

The Nature of a Secretary's Work

– An Intimate Discussion with Officials in Prefecture and County General Offices

March 1990

The general office is a key department within a unit, system, and organ. How the work of general offices is conducted has a great impact on the work of the Party committees and even an entire region.

Therefore, leaders in every location are concerned with and show great care for the work of their general office. “Planning takes place within the tents of command, victory is achieved thousands of miles away.” If the general office is well run, we can guarantee that all work will be smoothly carried out.

1. Four characteristics of office work

I previously worked as a secretary in the General Office of the Central Military Commission, so I am a colleague of you all. I later worked in county, city, and prefecture Party committees and government, and I am intimately familiar with their relationships to their general offices. From my experience, I have learned that there are four words that best describe the work of the general office:

First is **“important”** — the position is an important one. The work of the general office can be summed up in three parts: playing a policy advisory and brain trust role; serving those both above and below them; and secret and confidential work. All of these are important tasks. In 1975 Deng Xiaoping said while talking about rectification that these people are critical to the work in any given place: director of the general office, chief of the public security bureau, and head of the organization department. This shows the importance of the work of the general office. Since it advises decision-making, the general office always works closely with the leading authorities. When done” well, advisory work can advance the smooth implementation of Party principles and

policies. When not done well, it will impact the big picture and even lead to serious consequences. Within a work unit, the general office is the gatekeeper for the core secrets of leading authorities, and any leaks will harm the Party and the nation. Even something like a leak of confidential personnel information from our prefecture would impact the unity of the leadership and stir up emotions. The general office also serves as “a window” to the outside. The impressions grassroots officials and visiting officials make of our prefecture and leaders are’ related, to a great extent, to the work of the general office. When the quality of work is outstanding, people will say that this place does good work. If office personnel do sloppy work or take on brash attitudes, people will think that the work done in this place must be a mess. Therefore, the work of the general office is closely related to the overall work.

Second is “hard”— office work is not a walk in the park. Everyone working in the general office experiences hardships, with in – trays that are never empty, frequent calls to work overtime, and even working through the night .Even the arrival of Saturday does not guarantee free time. Secretaries rushing to meet deadlines have it even harder, as their work is extremely intense and the workload is particularly burdensome. Liu Zhen of the Eastern Han Dynasty described such work vividly in a poem, ‘Writing all day without stopping to eat, skipping dinner when the sun goes down; after burying my head in books all day, I return home with eyes in a daze.’” Such is a secretary’s life.

Third is “complex”—the job is quite complicated. Work in the general office ranges all the way from top-level affairs of state and important decisions to indoor sanitation and officials’ welfare, from receiving top leaders to contacting ordinary citizens, and from the innermost secrets to public sentiments- everything is fair game. Internal work may cover things such as research, information, investigations, petitions, reception, classified information, archiving, printing, and dispatching. Office officials have to deal with several, dozens, and even hundreds of matters each day. We are constantly being pulled

in every direction, and feel like what the poet said that “it is so beautiful on the Shanyin road that one can hardly catch all the scenes along the way.”

’Fourth is “difficult”— the level of difficulty is quite high. The work of the general office is all— encompassing and open in every direction. We both have to manage relationships all around us, and also adapt to the leaders’ work styles and methods and serve them well. There are a million things to take care of when it comes to implementing tasks assigned by leaders. Some of these things must be done immediately without delay, and some are continual, ongoing tasks that must be attended to at all times. It takes incredible concentration and a continual state of heightened awareness to determine what is most urgent and what can wait, and not overlook things or make mistakes. At the same time, the general office deals with many everyday affairs. When achievements are made, those of us who work in general offices do not receive credit and remain unsung heroes behind the scenes. When there are problems, we may become the focus of everyone’s attention, which can make us run the gamut of emotions until the situation is resolved. Sometimes we will be blamed for others’ mistakes and make accommodations for the sake of overall interests. This type of situation is truly difficult to deal with. In a sense, each task is a result of the hard work and dedication of our general office colleagues.

2. Three wishes for the work of general offices

How should we perform the work of general offices? All of you are the most qualified to speak on this subject. I can only express three wishes based on my own experiences and work.

My **first** wish: have a strong sense of responsibility. The work of the general office affects all work. This requires that all of our office colleagues have a strong initiative, earnest work attitude, and scrupulous work style. The work of the general office involves many secrets, and there are specific rules on where each document can and cannot go, which we must carefully follow. In particular, some matters involve political and economic

intelligence, requiring from us an even greater sense of responsibility, habit of maintaining silence, and restraint from opening one's mouth where one shouldn't. The work must be done meticulously. As the old saying goes, "One word out of place can wreck the entire sentence; one mistaken sentence can throw off the entire passage."⁶ Documents drafted in the general office don't need to be written in flowery language, but they must be carefully completed. This is not an over-the-top requirement, as it is directly related to decision-making. Therefore, we must train and employ workers who can deftly wield the pen, so the leaders don't have to wrack their brains for the right choice of words. This is a minimum requirement. Except when we are working under tight deadlines, all written materials we send to our leaders to look over must be a clean copy. We cannot look on this as being additional work. If all sorts of revisions are made on a messy draft for which we cannot tell who made the final revision, no one can be held responsible for the final document. Therefore, we must have a strict manner of work that has a high degree of responsibility and strong sense of initiative.

The general office is the main organ of a work unit, and it must always be acting as a model for the entire unit. It must pay attention to all aspects of work, including reception, sanitation, and impressions it makes on people. As part of the office, secretaries of leading officials often relay the leaders' intentions and handle matters on their behalf. Their quality and manner of work directly reflects the spirit and appearance of the leading organ. Therefore, the general office must care about the political and work performance of these secretaries. The general office should make sure that they receive criticism for poor performance, and that they frequently report on their thoughts and work. Secretaries serve the leaders out of a need for their work and do not have any political privileges. On the whole, the general office is a complete machine. This machine requires a clear responsibility system, strict management, and sensible measures, so those of us working in it will know our position, act within the rules, perform our given duties, and

take up our responsibilities. We must react nimbly, operate quickly, and adapt to the needs of all sides.

My **second** wish: work with high efficiency. The general office has to handle many, many tasks each day and resolve conflicts and problems in all sorts of places. This means that we must always be improving our work efficiency. Otherwise we will not be able to properly provide the “three services”, and this will impact the work in general of the entire prefecture. To improve our work efficiency, I believe that we must learn to apply dialectics, be clear about priorities, and earnestly reflect. We must “plan based on importance, arrange based on urgency, connect with above and below, and balance between internal and external.”“That is, we must make use of the office as a whole, consider what affairs are major and urgent, always keep our eye on matters of great importance, and get a handle on urgent tasks first. We must communicate with those all around us, let those below us know what is happening above, and remember the difference between the internal and external. All tasks must be properly assessed and methodically completed.

Another important job that the general office performs is in its advisory role. The office is expected to promptly provide policy recommendations and solidify leaders’ decisions into concrete opinions. If our office can analyze situations from every angle just like foreign “think-tanks” do, and frequently offer suggestions for major policy decisions, it can greatly help the leaders to make decisions and choices. Currently, there are many tough problems and hot-button issues in our economic development and social work. They require us to conduct thorough investigation and research, provide targeted measures for analyzing and resolving problems, and offer leaders at all levels valuable policy references.

My **third** wish: provide high-level service. Providing service is an important job of the general office. First, I want to emphasize the notion of providing service both before and after events occur. For example, when an important prefecture and county meeting is held, staff in the general office must

get in place beforehand. In particular, the office director, meeting secretary, and extra office hands must arrive early to prepare for the meeting. After the meeting, they must write up minutes and documents, and checkup on implementation and feedback. **Next**, the service must be prompt and thorough. The general office must help share the burden of our leaders. **Third**, our service must take full responsibility and leave nothing overlooked. For example, when our office runs on a strict 24 - hour schedule, those on duty cannot leave even for a minute. If an emergency or major incident suddenly occurs while the office is empty, lack of timely response will not only be considered negligence, but also have consequences. **Fourth**, our service not only must be diligent and earnest, but also agile. For example, we must put forth our best effort when receiving guests. We should establish a set of guidelines for reception, organize a hospitality team, and prepare consistent promotional materials and reports. Going forward, we can have designated officials responsible for reporting and accompanying visits. Meals can feature local products and traditions as long as they comply with applicable standards. Each county can prepare its own local menu that is both unique and economical. In this way, everyone can enjoy a good meal and learn about the local food culture within the limits set by the standards. Why not show our hospitality with such a simple gesture? Prefecture and county leaders should attend events in accordance with the rules and reduce participation in mere courtesy events to the extent possible. Those involved in reception work should serve the guests with warmth and consideration: put yourself in their shoes, think about what they will need, and help resolve their problems.

3. Office secretaries should strengthen self-cultivation

Secretary is a special profession. Many people believe that the most prominent feature of a secretary's work is serving in a supportive role like a supporting actor. I think this is both right and wrong. It is right in that a secretary truly does supportive and foundational work as the leader's assistant. It is wrong in that a secretary has even less space than a supporting actor on the

stage, as the secretary has no spoken lines or opportunities to share the spotlight. The nature of the secretary's work means that he/she must have the proper attitude toward fame, fortune, and honor, with a selfless spirit, and continually strengthen self—cultivation.

How can secretaries strengthen their self-cultivation? During the Song Dynasty, Lü Benzhong in his famous *Admonishment to Officials* argued that all officials must be clean, prudent, and diligent. I think that if we update his ideas for today's age, they can serve as the minimum requirements for staff in the general office, in particular secretaries to leading officials. To be “clean” means to act with integrity and have nothing to hide. To be “prudent” means to give careful consideration and be cautious in words and deeds. To be “diligent” means to study hard and do our best to advance. Of course, these three requirements must be met while remaining politically and ideologically faithful to the Party Central Committee. Secretaries must always be studying — studying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong.

