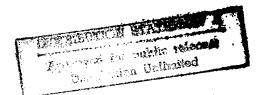
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JPRS-CPS-86-032

24 APRIL 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BAN YUE TAN VIEWS PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

HK260726 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 5, 10 Mar 86 pp 53-55

[Article by Xu Tiange [1776 1131 2047]: "The Election Storm Has Smashed the Marcos Regime"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] THE SITUATION IN THE PHILIPPINES HAS ATTRACTED WORLDWIDE ATTENTION. THE MARCOS REGIME HAS COLLAPSED AFTER 20 YEARS IN POWER AND MRS AQUINO IS NOW IN OFFICE. THE STRUGGLES BETWEEN THEM WERE COMPLICATED AND STIRRING.

People say that the Filipinos' interest in elections is like the Spaniards' in bullfighting and the Indians' in singing and dancing. Some of them regard elections as "state entertainment." The voting in the presidential elections on 7 February particularly showed this point.

During the elections, the Philippine voters, especially those in urban areas, enthusiastically plunged themselves into the election activities. They believed that the election was the decisive battle which would determine the destiny of the nation and themselves so they expressed their unprecedented enthusiasm. Young people wore hats, shirts, badges, and belts demonstrating the party they supported, held streamers and balloons, and walked in processions through the streets. When the two opposing parties met on the streets, they shouted slogans at each other manifesting their respective unity. At the presidential election rallies, the audiences were as excited as the speakers and they often went mad before the television cameras. Moreover, almost all the people were involved in the drive and both men and women, old and young, were interested in taking part in the election activities. Prior to the voting in the presidential election, Mrs Aquino organized a mass rally in Manila's Rizal Park. Reports disclosed that 2 million people joined the rally. The fact that a large number of people participating in this kind of rally is seldom seen in the world.

In order to win the elections that determined the survival or abolition of the Marcos regime, the Marcos government brazenly suborned votes and practiced fraud. It is said that each vote cost tens of pesos in some localities and 100 pesos in other places. The voters were paid immediately after casting their votes. Some localities openly looted or secretly changed the ballot boxes. Furthermore, Marcos declared his victory over Mrs Aquino by an overwhelming 1.5 million votes prior to the final national vote count. These practices aroused public indignation in the Philippines and also evoked censure from world opinion.

Since the assassination of the opposition leader Aquino in 1983, the political situation in the Philippines has been turbulent. Over the past 2 years, the country suffered inflation, its GNP dropped successively, prices soared to the skies, and the foreign debt figures were shocking. The people of the whole country censured the authorities. Meanwhile, the armed struggles of the New People's Army [NPA] under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines [CPP] spread rapidly. According to relevant reports, the CPP had 30,000 people, including a regular army of 15,000 people, and more than 40 guerrilla areas established throughout the country. The Marcos regime was confronted with a grim situation.

The United States showed exceptional concern for the political situation in the Philippines because of its investments, enterprises, and trade in the Philippines, and also because of its Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base. These bases are the outposts of the United States in the Pacific Ocean and also the ties of the U.S. military linking the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. Following the foothold gained by the Soviet Union in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay, the area became the forward position of U.S.-Soviet confrontation. If the United States lost these two bases, it would adversely affect its global strategy. Therefore, the United States, on the one hand, gave economic support to the Philippine Government, and on the other hand, urged the Philippine Government to carry out reforms so as to mitigate the contradictions and improve the situation.

In November last year, under U.S. pressure, Marcos shifted the presidential election, which was scheduled to take place in 1987, to an earlier date in February this year. Taking this as a golden opportunity to strip Marcos of political power, the opposition parties stepped up their activities accordingly. Campaign activities began to pick up momentum.

At an early stage of the campaign activities, public opinion supported the opposition parties and was against Marcos. However, the opposition parties were then far from united and they did not have a common leader. They could not even name a candidate acceptable to all parties. Corazon Aquino, [Benigno] Aquino's widow, was better known than others. However, she refused to step forward. Laurel, leader of one of the opposition parties, recommended himself and asked to be named a candidate. However, the people did not favor him. Under such circumstances, the Americans took the matter into their own hands although they were not invited to and the U.S. ambassador to the Philippines acted as a go-between. Finally, the opposition parties reached a compromise by naming Mrs Aquino and Laurel candidates for president and vice president, respectively.

