these two issues can be attributed to philosophy and to philosophical rethinking.

II

Some people describe China's academic situation during the past several years as one in which "economic studies thrive, but philosophic studies are deficient." The actual situation in the last 10 years shows that this is not the case. The past 10 years have been a period in which philosophic studies have been most active, although they have indeed fallen behind economic studies.

No previous period since the founding of the republic can compare with the past 10 years in philosophical studies both in terms of breadth and profundity. The exploration of the Marxist theory of knowledge, triggered by the discussion of the criterion of truth, has continued to advance in two areas: One is the issue concerning the role of logical proof in the course of understanding truth, including the relations between logical proof and examination by practice; the other concerns a more specific definition of the concept of practice, including its intension and extension. Pointing out the patterns of practice and the concept of the important elements [that constitute practice], it also explores the relationship between practice and its purposes and intentions. During the study of the theory of knowledge, the relationship between truth and fallacy was rediscussed. Although people within the philosophical circles also discussed this issue before the "Great Cultural Revolution," the discussion was affected by the metaphysical viewpoint that truth and fallacy are two absolute opposites. Now many people realize that while truth is certainly different from fallacy in one respect, the difference cannot be that definite in another. Lenin said that if one step too far was taken, truth could become fallacy. This involves the issue of "degree," which is essential for practice, and which is the key element that can help us avoid making major mistakes in various areas. Any in-depth discussion of the theory of knowledge will inevitably involve the evaluation of the Marxist theory of reflection. In recent years, the discussion of this theory has focused on whether the theory of reflection is a theory of mechanism. Most people believe that the Marxist theory of reflection is a dialectical theory of reflection and not a mechanical theory of reflection, and this theory of reflection has not disparaged the role of the subject or simplified or vulgarized the process of reflection. Naturally, the Marxist theory of reflection has to be developed. It should be incorporated with achievements in modern psychology, neurophysiology, neurology, linguistics, artificial intelligence, and various other types of modern science and technology. The subject's reflective mechanisms vis-a-vis an object should be further studied. On the other hand, some people maintain that the way the theory of reflection is presented is apt to be confused with the theory of mechanism. Some people

even believe that the reason why the theory of reflection has a tendency toward the theory of mechanism is because the role of the subject—especially its selective role during the process of learning—has been ignored in the traditional theory of reflection, and so they propose that the theory of reflection be replaced by a "theory of selection" or "theory of restructuring" [chong gou lun 6850 2845 6158]. This discussion gives rise to issues concerning relations between subject and object, and the important role played by subjectivity and subjective consciousness in man's understanding and creative activities. It has broadened the horizon for the study of the theory of knowledge, thus expediting the development of historical sciences, literature, aesthetics, and other disciplines, and creating theoretical hot spots in many branches of study.

The discussion on the conception of history also involves some fundamental theoretical issues. First, what is the starting point for the Marxist conception of history? Is it man, man's labor, or man's social relations? In contemporary Western philosophy, the question of man plays a conspicuous role, forming the humanist school dominated by existentialism, phenomenology, and analytics. What, then, is the role man plays in Marxist philosophy? How does Marxist philosophy approach man's intrinsic qualities, man's existence, man's value, man's ego, and so on? What are the differences between Marxism and humanism of the West on these issues? Students of philosophy have had heated discussion on these issues in recent years, and the discussion has gone even deeper following the notes concerning cultural anthropology that Marx wrote in his later years. People have discovered that when he was young, Marx engaged in anthropological studies primarily from a philosophical angle; during his mature years, he did so primarily from an economic angle; and during his old age, he explored anthropology from all angles—philosophical, economic, political, legal, religious, moral, and so forth. Consequently, not only did he open a new horizon for cultural anthropology, but he also pushed historical materialism one step forward. Although the understanding on certain issues still varies, people have a relative consensus on the important role of the question of man in Marxist philosophy. Another important question in the discussion on the conception of history is the relationship between the regularities and randomness of historical development, or the relationship between certainty and probability. In the past, we did not pay sufficient attention to the random nature and probability of historical development, so much so that we purposely or unintentionally downgraded the significance of random nature and probability in philosophy. For some time, the view that "probability is the enemy of science" was quite popular. Although the view originated from abroad, it quickly spread in China. Its logic is: Science deals with the laws that govern all phenomena which are a certainty. However, the existence of probability, which is the opposite of certainty, always hampers or interferes with scientists' understanding of certainty. Therefore, probability is the enemy of science. In reality, however, certainty is always

expressed by means of probability and is the intersection point for many probabilities. It would be impossible to understand certainty if we do not study probabilities, master the exceptions or abnormal phenomena of certainty, or understand the opportunities that present themselves when many types of probability intersect one another. We might be led astray and follow the path of historical determinism. Discussion on the conception of history in recent years has also raised the question of whether determinism is right or not. To a certain extent, this is the result of the influence of interdisciplinary sciences like the "theory of dissipative structure," the "associative theory" [xie tong lun 0588 0681 6158], and so on. Some people have introduced the viewpoints of "antilinear causality" and "anti-Laplace determinism" of interdisciplinary sciences into the study of history. As they see it, historical development may have been the result of the development of production; however, in the vast span of the history of mankind, economic, political, cultural and other factors have interacted with one another and become one another's causes and effects. It is hard to tell which determines which. Furthermore, in the course of history, many factors are hard to predict. Therefore, the deterministic viewpoint is too simplistic in explaining historical development. Since many factors are functioning at the same time, we should espouse the theory of pluralistic integration rather than monistic determinism in historical science. Despite the lack of unanimous understanding on this question which involves the fundamental principle of historical materialism, this discussion will certainly promote a correct understanding of historical materialism and advance the research on historical materialism.

In the past 10 years, philosophical circles in China have conducted more profound research on philosophical questions in natural science. The development of natural science in modern times has deepened the people's renewed understanding of many philosophical issues. The theory of relativity shows that time, space, matter, and motion are inseparable. The theory on the unity of basic interactive forces presages the innate unity on a much larger scale of the material world. The new achievements in molecular biology and molecular genetics have considerably enriched the people's understanding of the essence of life. All this presents a vivid picture of the universal connections and motions in the material world. In addition, natural science of modern times has also presented many new philosophical questions which require profound studies. Although the interaction between the nature of the microscopic system and the apparatus used for observing this system in quantum mechanics has not negated the materialistic argument on the being of an object, it requires that we specifically deepen our understanding of objective being as well as the relationship between the object and the subject. The causality shown by quantum mechanics and non-equilibrium state mechanics has negated the mechanical and causative determinism, but it also requires that we make a correct philosophical explanation of the essence of causality in probability and randomness. Furthermore,

the following questions have become hot international topics: the questions of finitude and infinity raised by the theory of quark prohibition [kua ke jin bi 1139 0344 4391 7028], the theory of localized hidden variables [ding yu yin bian liang li lun 1353 1008 7148 6239 6852 3810 6158], and the study of the great cosmic explosion [da bao zha yu zhou xue 1129 3615 3498 1342 1352 1331]; the philosophical questions raised by systems science, cybernetics, and information science; and the question of social impact and consequences brought about by the new technological revolution characterized by bioengineering control systems, materials science, and computer technology. In recent years, China's philosophical circles, philosophical workers who study natural dialectics in particular, have warmly responded and conducted research. They have enlivened the academic atmosphere and made new explorations and useful attempts to enrich and develop Marxist philosophy.

Intensified research will certainly lead to a renewed understanding of the essence and role of philosophy, and eventually touch on the question of what philosophy is—a longstanding, controversial issue on which no decision has yet been reached throughout the history of philosophy. Philosophy will go through the process of understanding, examining, and reflecting on itself by trying to answer the question of what philosophy is. The reflection focuses primarily on whether philosophy functions only in the cognitive process, or whether it is capable of making judgments on values. This type of discourse has gone beyond the scope of the debates a few years ago on whether philosophy is epistemology or ontology, or whether it is the unity of the two. The issue is now discussed at a deeper level. Many people think that since philosophy is a system of scientific theories, it is the same as other systems of scientific theories and possesses cognitive functions. However, as an ideology of the society, philosophy is different from many sciences. In other words, it not only possesses cognitive functions but is also capable of making judgments on values. Therefore, it has to answer the question of what is the substance of a certain law, and what the consequences will be. As far as the history of society is concerned, philosophy has to answer the questions of where history is headed, whether it has a bright or a gloomy future, and whether it will bring happiness or disaster to mankind. Marxist philosophy has to explicate the world, as well as transform it. Explicating the world implies making judgments on values, while transforming the world implies actually making a transformation based on these judgments. Philosophers' missions are never limited only to objectively describing social life. They should transform social life or create a new one in accordance with our knowledge and ideals. This type of philosophical reflection has enabled the people to better understand the essence and role of philosophy, while serving to bring out the unique social role of philosophy as a branch of study about wisdom.

In the past 10 years, China's philosophy has forged ahead while making explorations and made explorations while forging ahead, but it has never stopped making

reflections. Therefore, we say that in order to understand the basic situation of philosophy in the past 10 years, it is imperative to grasp the key link, which is reflection. This reflection implies not only a renewed understanding of some principles and questions, but also an exploration of new principles and questions. In other words, it seeks to understand the unknown based on what is known.

III

The Chinese traditional philosophy and the Western philosophy suffered profoundly when the "leftist" line was dominant. They were the hard hit areas. Profound changes have taken place in these two areas over the past decade.

People still have a fresh memory of the farce of "appraising the legalist school and criticizing the Confucianist school" during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Out of some political motives, the "Gang of Four" spared no efforts to distort history and fabricated the myth of the so-called "struggle between the legalist and the Confucianist schools." The history of Chinese philosophy was described as a history of struggle between the legalist and the Confucianist schools. Along this line, philosophers and thinkers throughout the ages were classified as belonging to the legalist or the Confucianist schools. Confucianism was severely denounced, while the legalist school was glorified. This voluntarism wilfully smudged and tampered with history, completely ran counter to historical facts, and created tremendous confusion in the research on the history of Chinese philosophy. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, efforts have been made to bring order out of chaos and this voluntarism has been discredited. First the view of the so-called "struggle between the Confucianist and the legalist schools" was criticized, then objective and fair historical assessments were made on Confucianism, the legalist school, and other schools of thought. There has been a renewed understanding of Confucius, the primary representative of Confucianism who exerted a great influence on the history of China and other countries (despite the lack of complete unanimity in this understanding). This has been a remarkable achievement in Chinese traditional philosophy in recent years. Starting from here, researchers of the history of Chinese philosophy have conducted studies and discussions, thereby bringing traditional philosophical research to a new high and making a contribution to spreading the quintessence of the traditional culture.

