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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BA YI WARNS AGAINST SUBMISSIVE STAND TOWARD U.S.

OW170515 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 16 May 83

[Text] The U.S. authorities have once again bared their nature as imperialists and hegemonists by taking an anti-China stand on the question of arms sales to Taiwan, taking a domineering attitude in solving the question of China's \$11 million trade deficit in Sino-U.S. trade and concocting the Hu Na incident. We must henceforth deal most resolute counterblows at the U.S. imperialist chieftains' shameless deeds.

In this connection, in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: Being patriots, we do not tolerate any encroachment on China's national dignity or interests. However, one or two leaders of the central authorities will simply not launch a tit-for-tat struggle against the U.S. leader's anti-China policy. Instead, they persist in expressing our good wishes to the U.S. imperialists, hoping that the U.S. imperialists will automatically give up their anti-China policy.

What is worse, a certain person of the central authorities openly said recently: The Chinese Government respects President Reagan very much. I earnestly hope he will take practical steps to promote Sino-U.S. relations. Precisely at a time when the U.S. imperialists are shamelessly and continuously opposing China, how can he say that we respect Mr Reagan very much? Furthermore, does a wanton imperialist, a good friend of the reactionary Kuomintang and an extreme anti-communist element like Reagan merit our respect?

At a time when President Reagan is tearing up all Sino-U.S. agreements, including last year's 17 August communique, and when the U.S. Government really intends to announce arms sales to Taiwan, it is extremely wrong to express willingness to hold talks with the United States to reach an agreement.

History and reality have proven that the U.S. imperialists are accustomed to deceiving the Chinese people. Unless they are forced to respect China's sovereignty and national dignity, they will never fulfill their commitments. The history of U.S. imperialist aggression against China, which lasted for more than 140 years, tells us: Only by unswervingly waging an uncompromising struggle against the U.S. imperialists' conspiracies can we effectively safeguard our state sovereignty and national interests.

It is also precisely because of this that the party calls on us never to tolerate any encroachment on China's national dignity or interests. No matter who he is, nobody has the right to violate this stipulation set by the party. Enduring the suffering brought on us by the U.S. imperialists, submitting meekly to their anti-China deeds and showing respect for the U.S. imperialist chieftain to induce him to change his views can only damage our national dignity and national interests.

CSO: 4005/829

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BA YI ON LESSONS FROM 5 MAY PRC HIJACKING

OW141057 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 13 May 83

[Text] Although the incident of China's passenger plane being hijacked to a U.S. military base in South Korea has been basically settled and the 105 passengers safely returned, we must draw lessons from this serious incident all the more.

Besides adopting more stringent precautionary measures in the future, it is hoped that leaders of the central authorities will renounce the political persecution and purging of the dissident cadres for the sake of preserving stability and unity. This incident marks the third hijacking case. Although the nature of the hijacking is the same, the two previous hijackings failed. Regrettably, comrades of the central authorities still try to cover up the facts in their speeches. They have palmed off the hijacking incidents as merely counterrevolutionary acts and have refrained from admitting the hijackers' real motives in taking such desperate actions.

It is undeniable that hijacking is a crime. However, in view of the outbreak of three hijacking cases in such a short period, must we not analyze the motives in a deep-going way? Since the convocation of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there have been three air force cadres who attempted to flee to Taiwan by plane in addition to the above hijacking of a passenger plane. There have also been as many as 11 incidents of naval cadres attempting to flee China by boat. Except for two, all of the cadres involved are party members who were considered good party members. It is particularly shocking to know that the leader of the 5 May hijacking incident is a provincial level cadre who resented the current party rectification campaign. The other five hijackers are disappointed and motivated by the dreary future they can expect in China. Before, even in the hardest years of the revolutionary war, the most difficult years of the three Red Banner period and the chaotic years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, no such serious incidents ever occurred.

The older comrades of our army should still remember that in the past, only KMT air force and passenger planes defected to our side; the defection of our planes and naval vessels to the KMT was never heard. The leading comrades of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee recently instructed the air force and the navy to take more stringent precautionary measures in

an attempt to stop the air force and naval personnel from fleeing the country. Such measures may stem the flow of fleeing persons. However, what measures should we adopt to stem the flow of the fleeing of the mind? Why do we not take the radical measures of stopping the purge of military cadres?

It must be pointed out: Since a certain person of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee alleged that the air force and the navy are the headquarters of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique, that the remnant forces of the Lin Biao clique still exist and that many cadres still harbor Lin Biao's leftist thinking, the ranks of cadres of our army, particularly the air force and navy cadres, have been the main targets of purging and streamlining.

Since the convocation of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the defection of air force personnel by plane and naval personnel by boat is evidence of their disappointment in a bleak future and an expression of resentment against the purging of military cadres. If we do not face up to reality and renounce the bias against the military, all precautionary measures will be of a passive nature and will not produce realistic results.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BA YI ASSESSES YAO YILIN'S VISIT TO JAPAN

OW140050 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] It is only natural that some leading central authority comrades are skeptical over the achievements of Yao Yilin's visit to Japan. In fact, the stand that he took in Sino-Japanese talks should not be considered absolutely correct. For instance Yao Yilin agreed, in principle, to Japan's so-called proposal on joint exploitation of the natural resources of Diaoyu Island [as heard, presumably Diaoyutai, or Senkakus, Islands] this stand cannot help but have extremely serious consequences.

First we must realize that Japan's proposal was not only an economic issue of cooperation between the two countries, but also an extremely acute political issue of China's sovereignty and territorial integrity and of Chinese national dignity. After the Japanese forces grabbed Diaoyu Island they told the whole world that the island was an inalienable part of Japan's imperial territory. This was downright aggression. However, the Japanese rulers have tried to justify their aggressive acts. On the one hand they seized upon a well-known statement Comrade Deng Xiaoping made several years ago--I agree to leave settlement of the Diaoyu Island issue to future generations. On the other hand Japanese rulers have used all kinds of shameless tricks to legalize the fact that they have occupied Chinese territory.

We recall the Chinese Government's stern statement a few years ago denouncing this act of Japanese reactionaries. Since they grabbed Diaoyu and other Chinese islands, Japanese reactionaries have resorted to various shameless tricks to make these seized Chinese lands appear de facto Japanese territory. However, all this is futile. The Japanese reactionaries' sophistry and deceptive tricks will not change China's territories into Japan's.

Now the Japanese rulers have gone so far as to suggest the joint exploitation of natural resources in waters around Diaoyu Island and attempt to use this shameless, unreasonable and deceptive means to create the impression that Japan rightly the entire wealth of Diaoyu Island and its surrounding waters.

It should be noted that the Japanese authorities regard China as a minor partner when they invite us to exploit this wealth jointly. However some central authority leaders, out of consideration for the Sino-Japanese friendship and alliance, are ready to accept Japan's above suggestion. This

actually helps Japan succeed in its plot to make the seizure of China's territories an established fact. Objectively speaking, this helps the Japanese reactionaries legalize and perpetuate their armed occupation of China's Diaoyu Island.

The erroneous stand of some central authority leaders on matters that concern China's sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity is intolerable. Comrade Zhao Ziyang has rightly pointed out that the Chinese people have struggled for their own independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for 1 to 2 centuries at great sacrifice. China should never, for the sake of developing relations with any foreign country, sacrifice its principle of safeguarding national dignity and independence. We completely agree with and support Comrade Zhao Ziyang's correct statement.

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BA YI COMMENTS ON THAILAND ECHOING U.S. VIEW OF PRC

OW030351 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 25 Apr 83

[Text] After the U.S. assistant secretary of state ended his visit to Thailand, Thai Government leaders, speaking in the same way as the U.S. chieftains, have immediately made improper comments on matters concerning no other country but China. They ranted that it was time for China to give another necessary lesson to Vietnam. At the same time, they are, openly and through various channels, encouraging China to step up its military offensive against Vietnam.

The attitude adopted by the United States and its satellites in Asia towards the conflict between China and Vietnam proves that, in their opinion, a prolonged confrontation and intensified military conflicts between China and Vietnam will be in complete accord with the strategic interests of the United States in Asia. But it is common knowledge that neither of the two sides in a war stands to gain. The human and material resources consumed and casualties caused by a war will be as extensive as in a serious disaster. One clear example is the United States, which spent more than U.S. \$60 billion and suffered several hundred thousand casualties among its soldiers during the Vietnam War.

There are also facts proving that the United States was not completely on the side of China during the Sino-Vietnamese conflict. After the Chinese leader explained China's plan to attack Vietnam to the U.S. President during his visit in the United States several years ago, the U.S. Government immediately sent secret work to Vietnam, through the representative of a third country, revealing the timing of our army's attack. As a result, the Vietnamese troops were able to fortify their defense in advance and inflict serious losses on the advance troops dispatched by China for the attack. What the U.S. strategists thought at first was that, by so doing, the military conflict between China and Vietnam would develop into a large-scale and protracted war.

The United States, Thailand and other satellites of U.S. imperialism are making gestures and doing their best to instigate and abet worsening of Sino-Vietnamese relations. It is very simple to see through their purpose. It is because the United States, which is attempting to assert protracted hegemony in Asia and keep Taiwan under its control, dreads to see a China

gradually growing strong. Therefore, U.S. imperialism is doing its utmost to create and aggravate the contradictions between China and its neighbors, military conflict between China and Vietnam in particular, in a vain attempt to keep China in the quagmire of a war with Vietnam, thereby making it impossible for it to realize the four modernizations before the end of the century or to bring about the reunification of the country.

CSO: 4005/829

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'SHIJIE ZHISHI' REVIEWS HUNGARIAN ECONOMY

HK050216 Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI in Chinese No. 6, 16 Mar 83 pp 18-19

[Article by Hao Qing [3185 7230]: "The Hungarian Economy is Advancing Amid Difficulties"]

[Text] Recently, world opinion has been talking about the economic difficulties facing Hungary. The Hungarian leaders and newspapers and periodicals also openly admit that the Hungarian economy is facing great difficulties. They repeatedly call on the people of the country to make allowances for the national situation and to strive to do a good job in all fields to achieve a steady turn for the better in the economy. Actually, owing to the rapid progress of reform and to some effective measures, the Hungarian economy is advancing amid difficulties.

Hungary has been regarded as one of the East European countries whose economy has shown relative revival. Over the past 10 years, Hungary has rapidly developed its economy and the living standard of the people has risen to a certain extent. These achievements have been regarded as a miracle by the West. However, at present, Hungary is facing multiple difficulties such as the reduced pace of the national economic development, a deficiency in foreign exchange, an increase in foreign debts, and rising prices.

Where does the reason for the Hungarian economic difficulties lie? Is it connected with the implementation of the new economic system in the country?

Having practiced the new economic system since 1968, Hungary was the first nation among the members of the CEMA to carry out the reform of the economic system. The main points of the new economic system are: 1) the combination of the planned economy with the market economy; 2) the combination of the economy under the central authorities with the expansion of decisionmaking power of the enterprises; and 3) the combination of the administrative measures for economic management with economic measures, with the stress on the economic measures.

Marked achievements were made in the first few years following the economic reform. From 1968 to 1979, the national income increased by 90.1 percent, an increase of 6 percent annually. Per capita income increased by 62.8 percent, an increase of 4.2 percent annually. Hungary has been turned from an

agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural country. Foreign trade has grown rapidly. From 1970 to 1978, its growth rate was 13.8 percent annually, greatly exceeding that before the economic reform.

However, some indications of Hungarian economic difficulties have appeared since the mid-1970's. Hungary, with shortage of natural resources, is one of Europe's small countries; it lacks natural resources, and so depends heavily on the international market. In 1973-74, after the soaring increase of oil prices on the world market, prices for all kinds of materials and fuel which Hungary imported, also increased to a great extent. Prices for Hungary's traditional export commodities rose only to a small extent and prices for some export commodities even dropped. Consequently, from 1973-81 Hungarian foreign trade lost 330 billion forint (about \$8.5 billion). At the same time, a great number of Hungarian products were unmarketable because they lacked competitiveness in the world market and because most Western countries limited and reduced commodity imports as a result of the continuing economic recession. Out of their own needs, the other CEMA member countries cut their fuel supply to Hungary so that the latter was forced to increase its import of fuel from the world market or to buy fuel with U.S. dollars from the CEMA member states, thus increasing its foreign exchange payments. Of course, the economic work of the country was facing some problems such as slow progress in the reform of the economic system, low economic efficiency and so on. After the capitalist economic crisis in the mid-1970's, the failure of the Hungarian leaders to make an adequate appraisal of its impact and of the continuing deterioration in economic conditions abroad, and to take prompt relevant measures, accordingly, added difficulties to the national economy.

According to statistics, since 1974, the Hungarian financial deficit has increased annually. The 1979-81 total deficit reached 17.6 billion forint (about \$450 million. The present exchange rate \$1 equals 39 forint). In 1982, the budget deficit reached 15 billion forint (\$380 billion). The total of the 1978-81 Hungarian foreign trade payment deficit reached 116 billion forint (\$3 billion) of which U.S. dollar trade region accounted for 50 percent. The Hungarian Government was forced to borrow more money to make up the huge trade payment deficit. According to Western estimates, in 1982, Hungary not only owed Western countries about \$6 billion but also owed the CEMA member states a considerable amount of rubles. Therefore, there had been a relative shortage of foreign exchange reserves over the past few years. In 1981-82, with the decrease of loans, some clients who had spare foreign exchange deposited in Hungarian banks withdrew their deposits in large quantity so that the Hungarian foreign exchange reserves decreased to an intolerably low level.

To cope with these situations, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee held its plenary session in December 1978. The session overall drew lessons from economic work since 1974, formulated policies for national economic development to "restore the external economic balance and maintain the existing standard of living." The main points of the measures are as follows: adjust the inner proportions of the national economy and reduce

the pace of economic development; reduce the portion of national income used at home (accumulation and consumption), cutdown capital construction investment to a great extent and bring consumption suitably under control; strive to increase export, and commodity exports to U.S. dollar trade regions in particular, give full play to the superiority of Hungarian agricultural products and increase foreign exchange income; reduce expenditure and practice strict economy, saving energy and raw materials in particular; reform the economic system and product mix, develop high-efficiency economic departments, strengthen technical transformation, exploit production potential in order to bring the national economy on to the "new track of growth" aimed at raising efficiency and improving product quality.

Since the plenary session of the party Central Committee in 1978, Hungary further changed the economic management system, improved the economic regulation system of price, wage, taxation and credit, gave more decisionmaking power to enterprises, strengthened democracy in and tightened its supervision of the enterprises, further implemented the principle of material interests, reformed the organizational system and encouraged the development of diverse forms of collective and individual economic activities.

With the adoption of these measures, the situation of Hungary's economic balance with foreign countries took a favorable turn in the past few years and the national economy has been advancing amid difficulties. Since 1979, the foreign trade deficit has dropped annually. A favorable balance of trade with the capitalist world was achieved for the first time in 1982 and debts to the West no longer increased. In 1979-82, national income increased by 4-5 percent, and industrial and agricultural production by 5-7 percent. Labor productivity increased by 3-4 percent, annually exceeding the production growth rate. In 1981-82, the consumption rate of energy and raw materials dropped by 4 percent and 2 percent respectively. In particular, agricultural production developed rapidly after the implementation of the new economic system. Hungary is now more than self-sufficient in grain and meat. Market supplies were good and agricultural products were exported in great quantities. In 1982, per capita grain output was nearly 1,500 kilograms, breaking historical records. Meat output per capita (including poultry) was about 200 kilograms. The living standard of the people throughout the country remained at about the existing level.

To sum up, the present economic difficulties which Hungary is facing are not directly connected with the implementation of the new economic system. They are caused mainly by the worsening of international economic conditions. Owing to the fact that the international economic situation is hardly likely to take a fundamental turn for the better, it is estimated that the pace of Hungary's economic development will continue to be slow in the last 3 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan (1981-85). Recently, the Hungarian Government proposed to achieve a foreign trade surplus of \$800 million in 1983 of which \$600 million is to be used for balancing the international payment. It will not be easy to achieve this goal. However, it is generally believed that the Hungarian leaders have made a full appraisal of the present difficulties and have adopted effective measures. The possibility of a continued turn for the better in some aspects still exists provided the international political and economic situation does not get any worse.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON TRADE PROTECTIONISM IN WEST

HK050930 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 May 83 p 7

[Article by Xu Xueming [5171 1331 2494] and Qin Guoqiao [4440 0948 5062]:
"The Struggle Between Protectionism and Anti-Protectionism in the West"--
passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] [Abstract] At a time when the capitalist world is experiencing a sustained economic recession, the Western countries have become more anxious in seeking help from the policy of trade protectionism in order to rid themselves of the economic crisis. The struggle between protectionism and anti-protectionism is appearing in a new guise and becoming increasingly fierce. [end abstract]

The capitalist world experienced an economic crisis from 1974 to 1975 and, before it could recover, was again bogged down in a new economic crisis in 1980. As a result, the struggle between principal capitalist countries for international markets has become more fierce, trade wars have frequently broken out and the measures of trade protectionism and anti-protectionism have become more and more varied.

Trade protectionism is an important component part of the Western countries' foreign economic policy, and restriction on imports is the main content of protectionism. In the early post-war years, the countries mainly adopted traditional tariff barriers to restrict imports. After the 1960's, along with the development of the economy and trade in various capitalist countries, tariff barriers no longer met the requirement of various countries in fighting trade wars, and various non-tariff barriers were strengthened. According to statistics, there are about 1,000 non-tariff barriers, of which the main ones are as follows:

///Restriction on import quantity./// That is, import quotas should be set on some "sensitive commodities." There are many kinds of quotas, such as "global quota," "regional quota," "commodity quota" and "tariff quota." For example, it has been stipulated in Italy that the country cannot import more than 2,200 Japanese motor vehicles every year and the United Kingdom and France have stipulated that imported Japanese motor vehicles can only account for 11 percent and 3 percent, respectively, of the demand on the markets of the two countries.

///Voluntary restriction on export./// That is, exporting countries must voluntarily restrict the export quantity of their products. In the chemical fabrics war, the iron and steel war and the auto war between Japan, the United States and Europe, the United States often used this method to force Japan and West European countries to voluntarily restrict their exports to the United States.

///Restriction on the percentage of spare parts manufactured by the country which imports the commodity./// That is, to fix the percentage of spare parts manufactured by the country which imports foreign commodities. For example, the U.S. House of Representatives put forth in 1982 "the law on fair action in the auto production," demanding that 60 percent of the spare parts for all Japanese Toyota cars marketed in the United States must be produced in the United States.

///Policy of punishment on taxation./// That is, to levy duty on cheap commodities of foreign countries so as to restrict imports, the following measures have been taken: 1) Levying anti-dumping tax. For example, beginning in 1978, the United States has stipulated a "minimum price" for all imported steel, and an anti-dumping tax is to be levied if the price of imported steel is lower than the "minimum price." 2) Levying offset tax. That is, to levy a tax on imported commodities which were subsidized by foreign countries so as to offset the subsidy.

///Technological barriers./// That is, to establish a series of rules and regulations, such as a technological standard, public health standard and some complicated checking procedures, to restrict imports.

///Using prices and a tax policy to restrict the import of consumer goods./// For example, the Japanese Government protects agriculture by financial aid and artificially maintains a high price for Japanese rice. To prevent the practice of substituting expensive Japanese rice with cheap imported wheat in Japan, the government controls the domestic price of imported wheat so that the cost of food in Tokyo is 70 percent higher than in New York and Paris, thus restricting the importing of wheat.

The struggle between protectionism and anti-protectionism of various capitalist countries are always interwoven and many anti-protectionist measures are also new protectionist measures. Measures taken by various countries in dealing with other countries' protectionism are mainly as follows:

///Counter-protectionist measures./// That is, to take counter measures to deal with other countries' protectionist measures. For example, in the iron and steel war between the United States and Europe, the United States has decided to levy an offset tax on six Common Market countries, and the Common Market, reasoning that U.S. export enterprises are subsidized by the U.S. Government, intends to take countermeasures to deal with the United States.

///Make direct investment and manufacture and market products in foreign countries so as to avert the protectionist barrier./// This kind of

investment includes direct investment in capitalist countries, local production and marketing, and the method of manufacturing products in developing countries and areas, but exporting them to developed capitalist countries so as to avert quota restriction barriers between developed countries.

///Strengthen the struggle for the market of the third country./// That is, to expand exports to developing countries to make up the loss of original markets in other capitalist countries. For example, since the iron and steel war between Japan, the United States and Europe in the 1970's, Japan has reduced its exports to the United States and Western Europe has expanded its exports to Southeast Asia, the Middle East and other developing countries, resulting in the rapid increase of exports of Japan's iron and steel products, even at the height of the trade war.

///Make commodities more competitive, but not by reducing their prices, and improve the structure of exporting commodities to break protectionist barriers./// For example, since the 1970's, Japan has improved the structure of its exporting commodities to develop high-grade, precision and advanced industrial products, thus making up the losses resulting from restrictions on export quantity.

///Use proper financial and monetary policies to support industrial enterprises engaging in export business./// Governments of various countries have mainly used financial and monetary policies, such as reducing rental and tax, export subsidy and export credit, to make their exports more competitive on the international market. For example, in the trade war of agricultural products between the United States and Europe, the European Common Market levied a price-difference tax on cheap U.S. agricultural products and used this tax revenue as export subsidy to their own agricultural products so as to make the prices of their products close to or lower than that on the international market and compete with cheap U.S. agricultural products. The U.S. Government also granted an export subsidy to less competitive agricultural products, such as dairy products, so as to dump them on the international market at a low price and strike at European competitors.