Thought, Party guideline principles, and policies, and the issues of our times. In this way, we can continually deepen our understanding of theories and improve our political qualities.

Given the special nature of the work of a secretary, it is not enough just to work hard. I personally have experienced that secretaries must not only strengthen self—cultivation, but also focus on developing good manner of work, take note of the little details in personal life, and strive to stay away from five things:

First, don't be self—conceited. We cannot mistakenly believe that we have nothing to fear just because “our organization has a big name and our leaders will back us up,” nor can we allow the misuse of the names of our leaders and of the office to seek out personal profit.

Second, don't be arrogant. We must check our sense of superiority, and never be domineering, arrogant, bossy, or commanding with grassroots officials and people.

Third, don't be boastful. We must not show off or brag. When it comes to the work and personal life of a leader, we cannot discuss it publicly or make presumptuous comments. And a tight lid must be kept on internal Party secrets.

Fourth, don't be ashamed of yourself. We must overcome the urge to underestimate ourselves or feel like we are not up to the task. We cannot "open our mouths only to stutter, and take a step only to stumble." We cannot be mindless yes—men with no views of our own.

Fifth, don't get a big head. We must not think we have all the answers and change or add our own views to our leaders' instructions. We cannot be careless, do the bare minimum to get by, or not take our duties seriously.

In general, secretaries must frequently check whether our own thinking and work are "in position"—it cannot "be misplaced" or "overreach." In our relationships with our leaders, we must strive to "participate and not interfere, assist and not exceed our authority, and comply but not follow blindly." I believe that as long as we are always clear about our own position, we can become secretaries fully qualified for the job.

4. Prefecture and county Party committees must support general offices

Local Party committee leaders must understand, trust, and respect the work of the general office in order to truly support and make full use of it.

First, due attention must be given to the Party committee's work on the general office. Prefecture and county Party committees must hold special meetings each year to discuss the work of their general offices and help them resolve actual problems. Leading officials of prefecture and county Party committees should frequently communicate with the staff of the general office to share thoughts, discuss work, and listen to everyone's opinions and suggestions.

Second, leaders must involve themselves with office team building. Now we are facing the difficulties of selecting, transferring, and promoting officials in relation to the general office. By "difficulty of selecting," I mean it is hard to

find candidates with superior political qualities and writing skills. Even when we do find good candidates, it is still difficult to get them to work in our general offices for various reasons — this is the “difficulty of transferring.” Due to the limited number of job openings, it is also difficult to promote officials who have worked hard in the general office for a long time, who diligently do their jobs without complaint, and who perform exceptionally well. Our leaders must be determined to resolve these problems. One measure to take is to set strict entrance and exit criteria. We cannot compromise on the criteria for new hires. Incoming colleagues must be politically reliable and of excellent character. I want to stress that we must be able to transfer suitable people within our prefecture as we deem fit. To truly resolve the problem of difficulties in selection and transfers, there should be no bargaining or restrictions by department or locality. Personnel departments must also boldly promote and employ qualified office officials and resolve the issue of office personnel hanging around in the same positions for too long. We cannot afford to play favorites in general offices; those who are not suited to such work should immediately be transferred out. If office personnel have lax work attitudes, take too many liberties, and have poor political and professional qualities, the image of Party committees will suffer. Leading officials of prefecture and county Party committees should be informed about key personnel changes in general offices. On the whole, we must step up office team building and ensure that staff bring vigor to their office work so that general offices continue to run effectively.

Third, leaders must show concern for the learning, life, and political progress of our office colleagues. On the one hand, we must create favorable conditions for all who work in general offices, including organizing study sessions and tours out of the office, as we can only improve the level of our policies by gaining a better understanding of the situation outside the office. Office work is fast-paced, but we still must schedule study sessions and let our colleagues in general offices step away from their desks for new learning. On the other hand, we must also acknowledge the hardships office staff encounter in their

lives. On top of performing hard work on the job, our colleagues in general offices lead very plain lives and their families often have unmet needs. However, these colleagues have made the conscious choice of dedicating themselves to the Party, taking on responsibility for their work and making contributions behind the scene. Such a choice of theirs is all the more reason for our leaders to recognize the sacrifices of our colleagues working in general offices. In particular, leaders should do their best to help address concerns that our office colleagues have about schooling for their children, housing, and other difficulties in their lives, so such problems will not come back to bite us in the end.

Notes

1. See Sims. Finn (145-90 BC), “The Basic Annals of Empetol Gaozu,” in *W or £s of the Grand Histories*.
2. A native of Ningyang, Dongping (modern Shandong Province), Liu Zhen (186—217) was a scholar of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25—220). He was one of the seven leading writers from the Jian’an Period.
3. This is based on the following line from “Speech and Conversation,” in *Selected Tales of the World* by the Song Dynasty’s Liu Yiqing, “Whenever I travel by the Shanyin road, the hills and streams naturally complement each other in such a way that I can’t begin to describe them. And especially if it’s at the turning point between autumn and winter, I find it all the harder to express what’s in my heart.” [Source of English translation: Liu Yiqing, in *New Selection of Tales of the World - II*, trans. Richard B. Mather (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 71. Mather’s English translation was revised to be consistent with the rest of the text. —Tr.]
4. ‘ This is a line from Liu Qi’s preface to *Selected Tales of the World*

Clarat.cut, a highly technical reference for the study of grammatical function words in ancient Chinese texts. It was first printed in 1711, during the reign of Emperor Kangxi.

5. At a national symposium for senior Party secretaries from general offices held in 1985, the director of the General Office of the CPC Central Committee, Wang Zhaoguo, put forward the concept of the “three services,” which are serving the leadership, serving government offices at all levels, and serving the people.
6. See Feng Menglong, “Chapter 26,” *Chronicles of the Eastern Zhou Kingdoms*. A native of Changzhou (modern Suzhou, Jiangsu Province), Feng Menglong (1574-1646) was a writer and dramatist of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). He was dedicated to studying, organizing, and writing popular literature such as novels and operas.
7. A native of Shou Prefecture (modern Fengtai, Anhui Province), Lü Benzong (1084-1145) was a poet of the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279).

Water Droplets Drilling Through Rock

March 1990

Upon settling in the countryside, I saw firsthand the power of dripping water drilling through rock. That image, which captured the spirit of persistence, has stayed with me all these years. It has become a well worn source for contemplating life and movement.

Rock and water are two opposing elements that are used to symbolize dogged stubbornness and gentle fluidity. Yet despite being “gentle,” water will drill through “solid” rock over time.

As a metaphor for people, this is the embodiment of a certain moral character: it is the willingness to rise to fight each time one falls and the courage to sacrifice oneself. A single drop of water is small and insubstantial. It will die a cruel “death” in any battle with a rock. Yet in that brief moment of “sacrifice,” even though it cannot see its own value and achievement, it is embodied within the countless drops of water that have already fallen, and the triumph of finally drilling through the rock. From the perspective of history or development of an economically disadvantaged area, we should not seek personal success and fame. Instead, we should strive to make steady progress one small step at a time and be willing to lay the groundwork for overall success. When everyone doing our work models themselves on a droplet that is ready to sacrifice for the greater good, we need not worry that our work is not important enough to make lasting change!

As a metaphor for things, dripping water is a demonstration of dialectical principles that use softness to overcome hardness, and the weak to control the strong. I believe in the invaluable spirit of that drop of water, which bravely goes into the breach with no thought of retreat. Those of us who are involved in economic development will inevitably encounter complications in our work. We can either rise to the challenge or flinch and run away. It all depends on

whether we have the courage to adhere to philosophical materialism. If we allow ourselves to be filled with trepidation, the kind of fear that comes from standing at the edge of an abyss or treading on thin ice, we will lack the courage to do anything. We will accomplish nothing. Nevertheless, courage alone is not enough.

When dripping water takes aim at a rock, each droplet zeroes in on the same target and stays the course until its mission is complete. The drops of water fall day after day, year after year. This is the magic that enables dripping water to drill through rock! How can it be that our economic development work is any different? Just look at areas where the economy is lagging. Historical, environmental, and geographical factors have all played a part in holding back development. There are no shortcuts. Nothing can change overnight. Instead, we need to focus on the long haul by turning quantitative changes into qualitative changes. We need to be the dripping water that drills through rock. When talking about reform and opening up, we cannot assume that help will be coming from left and right, nor can we afford to wait until conditions are perfect enough to ensure success. Instead of building palaces in the air, we need to square our shoulders and get down to work. When talking about economic development, we cannot simply race to build high-rises and open up big factories, nor can we focus on dramatic results at the expense of necessary infrastructure. Otherwise, success will be elusive, and opportunities will be easily missed.

Instead of daydream about overly ambitious or flashy projects, we need to have a firm footing in reality as we take concrete steps to reach long-term goals. Instead of “setting three fires” in the hope they will succeed, we need to work steadily and make solid progress. Our work calls for the tenacity to keep chipping away. Working by fits and starts will not get us anywhere.

When I describe my awe upon seeing the power of droplets drilling through rock, I am praising those who have the willingness to rise each time one falls, and the moral character to sacrifice for overall success. I am expressing

my admiration for those who develop a solid plan and then have the tenacity to see it through to the end.