In China, the study of Western philosophies, especially modern Western philosophies, was quite inactive for a long time. This was because, seen from the "leftist" viewpoint, modern Western philosophies were bourgeoisie philosophies, and the only way they should be treated by the proletariat was to thoroughly denounce them, so there simply was not a question of rejecting them or learning from them. For years, the Stalinist formula that "Hegel philosophy is a reaction to the

French Revolution" was looked up to as the standard. Andrey A. Zhdannov's evaluation of the history of Western philosophies as well as his brutal attitude toward certain historians of Western philosophies cast a dark shadow on the study of Western philosophies in China. As for the contemporary Western philosophies, they were regarded as philosophies which served absolutely nobody but the bourgeoisie and which had no rationality of which to speak. Under such circumstances, it was simply impossible to analyze the modern Western philosophies with a scientific approach, assess them properly, or learn from what was reasonable so as to enrich our philosophy. With the light from the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, China's studies of Western philosophies entered a new period. Following the implementation of the open policy, all kinds of Western philosophical writings and philosophical thoughts began to pour into the country. Large volumes of works by Jean-Paul Sartre, Max Weber, Sigmund Freud, Jean Piaget, Friedrich Nietzsche, Carl Popper, and Erich Fromm have been translated into Chinese. For a time, there were too many works to be read by Chinese philosophic workers—especially the younger ones—and although there were some blind followers at times, we should not write off the positive effects. No longer having to discuss philosophy in an enclosed environment, as we did in the past, we walked out of the closet. This has broadened our vision, made us well informed, and stimulated our thinking with both positive and negative information. What is particularly noteworthy is that the large quantities of academic ideas and cultures pouring in from the outside world have buffeted China's traditional culture and opened a new area of study in which people can compare Chinese and Western philosophies and cultures. One direct result from such a comparison is the great debate on cultural issues that has been going on since the mid-1980's.

Historically speaking, the several great debates on cultural issues in modern and late modern China took place during transitional periods in which social lives were undergoing quick changes. After the Opium War during the 1840's, China was at a critical stage. Within the cultural sphere, the new ingredients brought into China along with Western ideas, as well as the immense crisis in China in those days, created a highly complex situation. While some people hailed the incoming Western ideas, some were shocked by them and some considered them as menacing as floods and ferocious animals. People with foresight found certain truths in the Western ideas and saw the hope for changing China. Specifically, when Eastern and Western cultures were fiercely colliding with one another, people began to contemplate their traditional culture, triggering the dispute on the question: Which is better, Eastern culture or Western culture? and the dispute about "keeping Chinese culture as the mainstay, but employing Western measures to do the job." Although the disputes had to answer the question about the future of Chinese culture, they also involved the question about the future of Chinese society. Of course, a correct answer could not possibly be obtained under

the historical conditions in those days. If we say that the Opium War raised the curtain of China's modern history, we can say the "4 May Movement" raised the curtain of China's late modern history. During the "4 May Movement," Western ideas were pouring into China in an even more widespread manner. While the essence of Western ideas nourished the "democracy" and "science" consciousness among the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie and facilitated the propagation of Marxism in China, it was opposed by the old and young feudal diehards and all sorts of comprador bourgeois elements and adherents of the "quintessence of the Chinese culture." The dispute between new ideas and old ideas during the "4 May Movement" was in essence also a dispute between Chinese and Western cultures. In a more profound manner, the dispute presented the question: Toward which direction should Chinese culture and Chinese society head? Thanks to Marxism, which began to spread, we saw the direction and we saw the hope. In the 1980's, China has been at a new historical turning point. Our socialist construction has entered into a period of reform and openness. The mighty torrent of the reform has washed away old customs and habits, old modes of thinking, and old concepts of value. Social life has rapidly changed. China's traditional culture has received the twofold pounding of the rapidly changing social life and culture from abroad. This spurs on people to ponder in a deep way China's traditional culture, cultural traditions in all spheres of social life, the pattern of the current Chinese culture, and the strategy of the Chinese cultural development in the days ahead. People have discovered that China's current cultural pattern is not suited to the changing social life. This disorder will inevitably affect the further development of reform and openness and the progress of the four modernizations. To change this cultural pattern, we must find a way out. Shall we ask our traditional culture for help, or beg foreign culture for assistance? All kinds of appraisals of China's traditional culture and culture from abroad exist. Although the partiality of overall affirmation or total negation of the two cultures is present, the discussion itself is of great immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance. This is our introspection of culture or philosophical rethinking about culture in the new historical period. People call this discussion of the 1980's "culture fever." Behind this "culture fever," we can easily find an awakening of the "culture consciousness," a sincere anxiety and deep concern for the destiny of our country and nation.

Though we have reaped a bumper harvest in the field of philosophy over the past 10 years, our efforts are never smooth sailing. We have walked through thick and thin and swept over rapids and shoals, but we have, after all, come through. Though we have made mistakes in our research on philosophy over the past decade, we still have a long way to go to meet the demands for life and practice, yet the main current has been good. This is because our research on philosophy in the past 10 years has been soaked in the blood of the times, obeyed the call

of practice, and basically reflected the spirit of the current times of reform and openness.

Discussing With Author of 'From the Contract System to the Shareholding System'

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[Article by Wang Xuefu 3769 1331 3940 of the Law Institute of the Zhejiang College of Social Sciences]

[Text] The author of the article "From the Contract System to the Shareholding System" published in the 1988 issue No. 4 of QIUSHI maintains that the third stage of enterprise reform is aimed at pushing the contract system toward the shareholding system; that is, replacing the contract system with the shareholding system. This point is open to question. First, practice has proved that most of China's state-run enterprises can implement the contract system. However, we are not sure if it is workable for them to implement a shareholding system. Neither are we sure if it is good for us to implement the shareholding system in enterprises which are important for state economic lifelines. Second, the contract and shareholding systems are two different matters. The contract system is a type of operation and management, while the shareholding system has to do with property right. They can be integrated and are not necessarily required to replace each other. Enterprises that implement the contract system can also issue shares to the public, permit their workers to buy shares, or purchase each other's shares, while those which implement the shareholding system can also implement the contract system through internal biddings. I favor the "theory of co-existence" and the "theory of integration" and oppose the "theory of push-toward" and the "theory of replacement" as far as the contract and shareholding systems are concerned. Third, although replacing the contract system with the shareholding system will enable the state to sell state-run enterprises' shares to increase its revenue, it will still lose revenue in the long run since share earnings will go to the private shareholding individuals or groups. The author advocates: "All large and medium profit-making enterprises should be permitted to implement the shareholding system. The state is still required to wholly run a minority of nonprofit infrastructural and monopolistic enterprises. The state is also required to first invest in and run some new high-risk science-technology-oriented enterprises which need handsome investments before the shareholding system is gradually implemented." This means the state gives profit-making enterprises' shares, or, rather, its due revenue, to individuals or private groups, while subsidizing or taking a risk to run nonprofit or high-risk enterprises. If so, state revenue will greatly dwindle in the long run. Fourth, the "shareholding system" referred to in that article is not well defined. Strictly speaking, only share-issuing companies can be referred to as an enterprise implementing the shareholding system. We can not regard enterprises with only some connection with shares as one implementing the shareholding system.

Reflections on the Development of Marxist Literature and the Study of Art—Reading the Article 'From the 'Classical Formation' to 'Modern Formation'

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[Article by Yan Zhaozhu of the Institute of Literature of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text]

I

The new development of any scientific theory involves the dialectical unity of time and science. Therefore, the prerequisite for developing Marxist literature and art is to study Marxism and its literary and artistic ideology seriously and to base our continuous advance on those fundamental tenets and methods whose objective truth [ke guan zhen li xin 1356 6034 4176 3810 1840] has been verified through practice.

In fact, the development of Marxist literature and the study of art, to which we have been devoted, is a theoretical exercise of the study itself based on practice; that is, it is a theoretical exploitation based on modern literary and artistic practice and under the guidance of Marxist positions, viewpoints, and methods. Therefore, it is sure to succeed, to carry on the scientific spirit and creative vitality of Marxism, and to consolidate and strengthen its theoretical character and superiority.

However, in his article "From the 'Classical Formation' to 'Modern Formation'—Reflections on the Reform of Marxist Literature and the Study of Art,"¹ Comrade Dong Xuewen sets a division between "classical formation" and "modern formation" and calls for "staging a revolution" by greatly changing the "knowledge structure and thinking modes" of "classical formation" with a "sense of historical substitution." Such an idea is too general and mechanical and may result in the loss of the base for continuing to advance along the Marxist road.

Specifically speaking, the so-called "classical formation" generally includes two portions; namely, the fundamental literary and artistic expression by Marxist classical writers in their works and their descendants' traditional concept of this expression. Comrade Dong Xuewen calls for substituting "modern formation" for "classical formation." For example, he calls for substituting the concept of literature and art being "an aggregate of ideology and nonideology" for the ideological theory of literature and art [wen yi shi xing tai lun 2429 5669 1942 6221 1748 1966 6158] expressed by "classical formation." However, the two portions of the so-called "classical formation" obviously cannot be permanently regarded as a single aggregate. Neither can they be replaced in a general manner. For example, the ideological theory on literature and art expressed by "classical

formation" includes not only Marx' and Engel's ideological theories on literature and art but also a so-called ideological theory—an illustrated political concept of literature and art [wen yi tu jie zhen zhi gai nian 2429 5669 0956 6043 2398 3112 2861 1819] put forward by some descendants, who have been influenced by an extremely leftist ideological trend, in a bid to publicize and expound specific policies. Obviously, we should not lump these two completely different theories together by placing them under the same category of "classical formation" and then rejecting both of them.