In the U.S. Government and Congress, there were many who strongly disliked Marcos. In addition to supporting the opposition parties, they published materials in newspapers and journals to tell people that Marcos was not a hero in the war against Japan, that he had once worked for the enemy, and that Marcos' family had been buying property in the United States. Their

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intention was crystal-clear. They wanted to bring about the downfall of Marcos by taking advantage of the turbulent situation.

However, the Americans in power did not agree with one another on this issue. In the Pentagon and the CIA, there were people who wanted to keep Marcos there. Their reasoning was that although Marcos had a bad reputation, with his troops, he could effectively deal with the NPA. Because of this, the Reagan administration was rather inconsistent about its Philippine policy. When Marcos announced his victory, Reagan issued a statement saying that he welcomed a bipartisan system and the formation of a working government, that both sides were guilty of "fraud," and that Mrs Aquino should cooperate with Marcos. However, when people more and more loudly condemned Marcos for practicing fraud, Reagan changed his mind, saying that "it seems that fraud was mainly practiced by the party in power."

On 22 February, Enrile, the Philippine defense minister, and Ramos, acting chief of staff, started a mutiny, announced an end to their allegiance to Marcos, and expressed their support for Mrs Aquino. The situation thus took a sudden turn. One after another medium-ranking and low-ranking officers and students at the military academies indicated their support for their move. Ministers and diplomats also supported Mrs Aquino. A huge crowd gathered in the streets and asked Mrs Aquino to be their president. They besieged the presidential palace and told Marcos to step down. The besieged Marcos could neither issue orders nor prohibit people from anything. He could not even find a place to deliver his television talk. His days were numbered.

At that point, the Reagan administration at last made up its mind to abandon Marcos and told him to transfer his power peacefully. Marcos asked whether or not the United States could ensure his safety and the safety of his family and his gang. The U.S. answer was positive and helicopters were sent to evacuate them. The Marcos monarchy, which had ruled the Philippines for 20 years, thus came to an end.

The opposition parties headed by Mrs Aquino have officially assumed power. However, what is left to her is a country beset with great difficulties and the unity between the opposition parties is shaky. In the past, Mrs Aquino was not involved in political activities. Thus, she is quite inexperienced in running a country. The road to prosperity to be taken by the new Philippine Government with the people under its leadership is far from smooth.

/6091 CSO: 4005/553

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

SHIJIE ZHISHI ON FALL OF MARCOS IN PHILIPPINES

HK270140 Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI in Chinese No 6, 16 Mar 86 pp 5-6

[Article by Shu Hai [2885 3189]: "New Hopes Appear in the Philippines"]

[Text] Ferdinand Marcos, who has been continuously in power in the Philippines for 20-odd years, has finally been forced to flee the country and to live in exile in the United States. Opposition leader Mrs Aquino has begun to take the Philippine presidential powers in her hands.

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Marcos' flight from the country on 25 February prevented a bloody conflict between two bitterly antagonistic factions and enabled the transfer of power by peaceful means. This is good for the Philippine people and the overall situation in Southeast Asia.

Drastic changes took place in the Philippine situation in a short span of several days. Though seemingly dazzling, the result was not utterly unexpected to those who had closely followed the development of the Philippine domestic situation in recent months.

After Marcos announced an early presidential election last November, the struggle between the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan headed by Marcos and the opposition parties headed by Mrs Aquino and Salvador Laurel become increasingly acute and the Philippine situation was in great turmoil.

On 7 February the whole nation went to the polls. Only after many twists and turns was the election result published on 15 February. It was announced by the Philippine Batasang Pambansa that Marcos had won by a majority of more than 1.5 million votes and would retain the presidency for the fourth time. This announcement enraged the opposition and the Filipinos supporting the opposition. The opposition said that in the course of balloting and vote counting the government Commission on Elections had used every artifice to engage in flagrantly fraudulent practices and that more than 100 people had been killed in election-related violent incidents, including Evelio Javier, Mrs Aquino's election manager in Antique Province. A Philippine newspaper said: "The general election was the dirtiest one in Philippine history."

In her statement Mrs Aquino refused to accept Marcos as having been elected. She also announced that she had won an "overwhelming victory." At a mass protest meeting attended by several hundred thousand people in Manila on 16 February, Mrs Aquino announced the opposition's "seven-point nonviolent protest plan" aimed at forcing President Marcos to resign.

The Philippine situation as a whole immediately seethed with excitement. All people, including the political and economic circles, all parties and groups, religious figures, youths, women, workers, and peasants, were involved in this political whirlpool. The struggle between the ruling party and the opposition became white-hot.