Always Keeping the People in Mind

— On Handling Petition Work in the New Situation

April 1990

Petition departments are the bridges linking the Party and government with the people, as well as the windows opening to the sentiments of the people. Chen Zi'ang of the Tang Dynasty wrote in a poem: "The sage does not look to benefit himself, he worries for and aids the common folk." That is, virtuous people do not pursue advantage for themselves, and instead they care about and help the ordinary people. It would have been quite an achievement for the grand ministers of China's dynastic ages to have such a view, but they still saw themselves as sages" and saviors and still had the attitude of looking down upon the people from on high. In contrast, we Communist Party officials come from the people and are here for the people. In petition work it is both our responsibility and obligation to listen to the voices of the people, understand their wishes, improve our work and work manner constantly, and care for and aid every person who needs it. The principal aim of petition work is always seeing ourselves as one of the people and always keeping the people in mind.

In essence, petition work refers to handling letters sent from the people and receiving people who have come to visit. Governments at all levels within the prefecture and counties of Ningde have established a visit appointment system and set dates for leaders to receive visitors. Is it enough then if we simply reply to all letters and receive all visitors? I think not, because this is simply a passive attitude toward petition work, and there is still a gap between the requirements for the work in the new era and the people's hopes for all levels of leadership. In the new situation leaders at all levels need to stop putting on airs, get rid of bureaucratism, and find time to visit people. Thus they may carry out the petition work at the grassroots level and bring the care of the Party and aid of the government into the homes of ordinary people.

Leaders can improve their work manner and overcome bureaucratism by leaving office and making visits to people. As Lenin incisively pointed out, “In the sea of people we are after all but a drop in the ocean, and we can administer only when we express correctly what the people are conscious of.” However, some of our leading officials have truly forgotten our fine tradition of linking with the people, misunderstood the very meaning of Party leadership, and gotten used to issuing orders from above. Some of our other colleagues cannot extricate themselves from the “mountains of papers and seas of meetings.” They seldom make it to the grassroots level, and this forms a barrier that keeps the people away. When this is the case, the opinions and needs of the people do not reach the leaders in time, and Party and government policies and decisions also cannot be effectively implemented.

While visiting the people, leaders at all levels should “watch what they do, find out how much they make, and examine where they live” to learn about their work and life conditions. This can fundamentally prevent the bad habits of authoritarianism and bureaucratism. We believe that leaders at all levels should go to the grassroots with their tasks and problems and closely examine practical cases. Delving deep into the grassroots and improving the work efficiency of leading authorities help with resolving problems at the source and defusing conflicts in their budding stages. At the same time, we must actively educate the people, promote our policies among them, and improve the work manner at all levels of leadership. In this way, Party principles and policies will be fully implemented.

By visiting the people, leaders can have a better relationship with the people and build up a strong notion of serving the people with heart and soul. No matter how senior they are, leaders at prefecture and county levels are the servants of the people and must have the comfort and safety of the people in mind. “Governance lies in reassuring the people; reassuring the people lies in observing their suffering”⁴. The exemplary Party official Jiao Yulu often went to the villages and into households where the poorest and most hard-off people

lived. He took the county Party committee members to the train station where people were fleeing from famine. And when there was a huge snowfall, he had the county officials visit homes of farmers to help them solve problems. He stooped into low thatched huts, sat with farmers at their bedsides, and told them he was the son of a farmer himself. Like the county where Jiao Yulu worked, Ningde is also an impoverished region, and all Party members and officials, in particular those with leadership responsibilities, should think carefully about how they measure up to Jiao Yulu. We should often consider whether we are “completely” and “thoroughly” serving the people, and what we have done for the people and what problems we have resolved within the scope of our own duties. We should consider whether we are trying to outdo our neighbors in terms of “position, wealth, house, wife, and children,” or whether we are willing to roll up our sleeves and toil alongside the people. We can only gain their sincere support by keeping them in our minds and working to advance their interest.

Leaders can hear the voices of the people and submit to their supervision when visiting them in their homes. Since the reform and opening up, the prefectures and counties have realized great achievements in all levels of work, but certain problems still exist. This requires us to pay attention to the voices of the people and consciously submit to their criticism and supervision. We must promptly accept the correct opinions of the people to drive our current work. When given incorrect opinions, we must patiently and carefully explain our thinking based on the situation. Some of our colleagues cannot stand to hear the slightest criticism and aren't willing to perform self-criticisms. Some engage in flattery, give people a hard time, seize upon faults, or wield a big “stick” when people offer their opinions, and this is strictly forbidden under Party discipline. “What is the key to rapid success in establishing order? It is in treating people with the utmost sincerity.” As long as leaders at all levels form true connections with the people, genuinely share their views, and persist in coming from the people and going to the people, our work will continue to improve, and our

causes will thrive and grow.

Leaders also need to visit the people to unite them and stabilize the overall situation. As Deng Xiaoping once said, why do the people follow the Communist Party? **First** is to rise up and be liberated, and **second** is to prosper and find happiness. After 40 years of construction, Ningde, like the rest of the country, has made huge achievements in economic and social development. But due to various reasons, the life of farmers in some mountainous counties and townships is still a far cry from “prosperity and happiness.” When faced with the current fiscal difficulties in certain impoverished counties and townships, our colleagues cannot be like the poet who “heaves a long sigh and brushes away his tears, sad that man’s-life should be so beset with hardship.” Instead, they must actively work out plans, follow the feedback and needs of people, work hard to get more done for them, and achieve solid, beneficial results. They must lay out the concept of beneficial, solid results: this includes supporting economic development and helping the people prosper; it also includes upholding social integrity, fighting those who would spoil our achievements, enriching the cultural life of the people, and creating a good social environment that is culturally advanced, friendly, harmonious, and stable. Furthermore, it includes resolving the people’s difficulties in terms of clothing, food, housing, and transportation, and the people’s needs during birth, old age, illness, and death. It even extends to us being able to care about and help with the small matters like people in remote mountainous areas not being able to buy everyday items such as light bulbs and soap. It is easy to say we will achieve solid results for the people, but it is difficult to actually pull it off. It is easy to achieve one result for one day, but it is hard to keep at it until the end. We must be clear about what is truly important and what is truly urgent. We must have the spirit of “water droplets drilling through rock” and keep plugging away without letting up in our efforts to make the people understand, come around to our side, be happy, and be satisfied.

Notes

1. See Chen Zi'ang, "Poem 19," in *Selected Poems of Chen Zi'ang*, trans. W. J. F. Jenner (1983), 38. A native of Shela'ang, Zifrefecture (now part of Siclauan Province), Chen Zi'ang (659—700) was a writer of the Tang Dynasty (618—907). An early innovator of Tang Dynasty poetry, he had a significant influence on its development.
2. Source of English translation: Vladimir Lenin, "Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(D.): Political Report of the C.C., R.C.P.(B)." in *Collected Works of Vladimir Lenin*, vol. 33 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), 304.—Tr.
3. See "Book 2," in *The Poems of Confucius*, trans. James Legge (1895), 11.
4. 'See Zhang Juzheng, "Memorial to the Emperor Proposing Taxes Be Waived to Reassure the People.'" in *Selected Works of Zhang Juzheng*, trans. David Hawkes (1985), 112.—Tr.
5. A native of Zibo, Shandong Province, Qian Yulu (1522—1964) was a model official of the Communist Party of China. He joined the Party in 1946, and was appointed county Party secretary of Lankao, Henan Province, in 1962.
6. 'A native of Guang'an, Sichuan Province, Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) was a Marxist, Chinese proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military strategist, and diplomat. He was one of the leaders of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and the People's Republic of China. The principal founder of Deng Xiaoping Theory, he was the chief architect of China's socialist reform and opening up and modernization drive.
7. ' See Qu Yuan, "On Encountering Trouble." [Source of English translation (slightly revised here): Qu Yuan, "Li Sao (On Encountering Trouble)," in *The Songs of Qu Yuan*, trans. David Hawkes (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985), 70.—Tr.]

Seize New Opportunities

October 1988

Rectification provides us with new opportunities

Reporter: In interview, I heard some local officials and people talking about that the “yellow earth” coastal area of Ningde Prefecture had failed to catch up with the “last train” of great economic development for various reasons, and now when they are ready to join in the development but it is already too late. Some people therefore say with regret that time is not working in their favor. What do the prefecture's leaders think about this?

Xi Jinping: Now the country is focusing on rectification, and this truly does have an impact on the economic development of Ningde Prefecture. But we also saw that rectification and improvement are similarly indispensable for economically underdeveloped regions. We used to regard Ningde Prefecture as a region at the front line. For nearly 40 years since the People's Republic was founded, state investment in this region only accounted for 4% of the amount invested in the province, and the prefectural economic foundations were quite weak. Despite the small scale of capital construction, there was overheating and disorder. There are still varying degrees of nonconformity to economic law such as blind investment, unclear thinking, and a rush to completion, and this is an impediment to developing the economy. Therefore, we must start rectification.

This is an interview with a reported from *Economic Daily*, first published in *Economic Daily* on October 21, 1988.

However, I want to stress that rectification does not mean recalling or putting an end to reform. Instead, it creates good condition for further reform and helps the economy develop smoothly and healthily. Therefore, rectification will not have a negative impact on the economy of our prefecture, but it will provide our

economically under developed region with new opportunities for development. Ningde Prefecture is mainly mountainous, and has poor industrial foundations. But it has fairly good agriculture, and we can say that we are in a good position to take advantage of the mountains and seas and to develop “big agriculture.” Now the central authorities are trying to reduce overheating and over-expansion, and are driving the point home that the entire Party and country must give due attention to agriculture. These policies will favor our agricultural development. Therefore, this is a new opportunity for our prefectural development. Based on this awareness, in our overall prefectural development strategy, we are mainly focusing on developing agriculture and fully tapping mountain- and sea—based resources. We want to first develop the foundation of agriculture and make good use of our advantages in three areas: township enterprises; forests, tea, and fruits; and aquatic product production. Through the development of modern “big agriculture,” farmers will come out of poverty to prosperity, our foundations will grow, and a production system suited to local conditions will be steadily established.