Marx' and Engel's ideological theory on literature and art is not only one of the fundamental theories of Marxist literature and the study of art; it also gives it its ideological character and superiority. For the first time in human ideological history, this theory has scientifically uncovered the nature and characteristic of literary and artistic ideology by using the theory of an economic foundation and superstructure as expressed by historical materialism. It has brought to light the basic law that the development of literature and art is basically restricted by the economic foundation. The objective truth of this scientific judgment has repeatedly been proved through the practice of modern Chinese and foreign literature and art. Its theoretical superiority has also made various modern Western literary and artistic ideologies sound definitely inferior.

Literature and art are certainly a complicated spiritual phenomenon. There are indeed nonideological elements in its constitution. The point is that the fundamental character and law of literature and art are neither decided by nonideological elements nor can they be concluded to be a nonideology. Even if various literary and artistic attributes constitute a system, ideological and nonideological elements are still not at the same theoretical level. On the contrary, the entire system's ideological tendency will enable the nonideological elements not only to possess its traits but also to move toward rather than confront the traits of literature and art as a whole. Under such a circumstance, negating the nature of literary and artistic ideology and generally regarding the nature of literature and art as "an aggregate of ideology and nonideology" is nothing less than regarding the following answers to the fundamental nature of literature and art as a scientific judgment or as a cornerstone for developing Marxist literature and the study of art: The neo-critic, formalist, and structuralist schools regard the nature of literature and art as a sign of form or independence; the psychoanalytic school regards it as either a revelation of sexual impulse or a daydream; and the original-shape-criticism school [yuan xing pi ping pai 0626 0992 2106 6097 3175] regards it as a mysterious original shape which never changes. If so, we will not only obscure the nature of literature and art, but it will also be impossible to scientifically probe into the issue of nonideological elements and to criticize and assimilate the reasonable portion of various Western literary and artistic ideologies. This will make us unable to pursue the development of Marxist literature and the study of art.

II

Comrade Dong Xuewen points out in his article that "the characteristics and strong points of Marxist literature and art theory" are more often than not its "theoretical inclination and historical limitations" as exemplified by the ideological theory on literature and art itself. He maintains that the ideological theory on literature and art "cannot fully explain the nature, characteristics, laws, functions, and other issues of literature and art," and if it does, it cannot "shake off the interference and invasion of all sorts of philistine sociology."

In my view, however, the ideological theory on literature and art not only can scientifically reveal the fundamental nature of literature and art, as well as the basic laws involved, but it also can provide a scientific theoretical weapon for a deeper exploration of other issues concerning literature and art. Although all sorts of philistine sociology did indeed interfere with such an exploration, as long as we analyze the issue from a scientific approach and a historical viewpoint, one can be sure that the ideological theory on literature and art has absolutely nothing to do with philistine sociology.

Once Marx and Engels used ideological theory to reveal the fundamental nature of literature and art and the basic laws involved, any further attempt to explore other issues concerning literature and art on such a basis undoubtedly can only proceed under given historical conditions and will certainly reflect the special needs and mentality of the time. In fact, during the 50 years or so following the death of Marx and Engels, the world entered into a period of revolutions and wars, a period in which the proletariat was seizing and consolidating its political power in many countries. This being the case, the needs of the stormy class struggle became the primary concern of Marxist literature and art studies in those days. What the ideological theory on literature and art emphasized in particular were class inclination and the revolutionary utilitarianism of literature and art, which later gave rise to the development of the literature and art of the proletarian revolution. Of course, just as Comrade Dong Xuewen notes, the study of literature and art in those days was more inclined to a philosophical and sociological level. However, this was the result of the special needs and mentality of that time. It should not be misconceived that an application of the ideological theory on literature and art can only resolve issues on a philosophical and sociological level; rather, it should be understood that the application of this ideological theory can resolve issues of literature and art on this and other levels—provided that such issues are necessary and presented by the times. Following the changes which occurred in a socialist country's needs and mentality after it had entered into a period of peaceful construction, new requirements for literature and art studies were formulated. Under this circumstance, failing to move forward, continuing to adhere to the literature and art of the revolutionary and war

period, or simplistically applying certain outdated criteria and slogans are incongruous with the new era and will very likely give rise to a theory of philistine sociology. Thus, the need to "eventually shake off the interference and invasion of all sorts of philistine sociology" does not rest with shaking off the ideological theory on literature and art. It rests with taking up this theoretical weapon and making continual efforts to discuss all sorts of contemporary literature and art issues.

The ideological theory on literature and art set forth by Marx and Engels has enormous theoretical potential. Instead of asserting a conclusion of truth, it opens a new way through which we can continue to explore the truth. Like other things, literature and art have many levels. If we are able to grasp the innate ideological nature of literature and art, then we can move on to explore the other characteristics of literature and art. These other characteristics are directly or indirectly controlled by the innate ideological nature of literature and art. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels revealed not only the similarities but also the unique differences between literature and art as a social ideology on the one hand, and other social ideologies on the other. This being the case, the ideological theory on literature and art does not stop or feel content with placing literature and art within the scope of ordinary social ideologies; it continues to explore the special nature and law of literature and art as a unique ideology. If we continue to proceed in this direction, then we can provide a Marxist answer to contemporary issues of literature and art and upgrade Marxist literature and art studies to a new level.

A few commonplace opinions and remarks are offered here by way of introduction for the purpose of encouraging others to come up with valuable suggestions.

First, the application of the ideological theory on literature and art may enable us to gain a better understanding of its ability to reflect the spirit or problems of the times. Literature and art provide one of the many modes of social ideology. However, it is a special kind of ideology. It is what Engels called "an ideology that is loftier and more widely different from the material and economic bases."² It has a relationship with the conditions necessary for its own material existence. However, this kind of relationship has its own vagueness. Rather than directly reflecting the economic basis, it directly reflects other ideologies and thereby indirectly reflects the economic basis. Therefore, literature and art reflect the entire social life. They can focus on reflecting the moral conflicts, political conflicts, philosophical thinking, and distinction of the society. Just as a society can be rich in complexities, so can literature and art be as variegated and colorful as they please. Thus, writers have their own vast world in which to freely create their works. Here we may understand that literature and art, in a sense, have the quality of a culture. The literary and art works created in countries with different social systems today will have a certain common cultural quality because of a common nature of the times, as well as the high-level

material development of the world, spiritual relationships, and mutual dependence. It is thus evident that some people's worry about the incompatibility between the ideological theory of literature and art and the current phenomena of literature and art is groundless.

Second, the application of the ideological theory of literature and art will shed further light on the aesthetic characteristics of literature and art. As a special kind of social ideology, literature and art reflect social life through a particular aesthetic mode and influence people's spiritual life by their particular aesthetic power. The aesthetic ideals of writers play a leading role in literary and art creations. The aesthetic ideals of writers, on the one hand, originate from real life; they reflect the spiritual life of society and are greatly influenced by the philosophical trend of thought, the moral standard, and the political ideals of the times. On the other hand, they have outstanding individuality and dynamic force and are closely related with the spiritual level, degree of will power, attainment of moral ethics, thinking and character, cultural background, artistic attainments, personal experiences, qualities and natural disposition, perceptions, talents and endowment, and instincts and subconscious of the writers involved. Through individuals, they are given further expression to become a strong and powerful spiritual force, as well as an enthusiasm, impulse, and inspiration for literary and art creations, which in turn will have a strong impact and great influence on their recipients. In this regard, we may come to realize that, proceeding from the aesthetic characteristics of such a special ideology as literature and art, we may possibly bring to light in a scientific way the mystery of the nonideological factor touched upon by literature and art.

Third, the application of the ideological theory of literature and art will further reveal the affinity of literature and art with the people. As a mode of social ideology, literature and art belong to that sphere pertaining to the spiritual production of society. On the one hand, they reflect the entire social life and give expression to the pains and joys, humiliation and struggle, and life and destiny of various members in society; on the other hand, they uphold and promote the interests of their own class, provide spiritual works for members of the society, satisfy the aesthetic taste of the masses in society, and guide their aesthetic ideal. Therefore, they must invariably touch upon those topics of the times which are of common concern to the masses in society and which reflect the people's sentiments and life. Moreover, more often than not, they adopt such so-called eternal themes as life versus death and love versus hatred to express the historical contents of society, as well as the specified ideal of life in a form that may be generally accepted by all the masses in society. Thus, as far as the objects of their expression, the forms of this expression, and the functional direction of their works are concerned, literature and art belong to the people to various extents and, therefore, have a definite affinity for the people. They are not restricted to the field of their own class alone.

While reform and the policy of openness are promoting the progress of democracy in our country today, literature and art belong to the people more than ever; they are as close to the sufferings and happiness, love, interests, and ideals of the people as flesh and blood. Viewed from the current world outlook, they are also closely related to the historical destiny of all the people in the world. If we take such a viewpoint, then it may be possible for us to offer a more scientific theoretical explanation for the various complicated phenomena which have occurred in literature and art since the advent of the new period and to promote the progress of literature and art itself.

III

Comrade Dong Xuewen also pointed out: We should "highlight the development of contemporary poetry," "probe into the relatively independent law of movement in literature and art," "study the aesthetic self-discipline in literature and art, study the style, rhythm, types, rhyme scheme, literary forms, pattern, wording, semantics, structure, symbols, techniques, skill, and other questions," and "actively draw inspiration from formalism, structuralism, symbolism, and the neo-critic school." However, what is the relationship between the so-called "relatively independent law of movement in literature and art," on the one hand, and the fundamental nature and basic law in literature and art on the other? What kind of ideological principle and method should we follow to "actively draw" "inspiration" from the ideology in modern Western literature and art? Comrade Dong Xuewen did not raise these questions, nor did he try to formulate a Marxist reply. Hence, the so-called "development of contemporary poetry" is independent and derives inspiration primarily from the ideology in modern Western literature and art. Yet this is emphasized as: "In a certain sense, here begins the shifting of the visual angle from the 'classical formation' to the 'modern formation.'" Thus, the relationship between this "development of contemporary poetry" and Marxist literature and art becomes vague.

It is true that in the past our research into the wording, structure, symbolism, and other composing elements of form in literature and art was poor. We must strengthen our work in this field. We must also make use of and critically absorb the relevant rational ingredients of the ideology in modern Western literature and art. However, the question must be taken into consideration within the scope of the development of Marxist literature and art.