///Organization measures./// Governments have established special organizations to study and decide their policies to deal with other countries' protectionism.

There have now appeared some signs of an economic recovery in the West, but unemployment is serious, the financial deficit is enormous, currencies are unstable and international revenue and expenditures are unbalanced. Under such circumstances, all countries are attempting to rid themselves of the predicament of the crisis and have become more and more anxious to seek help from the policy of trade protectionism. This is why the struggle between protectionism and anti-protectionism will become more and more fierce and the means adopted will become many and varied.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CENTRAL AMERICAN ARMS MARKET--According to reports by the LATIN news agency on 1 May, weapons poured into Central America in the past decade increased by 10 times. Colombian President Betancourt recently said: Military equipment transported to the beaches of this region every day is valued at \$1 million. In recent years, major arms suppliers to this region are the United States, which ranks first, France, Israel, Libya, and Cuba. The Soviet Union is an indirect supplier. According to a survey committee for peace based in Stockholm, during the period 1970-1971, weapons delivered to Central America were valued at \$30 million. Ten years later, the total value of weapons sent to Central America was as high as \$300 million, accounting for 1/3 of the gross amount in Latin America. [Text] [HK101337 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 83 p 7]

PRC-JAPAN-U.S. BIOMECHANICS MEETING--Wuhan, 13 May (XINHUA)--The first China-Japan-U.S. meeting on biomechanics was held in Wuhan from 9 May to 12 May. Foreign experts and scholars warmly praised the achievements made by China in research on biomechanics in recent years. Ninety percent of the Chinese scholars who participated in this international symposium on biomechanics are middle-aged and young persons. This shows that China has had a contingent of vigorous specialists doing biomechanic research. [Excerpts] [OW150759 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1220 GMT 13 May 83]

CSO: 4005/829

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON REFORM OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

HK051023 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0060 3185 2052]: "Reform of the Political System and Development of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] There should be both advanced economic and political systems under socialism. In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang put forward a great program of building socialism in an all-round way, in which economic construction (the building of material civilization), ideological and cultural construction (the building of spiritual civilization), and political construction (achieving a high degree of democracy) were taken as the fundamental targets of our struggle. This was entirely correct. Without democracy, there would be no socialism. Without the democratization of political life, there would be no modernization in the economy.

The nature of the socialist political system is to possess a high degree of socialist democracy. In view of the rude violation of socialist democracy during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the damage it had brought about, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee timely put forward the policy of developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system while resolutely shifting the focal point of the party's and state's work to the construction of modernization. Since then, a series of reforms has been carried out in the political system, such as overcoming overconcentration of power, forbidding the personality cult, abolishing the lifelong tenure cadre system which did exist in reality, solving the problems of mixing of party and government leadership and of the party replacing the government, opposing privileges and combatting bureaucratism, and so forth. These reforms were also a profound revolution in emancipating the productive forces and promoting the advance of society. Of course, it was realized step by step and in an orderly manner under the leadership of the party rather than through violent class antagonism and conflicts. These reforms aimed at striving for the realization of a high degree of democracy. This is the key problem in the reform of the political system and an important guarantee for building Chinese-style socialism.

The socialist political system must be guaranteed by the socialist legal system. For a long time, the legal system in our country has been imperfect. The broad masses of cadres (including some leading cadres) and people have

a comparatively weak sense of legality. They usually do not pay attention to doing things in accordance with the law, but are used to doing things according to particular people's will. As a result, the law has been replaced by the words and power of particular people, and nothing can be done without the approval of some principal responsible cadres. This can easily give rise to such phenomena as arbitrariness, "laying down the law by one person," and paternalism, which are harmful to socialist construction in the political field. We must adhere to the principle of "running the country with the law." The law is made by the people under the leadership of the party and is a clausal expression of the party's program, line, policies, and principles. Once the constitution and laws are adopted by the state organs of power, the whole party must strictly abide by them and must not enjoy any privilege above the law. The new constitution symbolizes a new milestone in the construction of socialist democracy and the legal system in our country. Its stipulations on strengthening the system of people's congresses and expanding the functions and power of the people's congress standing committees are based on China's realities. Besides the people's congress, which is an indirect form of democracy, the new constitution also stipulates that the people enjoy direct democratic rights. "The people administer state affairs and manage economic, cultural and social affairs through various channels and in various ways in accordance with the law." (Article 2) This is an important development of socialist democracy and a main symbol of the people being masters of their own house in our country. Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "The most essential content of the party's guidance in state life is to organize and support the people so that they can become masters of their own houses." This means that after establishing the people's own political power, the party must continue to lead the people in fighting to build a high degree of socialist democracy.

In our advance along the road of building a high degree of socialist democracy and building the Chinese-style socialist political system, there are two problems which merit our attention. First, we must take the reform of the political system as a pressing task rather than hesitate to move forward and let the time pass under the pretext of making steady progress. Otherwise, the reform of the economic system and the construction of the four modernizations will be affected. Second, we must also realize that the establishment of a highly democratic political system needs a period of time and much work so that it can be gradually developed and perfected, because, in the final analysis, the perfection of the democratic system is restricted by social economic and cultural development and cannot be completed in one move. It is especially important for us to recognize this, since our country is still backward in economy and culture. Although in the political sense, the broad masses of people in our country have become masters of the state and of society, due to the limits of the scientific and cultural level of the great majority, they still cannot directly engage in the management of political, social and public affairs. They can only entrust power to state cadres. Thus, in our country, the problems of how to reform the cadre system and how to ensure that the people can really exercise their right of supervision over the cadres have become especially important in order to prevent the occurrence of such phenomena as state functionaries becoming bureaucratists and public servants becoming masters of society. They have become tasks in which no delay can be tolerated in the reform of the political system.

PARTY AND STATE

KANG YOUWEI'S IDEAS ON POLITICAL REFORM

HK061247 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Xu Zhiwei [6079 0037 1792] "A Young Teacher in the Department of International Politics in Beijing University": "Kang Youwei's Idea of Using Talent"]

[Text] The reform of the political system is the key to constitutional reform and modernization. "The primary importance in initiating the constitutional reform is to recruit talented people." The appointment of a batch of new personnel devoted to reform is the key link in reforming political systems. With regard to the reform of the system of recruiting and appointing persons, Kang Youwei has given us lots of brilliant ideas.

The problem of using capable persons is a key factor affecting the result of the rejuvenation of a country. Kang Youwei pointed out: "The use of persons should be associated with the use of their ambition. Only those with enthusiasm and aspiration can perform great deeds." "If we use persons only according to their qualifications, we can only obtain commonplace people and those with outstanding talents. If we use persons only according to seniority, we can only get people who can perform ordinary duties without the ability to cope with extraordinary events." "Those who have the appearance of prudence and generosity and always talk of peace of mind will lack enthusiasm and ingenuity. They may do things without committing too many mistakes, but in fact they are only doing harm to effectiveness and discipline. In times of emergency, why should we employ these incompetent people who are here just to make up the number?" (Kang Youwei: "The Third Statement Submitted to the Qing Emperor") Therefore, it was necessary to carry out organizational reform. "All officials should be evaluated with regard to their competency and integrity. Those who are incompetent or too old to do things with vigor should be requested to retire with honor." (Kang Youwei: "The Fifth Statement Submitted to the Qing Emperor") It was deemed necessary to appoint only talented persons for high-ranking positions without resort to seniority, and to promote a large batch of young and vigorous persons to important positions and treat them as dependable political forces for the constitutional reform.

The leading group which implements the new political system should be composed of educated persons who can adapt themselves to the requirements of

contemporary times and social progress. The world has undergone great changes, but the conservative bureaucratic clique is completely ignorant about things in the outside world. "Scholars know how to compose poems and write articles, but they have no knowledge of current affairs at home or abroad." "The country is unified and at peace, and the leaders are unaware of any foreign threat." If they still have any political consciousness, this consciousness will manifest itself in the ways and means to preserve their own benefits and advantages. "But vigilance against internal disorder does not necessitate the will to content with foreign powers." (Kang Youwei: "The Fourth Statement to the Qing Emperor") In times when the world powers are riding roughshod, the old and backward regime can only exist with humiliation, or it will cease to exist some day. The times are different, but selection and promotion of officials still stick to the old rules. "The students are only taught poems, articles, and calligraphy, and the military officials are only tested with skills in shooting and sword-play. When they are in office, their education or knowledge cannot cope with events. In this way, how can jobs be well done?" (Kang Youwei: "Theses on Politics," p 107) Kang Youwei raised the question of officials doing specialized jobs, that is, the establishment of the "department doing specialized jobs." "Administrative officials should be learned men, and general officials should be persons doing specialized jobs during their terms of office." (Kang Youwei: "The Fourth Statement of the Qing Emperor") Obviously, this idea was influenced and enlightened by the Western "system of civil officials." In his statements to the Qing Emperor Guangxu, Kang Youwei introduced with an evident tone of appreciation and commendation, the democratic parliament system and "the three independent functions of legislation, judiciary and administration," and put forward the policy of learning from Western countries in the fields of politics, economics, military affairs, and culture. He even set out the details: "Dispatch in separate batches peers, high officials, and talented persons to foreign countries to study. Those without this training and experience should not be appointed to the high ranks." (Kang Youwei: "The Fifth Statement to the Qing Emperor")

The constitutional reform and modernization, or the change of the feudal system to the capitalist system, was an unprecedented incident of great significance. This great task could not be accomplished if it were to be conducted by old, though reformed, organization. Kang Youwei proposed that a bureau of systems should be set up in the internal court, and "scores of talented persons should be selected to take charge of this office." The bureau of systems should be the brain of the new political system ("mediation"), and its members should be "counselors" to the reform leader (the emperor himself). "The establishment of the bureau of systems is the origin leading to the constitutional reform." In fact, the bureau of systems was to be the central leading organ directing the movement of constitutional reform and modernization. Under the bureau of systems, "12 branch bureaus will be set up to deal with matters concerned." They were the bureaus of law, finance, education, agriculture, industry, commerce, railways, post, mining, recreations and gatherings, land forces, and naval forces. (Kang Youwei: "The Sixth Statement to the Qing Emperor")

At lower levels of administration, "a civil administration bureau should be set up in every prefecture, staffed by talented people with a wide scope of knowledge" so that the new administration system could be implemented. "In every county, a branch bureau of civil administration should be established, with administration work assisted by local gentry. Aside from taxes, courts and prisons which should be managed for the time being by the county magistrate, other administration items should be handled by the branch bureau. These items include: surveying and mapping, household registration, roads, forestry, schools, agriculture and industry, commerce, public health, police and so on." (Ibid.)

The establishment of such a complete set of organizations for constitutional reform was evidently meant to substitute, in effect, for the old bureaucratic organs and to seize the power from the hands of the feudal landlord class.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON REFORMING SOCIALIST SYSTEM

HK050856 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Yang Erlie [2799 1422 3525], Wang Xikui [3076 6932 1145] and Liu Yu [0491 6877]: "Reform and Improve the Socialist Political System"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, it is an extremely important matter to constantly reform and improve the state political and leadership systems. The theoretical summarization of the practice of the building of political power in the Paris Commune which Marx made in his book "The Civil War in France" more than 100 years ago has provided a theoretical basis for the building of the political system of future socialist countries. Today it is of important instructive significance to earnestly study Marx's thinking on the building of proletarian political power in the light of China's structural reform.

The birth of the Paris Commune was a great attempt at the first proletarian dictatorship. Under extremely difficult circumstances, filled with ardor and sincerity, the Commune worked for the building of the new political power and carried out a series of undertakings of creative practice: Replacing bourgeois parliamentarism with the working organ which combined legislation with administration; replacing the social estate system under which positions were given to persons according to their social estate with the general election system and the system of dismissal and replacement; replacing the state functionaries of the exploiting classes with "public servants of society"; replacing the colossal bureaucratic state apparatus of the second empire of France with an honest government which practiced economy; and replacing bureaucratic centralism with democratic centralism. Marx appraised as highly important these achievements of the commune in the building of political power. Marx pointed out: "It was essentially a working-class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at least being discovered under which to work out the economic emancipation of labor." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 378) Marx held that a government of the working class should be a democratic government and "an honest government."

Marx's summing up of the experience of the Paris Commune in building proletarian political power is extremely valuable. It has revealed the following

point: After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, the crux of the problem of political power building is to make the state and state organs maintain the true qualities of "public servants of society" and to prevent them from degenerating into "masters of society" from being the "public servants of society." In the practice of the international communist movement, quite a number of countries have gained experience in building proletarian political power. However, there has also been, to a greater or less degree, deviation from this correct ideological principle put forward by Marx. After the founding of the PRC, our party devoted itself to strengthening the political power building of the people's democratic dictatorship and thus promoted the development of the cause of socialist revolution and construction. However, since the mid-1950's, due to "leftist" guiding ideology and lack of experience, coupled with various kinds of objective reasons, both economic and political, there have existed many problems which have remained unsolved for long years in our political power building, and in particular, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," overstaffing and bureaucracy spread to such an extent that they were almost unbearable.

In the practice of the political power building of the proletariat, both international and domestic, why should the problems mentioned above crop up? Both social and historical, as well as institutional reasons are contributive to such a state of affairs. First, we must see that up to now socialist revolutions have broken out and won victories mostly in countries where capitalism was underdeveloped or in some semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. These countries were economically and culturally backward and the influence of feudal ideas and the mentality of small producers were deeply rooted. This state of affairs cannot but bring many unique difficulties to the building of proletarian political power. The influence of feudal bureaucratic politics and autocracy spreads to every sphere of social life and the small production economy provides, more often than not, soil for autocracy and bureaucracy. Second, the countries under the proletarian dictatorship exercise leadership through the communist party. After becoming a ruling party from a state of being oppressed, slaughtered and encircled, the proletarian party already has the power in such areas as the economy, politics and culture in its hands. This state of affairs is apt to lead to a situation in which some will claim credit for themselves and become arrogant and excessively concentrate power in their own hands and others will abuse their power to serve the private interests of individuals or of a small section of people and proceed to sabotage collective leadership, stifle the atmosphere of democracy and encourage the personality cult and as a result, the democratic rights of the people are undermined. In addition, the imperfect leadership system of the party and the state also serves as an important reason for the check on the building of proletarian political power. After the CPC achieved power, the phenomenon could be found almost everywhere, such as overconcentration of power in the hands of the party committees, no distinction being made between the functions of the party and those of the government and the practice of the party assuming government posts. Besides, for quite some time, people have, in terms of understanding, invariably held that socialism must practice the management system characterized by high centralization of authority in all spheres, such as the economy, politics, culture and society

and so they failed to consciously and systematically establish the various institutions and laws aimed at ensuring the democratic rights of the people or failed to safeguard the authority of law although laws had been enacted.

It can thus be seen from the aforesaid analysis that with the establishment of the socialist system, certain incongruities between the superstructure and the economic base still exist. Carrying out structural reform is in essence waging a revolution in the superstructural sphere. However, this revolution is different from the revolution in its true meaning, that is, the revolution of one class overthrowing another class, but it is an act of self-regulation and self-improvement aiming at eradicating the defects of the socialist superstructure. It is also an important action taken by the proletariat after seizing political power to "gradually transform the existing system." At present, the reform of the state political and leadership systems which China is carrying out is precisely a revolution in the aforesaid sense.

In order to reform and improve China's political and leadership systems, aside from implementing the relevant principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee, we must ideologically have a clear understanding of the following three questions:

//First, developing socialist democracy is the aim of structural reform and is the fundamental method for curing bureaucratic evils.// Socialist democracy is a political system under which the proletariat and the working people strive to hold a dominant position and become the masters of the country. The socialist society which the proletariat is to struggle for and to establish aims at instituting and perfecting the different forms of socialist public ownership systems which suit the national conditions of specific countries so that the whole people of a specific country can commonly enjoy the right of possession of and the right to dispose of the means of production on the one hand and on the other hand it aims at instituting and developing the socialist democratic system so that the whole people of a specific country can commonly enjoy the right to manage their political, economic, cultural and social lives on the other hand. In a country considerably backward both economically and culturally like ours, efforts should be concentrated on doing a good job in the socialist modernization program and in this drive, only when socialist democracy is constantly being developed and the whole people fully exercise the rights of being the masters of the country, can the socialist modernization program be smoothly developed. Bureaucracy is the product of the system of exploitation and it and socialist democracy are mutually antagonistic. In solving the problem of bureaucracy, nothing can be accomplished by relying only on a tiny number of people. Provided that under the firm and strong leadership of the CPC, we give full play to the enthusiasm of the masses and make use of various effective forms to enable the broad masses of people to enjoy the rights to manage and supervise major state affairs and the various types of work of the specific units we can effectively overcome bureaucracy, do away with all kinds of obstructions and ensure the socialist orientation of structural reform. Developing socialist democracy is not only the aim of the carrying out of structural reform and the strengthening of the building of proletarian political power but also the fundamental way of realizing this aim.

//Second, streamlining the administrative structure and reforming the cadre system are the key to structural reform and are the important measures for clearing away bureaucratic evils.// In "The Civil War in France," Marx repeatedly stressed: The commune replaced the colossal state apparatus with a 500,000-strong army and a contingent of 500,000 state functionaries with a political administrative organ which was small in number but highly competent. This was an extraordinary revolution. He also pointed out: The state organ under the proletarian dictatorship should not only be small in number but highly competent, but its working personnel should also be "responsible servants of society." Under the people's democratic dictatorship, the party and government organizations are not only the organizers and commanders of the work on all fronts and in all areas but also the designers of the principles and policies and development plans for the work in all fields. Only when the administrative structure is streamlined, can the close ties between the party and government organizations on the one hand and the masses of people on the other hand be maintained, can bureaucracy be brought to an end and work efficiency be raised. Our party has also formulated the principle that the ranks of cadres should become more revolutionary, younger in average age and more knowledgeable and specialized and concretely stipulated the requirements which the "public servants of society" should meet. This is the development of Marx's thinking on "servants of society." It must be pointed out that streamlining the administrative structure and reforming the cadre system complement each other and they should be simultaneously grasped. If we do not have a set of comprehensive methods for selecting, appointing and removing cadres to ensure the improvement of the quality of our cadres, we can hardly guarantee the normal procedure of structural reform.

//Third, strengthening and improving party leadership is the core of structural reform and is the political guarantee of overcoming bureaucracy.// The socialist construction undertakings led by the communist party are the people's own undertakings. The leadership of the party must represent the interests of the people and execute the will of the people. Its most essential function is to organize and support the people in being the masters of the country. The aim for us in carrying out structural reform is to bring the right of the people to be the masters of the country into full play. Therefore, carrying out structural reform and strengthening and improving party leadership are identical. Moreover, so long as party leadership is strengthened and improved so as to enable the party the better to play its role as the organizer and supporter of the people, who are the masters of the country, the socialist orientation of structural reform can be ensured. The long standing undue emphasis on high concentration of power has prevented the state organizations, various economic establishments and cultural institutions, and the mass organizations from exercising their functions and powers on the one hand and affected the work efficiency of the party organizations, weakened the fighting power of the party and damaged the relations between the party and the people on the other. At present, our party is carrying out the reform of the leading organizations, aiming to put an end to this state of affairs, correcting party style and really enhancing and improving party leadership. To really do their work well, party leading cadres at all levels must have a good grasp of scientific and cultural knowledge and professional knowledge, have a thorough picture of the situation and strive to be experts. To exercise leadership, one must be an expert. This is an unalterable objective law.

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CRITICIZES 'LEFTIST' INFLUENCE

HK040945 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporter Jiang Hanzhen [5592 3211 4631]: "We Must Not Underestimate the 'Leftist' Influence of Despising Knowledge and Discriminating Against Intellectuals--What Does Jiang Yongxu's Experience Show?"]

[Text] Since the discussion began on "what Jiang Yongxu's experience shows," this paper has received more than 1,000 letters from readers. They have shown deep sympathy for Jiang Yongxu's bitter experiences and sternly criticized what the factory leaders did to attack and discriminate against him. When analyzing the reasons for this case, many readers pointed out that the "leftist" influence of despising knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals cannot be underestimated. In order to really implement the policies toward intellectuals, not only is it necessary to solve the ideological problems, but it is also imperative to carry out necessary reorganization. Otherwise, even after the Jiang Yongxu problem is solved, we still cannot prevent the occurrence of similar cases.

The readers' analysis hits the vital point. Recently this reporter visited the Hengyang diesel motor factory and found that the Jiang Yongxu case was by no means an isolated or occasional one.

Of the 1,048 staff and workers in this factory, there are only 18 university graduates, who account for 1.71 percent of the total staff. Originally, they should have been regarded as very valuable forces in the factory. Unfortunately, facts showed the opposite.

Qiu Qiayou was a technical engineer who graduated from university in 1959 and was in charge of the technical work of a main product. He seldom spoke but did much work. However, the factory leaders considered that this was one of his "shortcomings" and said that he was "backward in ideology and paid no attention to politics." For this reason, he was not given the title of engineer and did not get a pay raise. Angrily, he left for Hong Kong. Such things have happened several times over the past few years, and several people have left the factory.

