

〈英文要約〉

Communism in China: Adaptation and Conflict

Tsao Po-I

Continuity and changes are two important factors affecting social development. With continuity, the valuable parts in our traditional culture can be maintained social and political stability can be secured. Nevertheless, for the sake of social development, it is also necessary to absorb new elements either from home or abroad.

Ever since 1840, the Chinese people have been trying to find the correct path toward modernization. In other words, in the face of Western culture domination, they have been trying create a new culture based on tradition, with the purpose of making China prosperous and powerful.

In contrast to the Western world, where there has been a constant debate between individualism and collectivism, China has persistently upheld the doctrine of the mean, a philosophy which advocates the incorporation of things of diverse nature and opposes the tendency to go to extremes. Therefore, the extreme concentration of power of Communism is at odds with Chinese culture.

In the 65 years since the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and the 37 years since the establishment of the Chinese Communist regime, the strength of the Communists has fluctuated with the changes in their attitude toward Communism. Almost without exception, whenever the Communists emphasized Communism, they suffered serious setbacks. Take for instance the period of the Kiangsi Soviet and Mao Tse-tung's socialist transformation campaign. Whenever the Communists stressed nationalism, they won broader support from the people. For example, the Communist cause gained momentum when they joined

the Kuomintang during the Northern Expedition and when they joined the national army and upheld the "anti-Japanese national united front" during the anti-Japanese war. Communism and Marxism are unacceptable to the Chinese people because these theories neither respect traditional Chinese culture nor bring prosperity. That Chinese culture defeated the Cultural Revolution is something which even the Chinese Communists themselves would not deny. It is because of the shortcomings of Communism that Teng Hsiao-p'ing decided to completely change the policies practiced on the Chinese mainland in the past decades.

Teng's slogan: "a socialist road with Chinese characteristics" is an indication that the "socialist road" transplanted from the Soviet Union is inappropriate for China. Teng's revisionist line covers the economy and politics. He has called for the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology, while at the same time emphasizing the "four basic principles," i.e. the socialist road, the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is to say, he has adopted a Rightist line in economic affairs and a Leftist line in political affairs. That is why Wei Ching-sheng was sentenced to a 15-year prison term for suggesting a "fifth modernization" — political modernization. Alongside "a socialist road with Chinese characteristics" the Chinese Communists also raised the slogan of "three ardent loves" (ardent love for the motherland, for socialism and for the Chinese Communist Party) in an effort to arouse people's enthusiasm for Communism. For the 960 million non-Party members in China, this slogan represents another spiritual pressure. With respect to economic construction, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has time and again claimed that the system of "public ownership of the means of production" would not be abandoned.

In the course of social development, all factors in society are inter-related. Therefore, the practice of following a Leftist line in political affairs and a Rightist line in economic matters will inevitably give rise to social problems. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's current policy has exactly this

kind of shortcoming. For example, although the new policy has enabled peasants on the Chinese mainland to make more money, it has also created problems concerning commodity prices, political discipline, peasant land ownership, and the imbalance between economic and political policies. Consequently, there is a divergence of views within the ranks of the Chinese Communist Party with regard to Teng's policy. Some still prefer traditional Marxist-Leninist principles. Teng's dissatisfaction with these people is obvious from this *People's Daily* report: "We cannot expect the writings of Marx and Lenin written in their time to solve all our present-day problems."

Surely the right way to solve problems in China is to build a new culture based on traditional Chinese culture, to set up a democratic system based on the traditional Chinese theory that the people are the foundation of the country, and to have all people share the fruits of construction according to the Chinese traditional theory of working for the well-being of the people. The Three Principles of the people advanced by Dr. Sun Yat-sen are thus designed to solve China's problems. The achievements made in the Republic of China on Taiwan over the past few decades is a clear indication that the Three Principles of the People, with their roots in traditional Chinese culture, are far superior to the Communism (or socialism) practiced on the Chinese mainland.

In fact, the Communist movement has been proved to be inconsistent with and even contradictory to traditional Chinese culture. We can hardly expect such an alien system to solve the problems facing China.