To be specific, it is necessary to mention the remarks made by Engels in his later years. Touching on "errors" committed by himself and Marx, Engels said: "At first we stressed the political concept, the concept of right, and other ideological concepts explored from the economic facts as foundations, as well as the actions conditioned by these concepts. At that time, this should have been so done. However, when we did this, we stressed content at the expense of form. In other words, in what way did these concepts come into being?"³ Basically, these remarks also

apply to the ideological theory of Marx and Engels on literature and art. In other words, the conceptual formation of literature and art born from a given economic foundation, and the creativeness in literature and art conditioned by this formation, can be interpreted as the contents of Marxist literature and art. In this regard, Marx and Engels made a detailed explanation. Following them, Marxist literature and art in the revolutionary era and during wartime still put the focal point of the system in this area, and continued to neglect the forms of literature and art. At that time, we failed to study in a comprehensive way or to explain in detail how on earth literature and art as an ideological formation came into being. Today, we need to and are able to explain the forms in Marxist literature and art through study, and to perfect and develop Marxist literature and art as a system. We should say that this is indeed a task of important significance.

To explore how literature and art as an ideological formation came into being will involve many theoretical questions ignored on a long-term basis in the past, including the theoretical questions concerning wording, structure, symbols, and other composing elements of form in literature and art. In other words, these elements which compose form in literature and art are not ideological formation themselves. They have their own relatively independent quality and law. Then how on earth do they become organic ingredients of ideological formation in literature and art? And how does ideological formation in literature and art transform and come into being as a result of these elements interrelated with other elements? Obviously, of course, these questions are questions within the scope of Marxist literature and art. As a result, we can have a new visual angle and a new meaning when we probe into wording, structure, and symbolism. Our research will become an important theoretical development of Marxist literature and art as a system.

When we use this new visual angle, our research into wording, structure, symbolism, and other elements will not be limited to abstract and isolated inspection. Instead, we will conduct our research into the process of the birth and development of literature and art and into the interrelations and transformation of various elements concerning creativeness in literature and art. In addition, we may discover that the aesthetic ideal is an important intervening link between isolated wording, structure, symbolism, and other elements and the completion of the organic whole of a literary and art work. Actually, a writer's aesthetic ideal always contains his unique understanding of the nature and law of wording, structure, symbolism, and other elements. In addition, a writer's aesthetic ideal fundamentally is a form of the social mentality and has itself a special ideological nature. Therefore, the role of the aesthetic ideal is the key link born from the wording, structure, symbolism, and other relevant elements of the ideological formation of literature and art. When we study the aesthetic ideal of a nation, an era, and a writer, we may conduct a comprehensive inspection of the content and form of

literature and art, including a probe into the nature and law of wording, structure, symbolism, and other elements which are independent of each other, thereby further perfecting and enriching Marxist literature and art as a system.

Here we should of course actively draw inspiration from the various ideas in modern Western literature and art, particularly the fruitful research concerning wording, structure, symbolism, and other elements. However, we must critically absorb and remold them. We criticize their one-sidedness, their exaggeration, and their absolute nature. We digest and absorb their rational ingredients and remold them into organic ingredients of Marxist literature and art.

I have stressed the theory of ideological formation in literature and art, made some immature suggestions on the question of how to develop Marxist literature and art, and consulted with Comrade Dong Xuewen. In short, I believe that to develop Marxist literature and art, we should pay attention to the dialectical unity between the nature of the times and the nature of science, inherit and develop the Marxist scientific spirit and creative vigor, and consolidate and strengthen the theoretical individuality and superiority of Marxist literature and art. As long as we bravely face the new times and continue to advance along the Marxist road, our future is certainly bright.

Footnotes

1. In QIUSHI No 2, 1988.
2. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels* Vol IV, p 249.
3. *Ibid.*, p 500.

Several Views on the Article 'A Brief Review of Nietzsche's Concept of Value'

OW1312033888 Beijing QIUSHI in Chinese
No 10, 16 Nov 88 p 38

[Article by Du Jiancheng of Jiangsu Provincial Computer Technology Institute]

[Text] To the editorial department: After reading Comrade Wang Keqian's article "A Brief Review of Nietzsche's Concept of Value" carried in the special column "Explore and Contend" in the third issue of the 1988 QIUSHI, I have several views which merit "contending."

First, Comrade Wang Keqian's article is short, yet he uses in his article such terms as will of power, will of strength, will of collision and creation, will of collision, will of life, power of momentum, etc. I think all these terms refer to one thing, which translated into English is "the will to power." In China, the term was translated as "will of power" in the past, but later people came to understand that this term was not precisely translated

and might be misleading. Mr Chen Guying re-translated it into "will of collision and creation," while Comrade Zhou Guoping rendered it into "powerful will." Both should be all right. The question is, no matter how you translate the term, the translated version should be united. Comrade Wang Keqian's using in one article so many terms referring to one thing is apt to mislead readers.

Second, Comrade Wang Keqian's article concluded with "Therefore, when we read his works, we must not adopt the doctrine of taking things from abroad, or totally and uncritically accept things foreign." Comrade Wang Keqian identifies the "doctrine of taking things from abroad" with "totally and uncritically accepting things foreign." This is inappropriate. That article went on to say: "Instead, we should, just as Lu Xun said, 'be cool-headed, brave, able to distinguish, and unselfish.'" Actually, immediately before these words, Lu Xun defined the "doctrine of taking things from abroad": "We must use, keep, or destroy them." I do not know why the author interprets the doctrine differently.

Third, as for our attitude toward a Western philosopher like Nietzsche, of course we must take the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint, and method to criticize and analyze his philosophy. However, we cannot be satisfied with merely pointing out the differences between certain ideas of Nietzsche and Marxism as if our task were to prove Nietzsche was not as brilliant as Marx. (Is it necessary for us to prove this?) Why can't we calmly sit down and take a look to find out which idea of Nietzsche's was ignored or only superficially explored by Marxism, ideas which we are precisely in want of now?

Fourth, that article still implies, between the lines, that Nietzsche's philosophy has a certain necessary connection with Nazi fascism. Of course, the author only said: Some points of view in Nietzsche's philosophy can be easily used by certain people as the foundation of their theory. I think we should have already put an end to this injustice which framed Nietzsche up. No matter what Nietzsche did say, or no matter what some one else erroneously thought Nietzsche said, as long as we do not "only quote out of context or quote a philosopher's certain remarks and jump to a conclusion," and as long as we "study the whole process of the development of his philosophy and study it as a whole and in essence," we can easily find that Nietzsche's philosophy could not possibly be the theoretical basis of Nazi fascism. If some one else wants to use it and insists on using it as his theoretical basis, that is his business and has nothing to do with Nietzsche himself or his idea. We cannot call the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius the philosophy of killing people only because feudal rulers in all past generations cruelly suppressed the people under the signboard of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. Nor can we regard Marxism as really connected with Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" only because they posed as Marxists while carrying out criminal activities which brought calamity to the country and the people.

Finally, I feel what that article intends to discuss is a very important question of the present time, that is, the question of the "concept of value." We should rather say: Except for Nietzsche's many biased remarks, his idea of "reassessing the value of everything" can be made use of by our country in carrying out in-depth reform. It is regrettable that the author, after making remarks similar to some greetings, generally adopts a negative attitude on Nietzsche's concept of value. People cannot help feeling this is far from reality.

Du Jiancheng, Jiangsu Provincial Computer Technology Institute

**An Overall Survey of the Evolution of Country to Country Relations in Modern Times—
Commenting on *The Modern World History of Relations Between Countries***

OW1312033888 Beijing QIUSHI in Chinese
No 10, 16 Nov 88 pp 39-41

[Article by Jin Chongji 6855 0394 0644]

[Text] The contemporary world has become a unified, inseparable entity. Major changes in international relations often have a direct impact on the internal situation in many countries. It is now impossible for a country to ponder its problems in isolation from the rest of the world and to return to a previous state of separating itself from the outside world. Therefore, with increasing interest, people desire to understand the actual conditions of the outside world; understand the evolution of international relations of the past, today, and the future; and understand mankind's rich experience accumulated in the course of handling changing international relations. However, very few academic works on the history of modern international relations have been published to meet the needs of the public since the founding of New China. The public is grateful for the publication of Professor Li Yuanming's new work *The Modern World History of International Relations* (published by the Central Party School Publishing House).

The prominent features of Professor Li Yuanming's work are: while focusing on the overall pattern of international relations from beginning to end, he presents complex and changing historical events in a clear, logical order and deals with the relationship between the whole and the part by proceeding from the general trend of the alignment and breaking up of various political forces. The author wrote in his work *International Politics*: "All international events emerge and exist as parts of the overall international situation, which is composed of the parts. The part is subordinate to the overall situation. The overall situation determines the basic direction or dominant direction of the part. Nevertheless, in given conditions the crucial part is often able to influence or

determine the overall situation. This requires that when surveying local international problems, we must analyze the strategic overall situation, and when surveying the international situation as a whole, we must sum up and generalize it after making a concrete analysis of the various parts." This passage can help us understand the method the author used in studying international relations. The method is of great significance in the survey of contemporary international problems as well as the study of the history of the development of international relations. *The Modern World History of Relations Between Countries* shows how the author put the method into practice.

This method of an overall survey of the pattern of international relations can be found elsewhere in the book. A major portion of the book is devoted to the discussion of modern international relations after the French Revolution. The author devoted the first chapter to an introduction to the broad outline of international relations in ancient times and the Middle Ages. At the beginning, the first chapter says: In the ancient world there were countries practicing the slave system. In those days international relations were most active in the region formed by the confluence of the three big continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. The main aim of the diplomacy and wars of some countries in this region was to plunder land, slaves, domestic animals, and food from other countries. International disputes were often settled by the use of military force rather than economic means. In the meantime, some countries began diplomatic activities aimed at making allies and isolating their enemies. Writing on the Greek era, the development of this kind of international relations led to the blending of the races in the areas bordering the three big continents and promoted extensive commercial and cultural exchanges among these countries. Moreover, this gave rise to various forms of international ties, international practices and protocols, and many norms governing international relations. The author's brief and concise introduction to international relations in ancient times will undoubtedly help readers to understand the evolution of international relations since those times.