Pen Yi, an engineer who was assigned to this factory in 1956 and was generally acknowledged as an "authoritative technician," did an outstanding job in the

factory and enjoyed the trust of the workers. However, in 1980, when the wage scales were readjusted, the former secretary of the factory CPC Committee refused to upgrade him. Knowing that the factory leaders did not have any interest in him, Peng Yi requested to leave the factory. The secretary said: "Some people have got cocky again. If they want to go, they can go at once. Without them, the earth will not cease rotating." When Peng Yi bade farewell to his comrades, he said with tears in his eyes: "I have worked here for more than 10 years and am really reluctant to leave. I have been forced to leave."

"Without them, the earth will not cease rotating!" Such "proud words," which despise knowledge and discriminate against intellectuals, can never replace science. On the contrary, people who say this will be punished by science. The quality of the mars [masi 3854 2448] crankshaft trial produced by Deng Fen, an engineer, was reliable and the customers were satisfied with the products made under his guidance. However, he was criticized merely for saying a few words against the "gang of four." The leaders said: "Without you, the reactionary bourgeois authority, we can also make the mars crankshaft!" Then, under the guidance of the former factory director, more than 700 crankshafts were made, but none of them could be used, resulting in a loss of more than 800,000 yuan. The pity is that they have not drawn a lesson from these consequences of ignorance and disrespect for science, and improved themselves. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, they continued to discriminate against intellectuals. At present, this factory is suffering heavy losses in production. Many engineers are anxious but are unable to do anything, and the factory leaders still do not want to rely on them to change the factory's situation. One of the engineers told this reporter that he planned to popularize a new technique, but since he was not in the relevant position and did not have the power, he could not do it, because, several workshops would be involved in some productive and technical problems, and if any of the workshop directors did not agree, he could not succeed. Another engineer, who was the first one who came to work in this factory, has often been invited to other units to solve technical problems. However, he still does not have any job to do in this factory.

In production and technical affairs, the role of the technicians has been neglected, and in daily life, they have not been taken good care of. A kind-hearted comrade led me to Li Bailin's house. Li was a deputy chief engineer in this factory. He lived in a one-story house which had originally been a storehouse for pig's fodder. The house faces the factory canteen's stove, which is in a higher position. So, one can imagine what happens when ashes come out of the stove and when the wind rises. No wonder some people say that the "deputy chief engineer is living in ashes." In his house, there is no sofa nor cupboard, but there is a modern electric fan. Seeing this electric fan, people can understand at once that he bought it in order to "fight against high temperature" during the long and scorching summer. Over the past few years, although many new multistory houses have been built in this factory, taking the overall situation into account, Li Bailin has not applied for a unit. However, this spirit of bearing hardships and standing hard work has become a reason for the leaders not assigning him a new flat. They said: "The deputy chief engineer has not applied for it!"

As early as 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping already pointed out at the national science conference that most of the intellectuals constitute a part of the proletariat. The papers in all localities have also carried a number of articles on this question. In the new constitution adopted by the fifth NPC, it is stipulated that "in socialist construction, it is necessary to rely on the workers, peasants and intellectuals." To our surprise, the leaders of this factory know nothing about all this. They have always regarded the intellectuals as the targets of "unity, education and transformation." After the occurrence of the Jiang Yongxu incident, the competent higher authorities required that the factory leaders study Comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the meeting to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. Only then, did they hear that the party's general secretary had specially emphasized the importance of respecting knowledge and intellectuals, as if they were awakening from a dream.

The leaders of this factory were deprived of the right to study in the old society. The cultural level of the secretary of the CPC committee was equivalent to junior middle school education, and that of the factory director in charge of production and technology was primary school education. After liberation, they were promoted to the leading posts one after another. However, under the ideological guidance of "taking class struggle as the key link," they did not conscientiously study cultural knowledge. In this matter, they are in no way to blame. The problem is that after the smashing of the "gang of four," especially after the 12th CPC National Congress, they still did not make efforts to study and to read books and newspapers. When the importance of knowledge was stressed, they usually said: "Am I not still the factory director although I have no cultural knowledge?" Even to this day, no leading cadres in this factory can fully understand production drawings. They were last in the political theory examination held in Hengyang City last year for leading cadres of large enterprises.

In accordance with the opinions of the broad masses of workers, the CPC Committee at the higher level has decided to reorganize the leading body of this factory. At present, the list of candidates for the new leading body is being discussed at various levels in the factory. Through the Jiang Yongxu incident, many comrades deeply feel that backwardness and ignorance are the sources of misfortune for the factory. If the intellectuals continue to be looked down upon, the four modernizations can never be realized. During the reorganization of the leading body, the broad masses strongly demand that those comrades who have both ability and political integrity, who are in the prime of life, and who dare to blaze new trails should be promoted to leading posts.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

FIFTH JIANGXI CPPCC COMMITTEE PRESIDUM NAMELIST

OW290849 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Apr 83

[Text] The following is the namelist of the presidium and secretary general of the first session of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee:

The presidium is composed of 55 persons whose names are arranged according to the number of strokes in the family name.

Wang Wei, (Wang Dachuan), (Wang Xinmin), Lu Liang, Lu Yukun, Zhu Danhua (female), (Liu Jiufeng), (Liu Yurui), Liu Jianhua, (Liu Zhengao), (Xu Shishi), Hu Ping, Hu Yongle, Yang Yongfeng, Li Bin, Li Shizhang, Li Changchun, (Li Lide), Li Huafeng, (Li Shanyuan), He Shikun, (Shen Gan), Shen Hanqing, (Du Shijiu), Lu Xiaopeng, (Pu Jiguang), (Zhang Yulong), (Zhang Xiren), (Zhang Xiuxi), (Zhang Chirui), (Chen Yuan), (Chen Xing), (Jin Lixiang), (Lin Yisheng), (Wu Xiyu), (Meng Shu) (female), (Zhou Hanzhen) (female), (Jiang Huozhou), Yu Lin, (Zhao Ming), (Hu Jianke), (Hu Chuangui), (Guo Qingfen), (Guo Xiaoyou), (Guo Yamin), (Jia Shanlai), (Gao Dongmei) (female), (Huang Liqi), (Sheng Pu), (Gu Mingrong) (female), (Peng Tongfu), (Xue Guoyi), (Shu Huiguo), (Cai Daoyu) and (Xie Shiliang).

Secretary general is (Liu Yurui).

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

BAI AT JIANGXI CPPCC COMMITTEE SESSION'S CLOSE

OW040207 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 1 May 83

[Excerpts] The first session of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee closed victoriously at Chungshan Hall in Nanjing this afternoon. The members heard and reviewed a work report of the Standing Committee of the previous CPPCC Committee, attended the first session of the sixth provincial people's congress as observers and heard a work report of the provincial people's government and other relevant reports.

An election was carried out at the session in accordance with the CPPCC Constitution. Wu Ping was elected chairman and Li Shizhang, Gu Jiguang, He Shikun, Lu Xiaopeng, Shen Hanqing, Li Huafeng, Liu Jianhua, Lu Liang, Zhu Danhua, Guo Qingfen, Li Shanyuan and Wu Yongle were elected vice chairmen. (Liu Yirui) was elected secretary general of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee. A total of 108 people were elected Standing Committee members of the fifth provincial CPPCC Committee.

Leading comrades of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, the provincial people's congress and the provincial people's government including Bai Dongcai, Xu Qin, Wang Shufeng, Zhao Zhijian, Ni Xiance, Wang Zemin, Zhang Yuqing and (Huang Xiandu) attended the closing ceremony.

Zhong Ping, Lai Shaoyao and Zhu Kaiquan, vice chairmen of the fourth provincial CPPCC Committee, also attended the closing ceremony.

Wu Ping, the newly elected chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee, chaired the closing ceremony.

The meeting adopted the resolution of the first session of the fifth provincial CPPCC Committee and approved the report and a related resolution on the examination of motions.

He Shikun, the newly elected vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee, delivered the closing address.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

CPC CALLS FOR LEARNING FROM ZHANG HAIDI

OW100555 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1140 GMT 9 May 83

[Text] Beijing, 9 May (XINHUA)--In a written reply to the CYL Central Committee and the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee regarding the "Report on the Further Development of Activities to Learn From and Give Publicity to Zhang Haidi" they submitted, the CPC Central Committee said today: Zhang Haidi is an outstanding representative of the new generation which, nurtured by the party and the people, has grown up. The party Central Committee earnestly hopes that people throughout the country, especially the young, will learn profoundly from Zhang Haidi.

Since the CYL Central Committee conferred the title of "Outstanding CYL Member" on her, Zhang Haidi's advanced deeds have evoked wide response among the masses in various localities. The CYL Central Committee and the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee recently submitted to the CPC Central Committee a joint report on the further development of activities to learn from and give publicity to Zhang Haidi throughout the country.

In its written reply, the CPC Central Committee pointed out: We can see in Zhang Haidi the mental attitude of our young people who, full of vigor and vitality, are loyal to the motherland, ardently love the people and exert themselves to make progress. The course followed by Zhang Haidi is of broad instructive significance for all those who are willing to be faithful patriots and communists.

In the written reply, the CPC Central Committee earnestly hopes that people throughout the country, and the young in particular, while focusing on the fundamental question of acquiring a communist outlook on life, will learn from her indomitable, optimistic and progressive attitude on life, from her indomitable will in eagerly acquiring knowledge and working hard and from her spirit of devoting herself to fulfilling her duties to society and serving the people. It is necessary for them to work and study and live their lives in this spirit, to wage a tenacious struggle, to keep forging ahead and to contribute to the motherland and the people.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

TAIWAN, HONG KONG COMPATRIOTS ASSOCIATIONS FORMED

OW110629 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0206 GMT 8 May 83

[Article by reporters Zou Aiguo and He Ping]

[Text] Beijing, 8 May (XINHUA)--The membership list of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, published recently, including the "All-China Taiwan Compatriots Association" and the "Hong Kong and Macao Compatriots" as the two new participating units. Thus, the number of component units of the Sixth CPPCC Committee has increased from 29 in the Fifth CPPCC Committee to 31.

The namelist of the Sixth CPPCC Committee members showed more compatriots from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao than ever before. Among the Fifth CPPCC Committee members, only 17 Taiwan compatriots were listed under the "Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League," and 20 Hong Kong and Macao compatriots. Among the Sixth CPPCC Committee members, there are 12 Taiwan compatriots in the "Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League," 18 in the "Taiwan Compatriots Association," 1 in the "Youth Federation," 1 in the "Agricultural and Forestry Circles," and 1 under "Returned Overseas Chinese," totalling 33. There are 47 Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, of whom 44 are listed under "Hong Kong and Macao Compatriots," 1 is listed under "Women's Federation" and 2 others under "Federation of Industry and Commerce."

A responsible person of a department concerned said that, because relatively few Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots were represented in past CPPCC committees, they were all listed under political parties, mass organizations, professional circles and specially invited personages. The situation has now changed: The "Taiwan Compatriots Association" is established and more Hong Kong and Macao compatriots are invited to take part in the CPPCC. To cope with the new situation, the "Taiwan Compatriots Association" and the "Hong Kong and Macao Compatriots" are listed separately as the participating units in the CPPCC organization, in accordance with the provisions of the CPPCC Constitution; this demonstrates the broad basis of the patriotic united front.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON MARX'S IDEAS OF COMMUNISM

HK051417 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Li Yanming [2621 1693 2494]: "It Is Essential To Correctly Understand Marx's Ideas of Communism"]

[Text] According to Marx's theory of communism, the communist society is the final product of the capitalist society itself, and the communist revolution will emerge in mature capitalist countries.

Then, can the communist revolution be promoted in a country where capitalism is underdeveloped and thus bring about the establishment of the socialist system. History has already answered this question. Facts show that not only in such countries as Russia where capitalism was underdeveloped, but even in some other countries like China where capitalism had not begun to develop, could the proletarian revolution rise and the socialist system be set up.

However, facts also show that, apart from those distinct features which vary from country to country, the socialist societies set up in these underdeveloped countries cannot possibly be identical with that socialist society predicted by Marx as the final product of the capitalist society itself. For example, in that society predicted by Marx, all means of material production, labor, and products are possessed by the whole society; the society directly allocates labor hours to different production sectors according to the needs; in the unified process of direct distribution of labor and products by the society, the direct exchange of a certain quantity of labor in one form for an equivalent quantity of labor in another form between individuals replaces the form of commodity exchange; there is neither class nor political power, thus no political party. But, in our society, there are still different ownerships namely, that by the state, by the collective, by the individual, and so on; and there is production and exchange of commodities as well. The role of the state plan is not to directly allocate labor and means of material production, but to regulate them in accordance with the law of value. The procedure of distribution according to work is not carried out universally in the whole society but within the scope of each enterprise. Nowadays, there remains in our country the difference between the two major classes of workers and peasants and the remnant of the exploiting classes, as well as the people's democratic dictatorship and the political party of the working class. All these are necessary to our country under the present circumstances.

Basing their argument on the above, some people deny the socialist nature of our country. They are obviously wrong, because we have already set up the ownership by the proletarian state and the ownership by the laborers' collective, have eliminated exploitation, and have basically carried out the principle of distribution according to work; also, the communist ideology, as the core of the socialist spiritual civilization, is now in a dominant position, which vests the society in our country with the important features of socialism. The theoretical summarization of our country's socialist practice will enrich and develop the scientific communist theory.

Some other people draw another different conclusion from the same facts we have cited above. They say: Since we hold that practice is the sole criterion for justifying truth, why can we not verify the real feasibility of the communist society predicted by Marx some 100 years ago against our practice? They hold that the practice has already refuted the real feasibility of Marx's prediction, since those features of the society predicted by Marx are not present in the socialist society which we have set up. In other words, they hold that such a prediction is nothing more than an impracticable illusion. Some people go even further, asserting that Marx's prediction on the features of the communist society was utopian in substance, and facts have already shown that it is not realizable.

Are these opinions correct; to be sure, whether all the features of the communist society predicted by Marx can be realized still has to be verified by practice. But, merely based on the practice in our country hitherto, can we really conclude that Marx's prediction is simply an unrealizable illusion? To answer this question, we must first be clear about the characteristics of Marx's theory of the communist society.

We must be aware that Marx's elaboration on the features of the communist society is not a description of a social formation as a historical existence, but instead, a prediction on a social formation which may emerge. This prediction is a logical system composed of various presumed features which are correlated, interdependent, and inseparable, each of which cannot exist alone, independent of others. This prediction is a high degree of theoretical abstraction.

We must be aware that this prediction is not an a priori product based on absolute truth, rationality, and justice, but the natural result derived from Marx's studies of the economic operation of the capitalist society. Marx's prediction on the features of the future society was based on his analysis of the economic development trend of the capitalist society and the conditions which would naturally emerge following the development of the capitalist society of his time. And the logic method which he used was also correct. Therefore, his prediction is not an illusion but a scientific prediction.

We must also be aware that it is on the premise that the level of productive forces exceeds the limit which the capitalist relations of production can tolerate, that Marx predicted those features of the communist society. And

those features are exactly the logical results of the presumed conditions. Only when these presumed conditions are available can the prediction be completely or partly proved or negated. At present, even in the most developed capitalist countries, productive forces keep on developing; and the level of productive forces in our country is far below that of most of the capitalist countries. Under such circumstances, given that the major features of socialism are available, the absence of some communist society features predicted by Marx from our established socialist system, is quite a natural phenomenon. The absence of some of those features does not mean that they will not appear in the future when productive forces reach the very high level expected by Marx, under our socialist system; nor that they will not emerge in other countries with a higher level of productive forces. Then, in view of the fact that those features are not present in our country because the required conditions are not available for the time being, how can we conclude that those features will not emerge when the conditions are available? The social development trend in all countries, whether in countries where the proletariat has seized the political power or in capitalist countries, shows that the realization of all the features of the future society predicted by Marx is possible.

Therefore, we can neither deny the socialist nature of our country's social system by comparing our current socialist practice with Marx's prediction on the features of the communist society; nor can we refute the argument that Marx's prediction is scientific and correct when we discover the gap between Marx's theory on the features of the communist society and our practice.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF REWARD-PENALTY SYSTEM OUTLINED

Hohhot SHI JIAN [PRACTICE] in Chinese No 5, 5 Mar 83 pp 22-23

[Article by Fan Bo [4636 0590]: "Seriously Implement the System of Rewards and Penalties, Create a New Situation in Organizational Work"]

[Text] In the establishment of the personal responsibility system in the state administrative organizations, the issuing of rewards for those who have performed meritorious service and penalties for those who have committed errors in a system of rewards and penalties which features a combination of spiritual encouragement and material rewards, and a combination of education and punishment, is an important measure in making organization work adapt to the needs of socialist modernization. It is also an important part of organizational reform.

During the 10 years of chaos, many rational and effective systems of rules and regulations became seriously undermined, and the organizational reward-and-penalty work was also forced to be suspended, putting organization work into a chaotic state in which existing rules were ignored, there were no guidelines to follow, discipline was lax, and unhealthy trends and evil practices developed and spread. In some organizations, the phenomena whereby the workers have indifferent concepts of law and discipline, do not have a strong devotion to their work, are not responsible in doing their job, are not efficient in their work, do not distinguish between good and bad, and do not understand rewards and penalties, are still fairly common. This has harmed the building of a cadre rank, seriously dampened the people's enthusiasm in working energetically for the four modernizations, destroyed for the masses the prestige of the administrative organizations enjoyed and affected the completion of various tasks to be accomplished by the party and the state.

Implementation of the system of rewards and penalties having rewards and penalties under the prerequisite of clearly defined duties for everyone, can effectively overcome the negative factor in organization work, and can serve to protect and put into full play all kinds of positive factors, turning negative factors into positive ones. At present, the great masses of organization cadres are urgently demanding a reform of the management system of organizations, to change the work style, and conscientiously to raise work efficiency. This is a necessary trend

in the development of organizational work. However, among certain comrades, including some leading cadres, all kinds of vague ideas concerning the launching of reward-and-penalty work still exist. Among the more common ideas are that administrative organizations are different from rural farms, and industrial and mineral enterprises, that the work is dull, and not comparable, that duties are difficult to balance, and that it is difficult to pin down what is good and what is bad. They obviously have an incorrect understanding of the situation. The reason it is incorrect is, first, a lack of understanding of the true nature of organizational work. They see only the difference between organizational work and the departments directly engaged in material production; they do not see that in organizational work there are the same problems of either a strong or weak revolutionary devotion to one's work and sense of responsibility; a high or low quality and efficiency in carrying out work assignments; and there is an urgency to restore and strengthen each system of rules and regulations suited to organizational work. Since the founding of the country, we have successively laid down and issued a series of rules for rewards and penalties for organizational work; they have even been established as laws and decrees and developed into a system. These rules and regulations have become a positive function in the smooth development of the task of socialist construction. Even if the organizational staff worker has a different specific post, or a different level of duties, merely having the responsibility system, the good and bad can be determined and the reward-and-penalty work can expand, and thereby change the face of organizational work. A second reason is their ignorance of the importance of the organizational reform work, and their habit of "eating from the common pot." They should see that, along with implementing all types of responsibility systems on the production front, they must demand that the national administrative organizations effect the necessary reforms to change the old, bad habits of not being responsible in one's work, and of low work efficiency. These are not suitable for economic development. Only with organizational reform, where the organization's responsibility system and the reward-and-penalty system are strengthened; and where a change is made in the phenomenon of "working or not working is all the same; doing something well or poorly is all the same," can organizational work be brought up to a new level, and the primary function of the various levels of party and political organizations in the four modernizations construction be more efficiently utilized.

At the third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the fifth session of the second National People's Congress, it was clearly pointed out that the reward-and-penalty system must be established, and the phenomena of not distinguishing between good and bad, and having no standards for rewards and penalties, must be changed. During the past few years, some areas and departments have gained experience from trial and error and have had admirable achievements in expanding organizational reward-and-penalty work. In our own area of Manzhouli City and in the Balin Zuoqi People's Procuratorate, the establishment of the organizational responsibility system and the launching of the reward-and-penalty work have been the reason for administrative work to make clean progress. Their experience proves that implementing the reward-and-penalty system

where right and wrong, merits and faults, and rewards and penalties are all clearly distinguished, can increase an administrative organization staff worker's devotion to his duty, can prevent and correct illegal dereliction of duty; and will urge the great masses of staff workers to exert themselves and reach upward, to carry on their tasks even better and continually raise their political quality and professional ability. This will take on a positive promotion function, which cannot be ignored, to make organizational work adapt to the demands of the initiation of the new fact of socialist modernization, to renew the party's fine tradition and maintain close ties between the party and government and the people.

The implementation of the organizational reward-and-penalty work is at present in the recovery phase of its development; consistent with past and recent experiences, special notice should be taken to accomplish the tasks listed below:

One, the reward-and-penalty work must become a regular practice and be institutionalized. First, the personal responsibility system must be established; this is a prerequisite for performing the reward-and-penalty work well. In order to establish the organizational staff worker personal responsibility system, one must begin from the practical conditions of one's own department and unit. Based on work needs, one should set the basic work responsibilities and power limits at each level and for each type of staff worker. It should be thoroughly discussed by the people, and examined and approved by pertinent party and political leading organizations, then set down in the form of articles. In order to establish the personal responsibility system, one must embody the spirit of unity and cooperation, and in practice one must also continually sum up new experiences, and at all times supplement, revise and perfect it. Next, a system to assess proficiency must be established. This is the measuring stick of whether the reward-and-penalty work is being done well. Along with the personal responsibility system, periodic examinations of proficiency must also be held, examinations must be made of the administrative situation, and the formalism of "not following through with the system once it is established" must be prevented and overcome. We must persist in the principles of combining individual self-evaluations with proficiency examinations of the masses, of combining proficiency examination by leaders and by organizations, and also of combining the proficiency examination program as a whole with the individual proficiency examinations, so that the personal responsibility system will be carried out to the fullest. Next, establish a reward critique system; this is the key to making the reward-and-penalty system become an everyday practice and thoroughly to implement it. To use a reward critique for someone who conscientiously carries out the personal responsibility system, who completes his duties with outstanding achievements, or who makes a particular contribution in some certain area, praise must be given, along with encouragement and reward; and when necessary, promotions can be given, ranks can be upgraded, or high responsibilities can be commissioned. Those who do not aspire to advance, who muddle along, who do not complete their tasks or who do them poorly, must be given education through criticism. The administrative responsibility for those who do not do

their job and who exhibit serious dereliction of duty or malfeasance, and those who cause a relatively great loss to the country and people should be searched out, based on the reward-and-penalty system, and the necessary disciplinary measures should be taken.