On 22 February, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Deputy Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos rose in mutiny. They occupied the Defense Ministry building and called on President Marcos to resign. At a press conference held in the Defense Ministry building, Enrile and Ramos explicitly announced that they would no longer obey Marcos' commands but would support Mrs Aquino, who immediately welcomed the action taken by Enrile and Ramos.

After that, the situation took a sudden turn and was extremely unfavorable to Marcos. However, Marcos repeatedly declared through a television station that he would never resign. On 24 February he declared a state of emergency throughout the country. He had not finished speaking when the television program suddenly broke off. It so happened that the radio and television station had been occupied by soldiers supporting the opposition. Thereupon, Marcos dispatched troops to surround the Defense Ministry building and order both Enrile and Ramos to surrender. Both of them definitely indicated that they would "never surrender" and that they "would be prepared to fight to the bitter end." Their action received the support of the officers and men of the "reform movement" in the Armed Forces of the Philippines who favored reforms.

In the critical situation whereby two armies were pitted against each other, at a ceremony presided over by Claudio Teehankee, a Philippine Supreme Court judge, Mrs Aquino was officially sworn in as Philippine president at the luxury "Club Filipino" in the suburbs of Manila at 1040 on 25 February. She also announced the formation of a new government with herself as president, Salvador Laurel as vice president and prime minister, and appointed Enrile defense minister and Ramos armed forces chief of staff.

Two hours after Mrs Aquino was sworn in as president, President Marcos was also sworn in at the presidential palace. However, only 8 of the 27 cabinet members in the Philippine Government attended the ceremony. Vice Presidentelect Arturo Tolentino, Prime Minister Cesar Virata, and Batasan Speaker Nicanor Yninguez were not present.

Foreign news agencies commented that it was rare for two opposing presidents to be sworn in on the same day and after an interval of only 2 hours in a sovereign state. Perhaps it was also unprecedented in the history of the Philippines or other countries.

After coming to power in 1965, Marcos was president three times running. During this period, he imposed martial law for 9 years, dissolved the representative government of the Philippines, and cracked down on the two major political parties. In August 1983, noted Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino, who left the United States for the Philippines with the intention of running for the presidency, was assassinated in cold blood as soon as he alighted from an aircraft. This terrorist incident was denounced by public opinion both in the Philippines and abroad. Thereafter, the Philippine situation has been in great turmoil.

According to foreign press reports, the Philippine economy has deteriorated in the past few years, with a large number of factories going bankrupt, workers out of work, and the currency being devalued. The inflation rate once reached 64.8 percent. By 1984, the Philippines' foreign debt had totaled \$26 billion. In 1984 and 1985, the national economy registered a negative growth for 2 consecutive years. According to statistics, about half of the 50-odd million people in the Philippines are below the poverty line. The deteriorating economic situation aggravated political instability.

During the general election and the development of the Philippine political situation, U.S. actions have drawn people's attention. Before the election, Ronald Reagan wrote a letter to Marcos. During the election, a U.S. congressional delegation conducted on-the-spot observations in the Philippines. After the election, in a statement issued on 15 February, Reagan pointed out that the fraudulent practices and violent incidents during the election were "primarily carried out by the ruling party." In a resolution passed on 19 February, the U.S. Senate denounced the fraudulent practices in the Philippine general election and refused to accept the election results. On 15 February, U.S. presidential envoy Philip Habib arrived in the Philippines. He met with Marcos and Mrs Aquino, as well as Enrile, Ramos, and other military leaders, on separate occasions. On 24 February, the White House issued an official statement, calling on Marcos to "peacefully transfer power to the new government."

According to foreign press reports, before fleeing the country on 25 February, Marcos had made telephone calls to Enrile and Senator Paul Laxalt, a trusted follower of Ronald Reagan, in the hope of taking up a position in the Philippine organ of power, such as holding the post of honorary president. The replies were "it is too late" and "impractical." Greatly disappointed, he left the presidential palace by helicopter with his family and went to the U.S. Clark Air Base in the Philippines. Early the next morning, they flew to Guam in two American military aircraft. U.S. Secretary of State Shultz immediately issued a statement, announcing that Marcos had resigned and that the United States recognized the new Philippine Government headed by Mrs Aquino.