As he proceeds to modern history, Professor Li Yuanming devotes greater energy to analyzing the overall pattern of international relations. In his book *International Politics*, the following remarks by the author are noteworthy: "History develops as a result of the blending, complementing, and cancelling out of various factors. The international situation is complex, constantly changing, and volatile. That is, various factors are struggling against each other. Some factors are trying to change the situation in their favor, while others are trying to do the same. The situation seen by the public is the one that has emerged as a result of incessant and repeated struggles among the various factors. The situation will not remain static, but will be subject to change because of the movement of various factors." In ancient times the interaction and mutual struggle among different factors were rather simple, but they have become

more complicated and confusing in modern times. It is also very difficult for people to seek the truth about the interaction and incessant operation of various factors hidden behind the scenes in the historical arena. Professor Li Yuanming has made beneficial explorations in making a concrete analysis of specific conditions.

In the modern history of the world, the new international pattern established by the Vienna system occupied the dominant position for nearly half a century after the end of the Napoleonic era. What were the mutual relations between the different political forces and the situation in which they developed behind the international pattern? The author made a meticulous analysis of this question. He said: The collapse of the Napoleonic Empire considerably weakened the unity of the four major powers in Europe (Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria), a unity that took shape during the war against Napoleon. Britain, then the strongest economic power, moved to undermine the balance of power in Europe, worrying that Czarist Russia would replace France and gain the dominant position on the European continent. "Although there were numerous contradictions among the victor countries after the destructive war, they had no intention of launching another battle in their rivalry for the spoils of war. The victor countries tried their best to establish a new international pattern acceptable to all, in order to preserve peace and prevent the recurrence of armed conflicts. This led to the convocation of the Vienna conference. In the history of Europe, the influence of the Vienna Accord surpasses the Westphalia Treaty of 1648 and parallels the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919. The political relations and spheres of influence formed following the signing of the Vienna Accord were maintained until the middle of the 19th century. Some basic principles for the handling of international affairs laid down by the accord enabled Europe to escape the looting of major wars for a whole century (since the Crimea War of 1853 and the 1870 war between Prussia and France were local wars)." ¹

Although the overall pattern of this kind of international relations plays a decisive role in the development of events, we must not draw the simple conclusion that man should remain helpless due to the development of events. On the contrary, complex international situations often require decisionmaking politicians and diplomats to make sober-minded and accurate decisions before making their choices wisely. Under similar historical conditions, they may make a correct choice or a wrong choice. The choice may have a relatively powerful acceleratory or delaying effect on the development of world history and may lead to different results. All this is what the author meant in the book when he said: "Actual diplomacy is far more complicated and richer than subjective imagination (if one believes that foreign policy only mechanically reflects the interests of the ruling class). Here, the subjective factors of the principal rulers of a country play an important role." ² The vivid and rich historical experience presented by the book will undoubtedly increase our wisdom and teach us how to

take control of the complicated and changing international situation and arrive at a correct judgement and make a correct choice. History scholars should pay particular attention to this.

The Modern World History of Relations Between Countries pays much attention to depicting the role played by historical figures in the evolution of international relations. Sometimes it gives a vivid description of their individual characters and styles. This not only makes the book more attractive to read, but also stimulates deep thought in readers by which they obtain useful enlightenment. Let us see how the author depicts the role played by the French diplomat Dalielan at the Vienna Conference. France was originally the loser in the war at the time and was in a very unfavorable passive position, but Dalielan correctly judged the new international situation that emerged following the fall of the Napoleonic Empire. Clearly noticing the deep potential differences and conflicts among the victor countries, he used them to disintegrate the alliance among the victors so as to enable France to participate in the negotiations as an equal of the victor countries and to play an important role. Taking advantage of the mental condition of the victors, he put forward an "orthodox" principle and repeatedly explained that France was no longer the France under the "usurper" Napoleon, arguing that France, as a great orthodox kingdom, should naturally be restored its original territory and power. As a result, only a few months after its defeat, France was again accepted as one of the powers. Such an incident is rare in the history of international relations.

The diplomatic tactics used by Cavour and Bismarck, two historical figures, to unify Germany and Italy is colorfully portrayed in the book. The unification of Germany and Italy was the two great nations' long-term wish, but it was difficult for them to fulfill their wish under the circumstances of the international relations in the first half of the 19th century. After the Vienna conference, Italy, which was within Austria's sphere of influence, was internally disunited. Sardinian Prime Minister Cavour, a resourceful diplomat, knew well the international relations situation. He knew full well that his own power was no match for that of the powerful Austria and that Italy's unification was out of the question. Therefore, he spared no effort to seek help from France. He even signed a commercial treaty which was unfavorable to his country with France at the expense of the economy. When the Crimean War broke out in 1854, he broke with convention by siding with Britain and France and fought against Russia, a country which had no conflicts with Italy. The outcome of this war was that Russia was defeated and France again became a power on the European continent. Russia was quite dissatisfied with Austria, which was an observer during the war. France wanted to take advantage of Austria's diplomatically isolated position to expel it from Italy, so France initiated a war against Austria so as to expand its own sphere of influence and consolidate its hegemonic position on the European continent. The author has devoted much space to pointing out: It is precisely on the basis of Cavour's correct judgement of the above international relations that

he expressed willingness to incorporate Sava and Nice into France so as to forge a friendship with France, and resorted to diplomatic skills to instigate and induce Austria to declare war so as to concoct a pretext for war. When the Austrian Army intruded into Sardinia, France supported Sardinia and they jointly fought against Austria. The victorious end of this war and Garibaldi's occupation of Naples finally led to the basic realization of Italy's unification. Had there not been Cavour's circumspect and farsighted diplomatic skill, Italy's unification might have fallen through at that time.

In Germany, there was a situation quite different from Italy. After the Westphalia Treaty, of 1648, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation split into more than 300 dukedoms, free cities, and knightships. The most powerful of these were Austria and Prussia. In the 1850's, Prussia's economic power increased faster than Austria's, and soon Prussia became the center of Germany's unification. At that time, Bismarck was appointed prime minister of Prussia. The author writes: "Bismarck made appropriate decisions in the complicated international environment by bringing his diplomatic talents into full play. He had specific goals, which were usually realistic. To reach his goals, he was good at adopting various measures. If conditions were nonexistent, he waited." ³ Bismarck knew full well that the big powers (Russia, Austria, and France) on the European continent were afraid and would inevitably step forward to obstruct Prussia from unifying Germany, because a unified Germany emerging in the central part of Europe was not favorable to them, and that once these countries became united, they could completely defeat Prussia's plan. "Bismarck estimated that in order to unify Germany, it was necessary to fight against Austria and France, because Austria persistently opposed Prussia unifying Germany, while France would rise up to intervene in Prussia unifying all states in South Germany." ⁴ "It is quite clear that if the four powers of Russia, Britain, France, and Austria had been able to take concerted actions, they absolutely could have smashed Prussia's attempt to unify all German states around it. However, because of conflict of interests, each went its own way. Thus, Bismarck availed himself of the opportunity to display his diplomatic talent." ⁵ The author devotes much space to describing in detail how Bismarck, who thoroughly understood the international relations around, cleverly took advantage of the contradictions between the four powers of Russia, Britain, France, and Austria, and resorted to diplomatic skills by maneuvering among various political groupings. He first checkmated country B with country A, and then checkmated country A with country B. He even made some sacrifices for the purpose of seeing a certain country taking a neutral stand for a few months. He chose the appropriate time and defeated each of them one by one. He won victories in three wars against Denmark, Austria, and France one after another, and carried out the great cause of Germany's unification. These analyses are legion in the book.

One question difficult to handle when writing on the modern history of relations between countries is the relationship between Europe and other regions of the

world. On the one hand, we must oppose some Western scholars' "theory of Europe as the center of the world," which is full of national prejudice; on the other hand, we must take into full consideration the actual conditions in different historical periods. The author's view is: "A pattern which regards Europe as the center did exist in the world's modern international relations. Therefore, to seek truth from facts while retelling the world's modern international relations, we can only unravel the main thread—the development of international relations in modern Europe—instead of unraveling all threads in a balanced manner." ⁶ The author points out that Europe as the center started to change after the end of World War I. However, the author does not ignore the importance of other regions in international relations. As a result, he devotes several chapters to modern international relations in the United States, Latin America, Africa, Asia, and China, and points out that their role on the international stage is becoming increasingly important and conspicuous, so that readers can have a full understanding of the complete picture of interrelations between all countries in the modern world. This is also a special feature of the book.

Of course, this book is not without shortcomings. The author devotes his major efforts to an overall survey of the development of modern international relations. The book has very extensive contents, and although many questions are mentioned, the book seems to lack a minute analysis of questions as done in another of the author's works, *A Critical Biography of Napoleon*, which is based on more extensive firsthand foreign language reference material. However, this subject, as far as the scholars of our country are concerned, is only in the initial stage of exploration. I believe the publication of *The Modern World History of Relations Between Countries* will certainly spur on China's academic circles to develop an in-depth study of the modern history of relations between countries and achieve still more fruitful results.

Footnotes

1. *The Modern World History of Relations Between Countries*, p 145.
2. Ibid., p 7.
3. Ibid., p 270.
4. Loc cit.
5. Ibid., p 272.
6. Ibid., p 9.

Monthly Digest

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[Published 20 Oct 88 in GUANGMING RIBAO]

[Text]

Political Theory

Group Decision-Making Should Be the Party's Fundamental Way of Decision-Making

Zhong Guoxing [6988 0948 5281] believes that as a political group, a party's decisions must fully reflect this group's will. Therefore, decision-making by the group in a democratic way should be the party's fundamental way of decision-making.

Both group decision-making [ji tuan jue ce 7162 0957 0414 4595] and collective decision-making [ji ti jue ce 7162 7555 0414 4595] are the opposite of decision-making by an individual. However, collective decision-making also has its inevitable shortcomings: 1) The scope of decision-makers is, after all, still limited to fully reflect the group's will. 2) By dividing the concentrated powers to several individuals, collective decision-making gives them the added burden of checking each other, creates more chances for conflicts among them, and is not conducive to improving work efficiency. 3) More often than not, the outcome of checking among individuals is not proper restriction of power but mutual interference and competition for power. Particularly when complicated personal interests are involved, collective decision-making is liable to become weak and feeble and even lead to the loosening of party discipline. Therefore, collective decision-making should ultimately develop into group decision-making.