Two, ideological political work must be made to permeate throughout the reward-and-penalty system from start to finish. Rewards and penalties are both auxiliary forms of carrying out education and pushing work forward; they are a means and not an end. Using rewards and penalties continually to carry out education and of the great masses of organization staff workers, correctly to distinguish between right and wrong, and the boundaries for merits and mistakes, is in itself a very practical, very concrete and very vivid kind of ideological political work. This kind of education cannot be replaced by attending classes, holding meetings, heart-to-heart talks and other such forms of education. Because of this, we must first energetically apply the achievements of advanced personages, apply advanced models to spur on the general population, give full play to the leading function of advanced personages, and be sure not to "pick a tall person from among midgets," and lower the conditions for rewards and penalties as one pleases. Secondly, ideological work for the less advanced personnel and workers must be emphasized. For all those who have great shortcomings or faults, those who have committed errors, including those comrades who have committed serious errors, "punishing those in front to warn those who follow," and "treating the illness to save the person" must be the goal. We must persist in the principle of using firmness in ideological education, and lenience in administrative disciplinary measures. For those staff workers who have been seriously derelict in their work and have violated law and discipline, and have been given serious punishment, the goal is the same; to clarify ideological rights and wrongs, to unite the comrades, and to transform negative factors into positive ones. For those comrades who have been subjected to administrative disciplinary measures, education must still continue to be carried out; ideological work for them must be done frequently and concern shown for their life and work, so they will feel the warmth of the organization, and develop the self-confidence to strive to change their ways. The attitudes and actions of "doing one's duties just to get them out of the way," "not bothering to take care of a task," and "pushing something aside and not dealing with it" must be opposed. We must apply the materials of dereliction of duty and violation of discipline of those comrades who have been punished, extensively to carry out political discipline education, and make every organization staff worker able consciously to check erroneous ideas at the outset, so that they can wholeheartedly fulfill their duty and do their best to serve the people.

Three, we must dare to insist on the principle of remaining upright and never stooping to flattery; being fair and honest. If we do not dare and are not willing to take action, and do not give rewards where rewards are due, a healthy atmosphere cannot be maintained, and the enthusiasm of the great masses of staff workers will necessarily be dampened. If penalties are not given where penalties are due, or even indulgence is shown, this will objectively aid in increasing unhealthy trends and

evil practices, and will necessarily cut one off from the vast majority of the masses. Because of this, in the reward-and-penalty work, one must insist on the principle of seeking out the truth from the facts; insist on the principle of using political discipline as a consistent yardstick for everyone; be good at distinguishing right from wrong; not shun high or low rank, or wealth or poverty; and strictly distinguish between reward and penalty, so that rewards are not emptily bestowed and penalties are not unjustly meted out. Only in this way can the great masses of organization staff workers give full play to their own initiative, enthusiasm and creativity, consciously achieving a state of everyone attending to his duty, everyone bearing his own responsibilities, and everyone his best.

The reward-and-penalty system is an important work system for national administrative organizations. Along with the continual development of socialist modernization construction and the ever-deepening reform work of the system of organization, important function of the reward-and-penalty work will be more apparent. The various levels of leaders and administrative departments should all put adequate emphasis on the reward-and-penalty work, and conscientiously pay close attention to it. Along with the development of the reward-and-penalty work and the strengthening and perfecting of the reward-and-penalty system, our administrative organization work must take on a new face, to adapt even better to the needs of the new aspect of the comprehensive initiation of socialist modernization construction. There is no doubt about this.

12326

CSO: 4005/737

PARTY AND STATE

IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Apr 83 p 3

/Article by RENMIN RIBAO reporters Hu Chengqing /5170 2110 3237/ and Zhao Derun /2799 1795 3387/: "Those Who Are Bent on Persecuting Intellectuals Should Not Be Allowed To Assume Any Leading Role"

/Text/ In accordance with the resolution recently adopted by the Shijiazhuang Municipal Party Committee, the leading bodies of the municipal scientific commission and the seismological bureau will be revamped because of their prolonged boycotting of the policy on intellectuals and because of their high-handed policy against the scientific and technological personnel including engineer Liu Bingliang /0491 4426 5324/.

Engineer Liu Bingliang of the municipal seismological bureau is an outstanding seismologist who, in 1976, specifically forewarned people in Tangshan of a forthcoming earthquake of large magnitude before its outbreak of two seismological analysis meetings over which he presided. In the aftermath of this natural disaster, he boldly predicted on the basis of a meticulous research that "in the near future, no destructive earthquakes are expected in Shijiazhuang," a prediction that subsequently played an important role in calming down its victims. He has also summarized that painful lesson in a book entitled "Tangshan Earthquakes," a work he has written in cooperation with other comrades. In 1980, he devoted himself to carrying out the organization of personnel for the "Shijiazhuang municipal anti-seismic project." In 1981, his work entitled "Talk About Preparedness Against Earthquakes in Cities" was named an outstanding essay by Shijiazhuang Municipality.

Because Liu Bingliang has criticized certain leading members of the municipal scientific commission and seismological bureau for withholding the information on forecasting earthquakes, and for failing to show up in their office following the outbreak of detectable earthquakes, he has been labelled "an element hostile to the leadership," and has been subjected to repeated attacks and other mistreatment. Since then, his outstanding academic essay has been degraded as "something that can be written and published by anyone;" his proposal to brief the leadership of his bureau on the results of the national academic conference in which he participated has been ignored along with another proposal to convey its guidelines to the earthquake monitoring points

manned by the masses; his decision to circulate technical reading material among his colleagues has been denounced as "an attempt to withhold technical information from the leadership." Originally, Liu Bingliang was a section chief responsible for the bureau's administrative affairs, or the only person who has an understanding of science and technology among the middle echelon and higher level cadres. Early last year, he was removed from that position without getting any explanation. Liu Bingliang has devoted 3 years to drawing up an anti-seismic project with the support of the provincial seismological bureau and the municipal urban development department. But because the leadership of the seismological bureau did not want to listen to him nor wanted the higher administrative authorities to scrutinize it, this project was put on the shelf by the bureau chief.

The plight of Liu Bingliang has drawn the sympathetic attention of the seismological bureau's scientific and technological personnel, who have written letters to the upper level party organizations informing them of problems caused by the high-handed policy of the scientific commission and the seismological bureau against intellectuals. This has led the leadership of the bureau to portray that small unit of 15 employees (including 9 technicians) without any evidence as "a gang hostile to the leadership," and half of its scientific and technological personnel as "gansters" allegedly headed by Liu Bingliang. Zhang Yonghui /1728 3057 1920/, deputy bureau chief for operations, has openly denounced Liu Bingliang and others who have brought up the problems to the attention of higher authorities as ones engaged "in illegal activities" for the purpose of "establishing personnel relationships transcending organized relationships." He even went so far as to say that "if this has occurred in feudal society, the offenders against their superiors would be liable to be whipped 10 times without mercy." Another deputy bureau chief added: "In the past, it would have been called part of antiparty conspiracy."

Last April, in response to the demands of the Central Committee and the provincial party committee, the Shijiazhuang Municipal CPC Committee went about the task of examining performances by intellectuals. Nearly 3 months later, the documents circulated by the higher authorities were still locked up in the desk drawer of the bureau chief who directed some of its leading members to report to the municipal office responsible for inspection of intellectuals' performances that "since we have hired no engineers, inspection of such performances is unnecessary." Later when the municipal party committee ordered them to submit a true report on this matter, they still turned a deaf ear to it. When assistant engineer Chen Liang /7115 0081/ voluntarily proposed to exchange views with deputy bureau chief Zhang Yonghui on this matter, that deputy bureau chief nonchalantly replied: "Our relationship is one between the leader and the subordinate. You are not allowed to issue any orders to me. I have no time to talk to you."

The attitude of resisting the implementation of the policy on intellectuals adopted by the leadership of the seismological bureau pursuing an erroneous road to the point of no return stems directly from its inability to eliminate the "leftist" ideology. Zhang Yonghui openly declared: "I can persecute

people just as I have done in the past, although I also have experiences in being persecuted. I know how to persecute others. If you want a contest of strength with me, you will end up being a loser." Clearly, he has taken an irreconcilable stand against the scientific and technological personnel, and wants to treat intellectuals as harshly as ever. If that is the case, how can he avoid confrontation with the intellectuals? the leadership of the seismological bureau has followed this erroneous approach with the continued connivance and support of certain responsible persons of the municipal scientific commission.

The plight of Liu Bingliang and others, and the problems resulting from the refusal of the leadership of the municipal scientific commission and the seismological bureau to implement the policy on intellectuals have captured the attention of leading comrades of the Shijiazhuang Municipal Party Committee and the municipal government. After being briefed on this matter on several occasions, the principal responsible comrade of the municipal party committee has instructed departments concerned to step up the investigation of this case. Meanwhile, at a special reception given in Comrade Liu Bingliang's honor, the deputy mayor responsible for the work of the scientific commission has endorsed his achievements in seismological work, and his noble spirit in upholding the principles, while encouraging him to unite other comrades around him to strive for greater success.

9574

CSO: 4005/707

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY CADRE ACCUSED OF VIOLATING POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Apr 83 p 3

/Letter to the editor from Sichuan Normal College professors Li Anzhai /2621 1344 1341/, Qu Shouyuan /1448 1343 0337/ (Communist Party member), Zhang Jingxu /1728 7234 5711/ (Communist Party Member), Tang Bingzheng /3282 3521 2973/ (member of China Democratic League), and associate professor Lei Luping /7179 1462 1627/ (probationary Communist Party member of Mongolian nationality) dated 23 March 1983: "Those Who Have Trampled the Party's Policy Under Foot Should Not Be Allowed To Push People Around as They Wish"/

/Text/ Dear RENMIN RIBAO editors: We are Sichuan Normal College professors and associate professors who are determined to devote the rest of our lives to enhancing the development of education and science of the motherland. But when we personally saw Shao Lin /6730 2651/, deputy secretary of the party committee of Sichuan Normal College, abuse his power, and do everything possible to prevent the college from carrying out the party's policy on intellectuals, teaching and scientific research programs and logistic support work, it made us really angry and furious. Now let us expose his acts of violating the laws and discipline as follows:

First, he has played tricks behind the back of the party committee, and tried everything possible to grab power. Professor Su Li /5685 7812/, dean of our college and acting secretary of its party committee, is respected by teachers. But Shao Lin has deliberately instigated a number of people to attack and push him around and humiliate him. On 23 March 1983, he raved at a trade union meeting: "Although I hold many positions including the deputy secretary of the party committee, secretary of the commission for inspection of discipline, a clan leader, village chief, and family head, unfortunately I have no power." Actually, he is a very powerful man. For example, the ancient Chinese literary research institute proposed long ago for the Sichuan Normal College by its old professors still cannot materialize with Shao Lin standing in the way, trying to nip it in the bud, despite the fact that it has been officially approved by the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, and the provincial bureau of higher education.

Second, he has been found guilty of abusing his power by making the innocent victims of false charges and unjust prosecution. Zhang Jingxu is deputy

director of the Chinese Formal Logic Research Institute and vice president of the Sichuan Provincial Society of Logic, who once expressed disagreement with his erroneous opinions. On 17 June 1982, in an act of reprisal, he took advantage of a college faculty meeting to attack Zhang Jingxu by name, falsely accusing him of "printing a book entitled 'Popular Logic' in the name of the provincial society of logic and without proper authorization, buying it cheap and selling it dear, thus enabling him to make an exorbitant profit of over 10,000 yuan without investing any money." Later, this case drew serious attention of the Sichuan Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline. Last August, it sent a representative to conduct an investigation into the case, which ended up clearing Comrade Zhang Jingxu's name, stating that Zhang has gained nothing from the publication of that book, and the charges against him was purely an act of reprisals with intent to frame him; for this reason, the higher authorities have instructed Shao Lin to have Zhang's good name restored. But even to date, Shao Lin is still dragging his feet without taking any action on this instruction. On 6 and 7 June 1982, when Comrade Yang Chao [2799 6389], former secretary of the Sichuan Provincial Party Committee, invited Comrade Zhang Jingxu to a philosophical forum at the former's home, Zhang was questioned by Shao Lin again, who wanted him to reveal the contents of the forum, its participants, the time of his departure from Yang's home, and the model of the car that took him back to the college. In this way, he has clearly been found guilty of violating Zhang's personal freedom. Until recently, Shao Lin kept spreading rumors trying to frame Comrade Zhang Jingxu.

Third, he is found guilty of trampling under foot the new constitution of the party and depriving party members of their rights. Last November when a forum on the study of the new constitution of the party was held at the building of the third general party branch, some comrades cited facts to expose mistakes committed by Shao Lin. Among them was Comrade Zhao Taibi [6392 3141 4310], a distributor of "Popular Logic," who exposed Shao Lin's wrongdoing, and criticized him for forcing him to quit that job and to reflect on himself. After learning of this, Shao Lin pressured Comrade Luo Yonglin [7482 3057 3651], secretary of the third general party branch, into providing information on the individual speakers in question, thus drawing wrathful protests from the secretary himself and other ranking cadres and party members. Problems caused by Shao Lin are too numerous to be mentioned here.

The fact that the Central Committee has repeatedly reaffirmed and emphasized the need to strengthen the socialist legal system and to carry out the policy for intellectuals is a great encouragement to us. But Shao Lin has responded to the instructions from the higher authorities with delaying tactics and open declaration of opposition, and has pushed his subordinates around as he wishes. In our opinion, the dignity of the constitution, laws and party discipline must be defended and efforts must be made for Sichuan Normal College to broaden the new prospect of its work. To achieve this end calls for a serious investigation of problems caused by Shao Lin and other intolerable behavior by those who have trampled under foot the party's policies.

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN PARTY BUILDING SOCIETY FOUNDED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Meng Haoming [1322 3185 2494] and Lin Ji [2651 2894]: "Fujian Provincial Party Building Society is Founded Officially"]

[Text] On 9 March, the Fujian Provincial Party Building Society was formally established.

The ceremony was attended by provincial, local, county level party theoreticians and party affairs personnel; representatives of units directly under the provincial organs and military units. Cheng Xu, first secretary, of the Fujian CPC Committee spoke at the meeting.

By-laws of the Party Building Society were passed. The Party Building Society is the mass learning media of the theoreticians and the party affairs personnel. Its major mission is to study and develop the party buildup and development under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, particularly it must study the consequences of analyzing party building experience, and the new experiences and new problems in this new period.

At the meeting, the council elected Fu Dawen [0265 1129 2429] as the Society's director, Wang Lieping [3769 3525 6097], Tian Ruo [3944 5387] as deputy directors, at the same time, also elected its secretary and deputy secretary.

CSO: 4005/835

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' PRINTS 15 YE JIANYING POEMS

HK061446 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 83 p 5

["Fifteen Selected Poems by Ye Jianying"]

[Text] Annotations on an Oil Shale

1915

Look ahead and sing an exultant song,
I have also fought against the warlords.
With infinite emotion of rise and fall,
I wish the masses enjoy great harmony.

Military Region Controlling the Navy

The mother hen is hatching a duck egg,
Mother and baby are dear to each other.
One day you should ride the waves and leave,
The blue sea will show our boundless affection.

To the tune of "Diaoxiaoling"

Sketch of a conference hall
My head is heavy, my head is heavy,
Four hours of listening to the masses.
Back stooped, eyes tired and also hungry,
I keep looking at the watch on my wrist.
Counting the hour, counting the hour,
I am feeling a little bit restless.

Written in Jest

At an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission, General Chen presented me with a sharkskin wallet, and I immediately wrote in jest.

1954

My friend has presented me with a wallet,
The best way of thanking him is with mangoes.
But the mangoes are very far away,
How to achieve this but to send by plane.

Qingdao

1954

In a corner of the little tower,
Hidden deep among the luxuriant trees.
The sea is wide, the sky a canopy,
The hills are far, the island like a bear.
An old man fishing on the rippling water,
Young people swimming 'neath the brilliant sun.
All of a sudden I think of Liu Bang,
Desolately singing the song of the "big wind."

Birthday of Comrade Wu Yuzhang

Summer of 1957

Master Wu is still young in heart at 80,
I offer a toast at this magnificent feast.
Allow me to count your working time, sir,
It will be no less than 7,200 days.

The Hainan Subtropical Crops Research Institute

18 February 1959

The rubber plantation of 40 years ago,
Will have limitless development in future.
Rubber like the feet of people,
Will advance together with machine tools.

Malachite

18 February 1959

Malachite, a mineral hidden in the green hills,
Should be recommended by Hainan industry.
Do not be afraid of the perils which lie ahead,
Marching forward is the party's advocacy.

To the tune of "Yijiangnan"

To the comrades of Xian enamelware factory

March 1959

Enamelware factory,
Nine years of diligent labor.
Jade and silver cannot rival your brightness,
Birds and flowers on brocade screens lack your color,
Your products are superior to others.
Desire for civilian work,
Enthusiasm to build the country.
Turn the wheel and sing a marching song,
You valiant fighters of the battlefield,
The task of hardcores is by no means light.

(25 percent of the workers in the factory are demobilized servicemen)

In Memory of Qu Yuan

Dragon Boat Festival 1970

Qu Yuan in exile chanted by the marsh,
And only the moon sighed for him.
Such integrity and spotless character,
On reading Lisao I feel deep respect.

Comforting Comrade Chen Yi

Chen Yi is sick, the poem is to comfort him.

19 December 1971

A superior man is always composed,
People have called this a noble spirit.
In Jiangxi you fearlessly faced dangers,
And in Fujian you could rectify mistakes.
A pity such a good man should be sick,
But I hear that you understand Buddhism.
We believe in your power to recover,
To join us in the arduous advance.

Sketch of a Conference Hall

27 July 1973

First one across and then another,
Crossing the bridge really needs great effort
I am grateful to the muledrivers,
Bringing the pack animal to the front.

To the Artist of Zaojian Hall

11 July 1979

The painter and fisherman are happy to meet,
The radiant and enchanting scene is picturesque.
The rise and fall of the Qing are bygone affairs,
Ingenuity paints 10,000 pine-studded hills.

Qingdao Beer

19 September 1979

To discuss the heroes of this world,
Beer does not require warming up.
If you are feeling tired after work,
Go and enjoy a glass of beer.

A Visit to Yantai

To the tune of "Dielianhua"

30 August 1979

I fly to Yantai to visit the former land.
The sea is covered by clouds.
Through the parting clouds I glimpsed the mortal world.
On the left and right are Penglai and Weihaiwai,
Like two islands carried by an immortal on a shoulder pole.
The motherland can lay claim to great order,
The storm of 1894 has turned to friendship.
Nine hundred million people are all flexing their arms,
To create a new era in four modernizations.

CSO: 4005/828

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

CHAIRMAN ELECTED--Nanchang, 1 May (XINHUA)--Wu Ping [0702 1627] was elected chairman of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial CPPCC Committee at its first session, which closed here today. Li Shizhang, Gu Jiguang, He Shikun, Lu Xiaopeng, Shen Hanqing, Li Huafeng, Liu Jianhua, Lu Liang [0712 5328], Zhu Danhua [2612 2481 5748], (female), Guo Qingfen [6753 1987 2780], Li Shanyuan [2621 0810 0337] and Wu Yongle [0702 3057 2867] were elected vice chairmen. [Text] [OW022345 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1300 GMT 1 May 83]

CSO: 4005/828

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SURVEY SHOWS WIDE USE OF MASS MEDIA

OW100809 Beijing XINHUA in English 0750 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Beijing, May 10 (XINHUA)--Beijing Municipal Journalists Society reports that 97 percent of Beijing's people listen to radio broadcasts, 92 percent watch TV and 81 percent read newspapers. This is reported in a sample survey conducted from June 8 to August 6, 1982 among 2,423 people.

Around the same number of people in the rural and urban areas of the Chinese capital have radios and listen in the same proportion.

Although 6.7 times as many TV sets are possessed per hundred households in the urban area, rural TV viewers account for over 83 percent of the rural population.

Newspaper readers are unevenly distributed in the urban and rural areas. While 95 percent of the urban population read newspapers, this is true for only 46 percent in the countryside. This is because the peasants in general have a lower education and newspaper publication is concentrated in the city.

Among the 2,423 people sampled, 18.9 percent do not read newspapers. This is either because their educational level is generally low, or because they are too busy, or because they think TV and radio broadcasts can replace newspaper reading.

Young people between 13 and 25 years old are an important part of all the newspaper readers and radio and TV broadcast audience. However, people from 26 to 60 years old account for the majority. Most have had middle school education.