There’s another point I want to mention: the main reason that Ningde Prefecture is economically underdeveloped is because it lacks electric power and has poor transportation. Without ample electric power there is no way we can develop industry and agriculture and open up to the outside world. We have rich hydroelectric resources here, and some small hydroelectric stations have been built, but run— of—the-river power generation is limited during the dry season. The country is currently adjusting its industrial structure and strengthening its energy, transportation, and raw material industries, so it is a good time for us to develop our power generation and transportation infrastructure. We are currently preparing to link up with the provincial grid and develop two medium—large hydroelectric plants to get our power issues resolved. Transportation is another issue, as we do not have railways through the region, and our roads don’t meet high standards. The people complain of the shoddy quality of the roads’. We plan on

improving the current standards of our roads through private initiatives with public assistance. The coastal Highway 104 will be upgraded section by section, and with key state support we aim to complete it in seven to eight years. We will also focus on wharf construction and program—control telephone systems with 10,000-line capacity. Building such infrastructure both conforms to the current requirement of rectification and lays the necessary foundation for the prefecture’s economic development to take off in the future.

We must dilute the “poor-county mentality”

Reporter: There is truly much promise in this work you talk about, but some of our colleagues feel like they will always be one step behind Fuzhou and Xiamen and can’t get excited about their work.

Xi Jinping: Fuzhou and Xiamen are both in plain regions. They are also centuries—old trading cities with good urban foundations and transportation conditions. We are in a mountainous region with starkly contrasting natural features, so we cannot blindly make unrealistic comparisons with other places. I was transferred here from Xiamen in June of this year, so I have experienced this myself. What is Xiamen all about? A development zone has been set up there, and the state has made a large investment of RMB3 billion. You are in for nothing but disappointment if you try ‘to compare yourself with Xiamen.

Ningde Prefecture, on the other hand, has been named one of China’s 18 impoverished regions; of its nine counties, six are impoverished. To be fair, life is pretty hard in some impoverished counties like Shouning and Pingnan. In other counties, they don’t have it as rough as people joke about them being “impoverished counties where everyone wears a suit.” I’ve had discussions with other leaders in the prefecture, and we have learned that “there are times . . . when a foot is too short, and there are times when an inch is too long” and “the pines and cypresses need not be envious of the peach and plum trees”—we are not inferior to others in every way. This is an old revolutionary

soviet area with large minority populations. We are recognized as having impoverished counties and receive preferential policy treatment. On the one hand, our economy is underdeveloped. On the other hand, the state also shows its concern for the region. We must face up to this problem and not let poverty bring our spirits down.

Poor as we are, we shouldn't lose our lofty ideals. We mustn't get used to talking about how poor our county or prefecture is because our county is designated as an impoverished one. Over time we will see ourselves as inferior to others and lose spirit, and this sense of inferiority will lead to a "poor-county mentality." For example, people would not want to sit in the front row during provincial meetings, would wait until last to speak, and would not dare speak in a loud voice. I worry that the badge of being an "impoverished county" may give some people an undeserved "poor-county mentality," and this affect our poverty alleviation work. Therefore, I want to rouse our spirits and pour cold water on such ways of thinking. On the one hand we must admit that conditions here are poor and the economy is backward. We cannot unrealistically compare ourselves with developed regions and compete with them in the number of mega projects and in the rate of development. On the other hand, we must see that this place is like every other place in China in that over the past 40 years it has truly made great strides and seen huge changes. For example, there is industry where there was none before, and we have formed a diversified industrial base with RMB1 billions of output that mainly produces light textiles while also featuring high-end, new, niche and rare products. Our agriculture can hold its own against any other region in the province, and our culture, education, and public health have developed greatly. Such huge changes did not come over night, and instead were like water droplets drilling through rock. They were achieved under poor conditions with little investment from the state — quite an accomplishment in itself. Recognizing our own achievements and strengths can bolster our confidence and self-respect, which will go a long way in helping us steadily march down the path of development.

We cannot wish for a sudden “gold mine”

Report: During our interviews we learned that officials and the people have a strong desire to move quickly out of poverty to prosperity, and they hope that some large projects such as railways, large ports, or development zones will fundamentally change the backwardness of this area overnight.

Xi Jinping: The three main economic topics of our prefecture are building a coastal railway from Fuzhou to Wenzhou, developing a 500,000—ton port at Sandu’ao, and creating the Saiqi Development Zone, which will eventually become a central city. Officials and the people urgently want to move out of poverty toward prosperity as soon as possible. This kind of desire is good, and such enthusiasm is valuable. But it is simply not realistic to place our hopes in huge projects and hope to suddenly be given a “goldmine.”

Railways need huge funds to build, and it is up to the state planners to decide where and when to build them. That is not something we can just go and do ourselves. Of course, we can provide reasonable recommendations and work hard to promote the idea, but such a project will not be realized in the coming period. Development of the Sandu’ao port involves the issues of some old ports in Fujian still not running at full capacity and where limited state funds should be channeled. Ningde Prefecture is neither a central region nor a producer of raw materials or logistics center. These factors all restrict the building of railways and ports. As for turning the Saiqi Development Zone in to a central city, this is no simple task. Central cities cannot be thrown up just anywhere, and instead must naturally be formed gradually through economic development. I threw some cold water on these three hot topics of conversation. That is, we cannot be impetuous, and we cannot hope for sudden miracles. Instead, I believe the correct path is to start from the actual local situation, make full use of current conditions, solidly build agriculture and other infrastructure, and gradually realize development. Of course, we must actively prepare for the big projects we just mentioned so we can do a proper job when the time is ripe. However, we cannot place our focus on

things that we cannot accomplish right now. The same goes for opening up to the outside world. Even though this is located at the opening-up coastal belt, its foundations are the weakest, and it has many disadvantageous conditions for attracting foreign capital, so we cannot compete with developed regions in attracting the three types of foreign—funded enterprises. Our colleagues in Pingnan County say others have “3+1 industries,” while they only have “3+1 roadblocks.” With poor transportation, the path to riches becomes deadlocked. Therefore, our thinking is that we must throw our doors wide open and actively create the conditions to attract foreign investment. We should act as the local conditions allow — open up more in coastal counties with good conditions and not try to force the matter in mountainous counties with poor conditions. We advocate real results rather than phony achievements, and we don’t want to open up just to say we did it.

We will develop the three types of foreign—funded enterprises according to our abilities, working on trade with Taiwan, using traditional ports and major coastal towns to develop trade, and working hard to create our own features in opening up to the outside world. As of now, there are more than 50 foreign-funded enterprises in our prefecture. This year we have already completed negotiations on foreign investment projects totaling more than 10 million US dollars. Nevertheless, the work we are doing now can only be chalked up as training for opening up, cultivating awareness, and laying the foundation for future development.

Notes

1. This refers to the primitive construction of the roads.
2. This refers to industries that process imported materials, process materials according to imported samples, assemble imported parts, and engage in compensatory trade. This form of international trade was developed as a business model in the beginning of the reform and opening-up period.

Thoughts on Economic Development in

Ningde Prefecture

January 1989

Reporter.- I have heard that in the six months since you came to Ningde from Xiamen you have gone to the grassroots to learn about the situation and you already have a deep understanding of the region. I have also heard that you place more emphasis on agriculture. Can you talk a little about this?

Xi Jinping: We can say that economic development in Ningde revolves around farmers to a large extent. Farmers account for the vast majority of the population — this is a basic fact in the region. Agriculture is a characteristic and also an advantage of Ningde. Of course, the agriculture we are talking about is not a small—farming economy; but rather “big agriculture” in the sense of the commodity economy. In the past few years, the economic power of Ningde has greatly increased, and an important manifestation of this is the sustained, steady development of agricultural production and its diversification.

Reporter: I heard you talk about the concept of “big agriculture!” which includes your thoughts on industry. Can you talk about this in detail?

Xi Jinping: The idea of “big agriculture” is inseparable from using industry to supplement and facilitate agriculture. **First**, without a certain industrial foundation, we will have no financial power to speak of, and more investment in agriculture would be difficult. Next comes the reasonable

This is an interview with a reporter from Fujiane Tribune, first published in Fujiane Tribune Issue No. 3, 1989.

adjustment of the internal structure of agriculture, as the formation of an agricultural and side-line product market requires industry as a catalyst. Of course, industry in Ningde should follow its own path. That means we must properly manage the relationship between resource development and industrial structure, focus on the processing and use of local resources, and develop industries with marketable products and local production advantages. The future of industrial development in Ningde lies in building a stable foundation for raw material supply, and we can't "cook a meal without rice."

Reporter: When we say that industry in impoverished regions cannot "cook a meal without rice," three popular topics in Ningde come to mind: developing the Sandu'ao port, building the Fuzhou-Wenzhou railway, and building a central city. May I ask your view on this?

Xi Jinping: I think it's good that people are talking about these three things. This shows that the people of Ningde have a better understanding of our natural environment. Of course, certain objective conditions need to be met before we can build upon what nature has already provided us with. Development projects such as ports and railways depend on macro state policies, and the formation of a central city is the result of long-term economic development. Ningde has unbalanced revenues and expenditures, and it will be difficult to try to undertake large-scale projects on our own at the moment. As the saying goes, "you cannot fly high without a full set of feathers." We need to let more people outside of our region understand the significance of these three things, but we cannot base our future on this alone. Even though these things are possible and greatly needed, this does not mean they are going to happen. Decisions on the overall strategy for prefectural development must fully consider the national, provincial, and prefectural situations, and we cannot try to force the early realization of development goals that are unrealistic to achieve

in the near future. What we must do now is focus on medium— and short— term work.