After the formation of the new government, Mrs Aquino "felt proud for winning freedom by peaceful means." She called for national reconciliation and called on citizens to remain calm and restrain themselves in the national interest and to rebuild the nation. Thousands upon thousands of the Filipinos took to the streets to celebrate the victory with singing and dancing. People universally hope that, after experiencing a violent upheaval, the country will be able to stabilize, which would facilitate its development.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

PHILIPPINE PARLIAMENTARIANS OPPOSE DISSOLUTION

OW261821 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 26 Mar 86

[Text] Manila, March 26 (XINHUA) -- Some members of the Philippine National Assembly today expressed their opposition to the decision of President Corazon Aquino to dissolve the assembly and threatened to set up a rebel legislature which will convene on April 14.

Some 80 MPs from the erstwhile New Society Movement (KBL) and pro-Aquino camp met here today to firm up their common stand against Aquino's decision.

MP Homobono Adaza, spokesman of the minority parliamentarians identified with the Aquino government, told newsmen that the dissolution of parliament was "unfair" because its members were elected for a six-year term ending 1990.

He said both the majority and minority members agreed that Mrs. Aquino's decision to dissolve the parliament and exercise legislative powers virtually installed a "dictatorial mechanism" which is "dangerous for the country".

Adaza said that 49 Aquino-leaning MPs recently met and agreed to express their dissent against the abolition and pursue "parliamentary and democratic options" without breaking away from the Aquino government.

Leaders of the KBL, meanwhile, took a tougher stance, branding as "illegal and unconstitutional" the dissolution and pledging that they would contest it even in the Supreme Court.

National Assembly Speaker Nicanor Yniguez, one of the KBL leaders, told newsmen that his group was against the proclamation of the Aquino government of the interim constitution.

MP Blas Ople, provisional chairman of a newly formed opposition party, the Nationalist Party of the Philippines (PNP), said they were willing to face imprisonment or any consequences that may arise from their decision to convene.

He said the PNP, a breakaway KBL group, viewed the dissolution as "more absolute, more authoritarian and more arbitrary" than what deposed President Marcos had done.

Mrs. Aquino declared the establishment of a one-year provisional government yesterday, that would pave the way for the drafting of a new constitution and the holding of general elections by next year.

/6091 CSO: 4000/205

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEADERS RESPOND TO DENG'S APPEAL TO STUDY MARXISM

Theoretics Emphasized

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 2, 13 Jan 86 pp 13-15

[Text] Editor's note: In a major speech at the National Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a new demand of all party cadres, namely that they study Marxism conscientiously and strive to grasp basic Marxist tenets in light of new realities. The editorial office of this magazine has invited several leading comrades to discuss theoretical study. Their comments follow.

"We Simply Must Study Marxist Theories" by Jiang Cuo [3068 2238], vice chairman of the Xizang Autonomous Regional People's Government.

At the National Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed that all cadres, old and new, study Marxist theories. It is a new demand and an extremely critical one.

Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, things have been developing rapidly, with remarkable results. But a number of problems have now appeared which deserve our attention. One is the preoccupation with professional and managerial expertise and neglect of Marxist studies. Our true superiority is our faith in Marxism and communism, which enabled us to overcome many difficulties in the past. Today, too, only by relying on Marxism and the combination between Marxism and our concrete actions will we be able to build socialism with Chinese characteristics. In the past, our work in Xizang was backward. There were many reasons for that of course. An important one is that we did not master Marxism and failed to appreciate fully Xizang's uniqueness. Our work became detached from the region's realities as we mechanically copied the systems and practices in the interior. I am a minority cadre nurtured by the party. Previously I was undereducated. Work kept me very busy and I was muddleheaded about a lot of things. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has told us to be principled, systematic, far-sighted and creative in our work. I believe that none of these things is possible if we do not study Marxist theories. It did not take me long at the central party school to be fully convinced that we must study Marxism. It is not optional at all.

Reform and the open door policy have vitalized China in many ways and given an impetus to the development of productive forces. Only by persevering with the two policies can the nation's four modernizations succeed. We all strongly advocate reform. But why reform? What should we reform? How? There is some

ideological confusion here. Only after I entered the central party school where I took some classes in economic principles and the reinterpretation of socialism and realized the basic contradictions in socialist societies did it dawn on me that the case for reform is so overwhelming. China's vitalization and prosperity depend on reform, which, in turn, relies on Marxist guidance. If we deviate from the Marxist path, we are bound to lose our way and take a roundabout course.