As a matter of fact, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, group decision-making has been playing an increasingly important role in the party's work. For example, several important decisions were adopted by the party congresses and some of them underwent extensive discussion within the party. This has been a good start for our party to bring into full play the function of group decision-making.

What should we do then to further bring into play the party's group decision-making?

First, we should strengthen direct democracy among the party's grassroots organs.

Second, we should bring further into play the functions of party representatives' meetings and party committees among the middle and upper-level party organizations.

Third, while strengthening group decision-making, efforts should be made to improve the group decision-making system, including the regulations governing motions, discussions, voting, submission of reports, and approval procedures in order to ensure orderly, efficient, and correct group decision-making.

From 20 Oct GUANGMING RIBAO

Reasons for Low Interest in Economic Theories

Chen Yan Qing believes there is an intimate connection [between low interest and] prevalent abnormal economic operations. Economic activity itself has two facets. One is normal economic activities; the other is abnormal economic activities. However, in the current transitional phase between the old and new economic structures, conditions have emerged for many abnormal economic operations, making it possible for some to engage in abnormal economic activities. A characteristic of all speculative activities is the worship of fortuity; consequently, any theoretical research is unnecessary. This is one of the important reasons for the lack of interest in theory. Reasons for lack of interest are: 1) Regular economic activities can arouse people's interest in studying theories. 2) It has something to do with the rapid decline of pretended interest in theory that went on for many years. During the years when the "class struggle was taken as the key link," the whole nation lived in frequent, but not objective or historically necessary, political movements. Except for "theoretical" support, there was no place where one could expect to find some support for the political movements, especially movements like the "Great Cultural Revolution." Under these circumstances, theory became an echo chamber of politics and the spectacular theoretical activities became an extension of the spectacular political movements. Although history has justly discarded this kind of abominable politics and theory, their disastrous effects are still ruining the people's genuine interests in theory. 3) It is directly related to the status of those intellectuals who implement theoretical activities. For various reasons, the state of affairs for intellectuals as a whole, including theoretical workers, has not improved thoroughly and they are still not accorded the social status befitting the cream of the nation, which they really are. Moreover, in addition to the deficiency in the structure of knowledge, modern Chinese intellectuals, influenced by protracted feudal traditions, often lack a positive critical spirit. This cannot help but become another important reason for the lack of interest in theory.

(Abridged by Chang Gui [1603 2710] from JIAOXUE YU JANJIU [Teaching and Research] No 5, 1988)

Philosophy

How To Study Capitalism

Wu Jiang [0702 3068] believes that in re-evaluating capitalism, it will not do to concentrate our attention only on the phenomena of cross-sections without making a historical

study. We should, of course, focus our attention on capitalism after World War II, including the recoveries of the Western Europe and Japanese economies from the serious crises and general disintegration of the old structures; how the United States injected cardiac stimulant into these heartlands of capitalism; and attempts at internal reforms among capitalist countries, including the introduction of welfare policy and nationalization of key enterprises. (Mind you, some people then regarded these measures as a way of peaceful transition). We should pay special attention to how the capitalist countries, since the 1960's, have started to achieve rapid progress and realize their great potential.

A re-examination of capitalism is something that should be done in the study of Marxism. Moreover, the stern situation socialism faces today leaves no other choice. This re-examination, however, should still be done in accordance with the methods devised by Marx. The purpose of this re-examination certainly is not to rediscover the "natural beauty" of capitalism and its immortality (such a thing does not exist), nor is it to praise capitalism at the expense of socialism, remove the line of demarcation between the two, or merely borrow some terms and concepts from works in Western economics. In addition to re-evaluating the current status and characteristics of capitalism and trends of development, and the general relationship between capitalism and socialism, it is important for us to understand the mechanisms, styles, and methods used by modern capitalism in developing the productive forces in order to find something good and useful to socialism. It is only natural for socialism, as a successor to capitalism, to learn from capitalism in matters of production and inherit all the things good and useful. Moreover, the coexistence and peaceful competition of the two systems and economies has become an undeniable objective reality. We must find out, from our stand, effective channels for regular, mutually complementary and beneficial contacts between the two types of economies.

(Abridged by Song Qing [2646 7230] from LIAOWANG No 42, 1988)

Science

Nie Huatong [5119 5478 2717] on China's Reform of the Scientific and Technological Structure

In his article "My Understanding and Impression of the Road of Development of Science and Technology in China," Professor Nie Huatong of the State University of New York in the United States has analyzed the structure of science and technology in various countries and expressed his opinions on China's reform of the scientific and technological structure.

Nie Huatong holds that different countries have different types of scientific and technological structure. To sum up, there are mainly three types of structures: 1) Centralized planning, such as in the Soviet Union before reform; 2) Market mechanism, such as in the United

States; 3) Combination of centralized planning and market mechanism. Japan's system is based mainly on market mechanisms, but the government also provides macro-guidance. Therefore, Japan belongs to the combination type. The three structures all have advantages and disadvantages. Countries implementing centralized planning can easily concentrate all forces within a relatively short period and achieve good results in a few projects. However, due to the system's lack of flexibility to correct mistakes and make improvements, science and technology can be seriously out of line with production. In countries which adopt the market mechanism system, research, application, and technological development are mostly conducted according to the requirements of various enterprises, and their governments generally will not interfere with decisions made by the enterprises. This kind of operational mechanism seems quite mixed and disorderly, but it can avoid the disadvantages of centralized planning. Accordingly, science and technology can give full play to their roles in various economic areas. In Japan, which adopts the combination type of scientific and technological structure, the development of science and technology is mainly decided by market mechanism, but the government actively plays a supporting and guiding role in leading enterprises to set long-range goals in technological development. This has important effects on Japan's industrial development.

In the past, China's scientific and technological structure generally followed the Soviet system. This system apparently cannot meet the requirement of developing the national economy in order to modernize the country. Therefore, reform is necessary. In China, government guidance still occupies a leading position. The current reform of the scientific and technological structure and scientific and technological policies adopted in China are mainly reflected in "technological renovation and expansion." China hopes to effectively use science and technology in various fields through renovation and expansion. Of course, reform will always meet with many difficulties and problems, so China's departments in charge of science and technology should gradually improve their reform measures and policies. The work also requires support from all circles in the society. Nie Hua-tong believes that China's scientific and technological structure is developing in a direction which will benefit China's economy.

(Abridged by Ji Yao [0370 1030] from CHINA SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY FORUM/No 4, 1988)

Literature and Art

The Main Points in Building Marxist Literature and Art

Yan Zhaozhu [0917 2507 2691] holds that the theoretical building of Marxist literature and art should stress form and achieve a dialectical unity of contents and form. For this purpose, it is necessary to enhance our ideological understanding in the following three areas: 1) It is necessary to grasp the nature of reflection of literature and art in

the light of different ideological levels and the internal relations of things; 2) It is necessary to affirm the leading position of aesthetic standards in the creation of literature and art with the method of reflection which is characteristic of literature and art; 3) It is necessary to grasp the people's nature of literature and art in the light of the class nature and dynamic equilibrium of ideology.

Spiritually important, aesthetic standards and the economic foundation become the important intermediary of literature and art (in different ideologies). Observing society as a whole, they include the following precepts: 1) The economic foundation and various ideologies influence language and art and their change and development through aesthetic standards; 2) The economic foundation and various ideologies influence art and its related culture, and their course of change and development through aesthetic standards; 3) The economic foundation and various ideologies provide spiritual and market demand for the creation and development of literature and art through the intermediary of aesthetic standards. Observing the individual writer, we can see: 1) Aesthetic standards play a leading role in creativity and give expression to various suppressed spiritual demands and desires. They also follow the ideological trend in the entire course of creation; 2) Judging the purpose of creativity, the understanding of actual beauty and the seeking and creation of artistic beauty are all realized through the intermediary of aesthetic ideals.

(Abridged by Mang [3047] from LITERATURE AND ART STUDIES No 5)

Several Important Contents of Hu Feng's Thinking in Literature and Art

Zhu Zhai (2612 1396) holds that Hu Feng's thinking in literature and art includes the following central elements: 1) He stressed that writers should take a serious attitude toward life and opposed the attitude of "smiling and grimacing" toward life. He demanded that writers embrace life with zeal and "break into the dense forest of life." On the relationship between literature and life, he did not practice "subjective idealism" like what has often been used in articles of criticism. 2) On the premise of what was mentioned above, Hu Feng stressed that writers should have "subjective fighting spirit." It includes "sharp responses," "fervent enthusiasm," and "profound power of thinking," because those are the "sources" of creation. This view can make up for the shortcomings of only considering life as the source, of passivity, and mechanical observation and reflection. It also explains the problem of some literary and art works which lack vitality and individuality; 3) He stressed that literature and art is a course of mutual promotion and restraint of the subject and the object instead of a simple formula of "life—summarization—description." He stressed the inherent logic of exposing the hidden target through struggle and persistence in the course of mutual promotion and restraint. People who could explore the course of literary and art creation in such a penetrating and systematic way like him

were quite few at that time; 4) The principal characteristics of Hu Feng's literature and art criticism, using his own words, is "the unity of sociological evaluation and aesthetic evaluation." Without considering the validity of this viewpoint, its application can at least avoid using limited understanding to evaluate the whole of an article or book.

Hu Feng was a rigorous theorist and critic of literature and art. Reexamination of his thinking on literature and art has not only a general but also a practical significance.

(Abridged by Zhu Tiezhi [2617 6993 1807] from WENXUE PINGLUN No 5, 1988)

Reform and Opening Up to the Outside World on the One Hand and National Rethinking on the Other

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[Article by Hu Zhaozheng 5170 2507 5899]

[Text] Most probably because of the deepening and broadening of reform and open policies on Mainland China, national rethinking is on the rise. On the basis of comparing and analyzing modern and historical events both at home and abroad, people engaged in this rethinking are trying to understand why China's social and historical development has been so sluggish since the late Middle Ages. As changes at home and abroad are the general trend today, the appearance of such a cultural trend of thought among the Chinese people to seek a fundamental answer is inevitable in our time. Such a phenomenon should be thoroughly studied and need not be approached with shock, bewilderment, embarrassment, or fear. I do not think it is bad for a people or a country to have a sense of crisis, or even be warned about the possibility of "being eliminated from the earth." This is because, to cite an age-old cliché: "Much distress regenerates a nation!" It is not accidental or by chance that, along with the founding of the People's Republic of China, the song with these words—"The Chinese nation faces its greatest danger; from each one the urgent call for action comes forth"—became the national anthem. The idea of "separating ourselves from the enemy" should be regarded as a fine tradition. The issues are how we should understand this sense of crisis, what sort of consequences it may generate, in what fields it will have an effect, and if its proponents will act according to what they preach. Generally speaking, any concept, slogan, idea, or theory can evoke different views and feelings in different societies, times, places and environments among different people, and can produce absolutely different responses and effects. The sense of crisis is no exception.