Reporter: What are your thoughts on rectifying the economic environment?

Xi Jinping: Rectifying the economic environment actually provides Ningde with an opportunity. The intentions of the central government (which is not to press hard on the brakes as some people mistakenly believe) are beneficial to developing the productive forces in regions that are economically backward. Ningde cannot afford to make unrealistic comparisons with others in terms of economic speed and size. The direction the central government is talking us in will allow Ningde to play to its advantages and make up for its short— comings. We can use the opportunity of rectification to allow our region to realize stable, coordinated economic development. It just so happens that the central government's guidance to support agriculture, energy, transportation, communications, science and technology, education, daily necessities, and raw material industries covers the weak links in Ningde, and these are the areas we need to work on the most. We can use this opportunity of rectification to further optimize and integrate key production factors and reasonably adjust industrial structure.

Reporter: Coming, from an opening-up region like Xiamen, what do you think an impoverish region like Ningde can learn from Xiamen when it comes to opening up to the outside?

Xi Jinping: The degree of opening up in one location is determined by the quality of its soft and hard environments. The practice of opening up in many locations the past few years has proven that tax exemptions and deductions are not as attractive as we thought, as foreign companies not only want to save money, they also want to make more money and be able to do business easily and smoothly. Ningde Prefecture can make great strides in building its soft environment, as simplifying procedures, lowering fees, increasing efficiency, and improving service will be very attractive to businesses. Ningde

and Xiapu, the counties slated to be first to open up, should become the prefecture's trial zones for opening up to the outside world. I have especially noticed that it is critical to have an open mind. At the same time, we must avoid the "Matthew Effect" while opening up. If we don't handle it correctly, opening-up regions will become increasingly opening up, and closed regions will become increasingly closed, because there are conditions for opening up, while impoverished regions lack such conditions. "Therefore, to prevent the "Matthew Effect," we must work hard to improve the conditions of impoverished regions. Building a good soft environment in impoverished regions will create conditions there for opening up. Compared to other regions, the officials and people in impoverished regions must feel greater urgency for building a sound soft environment, and I have no doubt they'll work very hard at this and accumulate good experiences in building a soft environment. This is almost the only path for impoverished regions to create conditions for opening up, and it is also a powerful assurance that impoverished regions will not fall behind when opening up is going on all around them. Of course, we must prevent the "Matthew Effect" from occurring in impoverished regions

Reporter: *Economic development requires clean governance, and clear governance in local authorities and departments boils down to the integrity of Party and government officials. What are your thoughts on this?*

Xi Jinping: Integrity in Party and government organs bears on the survival of the Party and whether it will continue to win the support of the people, as well as the fate of the socialist economy. Now the people are calling loudly for clean government. There are four phrases that I think can serve as a wake—up call. The **first** is, "if a thing doesn't belong to us, we don't dare take a hair of it." To me, this is a basic requirement for Party members and officials. The **second** phrase is, "you cannot get everything you want." We cannot think we can serve as officials and also strike it rich. Public officials cannot cover wealth— this is a fast and true rule no matter where you are, regardless of the time. The president

of the United States has an income far less than that of many prominent businesspeople; wealthy workers, farmers, and self—employed individuals will certainly have higher incomes than any of our officials. Any pursuit requires some sacrifice. The **third** phrase is, “with a clean conscience, all things become clear. Party discipline and national laws do not allow for any corruption or exploitation of the people. The **fourth** phrase is, “working for the interests of the local people with each term in office.” The purpose of being an official is to contribute. And when it comes to profiting, we cannot “take it as our own” or covet material benefit and scheme for private gain.

Notes

1. See “Intrigues of Qin (I),” in *Intrigues of the Warring States, Intrigues of Warring States* is a compilation of anecdotes about strategies and speeches given by visiting scholars during the Warring States Period
2. See Su Shi, “Two Prose Poems on the Red Cliff.” (Source of English translation: Su Shi, “Two Prose Poems on the Red Cliff,” in *Selected Poems of Su Tung-p’o*, trans. Burton Watson (Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press, 1994), 96. — *Tr.*]
3. This is based on the following line from “Book 6A” of the *Mencius*, “I desire fish, and I also desire bear’s paws. If I cannot have both of them, I will give up fish and take bear’s paws.” [Source of English translation: Mencius, “Book 6A,” in *Mencius*. trans. Irene Bloom (New York Columbia University Press, 2009), 127. — *Tr.*]
4. See Anonymous (from the Song Dynasty), *Collection of Writings of Famous Worthies*.
5. This is a line from Huang Zongxi (1610—1695). A native of Yuyao, Zhejiang Province, Huang Zongxi was a philosopher and historian of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

Work for the Interests of the Local People

With Each Term in Office

January 1989

Bridges and paths

The main responsibility of leaders is to resolve problems of “bridges” and “paths.”

The “bridges” refer to building bridges that serve as channels for the people to develop commodity production. For example, leaders should make reasonable arrangements for the regional economy and provide correct guidance and effective services. This is not enough, however, as we must also focus on clearing some of the misconceptions among ‘the people that arise from reform and opening up and straightening out certain relationships. For example, the Third Plenary Session of the 13th CPC Central Committee proposed the principle of “rectification and correction,” and many people believe that this is a sign of slowing down or bringing to a halt of construction and reform. This is caused by people not understanding the spirit of the Third Plenary Session from a positive angle. Just as improving traffic order and repairing road surfaces are meant to let vehicles pass through more quickly, rectification is meant to create the necessary conditions for furthering reform. This demands that we both look to the big picture and take the local situation into consideration. We can neither say

This is a conversation with a reporter from Anhui Daily, first published in Anhui Daily on January 18, 1989.

we are exempt from following the Party Central Committee’s principles due to our special circumstances, nor expect ‘rigid uniformity.’ Therefore, we should clean up disorder where it appears, never let the economy get too hot or too cold, protect or apply pressure when necessary, and facilitate and control where appropriate. All of this is part of the effort to drive healthy,

stable economic development. This is what we mean by resolving problems of “bridges.”

“Paths” refer to determining the path of local economic development, which must be done in light of the overall plans of the central and provincial authorities while considering the greater background and prerequisites of the entire task at hand and the actual local situation. Ningde Prefecture is an old revolutionary base area inhabited mostly by minorities; it is a remote, and impoverished mountainous region with 913 kilometers of coastline and over 300 islands. For readily apparent reasons, after the People’s Republic was founded little investment has been made in this region, and its economy is still quite backward even today. What can we do? We must start from the actual situation and take advantage of the prefecture’s geographical location. We must seize the opportunity to plan and implement a strategy for coastal economic development. We must not make unrealistic comparisons, sit on our hands, or act rashly. The key is in thriving through constraint and eventually realizing development. “A journey of a thousand miles starts from beneath one’s feet.” Our first step must be to make sure we do what we can in the short term. This is the path we must follow.

Positive actions

Karl Marx once said, “Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programmes.’ I’m not calling for more slogans, but for positive actions. In the past we adopted many effective measures, and just like in a relay race the baton was passed toward, and with feet planted firmly on the ground real results were achieved.

In the past Ningde relied on agriculture, and in future we must still rely on the overall development of agriculture. Developing “big agriculture” is an unchangeable goal for Ningde and the basis for its farmers moving up from poverty to prosperity. In late 1985, the Fujian Provincial CPC Committee proposed “resolving food and clothing issues within three years” for the

province's impoverished regions. The Prefectural Party Committee learned from the lessons of the poor results of "free loans to fight poverty" and "rallying thousands of troops to help thousands of families" programs, and adopted comprehensive measures such as joint efforts through-out society and establishing economic entities. After three years of support, the prefecture's poverty alleviation rate reached 87.3%, and some people were already on the road to prosperity. This was the right thing to focus on and the right thing to do, so we've decided to keep doing it for two more years without changing our policies. We'll focus on the key points, bring our work to new levels, increase the poverty alleviation standards, and strengthen the staying power of poverty alleviation. Specific measures will focus both on poverty alleviation for families and on development of township enterprises, bolstering the power of the collective economy at the township and village levels, and aiming to have ten model townships and towns that generate RMB 100 million each in revenue. With a clear path laid out, the key to the next step lies in fighting easygoing pastoral sentiments and bad habits of overstaffing and lack of discipline, and promoting a work manner of taking on a full load and having high urgency and efficiency in which today's work gets finished today. I am all for daring to blaze new trails, daring to take certain risks, not simply following in the footsteps of others, and establishing a tradition in Ningde of "feeling no shame with our predicament, working with iron will, pressing boldly forward, and striving for excellence."

Governing with integrity

With clear work principles and policies, if we don't have good work manners and methods it will be difficult for the principles and policies to play their anticipated role. I heartily embrace the Party Central Committee's judgment that "maintaining integrity in Party and government authorities directly bears on the survival of the Party and winning popular support." The purpose of being a Communist Party member is to forever serve the people. Therefore, the purpose of officials is to contribute, to serve, to be rooted in

ideals, and to not simply seek to benefit oneself. “If a thing doesn’t belong to us, we don’t take a hair of it” — this is a minimal requirement for Party and government officials. We despise those who use their own power to seek personal gain, who are corrupt and accept bribes, and who throw their weight around. Of course, governing with integrity itself is not enough. We must make achievements, be able to improve the local situation, advance economic development, and raise the people’s standard of living. This is why I say government officials should “work for the interests of the local people with each term in office.”