We must keep in line with the CPC Central Committee politically and study Marxism conscientiously. Only by seriously studying it can we make ourselves more conscious of the need to implement the party's policies and principles. Only then can we be really consistent with the CPC Central Committee politically.

Today the younger generation of cadres is taking over from the old and many new cadres have been promoted. Cadres like me are not highly trained professionally or in terms of Marxist theory. Even those cadres who are fairly well educated do not necessarily have a solid theoretical background. Both new and old cadres must study Marxism, especially young ones like us.

"Learn Theory To Improve Leadership" by Xie Yingkai [6200 2019 7030], vice mayor of Chengde.

In my opinion, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's new demand that we study Marxism has special significance for our new cadres.

I was promoted to a leadership position from the grassroots in 1983. While I am quite familiar with production, supply and marketing and concrete things like human and material resources, I was not well adjusted to municipal government work either ideologically or educationally. Over the past 2 years I have not taken Sundays off and seldom go to bed before 11 pm everyday. I have been working frantically, but the results have not been totally satisfactory. I have learned from experience that however badly you want to do a job well, you will still be disappointed if you do not have a guiding ideology; often it is a case of "more haste, less speed." And a proper guiding ideology can only flow from Marxist theories.

In 1982, I went to Shanghai to enroll in an enterprise management course organized by the State Economic Commission. At the time there were different points of view regarding whether or not the ownership of an enterprise should be separated from its management. From my reading of Marxist theories, I came to believe that separation is inevitable and necessary. Once back in Chengde, I launched a pilot project at the factory where I had been working and soon converted the enterprise from the production model into a management model, boosting profits by 75 percent annually. The economic results have been remarkable.

In 1983, I studied the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" at the Hebei party committee party school, devoting special attention to "seeking truth from facts," not an easy thing to do in real life. In uneventful times when we can clearly see what is right and wrong, it is not too difficult to seek truth from facts. In a dynamic situation when right and wrong are in a constant state of flux, seeking truth from facts is much more difficult. We often fail to make up our minds in time and let a golden opportunity slip by. Or we may make the wrong decision and suffer for it. In the past, old comrades were around to make decisions for us; whatever they said, we followed. Now that we must make decisions on our own, we must study Marxism if we are to have Chengde is economically relatively backward, mainly because we judgment. On many issues, we cannot tell cadres know little about Marxist theories. what is right from what is wrong, suffer from ideological confusion and are at a loss as to how to go about reforming. Naturally, therefore, we do not do a good job. When we studied documents in the past, we looked at or read them once to get the facts and that was that. Seldom did we consider the Hence we understood background or theoretical basis for a proposed policy. party policies and principles only superficially and implemented them in a mechanical and less than conscientious way, with poor results. Only now do I realize that we must seriously study Marxism and use basic Marxist theories and method to examine and resolve Chengde's political, economic, cultural and That is the only way to keep in line with the CPC Central other problems. make our work more principled, systematic, far-sighted and Committee. creative, and fulfill our generation's responsibility for building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

"Only by Studying Marxist Theories Can We Grasp the Overall Situation" by Zhang Runshen [1728 3387 6500], vice governor of Hebei Province.

I used to do natural science research at Hebei Agricultural University and knew little about social science. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's demand that cadres learn Marxist theories is extremely important for me.

It is highly necessary at present for us to emphasize the study of Marxist China is now in a new era of reform and opening the country to the theories. world has brought about a host of new problems and new conditions. There is no way to handle such problems and conditions other than by relying on It is Marxism which has enabled our party to gain a foothold in Marxism. society and score victory after victory ever since its founding. We do not have to go back too far in history for evidence. As recent as a few years ago there was a debate on the standards of truth. That debate raised the standard of Marxist theories throughout the party, restored the party's ideological line of dialectical materialism, provided a theoretical and ideological basis for bringing order out of chaos and effectively promoted economic development. Today our struggle to survive, develop and enrich the nation and people must be guided by Marxist theories so that we can scientifically analyze and study current and future social phenomena, especially socioeconomic ones, using Marxist world outlook and method, and come up with conclusions that accord with realities.