Radio broadcasts are listened to more regularly. Regular TV viewers come to only two-fifths. Many more people with primary schooling are in this category. Intellectuals with a higher educational level form the bulk of newspaper readers.

More men than women follow TV, radio and newspapers. This is mainly because women usually have a lower educational level and house chores take their time.

Youngsters from 13 to 17 years old also have less time because they are in school and have homework and their parents usually limit the time they can spend on the media.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEW LAW UNIVERSITY APPROVES ENROLLMENT

OW111126 Beijing XINHUA in English 1106 GMT 11 May 83

[Text] Beijing, May 11 (XINHUA)--The newly opened China University of Political Science and Law has approved a student body of 785--about one-fifth of the country's total--according to Yu Shutong, vice president of the university. Of the 785, 160 began studying today in the in-service officials' training college, one of the three components of the university. The other two are the undergraduate and graduate schools.

The remainder are expected to enter in September after passing nationwide college and graduate school entrance exams, Yu Shutong said.

Yu Shutong, who is also the head of the education department of the Ministry of Justice, said that around 3,500 students will be recruited for the other three institutes of political science and law and law departments in 26 universities throughout the country.

The new university, based on the former Beijing Institute of Political Science and Law, was established as the country's top institution of higher learning in jurisprudence, with a planned enrollment of 7,000.

Now underway is the recruitment of 125 students for its graduate school. This accounts for four-fifths of the total enrollment of the four law university and colleges in the country. They will major in more than a dozen specialties, including constitutional and international law, legal history, economic, criminal and civil law and criminal and civil procedure.

All candidates are recruited from among thousands of law undergraduates throughout the country's law colleges and departments. This ensures the quality of the enrollment, according to Zhang Yusen and Li Tie, both officials in the university's enrollment office.

Two law experts from the university described the size of the enrollment as part of efforts to meet the needs of the country's strengthened legal system, of the increasing foreign economic relations and contacts, and of the country's four modernizations in particular.

Zhu Qiwu and Qian Hua, both experts on international law, added that more Chinese representatives are also needed for many law-oriented international organizations. "Training more capable law workers in the shortest possible time brooks no delay," they said.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL EXAM COMMITTEE FOR SELF-TAUGHT STUDENTS

OW122136 Beijing XINHUA in English 0752 GMT 12 May 83

[Text] Beijing, May 12 (XINHUA)--A 29-member national examination guidance committee for self-taught students of college courses has been set up by the Ministry of Education, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Labor and Personnel and the Ministry of Finance.

The State Council in a circular giving its approval said this system would open up a new avenue for selecting personnel for the country's construction. The State Council called for such committees to be set up in every province, municipality and autonomous region with the help of the local government.

The committee is to give guidance for the examinations held to assess the educational level of persons studying on their own, decide on the specialties of the examination according to country's needs, organize the examination according to the state's unified standard and issue certificates.

The committees at lower levels will also guide people who are studying on their own.

The national committee headed by Education Minister He Dongchang includes specialists and professors from the Ministry of Labor and Personnel, the State Planning Commission and the Chinese Communist Youth League as well as from many key universities such as Beijing, Qinghua and people's universities.

[Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1204 GMT on 12 May reports that "He Dongchang is chairman, and Zang Boping, Huang Wei, Sun Yu, Hu Jintao, Shen Keqi, Zhao Fangxiong and Li Zhenzhong are vice chairmen, of the National Examination Guidance Committee for Self-Taught Students; and there are 21 other committee members."]

CSO: 4000/129

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

XIZANG UNIVERSITY CONSTRUCTION--Lhasa, 25 Apr (XINHUA correspondent Namgyai)--Tibet will have a university for the first time in its history, according to the people's congress of this autonomous region. Tibet University, now under construction here in the region's capital, is expected to start enrolling students in 1985. With an enrollment capacity of 1,600 the university will have departments of Tibetan medicine, mathematics-physics-chemistry, political science, biology and geography. There will also be specialties of astronomy, Buddhism, music and fine arts. Tibet now has a teachers' college, a nationalities institute and an agriculture and animal husbandry college. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1116 GMT 25 Apr 83 OW]

MINORITY STUDENTS TO UNIVERSITIES--Urumqi, May 2 (XINHUA)--Special classes will be opened soon in 13 universities across the country for students of minority nationalities from the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, according to local educational departments. Xinjiang sends students to universities in educationally developed parts of China every year. The new classes will double the figure of such students. The 13 universities include Shanghai Jiaotong University, Dalian Institute of Engineering, Xian Jiaotong University and Northwest College of Political Science and Law. Students will major in science, engineering, agriculture, education, law, textiles, journalism or foreign languages. Enrollment has been approved by the Chinese Ministry of Education and listed in the state plan. [Text] [OW021244 Beijing XINHUA in English 0724 GMT 2 May 83]

CSO: 4000/129

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

MAO ZEDONG'S MISTAKEN PRACTICE OF MARXISM ASSESSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 65, 66, Mar-Apr 83

[Article by Wen Hui [3306 8748]: "Is Mao Zedong a Marxist--Sentiments on the Centenary of Marx's Death"]

[No 65, Mar 83 pp 59, 60]

[Text] It is now a full century since Marx left this world. Whenever a communist died, Mao Zedong liked to say that he went to see Marx. If Mao Zedong was to really meet Marx, would Marx say that Mao had been a good student of his?

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," passed by the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, summed up the revolutionary practice of the several decades of Mao Zedong and praised him as a great Marxist. Could Mao Zedong accept this praise with a clear conscience?

To assess whether a man is a good Marxist we must not only look at his words and writings, but more important to see whether he carried out practice according to the fundamental tenets of Marxism. There are many Marxist tenets, but the most fundamental are dialectical materialism and historical materialism; these may be said to be the core of Marxism. If this core of Marxism is adopted as guiding ideology in actual practice, it would mean all affairs are handled according to the objective law and the law of history. Using these criteria in an examination of Mao's words and deeds, especially his revolutionary practice, what conclusions would we arrive at?

The Main Trends in Mao Zedong's Guiding Ideology

Many party leaders have made a name for themselves in the history of the CPS. Compared with such men as Che Duxiu [7115 3747 4423], Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101], Li Lisan [2621 4539 0005] and Wang Ming [3769 2494], Mao's Marxism was clearly of a somewhat higher level, or very much higher. Mao's writings on Marxist philosophical principles, including his "On Contradictions" and "On Practice," show that he was not at all ignorant of Marxism. In actual practice he indeed solved many problems applying

the fundamental principles of Marxism, which is also an important factor in his achieving such eminent successes. Wang Ming, who for many years controlled the fate of the CPC, criticized Mao in his book "Mao Zedong, the Renegade," but what he writes smacks strongly of doctrinarism and sounds like a shrew shouting abuse in the street. There is no reasoning and no attempt to convince people by reasoning. Wang Ming, who shows himself off as an "absolute Bolshevik," does not display any appreciable level of understanding of Marxism. By comparison, Mao Zedong is of course a Marxist. However, if we compare Mao with Yugoslavia's Tito or Hungary's Nagy, then we realize that Mao's level of understanding of Marxism tends to be low and not at all high. If Mao were to stand next to the great Marxist mentor Lenin, the latter would appear like a giant standing 7 feet high, and the former like a juvenile of not even 3 feet. It is particularly notable that in Mao's mentality un-Marxist elements often got the upper hand. Judging by the more than 50 years of his revolutionary practice, the main elements of his guiding ideology were not Marxist, but un-Marxist.

Conspicuous Manifestations of un-Marxist Ideology

The most conspicuous manifestations of Mao's un-Marxist ideology were his acting against the objective law and the law of history, that is, acting against the core elements of Marxism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism, in his analysis of decisions on and dealings with a number of major party and state problems. Among such actions, the most prominent, most evident and most harmful were his ideas and actions that went beyond the historical stage of the time.

An important core tenet of Marxism says that the production relations must fit the conditions and the developmental stage of the productive forces. However, Mao Zedong completely disregarded this rudimentary tenet of Marxism. After establishing the People's Republic, he continuously demanded a change in the production relations without regard for the low level of the productive forces. After the conclusion of the new-democratic revolution, the social conditions in China, especially its low level of productive forces, required that the Chinese society be allowed a fairly long period of time for its transition to socialism. In that period of time, vigorous efforts should have been made to develop the economy, and a variety of economic components should have been tolerated, including individual economy, so as to enable a continuous improvement in the people's material livelihood and cultural life. However, on Mao Zedong's schedule of revolutionary practice, there was no provision for this historically essential transitional period. He thought he could "make the rice shoots grow by pulling them upward," and to push the Chinese society into the historical stage of socialism within the very short time of a few years. His reforms of agriculture, private trade and industry and handicraft industry in the middle fifties were therefore precipitate and inopportune. After the three reforms had been completed, unduly early, Mao Zedong proclaimed in 1957 that the Chinese society had fundamentally entered the stage of socialism. This was the first of Mao Zedong's movements going beyond the stage of the time in imposing changes in the production relations and in the ownership system of the means of production.

Around 1958, a system of production responsibility made its appearance in a large number of villages, with contracts for short-term work or production quotas for particular individual households. This system actually suited the developmental conditions of the productive forces at the time in the rural areas as well as throughout the entire society. However, Mao Zedong considered this creative development of the peasants as revisionism and criticized it. From 1958 on, Mao Zedong and the CPC rashly launched the "Great Leap Forward" and the people's communes without prior investigation, research and experimentation. The people's communes, moreover, were regarded as a golden bridge that would lead right into the historical stage of communism. This was another movement that overstepped the level of the productive forces, that was divorced from the realities of the people's livelihood and that was the "skipping a stage" movement which onesidedly pursued the principle of "large in size and collective in nature."

The Destructive Force of the "Skipping a Stage" Movement

The result of Mao's movement of skipping a stage was an immense impediment obstructing the normal development of the economy. It actually destroyed productive forces, and this cannot be concealed by some rising production figures put out just to console oneself. Apart from everything else, the onesided pursuit of turning over the means of production to public ownership, "turned up" the phenomena of the "iron rice bowl" and the "eating from the same big pot," which became a heavy encumbrance on economic development. The consequences of the movements beyond the developmental stage of the time were immensely dangerous and harmful.

Mao Zedong believed that with the transfer of the means of production to public ownership, socialization had been achieved. This is a simplistic view of the concept of socialism. After undergoing three large transformations and the commune movement, the Chinese society, from the point of view of its production or distribution, of its economic base or superstructure, was far apart from the socialism that Marx, Engels and Lenin had envisaged. To state one example, "Communism (this includes both stages, communism and socialism--the editor) is a state of productivity even higher than that of capitalism, created, willingly and consciously, by the joint efforts of the workers, using advanced technology," ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 29, p 388) and compare this with the reality of the "iron rice bowl," the eating from the same big pot" and a productivity lower than in any ordinary capitalist country. This one example already shows that the past socialism was a sham socialism. In my personal opinion, the Chinese society, while after the initial period of transition all the time shouting the slogan of "entering socialism," was only turning a somersault well inside the transitional period. As for regarding the commune movement as "a bridge to communism," it is a viewpoint that is even much further apart from Marxism.

The calamity for the state and the people by the movement of skipping a stage manifested itself further in such political movements as the "Anti-Rightist" movement of 1959 and the "Great Cultural Revolution"

that began in 1966. From the fifties on, there was a group of people in the CPC who disagreed with the thoughtless rush into leftist deviations and disagreed with the "Great Leap Forward" and the commune movement, but for this very reason Mao Zedong regarded them as "revisionists" and "rightist opportunists" and repeatedly staged "anti-rightist" movements and the "Great Cultural Revolution," employing cruel struggle tactics and measures that plunged China into chaos, to suppress anyone who held a different view, so as to continue to carry out his transformations of the production relations, movements that overstepped the developmental stage of the time and had as their result a national tragedy "unprecedented in history."

[No 66, Apr 83 pp 52-57]

/Text/ Looking at Mao Zedong's activities since the founding of the People's Republic, we see that his world view and methodology show serious tendencies of subjective idealism, historical idealism and metaphysics. Combined with this mentality we see doctrinairism, pragmatism, putschism, egalitarianism, the "special privilege" and also autocratic mentality. As from the middle of the fifties, these small cells of erroneous mentality began a process of constant expansion, reproduction and cancerous growth. Theorists and aged historians will write the scientific conclusions: Mao Zedong was not a "great Marxist," but only a semi-Marxist and the Mao Zedong of the Mao era was a pseudo-Marxist. In the present period of great transformations, a thorough assessment of Mao is of great practical significance.

Running Counter to the Socialist Doctrines of Marxism-Leninism

Mao Zedong carried out a "transition by force," which ran counter to the objective law, and of course also to the Marxist conception of history and the doctrines of scientific socialism.

The socialist doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin are not at all very complete. Besides, there are some theses that have lost their validity due to lapse of time or that do not fit the national conditions of China. However, the tenets and viewpoints that contain the most fundamental principles and are most certainly of universal validity, must be respected and believed in by every Chinese communist. The thesis of the transition period is one of these truths that are to be universally valid.

The Idea of the "Transition Period" in Marxism-Leninism

In his "Economics--Philosophical Notes," "Critique of the Gotha Programme" and other writings, Marx set forth the idea of a transition period between

capitalism and communism (of which socialism is the first stage). In his "State and Revolution," Lenin elaborated Marx's ideas on the transition period. ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 25, pp 446-454) In the same manner as Marx, Lenin emphasized that this transition period must be tentatively planned in advance according to the political needs. After victory in the October Revolution, Lenin expanded the thesis of the transition period in his actual practice. Early in 1918 he wrote "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," in which he expressed that "we have just begun our transition toward socialism," and at this juncture "we must be able to do practical organizational work. This is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundation of life of scores of millions of people. It is also the most gratifying task, because only after it has been fulfilled (in the principle and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a socialist, republic." In order to build up a "most deep-rooted foundation," Lenin proposed to shift the focus of work and the main task to a restoration of the productive forces and to the development of the economy. "In enterprises already taken away from the capitalists and in all other enterprises, we must organize accounting and controls" and "raise the productivity of labor beyond that of the capitalist society." (Above quotations are from "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government;" the actual phrases may be found in "Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 27, pp 121-135). Later, in May 1919, in his "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers," Lenin set forth that "to build socialism...requires a fairly long period of transition from capitalism to socialism, because the reorganization of production is a difficult matter, because radical changes in all spheres of life need time, and because the enormous force of habit of running things in a petty-bourgeois and bourgeois way can only be overcome by a long and stubborn struggle." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 29,,p 351) From these statements by Lenin, written within 1 year, we can see that his concept of the period of transition has become much more concrete, compared with Marx's and even with his own earlier ideas:

First, he affirms the necessity of a transition period from a political point of view and also concludes that a transition period is necessary from the economic point of view.

Second, he not only affirms the need for a transition period, but determines that the transition period is to be a fairly long one.

Third, he clearly and definitely sets forth that only after completion of a substantial economic foundation during the transition period and after accomplishing the task of creating a productivity of labor that exceeds that of the capitalist society, can one enter into the historical stage of socialism.

Unfortunate History

Early in 1918, when discussing the problem of "transition," Lenin also set forth methods of gradual transition, which included a "temporary stop" in

attacks against capital, utilizing the country's capitalism, taking over bourgeois specialists and have them participate in reconstruction and in the work of developing the economy, etc.

We may say that Lenin gave a substantial outline of the transition period, and in some places even drew up all the details. As Engels had predicted, "Even economically backward countries can still play first fiddle in the philosophical field." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 37, p 490) Lenin did indeed assume the position of a first fiddle and played a new Marxist tune.

However, the CPSU and the Soviet state wrote an unfortunate chapter of history of itself in an unfortunate historical era. Under the disturbing influences of ultraleftists, civil war and foreign intervention, the CPSU and the Soviet state brushed aside the problem of the "transition," and in the summer of 1918 embarked on a policy of wartime communism, which meant in the main a system of surplus grain appropriations, confiscation of surplus grain as well as other agricultural main and sideline products from the peasants without remuneration, nationalization of all large, medium and small-sized enterprises, highly centralized control and leadership with regard to industrial production and distribution, prohibition of dealing in grain and articles of daily necessity, ban on all free trade, and a system of distribution of materials according to the status and rank of workers and cadres. Although some of these measures were adopted under the pressure of circumstances or had to be adopted, taken as a whole they tended to be "leftist deviationist." It was particularly serious that these measures were considered a direct transition to socialism, and were therefore affirmed as such. This pseudo-socialism led to serious economic and political crises. Early in 1921, the CPSU followed Lenin's suggestion and decided on a "strategic retreat," abolished the surplus grain appropriation system and abandoned the policy of wartime communism. What they adopted instead was the new economic policy of allowing the peasants to sell freely whatever surplus agricultural main and sideline products they wanted to sell after paying a certain grain tax, allowing continued existence of medium and small-scale private enterprises, allowing a system of leases and concessions for foreign capital and abolishing the materials rationing system. As a result, the commodity economy replaced barter of products, currency circulated, markets appeared, the entire economy came to life and production rose. These facts make it clear that the objective law is like the five-finger mountain put on Sun Wukong's head by Buddha. It is very difficult to get out of it, and even if one breaks through the soil, there are hurts to the head and some bloodletting, and in the end one still has to give in obediently.

Economic Defeat

There are two ways to deal with defeat and mistakes, one is to "hide one's sickness for fear of treatment," to continue unrelentingly on one's mistaken course, and one is to appraise one's own conduct and show an ability to change. There are of course also instances of verbal admission of fault without any changes in the subsequent actions. Mao Zedong and the CPC always

believed in not letting "domestic shame spread out in the open" and frequently "hit a sickness for fear of treatment." On the other hand, Lenin always had the courage to admit his mistakes; he was a materialist who changed his ways when he realized a mistake. With regard to the defeat and mistake of his policy of wartime communism, Lenin not only candidly admitted it, but also subjected it to analysis and summed up the experience so as to facilitate renewed progress. In October 1921, Lenin wrote in his article "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," as follows: "We expected--or perhaps it would be truer to say that we presumed without having given adequate consideration--to be able to organize the state production and the state distribution on communist lines in a small-peasant country directly as ordered by the proletarian state. Experience has proved that we were wrong." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 39) He summed up the experiences and lessons of the past 3 years of practice and admitted that in a small-peasant country it is first of all necessary to build a sturdy bridge and pass through a transitional phase until socialism can be achieved. In his article "The New Economic Policy and the Task of the Political Education Departments," he wrote: "We must not count on going straight to communism." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 50) "We must undergo...a prolonged, complex transition," otherwise "it would be impossible even to achieve the lower stage of communism." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 43) We may say that these conclusions by Lenin concerning a period of transition are the summing up of his experiences, we may also say it is a recovery of the sense of Marxist theory, or we are even more justified to say that it is truth tested in practice. In the same article by Lenin there is a sentence which has a special, universally valid meaning for backward countries that are moving toward socialism: "The less developed the capitalist society is, the longer the transition will take."

If Mao Zedong and the CPC would have taken note of the practical significance and important nature of this sentence and borne in mind the lesson learned by the CPSU and the Soviet state from their defeat due to engaging in action beyond the developmental stage of the time, China could have most likely avoided the tumultuous history between the fifties and the seventies.

Mao Zedong's Four Serious Mistakes

Of course Mao Zedong had also given attention to the problem of transition. In the early fifties, he admitted in his "On New Democracy" and "On Coalition Government," that China needed a transition period in its advance from a semicolonial, semifeudal society to a socialist society, and he furthermore called this transition period the period of new democracy. The special features of this period were to be, economically, the simultaneous existence of various economic components in the economy, and politically "no dictatorship of one class and no monopoly of one party in the government structure." ("On Coalition Government" in "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" p 1062)

Mao's ideas on the transition period certainly appear to have been influenced by Lenin, but in theoretical respects they are innovative, stating clearly and definitely that during the period of new democracy, political power was not to be in the hands of only one party.

Not only that Mao Zedong and the CPC entertained the idea of a transition period, but after their seizure of power, that is, beginning in 1949, they actually implemented a transition period, namely new democracy. However, it was precisely in the actual practice of dealing with the transition problem that Mao Zedong committed serious errors.

Shortening the Period of Transition

First, around the time of the wartime communism, Lenin repeatedly expounded the view that there must be a "prolonged, complex transition period" before the historical period of socialism could be reached. He also set forth that backward countries required a longer transition period. Judging by the condition of China's productive forces at the time when the communist seized power, China was quite obviously a very backward country and would have required about 15 to 30 years to gain the material foundation mentioned by Lenin. However, Mao Zedong and the CPC artificially shortened what should have been a long transition period to 7 years and in 1956 already declared it concluded.

Grasping the Wrong Work Focus

Second, since the old political powers had already been overthrown in the transition period, and the state power as well as the economic lifelines had passed under the control of the communist party and the working class, it was Lenin's opinion that the focus of work need no more be class struggle. In his article "On Cooperation" he said: In carrying out the new economic policy in the Soviet Union, "we have to admit that there has been a radical modification in our whole outlook on socialism. The radical modification is this: formerly we placed, and had to place, the main emphasis on the political struggle, on revolution, on winning political power, etc. Now the emphasis is changed and shifted to peaceful, organization," "cultural" work." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 429) In the same article Lenin referred to "cultural" work as "cultural revolution." Completely different from Mao Zedong's type of cultural revolution, Lenin's cultural revolution was not a class struggle and not a political movement, but the building up of cultural and of the economy. In Lenin's own words it had pure cultural character and material character, and as to the material character he said, "to be cultured we must achieve a certain development of the material means of production, must have a certain material base." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 430) If we compare the political situation in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution with the political situation in China after 1949, we can definitely state that the situation in China was much better than in the Soviet Union; the political situation in China was much more stabilized. It would therefore have been the more obligatory and necessary for the Chinese communists, once they had seized political power, to proceed on the foundation of a restored economy to give priority attention to economic and cultural reconstruction and to exert all efforts on various construction undertakings to build an effective bridge by which to advance toward socialism. In the first 3 years after the inception of the People's Republic, Mao Zedong and the CPC indeed engaged in economic reconstruction work and in three large

campaigns, but thereafter, until 1956, they overemphasized class struggle, engaged in several mistaken political campaigns or they unduly magnified certain political actions (among such, the completely mistaken criticism of Hu Feng and others). This weakened all economic and cultural work, and it was also inconsistent with the objective needs, as it also ran counter to the correct principles of Lenin.