Notes

1. See chapter 64 of *Dao De Jing*. [Source of English translation: Lao Zi, *Tao Te» ching*, trans. I.e. Lau (Harmonds worth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), 125. – Tr]— fi-jTr
2. Source of English translation: Karl Mara, “Letter from Marx to Wilhelm Bracke,” in Karl Mara, *Fredrik Engels. Collected Works*, vol. 45 (New York: Interna- tional Publishers, 1991), 70. —T/:
3. ‘See Su Shi, “Two Prose Poems on the Red Cliff.” [Source of English transla— tion: Su Shi, “Two Prose Poems on the Red Cliff,” in in selected poems *SaTung-p’o*, trans. Burton Watson (Port Townsend: Copper Canyon Press, 1994), 96. – Tr.]

Journalism: Mastering the Fundamentals

May 1989

Make objective analysis and get a clear understanding of the situation

The Party needs to exercise greater leadership in the field of journalism. Our attempts to better understand the profession and improve leadership should be integrated with the current situation. Journalism must have its finger on the pulse of the times. It must recognize the tasks and responsibilities that the current state of affairs thrusts upon it. Ten years of reform has brought great success, but there are still many trials ahead. It is not acceptable for journalists to stick to outdated methods, ignore reforms, or refuse to heed opinions that are raised. They should not simply parrot the words of others, jump on ideological trends, or report without boundaries. Otherwise, things will become muddled. When considering ideological trends in our society, we should stay cool and think by ourselves, without being at the mercy of our whims. Objective analysis takes time. Rushing to judgment frequently leads to one-sided, perhaps even faulty conclusions. Some current issues have made evident that our democratic process and legal system need to develop at a faster rate. We should establish specific, rational steps to determine how to increase that rate and what that rate should be. If we think of democracy in terms of absolutes, attempt to apply an advanced

In mid—May 1989, political turmoil was fermenting in Beijing. Ningde Prefecture held a meeting concerning the work of the media and the fundamentals that journalists should address. At the meeting I talked about the topic. Xu Yiming, a Xinhua news reporter, recorded my views and had them published in *Chinese journalists*, Issue No. 6, 1989.

form of democracy in a society that is still maturing, or skip certain stages of development, then once reasonable demands may turn into serious blunders.

What is democracy? We should avoid painting it with a broad brush. My

understanding is that democracy in a socialist country is manifested in a legal system that promotes the people's interests. Democracy should neither cater to the whims of specific groups or social strata, nor meet their demands. Those who go to extremes to place demands on the people and the country are really just insisting that they receive democratic treatment, with no restrictions on what they do or say and carrying no responsibilities to the government or other people. Does that sound right?! Would you accept this behavior or agree if everyone demanded to enjoy this kind of democracy?!

Of course no. By allowing a specific person or people to enjoy this kind of democracy, not only do you lose your democratic rights, you deprive others of theirs.

Imagine if people did as they pleased. Family planning is ignored, taxes are not paid, and the army and police are disbanded. Finally, the prisons are opened up, and the inmates released. Work standards go out the window. Life no longer has any restrictions. Would you still feel confident about your democratic rights or your safety? Does this sound like a good idea? Real democracy does not come in the form of absolutes. It is subject to specific constraints. At the same time, democracy develops in stages and cannot be rushed. The way we cultivate the quality and management of our democracy must also follow specific stages. Let's take a look at our democracy as it stands now. Has it developed enough to be effective? How has it been applied in elections for village committees? Well, some places have done a good job. Villagers realized they needed to pick good leaders who would serve their fundamental interests. Other places elected clan elders or people willing to compromise their principles in order to get along with everyone else. This has paralyzed rural grassroots organizations. Therefore, when raising a question, we must keep in mind its basic premise and specific background and conditions. Otherwise, it is not possible to ask and answer a question effectively. After all, wasn't the Cultural Revolution' a prime example of "great democracy?" Instead of being integrated with science and the legal system, it was mired in superstition and ignorance. This "great

democracy” led to great turmoil. Anyone can get a few people together to raid a home or pull together a fighting force. You knock me down today. I knock you down tomorrow. Does anyone want a repeat of this history? Without stability and unity, nothing else matters! Hence, the issue of democracy should be addressed within the legal system.

Then, there is the issue of corruption. This really stirs up our moral indignation. Whenever corruption rears its head, the outrage of honest journalists, and anyone who has a conscience, becomes palpable. Nevertheless, we cannot let emotions get the best of us when dealing with corruption. Moral indignation is not enough. We need to have practical ways of fighting corruption at our disposal. There are people who assail against corruption despite being the beneficiaries of special privileges. From birth to death, every stage of life presents opportunities to cut deals or engage in unhealthy tendencies. Neither a stethoscope nor a steering wheel confers power, but some doctors and drivers take advantage of their positions to make dishonest money. This is a phenomenon that calls for our reflection. We should ask why, get to its root causes, and then develop some solutions. Otherwise, we are looking at the phenomenon too simply.

Journalists need to keep up with the times and understand the true function of journalism. Charged with the important task of reporting and guiding public opinion, they should recognize the role of journalism as the voice of the Party and the people. Our Party has a tradition of using the newspaper, radio, and television to publicize the Party’s guideline, principles, and policies. This is a way to educate the people and allow their voices to be heard. It helps develop healthy tendencies, expose corruption and other misconducts, and mobilize the people to participate in building socialism. Our Party places great importance on the deep affinity we share with the people. Ours is the Party that represents the people’s interests. We have no interests of our own that are independent of the people’s interests. We represent their immediate and long-term interests, as well as their local

and general interests. I want to be clear that the Party's guideline, principles, policies, and positions fully reflect the wishes and demands of the people. Relatively speaking, people easily recognize when their immediate or local demands are met. They easily connect the Party's views and positions with events that occur around them. Recognizing their long-term or general interests is more difficult, as those who are in a given locality may not be fully aware of the general state of affairs due to individual differences in education, level of awareness, employment, regional geography, age, and other factors. After all, "Orchid and chrysanthemum flower at different times." Not having the full picture may create distance and discrepancies between their views and those of the Party. In my opinion journalists should focus more on serving as channels and bridges for communication. They should dedicate whatever time and patience is needed to inform the people about the Party's guideline, principles, and policies. Explaining the Party's positions and views will enable the people to have a better understanding of important events in the Party and the country. Equipped with this understanding, the people will naturally embrace the Party's position and act accordingly.

Journalism is a science with close links to politics. That being said, I am not equating journalism with politics, or condoning the abandonment of Journalistic truth for the sake of political necessity. Instead, I am encouraging the media to be more invested in the Party spirit as they uphold their journalistic standards.

Now is a critical time for the country's reforms. People's thoughts and sentiments vary greatly, and friction of interests among social groups occurs frequently. How do we settle these issues? It is imperative that we bring into full play the role of the media in publicizing the reforms and the Party's policies. The reforms are a great social practice. In order to ensure they remain on track and develop properly, the media need to communicate the principles and policies of our Party and government with accuracy and timeliness, report on the course of their implementation, and urge all levels of Party organizations and the government to promptly correct any errors. When confusion exists about

certain issues, the media should provide guidance to clear up any contradictions. They should promote communication among the Party, the government and the people, and try to bring different sides together. The media should also direct their efforts toward enhancing people's understanding and support of reforms, encouraging them to think and act in accordance with "one central task, two basic points," and guiding them to realize the Four Modernization and revitalize our economy and society. I commend journalists for the great contributions they have made to the success of reform and opening up over the past decade. They have worked hard. Journalists play a key role in establishing the Party's political advantage. The ability to promote our work through journalism demonstrates leadership and a modern way of work. Relations between leaders and the people can be categorized into the mystical and the open. Mystical relations are often associated with feudal, closed, or backward societies. Leaders who have open relations with the people tend to be in societies that are progressive and culturally advanced. Party committees at all levels in our prefecture must attach importance to the role of the media and strengthen their leadership of it.

Guide public opinion and foster healthy tendencies

Guiding public opinion and playing a watchdog role are two major functions of socialist journalism. Guiding public opinion refers to using news reports to foster healthy social tendencies. When I say "foster healthy tendencies," I mean guiding public opinion to shore up people's confidence in reforms, tell people about the bright future reforms will bring, and encourage people to adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles. In particular, we want to encourage everyone to follow the guiding principles of the central authorities, participate in rectification and correction, uphold the authority of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and maintain political stability and unity. How can we be sure to guide public opinion in a way that "fosters healthy tendencies?" Well, it requires that all journalists emphasize positive publicity and master the fundamentals of news reporting. In previous years, there was a saying among the media people

that “achievements won’t evaporate even when nobody talks about them.” Clearly, this idea does not present the full story. We have achieved a great deal over the past decade of reform. This constitutes the main part of our work, and our success has been recognized worldwide. Publicizing the news requires a down-to—earth approach in which journalists report on our achievements with confidence, helping to make the Party more cohesive and enhance government authority. These are important points for journalists to keep in mind. They need to grasp the essence of things, report on the dominant trend of issues, and take on the role fostering healthy tendencies. When reporting on difficult issues or hot—button topics that attract great interest, the media should explain the nature of these issues to the public within the context of the achievements brought about by ten years of reform. The media should guide the public to help them understand that these issues are occurring during the period of cross- over in which the old system is being replaced by a new one and there are deficiencies in our democracy and legal system. In time, these issues will be reduced or eliminated completely with further reforms, socialist intellectual and cultural progress, and the development of democracy and rule of law.