As a provincial administrative leader, I face three major issues. First, we have acquired some experience and learned lessons in the 36 years since the republic was founded. Only Marxist theories can guide us in analyzing, summing up and interpreting our experience and lessons. Otherwise our analysis will be superficial, our summing-up misguided and our interpretation unclear. Second, I am already in my 50's. I have done some work, in the course of which I have met both success and failure. Again only by relying on

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Marxist theories can I sum up my experience and continue to forge ahead. Only by relying on Marxist theories can I analyze and consider soberly the different points of view, including those opposed to mine, and select that which is reasonable and will facilitate our future work. Third, in view of the increasingly interdisciplinary nature of modern learning, we must take the initiative to broaden our range of knowledge. Yet previously I spent 30 years at the university engrossed in tree cultivation. Because of this exclusive focus, my scope of learning was too narrow. Once more only Marxism can help us grasp the overall situation and serve the entire provincial population well.

Doers like us spend our time writing tons of memos and attending scores of meetings. Now there is even talk about "hurrying to the market": even before your office opens for business in the morning, people are already lining up to see you and keep you busy well into the night. It is not easy to find time to study a thing or two. Yet if you do not study, you cannot accomplish your tasks and will fall behind the times personally. So we must be resolved to study.

"A New Sense of Urgency About Studying Marxist Theories" by Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535], director of Marxism-Leninism Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has called on us to study Marxism. That is very important. Let me make three points which I have learned from experience. First, we must have a sense of urgency. In 1941, Comrade Liu Shaoji noted that the party lacked a solid theoretical grounding. During the democratic revolutionary period following the Yanan rectification movement, we became better prepared theoretically. By learning from the two failures and two successes, we brought the democratic revolution to a victorious conclusion. During the era of socialist transformation, we took some theoretical preparation but not enough, and although we triumphed, some problems remained. Inadequate theoretical preparation has reappeared as a problem in the current stage of socialist construction, leading to the two major setbacks. Since the 3d Plenum, it has been made clear to us that to develop socialism, we must promote productive forces, which, in turn, necessitates reform. How do we develop the nation and go about reforming? By relying on Marxist theories as Old and new cadres must have a new sense of urgency about studying a guide. Also, we must open our eyes to the fact that patriarchal Marxist theories. and feudal remnants still exercise considerable influence and hamper our They are particularly developmental and reform effort to a certain extent. dangerous to the construction of the spiritual civilization. Meanwhile, the implementation of the open door policy has inevitably led to the entry of certain bourgeois ideas. Whether we are combating feudal or patriarchal remnants or resisting the invasion of decadent bourgeois ideology, we must rely on Marxism. For the sake of constructing the socialist spiritual and material civilizations, therefore, we must develop a sense of urgency about studying Marxist theories. Second, we must interpret Marxism in a new light. It will not do for us to consider it a dogma. The "Cultural Revolution" was a heavy blow to the historical development of Marxism. At the time, personality cult and dogmatism were all the rage and Marxism lost its credibility. The principle put forward at the party's Third Plenum -- liberate our ideas, use

our brains and seek truth from facts -- has breathed new life into Marxism. Instead of regarding Marxism-Leninism as a rigid, immutable dogma, we should consider it a science that changes continuously as practice changes. Third. in studying Marxism diligently, we must pay attention to three things. То begin with, we must oppose dogmatism. We must adopt the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to study problems in the real world. We must develop Marxism. Never should we seize upon what Marx said in his works as a yardstick to distinguish right from wrong. Only practice is the touchstone of truth. Second, we must oppose pragmatism. To be persuasive, Marxist theories must be thorough and, hence, scientific. Only if we adhere to the truth can we correct mistakes. Whatever the circumstances, the truth must be upheld. We must not trim our sails. Third, we must oppose people who do not practice what they preach or preach but do not practice. New and old cadres, particularly leading cadres, must use Marxism to guide their conduct, set an example for others and earnestly preach what they advocate. For instance, they must take a lead in checking the unhealthy trends and be the first to criticize and crack down on individuals who abuse public office for personal gain, practice nepotism and go into business in droves.

"Hope Expressed for Compiling Books on Marxist Theories" by Zhang Huiqing [1728 1920 0615], editor-in-chief, People's Publishing House.

In a profoundly significant move, Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed at the National Party Congress that all new and old party cadres study Marxist theories. How should we comrades in theoretical, educational, propaganda and publishing circles respond to his call with action?

In my opinion, besides summing up past experience and lessons and eliminating pernicious "leftist" influences from our studies, we must diagnose the maladies and tailor treatment accordingly in light of the new conditions China faces in the new era. To that end, we must answer the question: what and how should we study?