We are truth seekers, and we are deeply convinced that truth is not easy to find. One reason is that it is not easy for any one individual or country to really know himself or itself. China is a good example. It is a big, populous, and multinational country with a long history. Looking at it from the perspective of the entire history of mankind and

drastic changes throughout the world, people could very possibly have different views when describing and analyzing China's special features and determining China's "national situation" to determine the basis for its rejuvenation. Since this is an important subject concerning the destiny of the country and the people, it should be an encouraging sign that a hundred schools of thought can contend and a hundred flowers can blossom, especially when such contention and blossoming are based on democratic discussion and people's enthusiasm. However, because of the above reason, the contenders, while discussing important policy decisions of far-reaching significance in a populous, vociferous country, should know: 1) that they must have a sense of social responsibility; 2) that they must conduct investigations and studies and pay attention to learning from historical experiences and social development so that their reasoning is rational; and 3) while praising or criticizing worldly events, they should be brave in exposing problems and following what they preach, and they should be good at criticizing and be brave in criticizing themselves.

Different historical stages have different trends of thought reflecting the direction of economic development and the needs of political struggle of the times. In a historical stage, various schools of thought reflecting its trend of thought emerge and contend. During a vigorous process of trial, modification, rejection, and penetration, these different schools of thought interreact and promote or weaken each other's influence. In the final analysis, like the surging waves of the Chang Jiang, the wheel of history rolls on and society develops continuously.

As far as China's national conditions are concerned, even though differences of opinion exist, there are common viewpoints. For example, this is probably an indisputable fact: China, a nation with a long history of feudal society, still faces remnants of feudalism and bureaucratism which have seriously impeded the reform and open policy and the modernization drive. In ancient times, China was a closed society with a decentralized small-scale peasant economy, ruled by a highly centralized bureaucratic administration based on the natural economy. Ossified thinking, outdated practices, and a clannish superstructure hindered the development of the social productive forces. The special features and intensive meaning of this social phenomenon are not necessarily identical in different dynasties (for example, the Qin, Han, Sui, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties). Of course, the tasks to combat feudalism today cannot be equated with those in the old society, especially in view of our successes in carrying out the new democratic revolution, overthrowing the feudal political rule, and implementing the land reform. Therefore, it is precisely because of this that in the face of the new arduous historical tasks, it is extremely important to eradicate feudal remnants and oppose bureaucratism. The rapidly changing world demands that the Chinese people stir themselves to catch up with the pace of the times; that is, that they develop a planned commodity economy, accomplish socialist modernization, give expression to socialist democracy, raise the quality of

the people, and revitalize the Chinese nation. Hence, it is necessary to make a realistic assessment and take a clear-cut stand in guiding, criticizing, or opposing various phenomena—ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign, rightist or leftist—encountered on our advance. As for things that still need to be tested and scientifically verified in the course of practice, we may proceed with caution and, where conditions permit, rely on others' "boats" or "bridges" to get across the river and march on toward our fighting goal.

It is with this sense of understanding that I have read and appreciated Comrade Mu Sen's "Notes on Gonghuacheng Castle." I had the privilege to be the first reader of the author's postscript. He says that the pernicious influence of feudalism was never "seriously repudiated" after the founding of New China and that a sense of social mission has prompted him to "vehemently oppose feudalism" and prepare the collection of articles to criticize feudalism. I read the postscript twice. As the author said, the focus of the articles is to attack feudalism with renewal of the concept and reform of the system. Moreover, the main objective is to prepare the public for a deeper and broader scope of the government's reform and open policy. As a reader, I feel that Comrade Mu Sen has assumed a serious approach in discussing the past and present and sometimes making self-criticism based on his personal experience and readings from newspapers and magazines, thus vividly revealing his sense of social responsibility in the book. Quite a few articles in the book, I would like to point out, not only have an unusual theme but also are full of new ideas. Some of the articles have provided me with food for deep thought. For example, I was profoundly inspired by the article "Contending for Legitimism." In my opinion, there are many excellent articles in "Notes on Gonghuacheng Castle," such as "Here Is Another Saying," "Old Saying Restudied," and "Topics on Journalistic Reform." Readers can indeed benefit from these.

Nobody is perfect. I am not in total agreement with the views stated in the "Notes." In some of the differences, the author may be correct; while in others, there may lie an abstract meaning which is difficult for me to understand. Whoever leads a normal social life must have his or her own limitations.

**Thoughts From 'The Angel Lost Her Smile'—
Reading 'The Red Cross,' Which Is Published in
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[Article by Lin Weijin]

[Text] Problem report literature has been garnering more and more momentum in the past 1 or 2 years, with many works drawing a lively response from society. Depicting the grievances of the medical circle, "The Red Cross" written by Xie Zhihong and Zhao Jingping, is, however, not as heavy as "Prices, Prices, Prices," or "Migrating in the West," both of them either dealing with more general social

phenomena, or exposing more profound social and historical problems. At present in all walks of life, except for a handful of people, who does not feel the heaviness and weariness of life?

Housing shortage, low income, difficulties getting children enrolled in kindergartens and schools, distress associated with seeing the doctor. Even those just moving into high-rise houses are facing some trouble getting health care for their children. And to get grain, edible oil, and foodstuffs transferred, it could oblige units to spend a bundle of money and send out people three or five times to get it done. Doctors and nurses are no different from ordinary people, and therefore they are not exempt from the wearisome problems experienced by them. Moreover, constantly dealing with illness, pain, and death, they can be more heavy-hearted. Because of their profession, many nurses have missed the chance of getting a husband. At 33, Little A, though married, is homeless. For years she and her husband have maintained their man-and-wife relations only by going to a movie on Sundays. In Beijing, nurses on the average have to work from 14 to 21 midnight shifts each month. As a result, some of them fall unconscious from overwork. What about doctors? They "often work through a morning without getting a mouthful of water or going to the rest room, and after a long day of work, their heads get very dizzy and giddy, their backs hurt, and they have trouble speaking clearly. They can hardly get up from their chairs without first shifting their weight onto the desk, otherwise they are bound to fall right off their chairs." In summer, after performing a major operation, they can take off 4.5 kg from their weight. "At the end of a major surgery, with hands numb and eyes blurred, they can hardly get a thread through." This is what the article presents to us that depicts the life of the respectful medical workers who none of us can do without. Thus overworked day in and day out with few venting channels for their pent up emotions, their restlessness and anxiety can only increase. The end result is this: On the one hand, people complain about and condemn the general downturn of medical ethics, while on the other hand, doctors and nurses feel that they are being wronged. At present, we have more patients than can be properly taken care of by the existing medical personnel, who are heavily loaded with work, yet get inadequate economic return and face rising commodity prices: a double imbalance.

This is why the angel lost her smile. "The Angel Lost Her Smile" reminds us that teachers of middle and primary schools are overworked and underpaid, and that many a scientist and technologist has long been playing the silent giver without being compensated in kind. The train of thought further leads us to ponder the consequences of knowledge depreciation. This is not a problem particularly associated with the medical community, the education circle, or any other profession or trade. It concerns the whole society and the future of the whole nation. If the majority of intellectuals go for the kind of job that does not require much intellect and pays well, before long we will be faced with an illiterate society. And with an illiterate society, we can hardly pursue our four modernizations, not

to mention stand tall and upright among the nations in the world. What concerns us more is the harm that the sharp contrast between these imbalances can do to people's souls. In the article it is mentioned that many young doctors regret that they have chosen the wrong profession. In our society, how many people in other professions and trades do not have the same or similar feelings? We indeed have to get serious to tackle these problems. A comprehensive approach to solving these problems is urgently in order. However, a more urgent task is, I believe, to bring the national spirit out of the people, create a national hero to inspire the people, and reestablish a spiritual pillar that is generally accepted by the people. No matter how perfect a blueprint is, it needs people to carry it out, people who have the initiative and are willing to work hard.

As an unrefined art form, the artistic strength of report literature may well come from the rubbing and clash of life's "unfinished moldings." As a news report's objectiveness and truthfulness still cannot satisfactorily meet people's requirements, there is really a good opportunity for problem report literature to flourish. In "The Red Cross," what interests us is the vivid materials it offers. The article is full of understanding and sympathy for the medical workers, while describing some social problems. Looking from another angle, however, even if readers may gain better understanding of medical workers after reading this article, can we expect medical workers to know more about their patients and uphold medical ethics? The report literature writers certainly cannot offer a square meter of housing to doctors and nurses, nor can they relieve patients' pains. With a large amount of detailed, truthful, and touching material, however, they unroll a large scroll of picture before us and help us to gain some understanding, from different angles, about medical workers as well as patients. They help span a bridge for people to understand each other. Of course, understanding should be followed by respect, instead of overleniency for each other's mistakes. Each of us lives a hard life, but none should give up his responsibility and calling. That is what a person is worth, no matter if he is a doctor, nurse, driver, or street sweeper. This is what came to my mind after reading "The Red Cross."

Grave Sweeping

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[By writer Zhou Liangepei of the Yunnan Branch of the Writers' Association of China]

[Text] At tomb sweeping, everyone presented their poems. I did not write a poem. To me all that I could write about at the moment had already been done by the heroes resting here.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's "Requiem Mass" again rang in my ears. It mirrored our grief. Every moment we see a new life born onto the Earth while another life departs. "Requiem Mass" has been accompanying the deceased to

their last resting place for years. However, those who lie here are no ordinary dead but extraordinary heroes, heroes who died on the Laoshan battlefield for their country.

Here they will forever rest in peace, silently.

They will never hear the songs we sang for them. They will never read the poems we presented them.

On Martyr Liang Ling's bullet-battered, blood-blotted notebook I read these two lines:

Oh motherland, all that is mine is yours,

All that is yours is mine!