While improving their guidance of public opinion, journalists also need to exercise their role as watchdog. This role is vital to the building of the Party and democratic politics. Corruption is inevitable when those in power are not subject to constraints or supervision. Whether we can curb corruption concerns the survival of our Party and the success of our socialist cause. Curbing corruption requires establishing a variety of monitoring mechanisms. The media’s role as watchdog is the most open, extensive, and predominant way to monitor those in power. When emphasizing the building of the Part and the fight against corruption, it is crucial that we help the media exercise their role as watchdog so that corruption can be exposed. The government and Party organizations should encourage journalists to report on the bad as well as the good. We should wield this weapon of supervision to expose various forms of corruption and criticize problems that exist in our work. Leaders at all levels of the Party and

government should approach the media's role as watchdog with the proper attitude. We need to be open-minded and refrain from demanding perfection of the media. We should befriend journalists, value their support for the work we do at the local level through their role as watchdog, and create a favorable political environment for their work.

When the media's watchdog role is used as a weapon, it must be wielded with a strong sense of social responsibility and an understanding of the effects it will have on society. It should be used to promote a political environment that is stable and unified, encourage reform and opening up, and help the Party carry out its work. The media should take an active and constructive role in monitoring the Party and the government. They should focus on gross violations of Party and government policies, and major issues that affect society. They can maximize their efforts by highlighting the most representative cases. Journalists should expose the facts and strive for accuracy. They should adopt a cautious approach when leveling criticism against Party committees and government, and guard against first impressions that may cloud their judgment. Journalists should conduct in-depth investigations and listen to multiple parties in order to draw conclusions that tally with the facts. However, it is important that the media refrain from directing criticism at those issues that are difficult to resolve in the short-term due to current limitations. Instead, journalists should inform the people about steps the Party and government are taking to overcome difficulties and resolve issues.

Enhance the ranks of journalists

Journalists should have a strong sense of social responsibility. We should be clear that news agencies and journalists work for the Party and the people. Regardless of time or place, they have a duty to the Party, the people, and the undertakings of reform and opening up. They need to remember the media's effect on the general public and learn to overcome one-sided reporting.

To perform their job well and write solid reports, journalists need to be earnest learners and have a deeper understanding of policies and theories. The development of the commodity economy has created a more colorful world that demands the media to have enough discernment to see past the surface and get to the heart of matters. This can only be done when journalists are well versed in policies and theories, knowledgeable about the law, and familiar with the rules of the commodity economy. This requires that every journalist is a person of principle who is capable of rational analysis. In short, journalists need to demonstrate a higher political caliber and a stronger knowledge base.

Continuing to work diligently in spite of difficulties must become second nature to journalists. They should uphold the Party's traditions of going deep into the realities of life and conducting investigations and research. The quality of their writing depends on their ability to delve into social realities and carry out thorough interviews. Some journalists in our region have been producing slipshod work. Lounging in their offices thinking up ideas, they base their reporting on information from bulletins or meetings. On the occasional trip to the countryside, they never do more than skimming the surface of things. A survey of news reports on the radio and in the newspaper makes it clear that very few offer quality in-depth reporting. There are a multitude of good stories that never see the light of day because journalists do not put enough effort into exploring social realities. Knowing how to investigate and do research is a basic skill and path to success for journalists. Only by exercising this basic skill will journalists develop into competent professionals who think in the correct way and do solid work.

Journalists should be self-disciplined and adhere to professional ethics. Yet we know that the practice of "buying" journalists is not unheard of in some places. This is entirely incompatible with their code of professional ethics. While only a minority engages in this type of behavior, it erodes the trust and respect that people have for the profession. Journalists are charged with the sacred duty of informing and educating the people. Those who want to educate others must

first be educated themselves. They must be disciplined, honest, and fair. Whether it is political integrity or professional ethics, journalists must hold themselves up to a higher standard. Journalism is a noble profession. It demands that journalists conduct themselves with dignity, have a sense of self-respect, and always strive to do better. It is my hope that journalists will improve their professional standards and develop a good work manner.

Notes

1. This refers to a political movement that was mistakenly initiated by Mao Ze- dong in May 1966 and ended in October 1976. Large segments of the population were drawn into the movement, which was exploited by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing clique. It brought severe devastation to the Communist Party of China, the state, and the people.
2. 'Source of English translation: Lu Xun (1881-1936), "An Impromptu," in *Lau Xun: Selected Poems*, W. J. F. Jenner (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1982), 55. — *Tr.*
3. ' "One central task, two basic points" are the basis of the Party line to guide policymaking during the primacy stage of socialism. "One central task" refers to economic development; "two basic points" refer to the Four Cardinal Principles and the reform and opening-up policy.
4. 'This refers to the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology.

Correctly Manage Six Relationships in Ningde's

Economic development

February 1989

Many factors have contributed to poverty in Ningde Prefecture, and it is our main duty to bring the region out of poverty toward prosperity. The coastal geographic environment easing or cross-Strait relations, and adopting of the opening-up policy have brought new challenges to Ningde in implementing a coastal development strategy. The dual task of poverty alleviation and coastal development strategy has made the work in Ningde more significant and more difficult.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been huge changes in Ningde's economy. Such changes are not *dazzling* short-term changes, but rather changes that have taken place gradually and accumulatively thanks to the determined efforts of all the people in the region. Such changes are a transition from quantity to quality and have the effect of water droplets drilling through rock. Future development in Ningde not only requires the spirit of arduous struggle, but also requires finding the path of economic development that most suits Ningde. I call the guiding thoughts behind this "methods that suit the location, categorized guidance, acting within our means, sparing no effort, and focusing on the benefits." To follow these guidelines we must properly manage six relationships in the economic development of Ningde.

Originally published in *Fujian tribune*, May 1989.

1. The relationship between long-term objectives and short-term planning

Economic development requires a combination of long—term objectives and short—term planning. But while managing this relationship, it is tempting to seek quick results in economically underdeveloped regions. If we only pay our attention to projects whose conditions for accomplishment are not available in the short term and overlook the importance of timing and proper steps, then we will lose all short—, medium—, and long—term objectives. When I started working in Ningde last year, I frequently heard three topics of discussion: develop Sandu’ao, construct the Fuzhou—Wenzhou railway, and build a central city: The fact that people all over this region were discussing these topics shows, in my opinion, their strong desire for change and increased ability to recognize the issues. I have tried to lower people’s expectations toward these three things because I want to emphasize the relationship between long—term objectives and short— term planning entailed in them. In the “Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*,” Karl Marx said, “Mankind thus inevitably sets itself only such tasks as it is able to solve, since closer examination will always show that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution are already present or at least in the course of formation.” Major development projects such as port and railway construction that can easily involve hundreds of millions of yuan in investments rely on macro policies at the national level. The formation of central cities is the result of long-term economic development.

Ningde runs a large deficit, which makes it difficult for us to undertake such projects that require enormous investment on our own. This year and next, the country will be focusing on rectification, which means credit and money will be tight, and large—scale investment in Ningde will be impossible. Therefore, the right attitude should be to recognize the three main objectives and actively publicize and make preparations for them. We must study future development

strategies, but they should be based on a profound understanding of the situation at the prefectural, provincial, and national levels, and we should use this understanding to formulate an “ambitious overall strategy.” We should only look to carry out work that is feasible, and our long—term objectives must be gradually realized in concrete steps. We must both avoid pushing for unrealistic early achievement of long—term objectives and prevent oversimplification of short—term planning.

2. The relationship between the rate of economic development and economic benefits

Speed and benefits are opposing goals that are difficult to reconcile, and it is hard to find the right midpoint between the two. I believe that we should try to coordinate speed of development and economic benefit in order to gain greater benefits. “Try to hurry, and you accomplish nothing.” We should see that pursuit of high speed often excessively squeezes resources, giving the overall economy no room to breathe, and excessive speed has a destructive effect on the development of the productive forces. We stress putting economic benefits first for two reasons: to check inappropriate speed of economic development, and to take into consideration the realities of Ningde. This region has weak foundations and cannot take excessive strain, and we must make sure projects of hundreds of thousands of yuan and above will be successful. Ningde has limited investment channels, so we must pay attention to steering investment toward projects that deliver benefits. Ningde has low levels of management skills, and its product profit margin and contribution to tax revenue are below provincial averages. Currently one-third of its production capacity is not up to full speed. Therefore, there is still ample room for greater benefits through increasing production quality and efficiency and tapping new potential. On the other hand, we should see that even though Ningde has made great achievements these past few years, its main economic indicators are still falling proportionally when we look at the

entire province. Therefore, suitable development speed is still necessary: This can keep us from falling further behind in the entire province and the country at large, and prevent inaction and failure to pursue development.

3. The relationship between resource development and adjustment of industrial structure

There are two prerequisites to properly managing this relationship: **first**, Ningde is rich in resources, but the development and use of these resources are determined by having reasonable industrial policies; **second**, adjustment of the industrial structure in Ningde should be made primarily in light of the current state of local resources. The resources of Ningde are distributed unevenly, but the distribution of industries in the region is more or less even. In other words, the industrial structure does not match the resources, and there are no clearly dominant industries. Leaders at all levels should pay close attention to the mismatch between resource distribution and industrial structure.

For regional economic development in both developed countries and developing countries, if the appropriate industrial policies are not in place, structural productive forces cannot be fully released, and economic growth will not have the speed and benefits that it should realize. Therefore, Ningde should formulate regional industrial policies to determine the optimal structure, priority, and timing of industrial development.

Ningde has excellent potential for its agricultural, forestry, and hydropower resources. I believe that this kind of regional situation should be the basis for adjusting industrial structure in Ningde. Agriculture is an advantage of the region. In the past, development relied on agriculture. Going forward, we still will rely on comprehensive development of agriculture. But we must go beyond traditional farming under the constraints of the natural economy, and step up to “big agriculture” in the comprehensive commodity economy.