Excessive Speed of the Three Great Transformations

Third, in the problem of socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft industry and capitalist industry and trade, Mao Zedong and the CPC were overanxious for quick results, and they launched the three great transformations, completing them at a time when things had not yet matured to that degree. For instance, the transition from agricultural mutual aid teams to elementary cooperatives to advanced cooperatives was originally planned to take "a period of 10 to 15 or even more years," but it was then--all done in 1 1/2 years. This was quite inconsistent with the level of consciousness of the peasants, with the level of administrative skill of the cadres and the level of development of the productive forces. It also completely ran counter to the conclusions reached and summed up by Lenin from the disastrous experiences of the wartime communism. Lenin expressed the opinion, "we must build on the basis of the peasants' personal incentive." He also said: "We are told that the personal incentive of the peasants means restoring private property. But we have never interfered with personally owned articles of consumption and implements of production as far as the peasants are concerned." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 50) What Mao Zedong did with his accelerated communization was obviously not "building on the basis of the peasants' personal incentives," and as a result cries of discontent rose in all the villages and in quite a number of places there was a movement of "taking one's cattle and leaving the commune."

Ignoring the Democratic System

Fourth, in the political life of those 7 years, Mao Zedong and the CPC, apart from launching a number of mistaken and unnecessary political campaigns, carried out the dictatorship of one party. This was contrary to the promises of "no class dictatorship and no one-party monopoly in the government structure," that Mao Zedong had made prior to the establishment of his government, when he had promised the people a people's democracy. It was Marx's opinion that democracy is one of the aims of the proletariat in seizing power. One of his famous statements is: "The first step in the revolution of the workers is to make the proletariat the ruling class and to fight to gain democracy." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 4, p 489) Lenin too repeatedly expounded the view that even in the transition period and even in the dictatorship of the proletariat, democracy is necessary. He said: "The proletarian dictatorship destroys the democracy of the bourgeoisie and establishes the democracy of the proletariat." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 30, p 74) Lenin believed that without democracy there could be no socialism. "As far as we are concerned, the important thing is to attract all workers on a broad scale to participate in the administration of the state. This is an extremely arduous task. Socialism cannot be carried out

by a small minority or by one party, it can only be accomplished if millions and millions of people will learn to personally attend to this matter." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 27, p 123) If Mao Zedong did not carry out democracy--his "democratic parties" were more political ornaments--he violated Marxist theory and went against his own ideas of the past. In actual life, if the peasants would have then been given a voice, and if the people's opinions would have been listened to, the communization would not have proceeded so fast and this transition by force would never have materialized. If we talk of a one-party dictatorship, it was in reality a one-man dictatorship. The way that Mao Zedong criticized Deng Zihui /6772 1311 1863/ for voicing opposition against too fast a communication, is that not an outstanding manifestation of a one-man dictatorship?

Three "Contraventions"

The mistakes that Mao Zedong committed in the question of the transition period show that he:

1. contravened the objective law;
2. contravened Marxist theory;
3. contravened his own ideas.

Mao Zedong's mistake in the question of the transition period is just one of the many mistakes Mao committed since the establishment of the People's Republic. If this article particularly deals with the question of the transition period, it is because this writer believes that the serious mistakes that Mao committed following the middle fifties are all connected with the mistake he made in the transition period. In more concrete terms, the forcible transition of the early fifties (intending to effect the transition to socialism) and the later second forcible transition (intending to effect the transition to communism by means of the communization movement) are both of the same character. The mistaken political campaigns and political incidents of the early fifties were followed in one continuous line by the anti-rightist campaign of 1957, the campaign against rightist deviationists in 1959, the four clean-ups movement of 1964 and the start of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in 1966. After the 8th CPC Congress in 1956, Mao became increasingly despotic, concentrating more and more power in his own hands and increasingly fond of his own deification, which are all developments traceable to his mentality and actions of the early fifties, when he disdained democracy and placed strongest emphasis on dictatorship. In short, the whole series of grave mistakes that Mao Zedong committed after 1956 or 1957 can all be traced back to his political career during the few years after the establishment of the People's Republic. However, in all the documents recently published by the CPC there is only sketchy and vague mention, dealt with in one or two words, of Mao's mistaken thoughts and deeds of the early fifties, or they are even completely ignored. This is not the attitude of seeking truth from facts.

Summing Up Mao Zedong's "Transition" Practice

As to the mistakes committed by Mao in the few years after the establishment of the People's Republic, this writer believes we must not only talk of them, but discuss them thoroughly, and not only discuss them thoroughly, but also sum them up, because these historical experiences and lessons are still of practical significance today. I am presenting here an initial exploratory effort and an attempt at an initial summing up according to Mao's practice and activities during that period of time. My intention is merely to "cast a brick to attract jade." and to stimulate a broad discussion and study.

1. Subjectivism

First, contrary to the materialist viewpoint in his famous "On Practice," Mao's conspicuous ideology at that time in the question of the transition period was subjectivism. He distorted the spiritual into a material and disregarded the decisive role of the material with regard to the spiritual. Again and again he engaged in rash surges in the economy and in forcible transitions, and in both activities divorced himself from the realities of the level of productive forces and the level of consciousness of the masses, on all occasions replacing objective law by his subjective will. Again and again he launched his political campaigns and actions, always of an irrational character. What is this, if not subjective idealism?

2. Metaphysics

Second, contrary to the dialectical standpoint in his famous "On Contradictions," Mao tended seriously toward metaphysics, conspicuously manifested in his frequent lopsided mistakes. He emphasized qualitative change and neglected quantitative change. He continuously pursued the change of the production relations and paid insufficient attention to raising the productive forces. He had a simplistic concept of socialism as being merely an economic system with public ownership of the means of production, but completely ignored that socialism is a political system with a high degree of democracy. In politics any small rustle of leaves in the wind, or even a slightly dissenting voice, made him suspect hostile forces as if about to be afflicted with a Heaven-sent calamity, but he did not fully recognize the actual condition of general stability and the peaceful sentiment among the people. He did not see the woods for all the trees. He only knew that "one divides into two," but did not know that "two combine into one." He only saw the contradictory aspect of relations among the people and did not see the unifying aspect, and would even less see that the unifying aspect was the important one. In the end he always regarded the internal contradictions among the people as antagonistic contradictions, all along placing class struggle into the position of focal task, and did not, after China's economic recovery, place the development of the economy as the highest priority on his order of the day. All these attitudes are manifestations of subjective idealism, as they are also products of a metaphysical way of thinking.

3. Doctrinairism

Third, contrary to the correct viewpoint in his famous "Oppose Book Worship," in which Mao emphasized that knowledge from Marxist literature "must be integrated with the actual conditions of our country," (Selected Readings in Mao Zedong's Works" p 20) Mao showed obvious tendencies of doctrinairism. Why would he engage in forcible transitions and actions exceeding the actual stage of developments? There were many reasons for it, but one of the main factors was the mischievous "book worship" in his own head. For one, he rigidly adhered to a particular view of Marx on socialism, namely Marx's belief that socialism is implementing "a system of having all means of production owned by all the people" This viewpoint is obviously at times an impractical restriction, but Mao followed all along what was "in the books" and pursued the implementation of "a system of having all means of production owned by all the people?" For this reason he impatiently pushed the three great transformations and impatiently carried out the communization. Secondly, disregarding the actual results of Stalin's economic model, and also disregarding whether Stalin's model would fit Chinese conditions, Mao uncritically introduced Stalin's type of economics to China. The Stalin model demanded an ever increasing scope of public ownership of all the means of production, demanded an ever higher level of socialization and did not give any consideration to the question whether certain kinds of concrete patterns of public ownership of the means of production will fit the conditions of the productive forces. Another special feature of the Stalin model was the high degree of centralization of decision-making in policy matters; it rejected a system of market mechanics and adopted a system of planned economics with a hierarchical command structure. This economic model was actually not suitable for the Soviet Union and the East European countries, and also not for China. Taking a foreign model, and, divorced from actual conditions, accepting it as the universal truth of Marxism, and furthermore applying it intact to China, was one point where Mao displayed a measure of doctrinairism that was not a bit less than the doctrinairism of Wang Ming.

4. Historical Idealism

Running counter to the Marxist materialist conception of history and Mao's own famous phrase, "People, it is only people who constitute the force that moves the history of the world," ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" p 1031), Mao's actual activities display an overestimation of the position of leader in the party, among the masses and in history. From Yanan to Beijing, from the forties to the seventies, Mao tacitly approved to be taken as "the people's star of salvation," "the great revolutionary teacher of the Chinese people and of the people of the world." After the October Revolution, Lenin once pointed out: "Three chief enemies now confront everyone, irrespective of one's departmental functions," the first of the three enemies being "the conceit and arrogance as a member of the communist party." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 33, p 59) No one can doubt that Mao Zedong was a communist party member who fell victim to the "first chief enemy." Because of his conceit

and arrogance, considering himself a superman, he demanded that all the party and the whole country obey his will, and in his style of work he displayed the most serious bureaucracy and commandism.

5. Pragmatism

Pragmatism is derived from idealism. It denies the objective nature of truth and asserts that the value of a scientific theory is not determined by its reflection of a correct degree of an objectively existent matter, but is determined by the benefits produced by the particular theory in this kind or that kind of circumstances. From Mao's words and deeds, people can easily recognize that there is a measure of pragmatism clinging to his subjective idealism. Concrete manifestation of this trait is his "who sides with me will prosper, who differs with me will perish." All who raised opposition to this economic rash and irresponsible actions were punished. When he needed "cooperation" between the democratic parties and the CPC, he was all radiant smiles for them, but when he figured that he would not need them anymore, he got rid of them with one kick of his foot. In 1957 many personalities of the democratic parties were labeled "rightists." Later, the democratic parties existed only by name without any substance anymore, and finally both names and substance were all gone. Marxism has all along emphasized observance of principles. Adhering to principles and upholding the truth must be a part of the party spirit which the political part of the proletariat is imbued with. However, Mao Zedong frequently abandoned principles for reasons of his own selfish interests or based on subjective arbitrary decisions. His words and deeds are therefore full of contradictions; his theory and practice were disjointed, and this resulted from his replacing a principled stand and the standpoint of practice with pragmatism.

6. Putschism

As early as 1929, Mao Zedong pointed out: "Subjectivism is quite strong in certain party members, and this is extremely harmful in work concerned with analyzing the political situation and in guidance, because the inevitable result of subjective analyses of the political situation and subjective guidance is either opportunism or putschism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" p 95) As Mao explains it, putschism is "blind action that does not consider the subjective and objective conditions." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" p 98) These words sound like a summing up of Mao's mistakes after he came to power. Mao's way of conducting the forcible transitions, of organizing cooperatives and communes, in the "great leap forward" and in a series of political campaigns are intimately related to his bureaucracy and putschism. His economic policies, such as "take steel as the key link," "take grain as the key link," etc., and his political slogan of "take class struggle as the key link" etc. are all divorced from the actual realities.

7. Egalitarianism

As early as 1929, Mao Zedong voiced his opposition to an egalitarian viewpoint in his article "About Rectifying Erroneous Thoughts in the Party." He said:

"Even in the period of socialism, the distribution of materials will be according to the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" and according to the needs of the work."
("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" o 03) However, as soon as the People's Government was established, Mao and the CPC deviated widely in the question of distribution according to work. In the enterprises the system of piece rate wages and the bonus system were rejected, and the only form of distribution according to work was the system of payment by the hour without bonuses; that in fact was egalitarianism. In the villages the collective economy in agriculture copied indiscriminately the Soviet system of collective farms, with its main features of collective work and the "working day" system, that is, the work point system, which did not fit the agricultural conditions of China. As a result, it all degenerated into egalitarianism, and the equality was not one of prosperity but of poverty. On the other hand, Mao and the CPC instituted a strict rank system in the cadre contingent, which gave one group of people special privileges to enjoy. This principle of allowing special privileges is another deviation and with the egalitarianism in industry and agriculture the two constitute two extremes and certainly departures from the principles of the Paris Commune as summed up by Marx.

8. Despotism

For a long time, Mao Zedong and the CPC have always emphasized "dictatorship" in the political life of the state. Sometimes they spoke of "people's democratic dictatorship," but in actual practice they tightly clung to "dictatorship" and ignored democracy. Moreover, "dictatorship" was not only exercised over the "class enemies," but also frequently to suppress the people. This is a violation of Marxist principles. When discussing the political system in the transition period from capitalism to socialism, Lenin clearly pointed out two things: one, the transition period is a period of proletarian dictatorship; two, in this period the people shall enjoy democracy, as the target of the dictatorship are only "those elements who exploit and oppress the people." ("Collected Works of Lenin" Vol 25, p 449) Mao Zedong, however, never established "a democratic system to be enjoyed by the people" a major part of the transition period and of the socialist period. The so-called "democratic centralism" that he instituted is in actual fact only a centralism without democracy. The state power is "centralized" in the hands of the party commissars at all levels and finally in the hands of the party leader. The one-man dictatorship has also one twin-brother and that is the cult of the personality. The whole Mao era was one of the personality cult of Mao Zedong. Despotism and personality cult are both incompatible with Marxism.

The Semi-Marxist

Looking at Mao Zedong's practical activities from the fifties on, we see that his ideology was seriously un-Marxist. Generally people use the word "leftist" to denote Mao's mistaken ideology, or say that it was leftist deviationist opportunism. Of course he was not at all ignorant of Marxism-Leninism and in fact applied Marxism in the solution of certain problems,

but in his mind there were many cells of un-Marxist thought, and after the establishment of the People's Republic these inherent small cells that he harbored became increasingly active, expanded and proliferated quickly. Very obviously the main traits of his world outlook and methodology were subjective idealism, historical idealism and metaphysics. Bound up with these traits were his doctrinairism, pragmatism, egalitarianism, despotism and his policies of special privileges. After the 8th CPC Congress, all of these mistaken ideologies of Mao continued to develop, became a cancerous growth and finally led to the national calamity that lasted 10 years. Can there be any connection between the whole series of Mao's mistaken words and deed, especially his mistaken practice, and true Marxism?

Of course an assessment whether Mao Zedong is a Marxist, or a great Marxist, requires a comprehensive study of his thoughts and deeds, as well as of his theories and practices. This is an enormous and arduous theoretical work. I hope that Chinese theorists will gradually accomplish this work. It will be particularly important to distinguish which parts of his theories and practices are Marxist, which are non-Marxist and which are violations of Marxist principles. However, I can foresee that whatever the conclusions will be, either by theorists or by old historians, they will not conclude that Mao was a great Marxist. The final scientific assessment will quite possibly consider Mao a semi-Marxist, and will consider Mao after the fifties as a pseudo-Marxist.

My aim in proposing a thorough assessment of Mao is not at all to "whip his corpse," but is as follows: First, to gain experiences and lessons so that those after Mao will be clearer and more sober-minded and will not take the same disastrous road; second, to make a mirror of Mao's real thoughts in which all those of the "whatever faction," the "semi-whatever faction," the "quasi-whatever faction" and all pseudo-Marxists can see the reflection of their honorable images and from such a vision wake up to the truth, see the truth of the present and realize the wrongs of the past, and abandon the "leftist" road, never to follow it again; third, China is presently in a period of great transformation. In order to remove all obstacles in the path of the transformation and have the transformation carried through to the end, it is necessary to firmly uphold the truth and rectify mistakes. To develop what is healthy, and discard what is not, in Mao's thoughts will help us uphold the truth and revise mistakes, and will also help us face the future and advance into the future.

On the 10th anniversary of Marx's death, I hope more will be written in China on the true Marxism, less on pseudo-Marxism; false Marxists are not Marxists.

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ROLE OF CURRENT LITERARY, ART WORK CRITICIZED

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/Article by Xiao Cheng /5618 1004/: "Comment on and Introduction to Zhou Yang and Xia Yan's Two Recent Works"

/Text/ Since Zhou Yang's comeback, personages of literary and art circles (including both those who lived with him in the "cowsheds" and those who were straightened out by him) have all had a good impression of him. Zhou Yang has made this good impression with every word and deed he has said and done.

Zhou Yang recently published a long article to mark the centennial of Marx's death entitled "An Approach to Several Theoretical Issues Concerning Marxism." This is a bold, open and sincere article. If you read it thoroughly, you will understand why he is popular.

Criticism of Mao Zedong

In the article, first Zhou Yang emphasized: "Marxism does not believe in any ultimate truth. Marxism is a developing theory." "Since Marxism is developing, it does not have a fixed model for socialist revolution and construction." The way Zhou Yang puts it lowers the "Marxism" which "must be adhere to" to a position where it can be developed, revised and reformed. All "revisions" and "reforms" thus become fully rationalized and legalized under the name of "development."

Then, Zhou Yang criticized Mao Zedong from the epistemological point of view.

First, he criticized Mao Zedong for considering that opposites in contradiction are absolute. "In his later years, Comrade Mao Zedong, running counter to his original intention and deviating from the identity of opposites--a viewpoint he always persisted in--used 'one dividing into two' to oppose 'combining two into one' and considered that opposites in contradiction are absolute. He even contended that synthesizing can be explained only as one side eating up the other, resulting in the expansion of class struggle."

Second, he criticized Mao Zedong for one-sidedly exaggerating the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base. "Comrade Mao Zedong later

exaggerated the reaction of the superstructure on the economic base by overemphasizing the subjective initiative of human beings, resulting in the overflow of subjectivism during the period of The Great Leap Forward. Third, he criticized Mao Zedong for obliterating the relative independence of theory. "Comrade Mao Zedong thought that theory serves practice meant that theory serves only politics or class struggle and ignored the relative independence of theory. This has brought about some negative influences in our theoretical circles and formed a style of study eager for quick success and instant benefits. For example, the comprehension of integrating theory with practice is oversimplified and vulgarized, the study of basic theories is criticized for being divorced from practice and it is considered a must for all theories to yield instant results.

Between the "downgrading" of Marxism and the criticism of Mao Zedong Thought, people can vaguely feel that this seems to be a tactful challenge to the "four basic principles." Zhou Yang wrote later on: "Marxism has always considered that principle is not a starting point but an ultimate result and that principle cannot be used to tailor facts, it can only be deduced from facts."

What is very interesting is that not even once has the phrase--"adhering to the four basic principles"--been mentioned in Zhou Yang's long article, which runs about 20,000 words. This is rare among recently published articles of communist Chinese high-ranking officials.

Idealism Is Not All Bad

Zhou Yang also brought up some criticism and opinions regarding how to treat cultural heritage and foreign culture.

Zhou Yang disapproved of dividing literary and art heritage with materialism and idealism. He emphasized that not all kinds of idealism are bad. "We uphold materialism. There is no doubt about it. But, if we generalize the history of past ideological development as struggle between two lines--materialist and idealistic--and maintain that only materialistic things are good and worth to be inherited and all idealistic things are bad and must be discarded, we will be oversimplifying them. Lenin once said: 'Smart idealism is closer to smart materialism than stupid materialism.'" "With regard to the question of critically inheriting the cultural heritage, I think we should abide by the principle Engels set forth in his correspondence that thinkers establish their new theories under the precondition of ideological information left over by their predecessors and, therefore, none of the new theories can go beyond the ideological information provided by their predecessors. However, we must not explain the term--ideological information--in a narrow sense. It includes ideological form as well as ideological content. At the same time, it more often than not crosses national boundaries and involves foreign influence.

Zhou Yang held that an open attitude should be adopted toward foreign culture, and that even negative things deserve our study. "We should not be complacent

and conservative and adopt a closed-door policy as we did in the past. Facts have proved that confinement methods will only bring us ignorance and backwardness and will get us nowhere. In an open society, some harmful things will come in along with advanced and good things and things we can learn from. I think even negative things also deserve our study. How can we criticize them if we are afraid to approach them?

Legalization of Humanism

In conclusion, Zhou Yang discussed the issue of humanism. In recent years humanism has aroused heated discussions in China's academic and cultural circles. Some literary works have also tried hard to describe humanity and society from a humanistic point of view. Some observers abroad hold that the theory of humanism is turning into a strong power in opposition to "orthodox theory." Because of this, whether humanistic theory will be criticized and whether it will be given a legal place to exist on the stage of China's political theory have become an issue of common concern.

Zhou Yang first "approved" the "legal seat" of humanism. He said "Marxism embodies humanism" Following that, however, he added another sentence: "Of course, this is Marxist humanism."

What is Marxist humanism? If humanism will be forced to change and lose its character once it is labelled Marxism, its so-called "legal seat" will then become a "legal ban." This has been a trick some communist Chinese theoreticians have been extremely good at. But Zhou Yang is not one of them.