The martyr rests in peace now. He deposited new treasure into the Earth. From the premise that all that is his is ours, he proved that all that is ours is his, too. That is in itself a great spiritual treasure he left to us, a strength of the time, and a spiritual power to break off fetters.

Now that he is in his chilly tomb, he will never know what we say. We, the living, can prove the worthiness of his sacrifice only by the meaningfulness of life.

What he showed us is not a "blue dream" as described in some poems, but a real life, a life that is not always rosy, that spares us no everyday grief, that can confuse us with problems as we go ahead, and that hurts sometimes like a soldier/poet recently parted from his fiancée. But in the very end of its course, there is construction.

What the living have to comfort the dead is living life to the fullest.

The Lotus Root Snaps But Its Fibers Stay Joined—In Memory of Noted Writer and Educator Professor Feng Yuanjun

*OW1312033888 Beijing QIUSHI in Chinese
No 10, 16 Nov 88 pp 47-48*

[Article by Guo Tongwen]

[Text] The flashes of lightning and rumble of thunder were quickly followed by a pouring rain. "The weeping willow dances in the east wind that rose suddenly, while thousands of raindrops are being heard in the heart of the lotus pond." As I gazed on the lotus pond outside the window, I began to feel worried for the lotus in the pond besieged by the storm. However, I saw those round green leaves of lotus clinging closely to each other, while every lotus stood firm and straight, showing no sign of fear in the face of the blast of wind and rain. The lotus turned out to be even more stunning, clean, and beautiful after the baptism of the rain. Viewing the scene, I cannot help but recall the "lotus-like" character and personality of our country's well-known writer, educator, and uniquely first-grade woman professor, Feng Yuanjun.

I was her student when she was the vice president of the Shandong University and director of the classics teaching and research section of the Chinese Language and Literature Department. In the early 1960's, when I was teaching the works of Zhu Ziqing in the Chinese Department of the Shandong University, I asked her to describe the scenes and sights of Beijing and the Qinghua Garden at the time Zhu Ziqing wrote *Moonlight on the Lotus Pond*. Later, I asked her for the details of the writing and publication process of *Juan Shi* which rolled off the press at the same time as *Moonlight on the Lotus Pond*.

It was also on a rainy day, I remembered, when we talked about the publication of her book *Juan Shi*. A little excited, she look out of window and said: The publication of the book *Juan Shi* is owed entirely to Mr Lu Xun, who personally edited the book and wrote a letter to his good friend and a noted painter, Tao Yuanqing, asking him to design the cover of the book. In the book, Mr Lu Xun compiled four of my novels written in 1923, which were *Isolation*, *After Isolation*, *Travel*, and *Loving Mother*. The book was published in January 1927. He had really worked his heart out for the book's publication!"

I said: "In the prelude to *Anthology of China's New Vernacular Literature, Novel, Volume 2*, Lu Xun said: *Juan Shi*, the title of a collection of Feng Yuanjun's short stories, is derived from the name of a kind of grass that can 'live on even with its core plucked out'..."

"Indeed, Lu Xun knows best how to cultivate and help writers and can best understand the creative intention of a writer. Look, in the title page, I even quoted two lines from *The Ode on Da Mo* by Shang Tingyun, a poet of the late Tang Dynasty. That was exactly what I meant." As she spoke, she took a slim book with yellowing pages from the book shelf and handed it to me.

A current of warmth flew through my heart as I received the book *Juan Shi* which was edited by Lu Xun and published in 1927 under the author's pseudonym Madame Gan. On the title page, I saw the verses: "The musk turns to dust but its aroma lingers, the lotus root snaps, but its fibers stay joined."

Master Feng continued: "These two lines were used to describe the common subject of the four novels in *Juan Shi*, which is persistence in striving for independence and fighting against feudal marriages and ethics, a determination that will not be thwarted even by death, just as the fragrance of musk will linger despite the fact that the musk turns to dust and just as the fibers of a lotus root will stay joined despite the root being broken!"

"Indeed, Master Feng, the subject reflects the trends of the '4th May' Movement and appeals strongly to young people at the time. Just like what Lu Xun praised: They are 'exquisite works' and 'true portrayals of the young men'."

"Secondly, I was using the poem to show that a promising writer should have the same spirit as well." These words of master Feng warmed my heart like a balmy spring breeze.

Then she told me how to tutor and educate the youth as a literature teacher at university. Afterwards, using a writing brush, she wrote with dexterity in my text book the following poem: "Flowers are blooming in the garden, whose protection is in the hand of the master; help the flowers blossom with full force, they will reward the master with their fragrance and beauty."

When I left master Feng's house, it was raining even harder. In the rain, master Feng told me once again: "Educate the younger generation in a way which is worthy of our ancestors!"

I pondered on the significance of these words while walking: In the past 50 years, master Feng had taught in many universities across the nation, including the Nanjing, Beijing, Wuhan, Anhui, Dongbei, Shandong, and other universities. She was a professor of the Chinese classics. She taught the development of classical novels and dramas and post-Tang and Song dynasties poems and verses. She had written many important books: *The History of Chinese Poetry*, *Concise Edition of Chinese Literary History*, *Anecdotes of the Southern Drama*, *Introduction to Ancient Drama Performers*, *Notes on Ancient Drama*...

Master Feng devoted all her efforts and energy to teaching. When "the Cultural Revolution" began, she was labeled "reactionary scholar" and was thus stripped of the teaching rights. In 1973, she was admitted into the Jinan Provincial People's Hospital for treatment of cancer of the rectum. Even when she was critically ill, she was concerned about literary teaching and the growth of a new generation of writers. She even mistook patient ward and nurses' office for classrooms and the Classics teaching and research room and started lecturing despite the fact that the illness had robbed her of most of her strength. Although she was extremely weak, her lecturing was as clear and touching as ever, which moved all of us, her students who visited or took care of her in the hospital, to tears. We were touched by her spirit of "the lotus root snaps but its fibers stay joined."

At that time, China was plagued by "the four pests" and all voices were silenced. Now, the literary article enjoys full freedom and master Feng could talk as loud as she wanted about the glorious literary heritage of our motherland. And yet, she has left us for good.

As I looked at the lotus outside the window, I found the flowers nobler and more splendid after braving the wind and rain. Remembering master Feng's "help the flowers blossom with full force, they will reward the master with their fragrance and beauty," I cherished even more the memories of a well-known writer, educator, and dedicated teacher.

A Fish Farmer

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[Article by Zhou Miao 0719 3267 of the Baoding City Federation of Writers and Artists in Hebei Province]

[Text] Water has finally reached Baiyangdian Lake, which was dry for nearly 5 years. Clear water gushed into the lake, moistening its thirsty bed and gladdening the people's anxious hearts.

The blue water brought pleasure as well as worry to the people of Baiyangdian.

With water filling up the lake, they will never have to worry about the supply of fish, lotus, water chestnuts, and lotus roots. The days when the lake was filled with fish and shrimp and when the fragrance of lotus spread to 10 li away will soon return. How can they help but be happy?

What worries them is that the flood came so suddenly and so swiftly and violently that it brought destruction to the means of living the Baiyangdian people had adopted in the days when the lake was dry.

There is an area called Guolikou in Baiyangdian, where long ago Emperor Kangxi built a temporary palace for short stays. Today, there resides a daring, specialized fish farmer family. The husband is called Che Xiaoguo.

Che Xiaoguo and his wife run a fish pond occupying an area of more than 20 mu.

His wife is an ordinary woman, hard working and willing to bear hardships, the kind of woman typical in Baiyangdian. She stays near the fish pond almost every day, reluctant to leave even for a short while when she must prepare meals. People say: "The fish pond is her life."

In addition to granulated fish feed, she also give green grass to the fish. When she learned from comrades of the Aquatic Technical Station that endives contain high protein, she immediately went to the reed pond to gather endives to feed the fish.

In summer and autumn, it is very humid at the reed pond, and people have difficulty breathing. The reed leaves, like small saws and needles, cut and pricked into her hands and shoulders, producing bloodstained cuts. Yet, with her face turning red and sweat flowing, she continued to work enthusiastically, gathering the endives, cutting them into shreds, and putting them into the fish pond.

When she saw the fish swarming up for the food, a smile of satisfaction appeared on her red face....

People talked about how big their fish were and how large their catches were, but they could not imagine how much effort they had expended. Wiping beads of sweat from her face with the corner of her jacket, she said: "I am happy of

heart despite the physical hardships. I am lucky to live in such good times; otherwise, I would not have a chance to endure this kind of hardship even if I wanted to." Baskets upon baskets of fish caught from the pond brought her pleasure on numerous occasions. Before the flood, she paid, without hesitation, a high price for fine quality fish of grass carp, carp, silver carp, and gurnard and put them in the pond.

News of the flood came when she was just trying to raise the fish with pleasure and great expectation. Upon hearing the news, she shed tears of joy. Then, remembering her fish pond, she became dumbstruck....

All these years, the Baiyangdian people have been anxiously longing for water. She could not help but cry with happiness when she heard the good news of the coming of water. Yet, when the rolling waves of the flood reach and swallow the fish pond, her years of painstaking efforts will go down in the drain! Events in the world and people's feelings are always characterized by contradictions, by uncompromising contradictions!

The couple recruited their fellow villagers to help them catch the grown fish from the ponds first.

But what about the small fish still swimming unknowingly in the pond? She stared at the fish pond blankly, heartbroken.

The villagers suggested: "Get them! Don't bother about their size! They are also money!"

Biting her lips, frowning, she remained in silence.

Unable to wait any longer, someone shouted: "What are you waiting for? Everything will be gone once the water reaches here!"

Her frown disappeared, but she still remained in silence.

Someone said: "Remember the efforts you have put in. You cannot...."

Water was rising slowly, pounding against the dikes of the fish pond.

Suddenly, she sighed with sadness and then decisively declared: "No! I will also be heartbroken if the fish are caught and served as food. Let us take a longer view and let them go. Count this as my contribution to Baiyangdian's fish breeding!"

Before long, water swept over the fish pond and the small fish joyfully swim with the rising water to the big lake, taking with them her blessings and hope....

Next year, perhaps the year after next, when fishermen catch fat fresh fish from the lake, they will remember this woman's contribution to her village. With the passing of time, many years later perhaps, her deeds may become a widely told legend in Baiyangdian!