Although Ningde has many mountains, the foundation for the forestry industry is poor. Our forest cover and reserves are low. We should adopt positive guiding principles and formulate policies that recognize the strategic role of forestry in poverty alleviation in the region. It is worth stressing that the edible mushroom industry has facilitated economic development in Ningde, but we must properly manage the relationship between this and other industries, in particular the forestry industry. Areas with rapid development in the edible mushroom industry can link forestry to mushrooms.

The all-round development and use of Ningde's sea-based resources are still in the initial stages. We should pay close attention to building pelagic sea fishing fleets. The depth and breadth of shallow sea and tidal land aquaculture should be increased. For shrimp farming, which has already seen some development, we should focus on increasing per-unit yield. For high-end fish, shellfish, and algae farming, we should expand the farming area. The hydropower industry is also a major resource advantage of Ningde. I advocate actively developing hydropower resources in Ningde according to our abilities. Hydropower is a basic industry and also one with good benefits, therefore "as soon as we have money, build power stations." We can raise funds for small power stations and seek to build medium-sized stations with, foreign capital or through joint ventures. Gradually, we will form an electric power system in Ningde with hydropower as the dominant source, integrated with the provincial power grid to accommodate peak usage. We can also integrate factories into the power system to develop the metallurgy industry in Ningde.

I must emphasize that one of the most basic principles of industrial development in Ningde is that development should be compatible to the capacity for self-balancing. The adjustment of industrial structure in each county of Ningde can identify a leading industry or industry groups based on local resources and productive forces. Investment policies targeting leading industries can be formulated and implemented to expedite their development. In turn,

growth in the leading industries will drive the development of upstream and downstream industries. For example, Gutian has the deep processing of mushrooms; Zherong has pharmaceuticals; Xiapu has massage tools and processing of seaweed, nori, and mustard root; and Fu'an has electrical machinery and ferroalloys. These are all promising industries. For these industries that have sufficient supplies of raw materials and ready markets, we should adopt powerful measures to grow them to achieve mass production and pursue the benefits of economies of scale.

Of course, the rules of economic development show us that continued industrial development will inevitably tilt the balance of local resources, and considerable raw materials from other places will be needed. However, industrial development should still be based on the processing and use of local resources.

4. The relationship between mountainous and coastal areas in the distribution of productive forces

The dual economic states of the coastal and mountainous area constitute a special problem in the economic development of Ningde. To recognize the content and implications of this special problem we must consider it from different angles. **First**, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, people cannot freely choose their own forces of production, and all historical forces of production are the starting point for the productive lives of the next generation. Therefore, coastal and mountainous areas both have their own path of economic development to follow. **Second**, objectively, there are differences between the coastal and mountainous areas, and this makes it possible for them to engage in complementary cooperation. The economic development strategy of Ningde must consider how to coordinate such differences. Therefore, policy formulation cannot be rigidly uniform, and in implementation we should take into account the differences and cooperation between the coastal and mountainous regions.

The revitalization of the mountain economy and development of the coastal economy are both important to bringing the economy of Ningde to a new level. This does not mean, however, that we will implement a balanced strategy in handling these two types of economies as we address regional distribution of productive forces. I believe that the distribution of productive forces should be varied. That is, we should take the path of “unbalanced—balanced-unbalanced” distribution of productive forces based on the reality of unbalanced economic conditions. Taking investment as an example, we should use input—output coefficients to determine the quantity and direction of investment and implement targeted investment policies. The reasons for this are clear. **First**, investment is not “relief.” We do not necessarily invest more in poorer areas. **Second**, within a certain period, returns from investment in more economically developed areas are greater and faster. Of course, this does not mean that there should be no investment in mountainous regions. I simply mean that there should be overall priorities, and the proportion of investment can be increased for specific investment projects in mountainous regions where the benefits will be good.

The coastal region, in particular the Fuzhou Wenzhou highway belt, is where industry is more highly concentrated in Ningde. This region’s industrial output accounts for more than 70% of the entire prefecture, and its fiscal revenue accounts for 64.8% of the entire prefecture. Fuding, Fu’an, and Xiapu counties each has industrial outputs of over 100 million yuan. This is a priority area in the distribution of our productive forces. We envision centering growth around Saiqi, extending growth to the island from the Fuzhou-Wenzhou highway belt, and gradually advancing toward the mountainous regions.

5. The relationship between reform and opening up and poverty alleviation

I believe that for Ningde, the initial and ultimate purposes of opening up and poverty alleviation are both for the development of the commodity economy, so they should be aligned as they evolve, and the rules of commodity

economy should apply to both. This “alignment theory” has three levels of significance. **First**, there is a certain difference between opening up and poverty alleviation. Specifically, they evolve in different forms and follow their own patterns, so we must have different policies and measures for the two areas of work. **Second**, opening up and poverty alleviation are interconnected. So we advocate approaching poverty alleviation with an open mind and leveraging opening-up policies in poverty alleviation. **Third**, opening up and poverty alleviation rely on each other to progress. Achievements from poverty alleviation serve as a new starting point for opening up, and opening up will bring poverty alleviation work to new levels. Therefore, we must strive to maximize overall performance and benefits. Based on the above understanding, both opening-up and poverty alleviation policies should play a role in developing the economy of Ningde, and the work in both areas should have its own characteristics.

The national government has listed Xiapu and Ningde counties of the prefecture as opening—up coastal counties. The counties that are not included in this list still face the question of how to open up, and people in these counties also need to have the notion of opening up on their mind. Ningde is exploring its way forward towards opening up, but there are four points that we should be clear about. **First**, we should not blindly follow the methods of the special economic zones and set up isolated development zones far from old urban centers. We must rely on our current cities—that is, we must build upon what we already have. **Second**, the practice of opening up over the past few years in a number of places has told us that tax exemptions and deductions are not the most important considerations for foreign investors. They aren’t looking just to save money. They care more about making more money and making money easily. We can make Ningde more attractive to foreign businesses by improving our soft environment. For example, we can simplify procedures, lower fees, provide one-stop service for foreign investors, and prevent multiple departments acting on

their own and frequently passing the buck. **Third**, we must coordinate foreign trade and across-the—Strait trade. As we vigorously develop the “3+1” industries and foreign trade, we should also expand trade with Taiwan and bring in new investment from Taiwan. **Fourth**, we must combine resource development and opening up, and leverage resources particular to Ningde to increase our attractiveness to the outside world.

Poverty alleviation work in Ningde has already made historic achievements, and 87.3% of impoverished households have their basic needs met in food and clothing. However, as opening up progresses, poverty alleviation work must be brought up to a new level. We must further the reform in Ningde. Everything we do must be centered on reform, and poverty alleviation work must be carried out in the spirit of reform. Poverty alleviation funds should not be scattered about like pepper. Over 90% of poverty alleviation funds must be used to support economic entities at the county, township, and village levels in order to boost their vitality. We must give priority to supporting hundred—million—yuan towns and townships, model science and technology towns and townships, the Spark Program, non—staple food supply, and commodity bases for creating foreign exchange through exports. We must work hard to build small economic development zones and coordinate poverty alleviation with regional economic development. We must properly carry out two-step rural reform, improve the two—tiered responsibility system, further promote land operations at a suitable scale, and encourage farmers to increase investment in agriculture. A specialized and market—oriented service system for agricultural production must also be improved along with the comprehensive development of agriculture. Enterprise reform must introduce a competition mechanism on the basis of improving the contract system. We must optimize the organization of labor, strive to “arrive through one continual push,” and boldly advance leasing and auction reforms. Where conditions are right, enterprises can also try out stock ownership systems. On the whole, the property rights relationship between the state and enterprises must be simplified; simple, non-paternal relations must

be established through taxation; and conditions must be created for enterprises to compete in the market.

6. The relationship between science, technology, education and economic development

For impoverished regions, we must emphasize the major role of science, technology and education (S&T education) in economic development. But due to the low level of economic development, S&T education faces insufficient funding, and problems have arisen. For example, should this sum be invested in education or in the factories?

Of course, an underdeveloped economy cannot be used as an excuse for not carrying out S&T education. On the contrary, it is precisely because the economy is underdeveloped that we must have all the more motivation and pressure to step up S&T education. S&T education and economic development have a mutually causal relationship, and we cannot wait until the economy has been developed to start our education. “It takes ten years to grow trees, but a hundred years to cultivate people.” Delaying a few years means losing opportunities for a generation. The competing priorities of S&T education and economic development simply remind us that we must take note of three things. **First**, we must view S&T education from a long—term strategic perspective and see S&T education as a top—priority for economic and social development in Ningde. **Second**, with an under— developed economy, we must seek to get the most from S&T education. **Third**, we must convert progress in S&T education into kinetic energy that drives economic development, stressing both access and the “practical effect” of S&T education.

To every problem, there is a solution. For education, our principle is to pursue both “universal education” and “adult education.” We must especially support vocational training and rural literacy work. All of society needs to do something for education, which is provided in various forms through multiple channels. We should strive to secure basic facilities' for elementary and higher—level schools

by 1990. We should direct efforts to all types of training, such as practical rural technology training, and S&T and management training for officials and employees. S&T should be oriented toward production and rural realities, and S&T professionals should be encouraged to play a greater role in commodity production. We must also emphasize applied S&T, leverage S&T in the adjustment of urban and rural industrial structures, and promote the participation of S&T professionals in the Spark Program.

Notes

¹ Source of English translation: Karl Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Part One," in *Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels: Collected Works*, vol. 29 (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 263. – Tr.

² Source of English translation: Confucius, "Book Thirteen," in *The Analects of Confucius*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 91. – Tr.

3. "This refers to classrooms that are equipped with chairs and desks, and housed in safe buildings.