Zhou Yang wrote: "Marx held that communism will enable 'man's natural power, physical power and spiritual power...to be fully, freely developed and exercised' ('the Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844') and enable 'the overall development of individuality to replace the onesided development of individuals under the old division of labor system' ('Das Kapital.')

Achieving the overall development of men is the 'real aim' of communism (page 486, volume 46 of 'The complete Works of Marx and Engels.')

Marx even said that communism is 'a social model with every man's overall and free development as its basic principle' (page 649, volume 23 of 'The Complete Works of Marx and Engels.')

Undoubtedly, this is an important theory of Marx from his youth to maturity. We should say the humanism we are discussing is ideologically relevant to humanism in history."

Of course, Zhou Yang also said: "The ideological system of bourgeois humanism is completely different from that of Marxism." However, when he discussed the difference between the two, he proceeded from utopian and practical points of view. In other words, the aims of the two humanisms are all the same, but their means to achieve them are different. Zhou Yang wrote: "Because Marxism and the past humanism are different, Marxism has found a practical basis and methods--changing the old social relations, abolishing private ownership and establishing socialism and communism--for realizing the ideal of man's overall development, while the past humanists thought they could rely on 'rational power,' 'universal love' and 'aesthetic education' and other idealistic sermons to achieve man's overall development in a society where men enslaved men. All of which is nothing but empty talk. In this sense, we may say that Marxism is indeed practical humanism."

Opinions on Literary Criticism

Xia Yan is also a senior member of literary and art circles in communist China. His experience is similar to Zhou Yang's in many respects. He recently published an article in 'SHANGHAI WENXUE' (SHANGHAI'S LITERATURE) which was released in February of this year, entitled "Respond to a Friend's Letter--An Informal Discussion of Current Literary and Art Work." In this article, Xia Yan also offered some criticism and opinions of current literary and art work.

Xia Yan has quite a few complaints about the literary and art criticism work in the past few years. He wrote: "You criticized that current critical articles lack a clear-cut stand and trim their sails, there are too many empty articles criticizing empty articles and not enough articles tied to reality, they avoid the important and dwell on the trivial, and they 'either praise somebody to death or curse somebody to death...and so forth.' I also think that these phenomena all exist and I once talked about them at a forum." "I agree with what you said that there have been fewer 'glorious' critics than such writers in the past few years. I also agree with what you said that 'without Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, 19th century's Russian literature and arts would not have been flourishing.' However, I think, like writers and artists, critics also need a certain period of time to mature through practice. It is impossible to imagine that one day a talent like Belinsky would suddenly appear."

"Lack a Spirit of Independent Thinking"

Xia Yan held that the fundamental cause of listlessness in literary and art criticism and other problems in the literary and art circles is a lack of spirit characterized by independent thinking. Xia Yan wrote: "I think what is really worth worrying about is the issue on the style of the party, study and writing in the literary and art circles (not only the critical circle). In the early 1940's, Yanan carried out the movement to rectify the three styles. After the liberation of our country, antidogmatism and independent thinking have more than once been advocated. But judging from the current situation, it seems that this very fundamental issue--the rectification of work styles-- has not been conscientiously and continuously dealt with. The report of the 12th Party Congress pointed out in particular the dogmatism and personal cult which have fettered our ideology for a long time, precisely identifying the crux of our problem. In July of 1975 I came home from where I had been 'guarded' and some friends visited me. They asked me what were the most difficult things to cope with during the 8 years of confinement. I said that the most fearful things were metaphysics and idealism whose concrete expressions are oversimplification and absolutism--in other words, being unreasonable. During a study, debate, argument or even an interrogation, people should at least have a chance to reason for themselves. But, the 'gang of four's' only magic weapon was 'being unreasonable.' For example, the 'gang of four' (including not only the Red Guards but also middle-aged and elderly cadres and officers) had a first motto: 'The Kuomintang has said that they would rather kill a thousand by mistake than miss one.' Therefore,

all who have been arrested and are still alive must be traitors. As for those who have never been arrested, they must be secret traitors. The gang of four did not have truth in their hands; therefore, they could only use oversimplified and absolute methods to convict people. This ridiculous period should have already passed by now. But, in the contending of literary and art criticism, is there not more or less a touch of such oversimplification and absolutism? I believe there is."

Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei

Xia Yan resented the "oversimplified" and "absolute" way current literary and art works vilify Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei and other negative images of the Kuomintang. Xia Yan wrote: "Your letter mentioned the characters of Chiang Kai-shek and Song Meiling in the movie 'Xian Incident.' You said that they were described 'too much like a person.' I think this is a habitual point of view you unknowingly formed through reading novels like 'Jin Ling Chun Meng' (Spring Dream in the Capital) and 'Shi Wei Guan Ri Ji' (An Imperial Bodyguard's Diary) in the 1940's and 1950's. I actually hope that some writer would spend some time and make some efforts to write a novel about Chiang Kai-shek's life from the viewpoint of historical materialism. Chiang is a character deserving very careful and conscientious study by people who study modern Chinese history. In the revolutionary camps and among our revolutionary cartoonists and satiric writers, he has been described as a bastard, a clown and at most a tyrant. But in his life there were several times when he not only confused Chinese but also foreigners. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, I was in Chongqing and my impression of this man was close to what was described in the book 'Jin Ling Chun Meng.' But after we won the war, I returned to Shanghai and to my surprise found that he was a 'national hero' in the eyes of the common people. During the early stage of the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the communist party, he was considered a 'leftist' and with leftist words he fooled Chinese as well as foreigners. Perhaps you don't know that in 1926 the Communist International accepted the Chinese Kuomintang as 'sympathetic party' and elected Chiang Kai-shek as 'an honorary member of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International' at the sixth enlarged plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International. Of course, his very nature was determined by his class. He started the '20 March Incident' shortly after he was elected an 'honorary member.' Take persons for example, there are numerous similar incidents at all times and in all countries. The big traitor Wang Jingwei failed in the conspiracy to assassinate the prince regent on the eve of the Revolution of 1911 and wrote a poem about being ready to die a martyr's death. Correct? Our realism seems to overemphasize the 'external' to the neglect of the 'internal.'"

Deal With Foreign Culture With the Broad Vision of the Han and Tang Dynasties

Xia Yan also discussed the issue of modernism. He contends that western modernistic literature and arts is a bourgeois "product of crisis." He

wrote: "When the people have a clear and firm view of the world, there will be no soil favorable to modernistic literature and the like; but once they lose their faith in certain principles and ideals and when there is a crisis of confidence, there will be soil for the growth and development of modernistic literature and the like." Although Xia Yan thinks so, he actually opposes banning modernistic literature and arts. On the contrary he particularly advocates that we should deal with foreign things with the broad mind and vision of the Han and Tang dynasties. He wrote: "There was a strange phenomenon during the over 100 years of the semifeudal and semicolonial period. Nobody opposed material inventions and renovations. For example, changes from wheelbarrows and sedan chairs to richshaws, bicycles and automobiles or from hand-cranked phonographs with big horns and dish-type radios to portable radio-recorders were accepted with equanimity and even pride. But as soon as something new appeared in the field of ideology or in the method of art creation, people lost their heads and panicked as if a disaster were imminent. In the past 2 years, some people ran around spreading the news that some writer wrote a novel with the stream of consciousness technique, which was considered heretical. I have also heard that some people oppose electric pipa and electric guitars. On this issue, Mr Lu Xun had very incisive expositions in his article 'Reaction to the Peep Show.' He wrote: 'I recall how broad-minded the people of the Han Dynasty were. They used the shapes of foreign animals and plants in their decorative patterns as soon as they were introduced. There were no restrictions or taboos at all. The people of the Tang Dynasty were no less broad-minded than the Han. For instance, the stone animals in front of the Han people's tombs are mostly sheep, tigers, tianlu and bixie, but carved on the Zhaoling (tomb of Tang Taizong) in Changan are fine horses carrying arrows as well as an ostrich...The literature and arts of the Song Dynasty, like today's, reeked of the quintessence of Chinese culture. But still, the Liao, Jin and Yuan people came in one after another. This story gives us much food for thought. Although the Han and Tang dynasties had trouble with border incursions, they had a broadness of mind and vision and their people had faith that they would not become foreigners' slaves...When they needed foreign things, they just took them as if they had captured them. They used them in any way they wanted and never took offense. When the country was in decline, the people became weak and extremely sensitive. Everytime they encountered something foreign, they felt it was coming to capture them. Therefore, they resisted, panicked, withdrew, evaded and shook like a leaf...I once saw a seal inscription composed of a few Roman letters on a painting displayed at a museum. But the seal was owned by the so-called 'Our Wise Ancestor Benevolent Emperor' (Kang Xi) who conquered the Han people and became their master. That is why he dared to use such a seal and the Han slaves dared not.' (The Complete Works of Lu Xun 1300--302) This article of Mr Lu Xun was written in 1925 when China was 'in decline' but he still could precisely describe the mentality of some intellectuals at the time. Today, many people cherish the memory of the golden days of the Tang Dynasty. Even during the Kaiyuan period, the Tang Dynasty still had a broad mind and vision. A Japanese called Chao Qing (A Bu Zong Ma Lu) and a Persian called Li Xun served as high ranking officials at Changan. Emperor Tang Ming Huang and Li Bai also watched the Burmese Piao dance. All those shows that the rulers and common people had confidence in themselves. In other words, they were not afraid."

How To Deal With the "Wound"

At the end, Xia Yan also discussed the issue of the "wound." He wrote: "Writers cannot write good works and good articles if they are overcautious and in constant fear. They cannot write good works and good articles if they are afraid of dealing with the contradictions in real life, new things and 'old things (such as the wounded dark side of the 10-year catastrophe) and if they deliberately avoid dealing with the contradictions and struggles in the structural reform and in the process of the four modernizations. Writers cannot build up faith among readers if they do not have confidence in themselves. Their works would not attain the goal of setting things rights, effecting a new start and inspiring the people if they are afraid of facing up to the wounds which still exist deep in the people hearts.

The Concern of Literary and Art Circles

Zhou Yang's health has not been very good lately. He broke three ribs a few days ago. The night he broke his ribs, Zhou Yang felt very tired after reading a manuscript and under the assistance of his wife, he managed with difficulty to go to bed. At midnight, Mrs Zhou heard someone moaning in the bathroom. She went in and found Zhou Yang lying on the floor. He was immediately sent to the hospital, and three ribs were found to be broken.

Some personnel of literary and art circles are very much concerned with Zhou Yang's health. Half of the concern is for Zhou Yang himself. The other half is for the future of the literary and art circles. If Zhou Yang leaves, will his successor be as open and sincere as he is? In a country where democratic systems have not been established and where the rule by men still plays a great role, the individual personality of a high-ranking official would affect the whole situation.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

DEVELOPMENTS IN U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS DESCRIBED

Hong Kong CHI-SHI NIEN-TAI in Chinese No 4, Apr 83 pp 51-54

[Article by Qi Xin [7871 6580]: "From Strategic "Alliance" to U.S.-China Bilateral Relations"]

[Text] The China trip of U.S. Secretary of State Schultz in the first 10 days of February already seems to have established a new U.S.-China relationship. This relationship has discarded the the U.S.-China anti-Soviet strategic relationship advocated by Kissinger, Brezezinski and Haig, and has turned toward the search for a stable, lasting relationship founded on bilateral interests. To state it even clearer, in the past the bilateral development of U.S.-China relationships had a common base in an anti-Soviet strategy, which can be described as an unstructured alliance directed against the Soviets. With this common understanding it was possible to put up with the various difficulties and obstructions of a bilateral relationship, but now, however, there is a turning away from the starting point of mutual interests and a confrontation with various problems and obstacles in a search for stable, lasting international relations of a general type rather than the unstructured anti-Soviet alliance.

Both Shultz and the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Li Xueqian [2621 1331 6197] made public statements concerning the efforts to establish lasting, stable U.S.-China relations. Schultz clearly stated that the relations between China and the United States, "Do not merely consider what the Soviets might or might not do." The basis for mutual trust in this stable, lasting relationship is actual performance of and strict adherence to the principles of the communique already signed by both parties.

Compared to the previous U.S.-China relationship with its common basis in an anti-Soviet strategy, this new relationship has the surface appearance of a step backward. If, however, we consider the various practical problems, there really is no way to establish a U.S.-China relationship as an anti-Soviet alliance as this has always produced a lot of talk with virtually no action. The U.S. sale of weapons to China and the establishment of

of anti-Soviet strategic listening posts in China have yet to be confirmed. Therefore, this U.S.-China relationship with such high goals and such little possibility of realization appears strong but actually is quite weak. As soon as there is any contention over mutual interests this hollow strategic concept becomes ineffectual and actually upsets the bilateral relationship. Then, to be practical, provide for bilateral interests and moreover to continually sign and uphold a series of concrete principles as the foundation of bilateral relationships, on the contrary, will promote the stable, lasting development of U.S.-China relationships. For example, the issue of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan still is a feature of the anti-Soviet strategy and the United States and China are having difficulty reaching a common understanding on this issue, so the clash of their respective interests upsets the bilateral relationship. Nonetheless, if both sides hold to the concrete guiding principles of the joint communique signed by the United States and China on 17 August 1982, real progress can still be achieved.

Do Not Underestimate the Results of the Shultz China Trip

It appears that the experts who analyse international issues have not yet come to understand the new U.S.-China relationship tentatively established during the Shultz China trip. Generally speaking, world opinion has underrated the accomplishments of his trip because he was unable to resolve a series of problems in U.S.-China relations, including United States arms sales to Taiwan, the breakdown of talks on textile restrictions which led to reprisals by China and the U.S. postponement of sales of high technology to China. There also are contentions on a secondary level, namely the demand by the state of Alabama for China to pay 9 U.S. citizens the principle and interest owed on bonds from 1911 by the Qing dynasty, an amount totaling 41.31 million U.S. dollars. China does not acknowledge the debt, and moreover during the Shultz visit Wu Xueqian passed a memorandum regarding this matter to the United States.

Although there was no concrete resolution of these problems, they nonetheless did not worsen the mood of U.S.-China relations. Both sides admitted that the talks this time were candid and that they made progress in comprehending each other's viewpoints and understandings regarding common problems. Consequently, it can be said that there was increased understanding and decreased misunderstanding. Wu Xueqian said, "The talks were beneficial." Shultz said, "Reaching the goal of holding talks is itself major progress." It would appear that these evaluations are not mere diplomatic expressions, and one major reason why is that 2 days after Shultz concluded his China trip the United States announced the sale of 66 F104 fighter planes to Taiwan. Only two days after this, Wu Xueqian then called a press conference in Beijing but merely said that China was "carefully studying" the sale to see

if it violated the agreement signed between the two on 17 August 1982. The agreement stipulated that U.S. military sales to Taiwan could not exceed the highest level of sales reached during the several years following the establishment of U.S.-China relations, and that moreover there would be a gradual reduction of both quantity and quality, with military sales finally coming to an end. What China's "careful study" referred to was whether or not the F104 fighter plane sale exceeded that level. It is clear that the United States had previously announced this military sale to Beijing, which shows respect for China's sovereignty and dignity. This instance of arms sales totaling about 200 million U.S. dollars did not incite the same violent reaction from China that occurred a year ago after a U.S. sale of military parts valued at 60 million U.S. dollars.

At about the time of the Shultz trip to China, President Reagan held a press conference in which he linked the reduction of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan with the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question, and he moreover reaffirmed that the United States would scrupulously abide by the "Taiwan Relations Act." The Beijing RENMIN RIBAO on 26 February ran an NCNA commentary which pointed out that Reagan's comments violated the basic principles of the U.S.-China Joint Communiqué of 17 August 1982. However, for one thing, this commentary was somewhat buried by being placed on page six of the RENMIN RIBAO and, for another thing, this commentary, unlike others on the same subject, made no mention of common United States and China interests. Consequently, from the viewpoint of relations between two countries, there are common standards for bilateral relations (such as the already signed "joint communiqué") and there moreover are the normal and expected points of contention which involve the interpretation of these common standards. Taking this a step further, disputes such as that over textiles also are normal and expected. If we examine U.S.-Japan and U.S.-British relationships we can even say that it is better to have a few more of these bilateral disputes because it means that contacts between the two countries are increasing and the relationships are becoming regularized.

A point on which the Shultz China trip can be faulted is that it was six months late. If the "joint communiqué" signed on 17 August 1982 is the basis for stabilizing future U.S.-China relations, then Shultz should have visited China at the earliest possible time in order to cement these relations. However, he prolonged things for half a year and in this period some unfortunate developments took place in U.S.-China relations, resulting in difficulties for his Beijing talks.

However, Shultz finally did complete his mission. The adoption of the U.S.-China communiqué last year and the Shultz trip this February appear to demonstrate that both the United States and China realize that the unprecedented anti-Soviet joint strategy cannot resolve real problems between the two countries and that the only way to establish stable, lasting U.S.-China relations is to conduct talks, reach understandings and establish trust.

Excessive Demands and Excessive Expectations

If we look back over the development of the relationship between the United States and China based on the anti-Soviet strategy we immediately discover that there were excessive demands and expectations.

U.S.-China relations made a breakthrough in 1971, and, thereafter, because of repeated leadership and other changes on both sides, formal relations were not established until 1979. In 1970, in a conversation with the American journalist Edgar Snow, Mao Zedong said that they would welcome a visit by President Nixon, and he moreover said that if things didn't work out (with the Soviets) they would then place their hopes on the United States with its population of 200 million and the world's most advanced science and technology.

Because of this, from the Chinese side of things, improvements of relations with the United States first of all were based on the Sino-Soviet split and the resulting border area military conflicts. China was isolated from the international community and was threatened on both sides by the United States and the Soviets. In the development of U.S.-China relations the first goal was to improve China's strategic position and break the isolation. Second, there was hope that the United States would end its military protection of Taiwan, even breaking off relations and forcing Taiwan to accede to unification with the Chinese mainland. Third, the use of U.S. technology to promote China's modernization. This latter point became even more pronounced after the fall of the gang of four and implementation of the policy of liberalization.

On the U.S. side of things, relations with China and the Soviets had deteriorated, especially in 1970, when the Soviets explored U.S. views on making a surprise nuclear "surgical" attack against China. The United States then realized that China's isolation was extremely dangerous and that to avoid nuclear war it was necessary to build a multi-lateral parity of power and that the best way to accomplish this was to hold talks with China. Just at that time, the U.S. armed forces were planning to withdraw from Asia and the Asian expansion of Soviet armed forces caused alarm among the Asian allies of the United States, so the development of U.S. China relations precisely suited U.S. strategic interests. Next, from the perspective of the strategic balance of power in Asia the United States felt that it could avoid the ideological issues by arriving at an agreement with China to permit the Chinese mainland and Taiwan to enter the international community in the same fashion as East Germany and West Germany and even join with the United States in the cooperative framework in Asia. This framework ought to include Japan, South Korea and the Asian allies, with the hope that China would

pressure North Korea into the framework to form an anti-Soviet Asian power structure. In this way the United States could still maintain its power in Asia without having all the military expenses. Third, with increasingly severe economic problems in the United States, the huge population of China and its need for rapid modernization was an inviting market for U.S. agricultural and industrial products.

During the ten-plus years of development, the demands of both the United States and China have not remained entirely unattainable but there still is a considerable distance from the realization of the original goals.

It is true that China's isolation was broken and that China joined the United Nations. Not only did nuclear war not occur, the possibility was even decreased; the United States ended its military protection of Taiwan and broke off formal relations; China has over 10,000 public and self-supported students staying in the United States and has purchased a considerable amount of advanced technology from the United States. In 1982, China was the largest purchaser of U.S. wheat.

However, Taiwan has not united with the mainland, formal discussions have not begun and a status of armed opposition still exists. At the same time, it has not yet been possible to realize U.S. hopes of attaining a political entity including China which would come forth in the international community. The North Korea issue has not been resolved and because of North Korea, relations between China and South Korea remain in a frozen state; because of the armed opposition between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan the Asian allies have not yet all established formal relations with China. This is to say that the cooperative strategic framework in Asia envisioned by the United States has not yet emerged.

Furthermore, China's policy of liberalization also ran into contradictions with the U.S. human rights policy over the defection of athletes and students while abroad; foreign trade relations also ran into contradictions with the U.S. textile industry; ideological contradictions arose over cultural and scientific exchanges. Because of differences of opinion and the United States on international issues (including the Mideast, detente with the Soviets, the South African issue and the situation in the Korean peninsula), the lobbies representing all the various interests and levels in the United States were able to prevent the government from promoting a policy which favored China. All of these are genuine problems in the process of developing U.S.-China relations and they demonstrate that because of differences in their social systems and ideologies and because of the difficulty of achieving any breakthrough in the problems regarding Taiwan and the Korean peninsula it is truly difficult to construct an anti-Soviet unstructured alliance, which is to say that it is

impossible to fulfill the U.S. plan of Taiwan, Japan, the Chinese mainland, North Korea and South Korea all operating as independent political entities joined in a cooperative strategic framework in Asia and that it also is impossible to achieve the Chinese plan of a unified China (including the Chinese mainland and Taiwan), Japan, the allied nations, the United States, North Korea and South Korea in an anti-Soviet strategic framework in Asia.

The key issue of course is that of Taiwan. Wu Xueqian has said that if the Taiwan issue is not resolved, especially the issue of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, there cannot be strong relations between China and the United States. Shultz has admitted that the Taiwan issue is one that "must be handled carefully." However, in view of present conditions, China will never abandon its plan to isolate Taiwan and place it under control of the Chinese mainland. Because the United States has for many years had political, people-to-people, commercial and military relations with Taiwan it is difficult to break off these established relationships, and the relationship with the Chinese mainland has not yet become established and even remains quite weak. With such divergent points of view held by both sides it is difficult to foresee any breakthrough occurring in the near future.

The Fourth Period of U.S.-China Relations

China and the United States were not able to establish an anti-Soviet cooperative strategic framework, but the Soviet threat still prevented them from turning back or having a falling-out. Ever since the signing of the joint communique on 17 August 1982, the United States has made three large-scale arms sales to Taiwan, high level U.S. officials appeared at Taiwan "Double Ten National Day Celebrations" held in official U.S. organs and the U.S. government also permitted official Taiwan organs to set up an office in Boston. Although China repeatedly made protests and issued warnings, they never did degrade the level of U.S.-China relations. After the breakdown of the textile talks, China then took retaliatory action in limited imports of U.S. cotton. The "unfriendly" actions which China can take against the United States are the "trade card" and the "Soviet Card." The latter is the resumption of talks with the Soviets.

Because the United States believes that China must rely on the West to promote economic modernization it concluded that China will not degrade U.S.-China relations. However, when China plays the "Soviet card" the United States will naturally exert some checks on the Sino-Soviet talks.

Therefore, the existence of the Soviet threat is an important factor in maintaining U.S.-China relations. However, after the period of decreased activity, we can perhaps take the matter a little farther in saying that after more than 30 years of

experience the triangular U.S.-China-Soviet relationship has already entered the fourth period. The first period was the joint Sino-Soviet opposition to the United States during the 1950's. The second period was that of Chinese isolation with the split between the Soviets and China and the Great Cultural Revolution. The third period was that of the U.S.-China plan of an anti-Soviet cooperative framework. The fourth period is the Chinese plan to establish stable bilateral relationships with the United States and the Soviets. China cannot belong to the Soviet camp and it cannot become a member of the "free" world, it also appears to be unacceptable as a member of the Third World, and the non-aligned nations have always harbored suspicions of China. China's exceptional national situation and foreign relations, plus its membership in the nuclear club, separate it on all sides so that none of them are quite suitable. Both the United States and the Soviets have gradually come to appreciate this reality, and China has gone through the process of losing its illusions about the United States and the Soviets. Under such conditions, the most beneficial foreign relations situation for China is to have stable bilateral relations with both the United States and the Soviets.

In terms of the Asian strategic framework, if the United States should forego its concept of a joint anti-Soviet strategy with China, then the maintenance of its Asian strength must rely on its allies Japan and South Korea. While he was in the United States, the Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro referred to the safety of the seaside cities in the Straits of Taiwan in connection with Japan and moreover stressed a willingness to develop military strength and expand Japan's involvement in international matters. South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan conducted joint military maneuvers with U.S. troops at about the time of the Schultz trip. Before visiting China, Schultz went to Japan and after the visit then went to South Korea. On the return route he again stopped in Japan, so it is obvious that after establishing new relations with China, the United States views its relations with Japan and South Korea with even more importance.

In view of China's relations with North Korea it dare not have direct contact with South Korea and dare not even accept Chun Doo Hwan's plan to exchange recognition (the United States and Japan would recognize North Korea in exchange for Soviet and Chinese recognition of South Korea); however, China places great importance on relationships with Japan and even is willing to publically state that it places Sino-Japanese relations above even those with the United States and the Soviets.

In the squeeze of the triangular U.S.-China-Soviet relationships, just how Japan will apply its "equidistant diplomacy" and what role it will play in the Asian strategic framework are other focal points of key interest for public opinion. Last year, for

the first time the volume of Japan's trade with China was surpassed by its trade with the Soviets, which seems to mean that the triangular contention between the United States, China and the Soviets in Asia will revolve around the struggle to win over Japan.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HONG KONG DOLLAR STABILITY LINKED TO PRC

HK050114 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 5 May 83 BUSINESS STANDARD p 1

[Article by Clara Tam]

[Excerpts] Chinese authorities should refrain from making wild statements about Hong Kong's political future pending a conclusive outcome of Sino-British talks over Hong Kong's political future, Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce Director Jimmy McGregor said yesterday.

Mr McGregor said that the prospect of Hong Kong dollar chiefly "depends on China."

Asked whether he was optimistic over Hong Kong dollar, he said only when the Chinese authorities refrain from making statements about Hong Kong's political future, could the local currency have the chance to regain its strength.

Mr McGregor said there was no economic reason to push the local currency up to a \$7 level against the U.S. greenback. Most of the fluctuation on the local currency arises from speculation about Hong Kong's political future.

He said if Hong Kong were not troubled by political uncertainties, the local currency should be trading within the range of \$6.00 to \$6.50 against the U.S. dollar.

The best way of stabilizing the local currency is to restore people's confidence on Hong Kong's future, he said.

"It all depends on China," he said adding that he hoped the Chinese authorities would not make any further statement to weaken the local currency.

"It is helpful when Chinese authorities say nothing more on the settlement of Hong Kong's future before there's any conclusion to the Sino-British negotiation," Mr McGregor said.

But he urged the Hong Kong Government to make a statement which can reestablish the confidence of Hong Kong.

CSO: 4000/125

TAIPEI RADIO ON MITTERRAND'S CHINA VISIT

OW070323 Taipei CNA in English 0231 GMT 7 May 83

[Text] Taipei, May 6 (CNA)--The Voice of Free China, in its English broadcasting today, aired the following commentary on French President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Red China, "Visiting the Wrong Place":

French President Francois Mitterrand is visiting Red China with the express goal of boosting economic ties. One cannot help feeling sorry for the visitor, because he is visiting the wrong place.

There is no question that the French economy is in deep trouble. Socialist Mitterrand has so far proven himself incapable of dealing with the problem except by declaring a draconian belt-tightening program which turned out to be highly unpopular.

While Mitterrand may be excused for trying to reduce France's huge trade deficits by boosting exports, he ought to have studied the chances of success before he moved. Communist China is obviously not a good customer of French goods or services.

The question boils down to money. Peking squandered billions of dollars of its precious foreign exchange on ill-advised and poorly-planned projects at the outset of its modernization program. The spending spree so bankrupted the Chinese communist economy that Peking had to call a halt to its overly ambitious development plan over a year ago, resulting in unilateral cancellation of contracts signed with Japan and West Germany.

The retrenchment is still going on. Not so long ago, Peking also reneged on an arms purchase deal with the British due to shortage of funds.

Now Peking is scratching the bottom of the barrel for funds to continue its modernization program. Japan has already pledged to give the Chinese communists a 2-billion-dollar development loan, and the regime is also trying to become a member of the Asian Development Bank to gain access to a new source of funding.

But the money, if it finally becomes available, could be used only to purchase Japanese products and services. The Japanese certainly would see to it that their loans will not be used to benefit somebody else.

Even if Peking could raise some money of its own to import foreign products and technology, they need not necessarily be French. If French exports were competitive, there wouldn't be trade deficits in the first place.

The only French products Peking needs are military hardware. Mitterrand is reported interested in persuading Peking to buy the French-built Mirage-2000 jet bomber-fighters.

To be sure, Peking would like to have those planes and French missiles too. Again the money problem comes up. Modern aircraft are awfully expensive.

Red China may be able to buy five or 10 Mirages from France. That wouldn't go far either to boost Peking's air muscle or help balancing the French trade.

What Peking probably has in mind is to buy a couple of mirages for the purpose of copying as they did in the Rolls Royce deal with the British. But that's not what Mitterrand plans to sell.

If President Mitterrand is interested in looking for a worthy trading partner, he should have diverted his plane to Taipei instead of flying to Peking. France's EEC partners have discovered in recent years that Free China, despite its relatively small size, is a much more substantial customer than Peking.

CSO: 4000/128

NATION FACES DIPLOMATIC CRISIS OVER HIJACKING

OW070953 Hong Kong AFP in English 0854 GMT 7 May 83

[Report by Calix Chu]

[Text] Taipei, May 7 (AFP)--Taiwan appears to be facing a diplomatic crisis with its sole ally in Asia in the wake of the first official contact between South Korean and communist Chinese civil aviation authorities today.

Without issuing a formal statement, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry said the government had conveyed a message of "serious concern" over the presence of the Chinese mission in Seoul to the South Korean Government, the only Asian one maintaining full diplomatic ties with Taipei.

Another ministry official, who declined to be named, said if further developments followed, "the countries expressing concern would not be limited to us."

He was apparently referring to the United States and Southeast Asian countries in the noncommunist world, and North Korea and the Soviet Union in communist bloc, a political observer here commented.

A nine-member strong delegation, headed by the Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) Director General Shen Tu, arrived in Seoul today aboard a special Boeing 707 plane, to directly negotiate the return of a Chinese airliner hijacked there Thursday with 105 people aboard.

Six hijackers, including a woman, commandeered the plane, a British Trident, shortly after taking off from Shenyang in northeastern China, to a U.S. military airport near Seoul and asked for political asylum in Taiwan.

A South Korean Government spokesman said the Seoul government approved China's request to send the delegation on basis of humanitarian and good neighbourly considerations transcending ideological differences, as well as in accordance with international laws and treaties.

Chinese cablegram (?message addressed) to South Korean Civil Aviation Bureau director by the CAAC director, called South Korea by its official name as Republic of Korea, a sharp contrast to China's heretofore steadfast refusal to recognise the Seoul government.

The special plane from Beijing carrying the Chinese delegation took a detour route to Seoul via southeastern Shanghai, apparently to avoid flying near North Korea, with which China has diplomatic relations.

The Chinese delegation was also given a red carpet welcome by South Korean Acting Foreign Minister Song Ro-myong at Seoul's Kimpo Airport, in the (?absence of the minister who is currently) visiting the United States.

A diplomatic observer here pointed out that the fact that Korea and China were members of the International Civil Aviation Organisation did not constitute a reason for the Seoul government to allow China's participation in handling the hijack issue.

As South Korea has announced that it will return both the aircraft and the passengers (? other than) the hijackers, the presence of the Chinese aviation delegation is apparently being used by the South Korean Government as a precedent for future contacts, the observer maintained.

So far the Nationalist Chinese government has [words indistinct] to have been unable to stop the South Korean Government from accepting the Chinese communist aviation delegation.

Authorities concerned were reportedly plunged into an intensive meeting this morning, apparently mooting what step to take next. In the meantime, the government here is watching the activities of the Chinese aviation delegation in the South Korean capital, informed sources [words indistinct] as far as the hijackers are concerned, observers here noted that CAAC director Shen Tu said at an arrival press conference at the Kimpo Airport that they must be punished duly, without asking for their repatriation to China, as earlier reports indicated.

CSO: 4000/128

WEST LEARNS BUSINESS BETTER IN TAIWAN THAN PRC

OW051047 Taipei CNA in English 1006 GMT 5 May 83

[Text] Taipei, May 5 (CNA)--The Voice of Free China, on its English broadcast Thursday, aired the following commentary on "Return to Where Profits Are."

A number of articles have appeared in the Western press recently about the Republic of China winning the jumbo war, a reference to the exchange of flights between China Airlines and KLM Royal Dutch Airline between Taipei and Amsterdam last month over the protests of the Chinese communists.

Far from being an isolated incident, the development has become a general trend as one free nation after another discovered the supposed green pasture of the Chinese mainland under communism is actually a desert.

A major American airline has decided to reopen its Taipei service after moving its flight route to Peiping several years ago in anticipation of booming business. Reality has taught the company that the Republic of China on Taiwan is where the money is despite its comparatively small size.

Japan Airlines is also reportedly interested in resuming flight service to Taipei after an absence of nearly a decade following Tokyo's recognition of Peiping. For some years, the airline has been flying as Japan Asian Airways, a subsidiary, for fear of Peiping's displeasure if it continued the operation as JAL.

Cargolux, a Luxemburg cargo airline, has just extended its five-year contract with China Airlines for two more years. The reason is the same. There is money to be earned in doing business with the Republic of China.

The foreign airlines are not the only business setups that have discovered that the Republic of China is a much better, and more profitable business partner than Peiping.

Toyota, for example, pulled out its investments from Taiwan several years ago in order to do business with the Chinese communists. Now the leading Japanese automaker has returned to Taiwan with a vengeance. It has signed a contract with the government for the establishment of a joint car company in Taiwan with annual capacity of 300,000 units.

Some countries in Western Europe were among the first to jump to the Red China wagon. Now they are back to Taiwan in force even though the Republic of China is not officially represented in Western European capitals.

Following the establishment of branch offices, in Taipei, by major European banks, 10 European countries have set up semi-official offices in the city to promote substantive ties with the Republic of China. Denmark will take the same step later this year.

What's significant about the development is that Peiping has warned foreign governments against establishing any ties with Free China, claiming that it has sovereign rights over Taiwan.

The Europeans are intelligent enough to see that Peiping's warning can be safely disregarded. The Chinese communists downgraded their diplomatic representation in the Hague to a charge d'affair in 1981 after the Netherlands government decided to build two submarines for the Republic of China.

Following the exchange of flights by KLM and CAL in April, Peiping retaliated by denying the Dutch airline emergency landing rights at the Canton airport. That's as far as Peiping went.

None of these moves have hurt Dutch interests in any way, and never will.

CSO: 4000/128

FOREIGN MINISTRY SUMMONS ROK ENVOY

OW071137 Hong Kong AFP in English 1100 GMT 7 May 83

[Excerpts] Taipei, May 8 (AFP)--Taiwan's Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung summoned South Korea Ambassador Kim Chong-kon to express "serious concern over the presence of a communist Chinese civil aviation delegation in Seoul" today.

During the 20-minute meeting, Mr Chu spelt out to Ambassador Kim his government's "solemn position concerning the landing in South Korea of a Chinese communist commercial passenger aircraft."

An official Chinese delegation headed by Civil Aviation Administration of China (CAAC) Director General Shen Tu arrived in Seoul earlier today to conduct direct negotiations for the return of the Chinese airliner, its Chinese passengers and crew. China is also asking for the extradition of the six air pirates although there is no extradition treaty between Beijing and Seoul.

Meanwhile, a Foreign Ministry spokesman told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that negotiations between Taiwan and the South Korean Government on the hijack issue were "still [word indistinct]."

Asked if his embassy staff in Seoul had met any of the hijackers and other passengers who would like to come to Taiwan, the spokesman said (?no). He said he could not answer "at this delicate moment."

Informed sources [words indistinct] during their meeting, Mr Kim explained to Mr Chu that his government's position in handling the hijacking was to make all-out efforts to maintain its friendship and cooperation with the nationalist Chinese government.

Asked by a local reporter how his government would handle the six Chinese air pirates who reportedly sought to defect to Taiwan, Ambassador Kim said they would also be treated in accordance with international law and regulations.

CSO: 4000/128

TAIWAN

PRIME MINISTER OF DOMINICA LEAVES TAIPEI 10 MAY

OW101425 Taipei CNA in English 1414 GMT 10 May 83

[Text] Taipei, May 10 (CNA)--Prime Minister Mary Eugenia Charles of the Commonwealth of Dominica Tuesday left Taipei, concluding her six-day visit to the Republic of China.

Premier Sun Yun-hsuan and Mrs Sun on behalf of the Chinese Government, accompanied Prime Minister Charles who was accorded military honors, during her farewell at Taipei's Sungshan Military Airport.

In the company of Premier Sun, Charles reviewed the military guard and received a salute during the farewell ceremony.

Chinese Government officials seeing the dignitary off at the airport included Foreign Minister Chu Fu-sung, Financial Minister Hsu Li-teh and Communications Minister Lien Chan, and their wives.

Named by Columbus, the West Indies island is a member of the British Commonwealth and is in the Windward Islands group. The much larger Dominican Republic is on the island of Hispaniola which it shares with Haiti.

Prime Minister Commonwealth's Industrial Bureau director Phillip Nassief and adviser to the prime minister, Andrew Stuart Proctor, arrived in Taipei May 5.

Monday, Premier Sun and Prime Minister Charles signed a joint communique, establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

During her stay here, Charles called on Chinese Government officials to exchange opinions on advancing cooperative relations, in addition to touring economic and cultural complexes of the country.

CSO: 4000/128

ADB 'HUDDLE' TO DISCUSS PRC MEMBERSHIP

OW041013 Taipei International Service in English 0100 GMT 2 May 83

[From the "Roundup of News" column]

[Text] In Taipei, it is reported the Asian Development Bank, or ADB, holds a crucial board meeting from May 4 to 6 to discuss Peking's application for membership. It promises to be an acrimonious huddle. Both communist China and the Republic of China have ruled out the compromise on the question of joint membership. Communist China formally applied for membership in the 45-member bank in February with the precondition that Taiwan be expelled. The governor of Free China's Central Bank, Yu Kuo-hua, said he would fight away any attempt to expel the Republic of China at the meeting in the ADB's Manila headquarters. He said the Republic of China has every right to remain because it is one of the founding members and has never failed to fulfill its obligations.

The Republic of China, one of the ADB's 31 founding members in 1966, not only scrupulously repaid its debts but has drawn no money from the bank since 1971 when it became a donor country. Attempts to find a formula that would allow both to be members have run into snags. Japan and the United States, the two largest shareholders, both support the admission of Peking, but the United States has warned repeatedly that the expulsion of the Republic of China would have serious implications for its continued participation in any funding for the bank. Washington is bound by the Taiwan Relations Act that prohibits it from supporting the exclusion or expulsion of Taiwan from continued membership in any international financial institution or any other international organization. The ADB is the last international financial institution to which Taiwan belongs.

A Japanese proposal would admit Peking as a full member and change the Republic of China's status to that of associate member under the name Taiwan instead of the Republic of China. But the Japanese formula has, in public at least, been ruled out by both Peking and Taipei. Peking's ambassador to the Philippines, Mo Yanzhong, has said communist China will not agree to joint membership with the Republic of China even with the change of name. Mo said China is against the practice of two Chinas, or one China and one Taiwan, in other words.

The formula also was rejected by Gen Ho Ying-chin, a senior adviser to Free China's President Chiang Ching-kuo. In an open letter to Washington and Tokyo, he said: Taipei is opposed to the admission of Peking and could not accept any formula that would substitute the name Taiwan for the Republic of China or degrade its status to associate member. Admission of a new member requires the support of two-thirds of the governors with no less than 75 percent of the voting power. Japan and the United States each have more than 13 percent of the voting shares. Twelve West European countries and Canada have over 20 percent, India has 6.6 percent, and the Republic of China has 1.1, 1.55 percent. [as heard]

ADB, or Asian Development Bank, President Masao Fujioka described the issue as delicate and sensitive, and he said he did not want to see a repeat of the lengthy bitter negotiations accompanying communist China's entry into the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He said: That would be too much for us.

CSO: 4000/128

'LIEN HO PAO' ON NEW FOREIGN AFFAIRS SITUATION

OW050511 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 26 Apr 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Grasp the Present Situation, Create a New Situation in Our Foreign Affairs"]

[Excerpts] A new situation has recently emerged in the international environment and atmosphere surrounding us; that is, the hopes placed on the Chinese communists by the world public have diminished and will soon be dashed.

In the past decade or so, most of the world public expected much of the Chinese communists. There were a very small number of persons who sedulously flattered the communists, but the majority of the world public decently hoped that the Chinese communists would play a positive role in the international community, could effectively hold the Soviets in check and would pursue rational domestic and foreign policies. The world public hoped that the Chinese communists would cooperate with noncommunist countries to develop a world of coexistence and coprosperity and would revise their domestic, political, and economic policies to build a "Chinese-style," not a communist, society.

However, these hopes, being purely theoretical, have not come true. Our government and our people have always warned the world public not to overlook facts. Unfortunately, many Americans and people of other countries were unwilling to openly agree with us before they were disillusioned. Of course, this is not entirely because they did not know the facts. However, for some subjective or objective reasons, they were unwilling to tell the truth. Nevertheless, in the last 2 years, the situation has gradually changed.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz no longer mentioned the parallel global strategic interests between the United States and the Chinese communists in their recent speeches.

Besides, the significance of many events such as the Hu Na case, the ROC-Dutch air links, and the requests made by the Pan American and Japan Airlines for restoring their Taipei flights is not merely superficial. At the same time, the Chinese communists' unreasonable reactions show that their nature as a dictatorship and their style of going against the tide have not changed.

However, it is a fact that the current situation is generally favorable to us. It is at least quite different from the unfavorable situation of several years ago. Therefore, how to grasp the situation and create something new should be a most urgent question for our government and people.

We must constantly remind ourselves that we should not stop at the present situation or just maintain the existing state of affairs. The reason is very simple and known to all of us: It is impossible for us to always live comfortably in part of the country even if we desire to do so. It is very difficult to maintain the existing state of affairs in extremely unfavorable circumstances. Moreover, our tasks and our struggle have placed us in a situation in which we will fall backward if we do not advance. We must keep forging ahead in order to keep what we have.

In view of the present situation, we should display foresight, creativeness and the resolution to create a new situation and an even more magnificent tomorrow.

CSO: 4005/826

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

MILITARY FIRING PRACTICE--National armed forces units will hold a firing practice, beginning at 0000 [1600 GMT] on 10 May until 1500 [0700 GMT] on 14 May in the sea area and airspace north of 22 degrees, 30 minutes north latitude, south of 23 degrees, 20 minutes north latitude, and east of 119 degrees, 10 minutes east longitude. All aircraft and vessels should not enter the firing area during this period. [Text] [OW081421 Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 8 May 83]

CSO: 4005/826

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