Let me put forward for public consideration a crude idea of mine, namely that comrades in the theoretical circles should pool their wisdom and develop a number of textbooks expounding basic Marxist theories. Specifically, I have in mind four books at two levels. At the first level, there should be an introductory text, to be titled the "Fundamentals of Marxist Theories," written for cadres who lack a basic theoretical grounding. This book will explain, in simple language, the basic Marxist theories so that its readers will obtain an understanding of Marxism and socialism. It should consist of three parts and proceed from the most straightforward materials to the more complex. At the second level, there should be three books for cadres who They can be titled "Marxist already have a background in Marxist theories. Philosophical Theories," "Marxist Political Economic Theories" and "Marxist Scientific Socialist Theories," respectively. On the one hand, these books must be a clear exposition of the basic principles concerned. On the other hand, they must relate these principles to contemporary realities and explain the political, economic, scientific and technological changes the world has experienced in the 100 years since Marxism was born. They must answer many theoretical questions and real-world problems of widespread interest to us but not readily understood, taking into account China's socialist revolutionary

and construction realities. They must also shed light on the world's major representative and influential ideologies. For these reasons, the works must not only show Marxism as it was at the beginning, but also explain Marxism as it develops and in its contemporary incarnation.

I believe we are capable of developing these four books. Needless to say, it calls for a major effort, for instance, to analytically assimilate the many existing research findings and new scientific arguments and ideas, both at My hope is that we can come up with a unified set of home and abroad. After they are examined and approved by the departments authoritative texts. concerned, they can also become part of the teaching materials at colleges and As time goes by, we can put out subsequent revised editions, universities. depending on the circumstances. As far as books are concerned, quality is more important than quantity. Books that expound theories must be scientific, accurate and up-to-date. Reportedly more than a dozen titles have appeared in recent years on scientific socialist theories. They can all serve as A number of textbooks and reference works when we write our new books. monographs have also been written about philosophy and political economy. Tn those areas, therefore, there exists a foundation we can build on. Of course problems exist, but I believe that through the effort of comrades in theoretical and academic circles, they will prove readily solvable.

I am sure that one can study Marxism more effectively using the new books I have described and that they will be welcome by the vast numbers of cadres. I have always thought that study should be something you do on your own because you feel a need to. For instance, many young people in the nation today, including numerous cadres and workers, are so engrossed in their studies, acquiring professional expertise, learning a foreign language or soaking up new knowledge and new technology, that they forget food and sleep. They are driven by a sense of urgency. We should feel a similar sense of urgency when we study Marxist theories because Marxism is both our source and an important condition for improving cadres' political and ideological quality and accomplishing all our tasks.

Paper Supports Deng's Request

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Zheng Xiting [6774 3556 0080]: "We Should Pay Attention to the Study of Contemporary Party Documents"]

[Text] In his talk at the National Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again requested the party cadres at all levels--first and foremost the leading cadres--to study Marxist theories. He pointed out that we must make an effort to understand the basic theories of Marxism based on the new reality. He emphasized that we must improve our use of the basic principles and methods of Marxism through study and actively search for the means to solve the basic problems in the new politics, economics, and culture so that we can propel our enterprise and Marxist theories forward. This important talk has pointed the way for the development of theoretical work and the improvement of cadre theoretical education under the new historical conditions.

At present, as far as cadre theoretical education is concerned, we have neglected theoretical study; at the same time, there is the tendency to "divorce theory from practice." The purpose of our study is not to solve the theoretical and practical problems of socialist modernization but to gain "knowledge," or just to obtain an academic background and diploma. We have overemphasized "regularization" and "systematization" and have abandondoned our work and the vigorous practice of reform to study textbooks so as to deal with the "graduation examination." Consequently, we have caused cadre theoretical education to deviate from its path and committed the error, which had been criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong in the past, of "studying theory simply for the sake of studying theory." This situation must be changed. Cadres at their posts must combine the study of important party documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the important talks and writings of central leading comrades with the major works of Marxism and use textbooks explaining Marxism as references. Thus, we can combine study, application, perseverance, and development. As Engles said, "our theories are theories for development; we do not want dogmas which can be memorized and recited mechanically."

The important party documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are the scientific summation of our party's experiences in socialist revolution and construction since the founding of the nation and the practice which, through the use and development of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, has successfully directed the 7 years of reform, and practice has proved them to be correct. In particular, the two major accomplishments of the recent National Party Congress—the approval of the proposal of the "Seventh 5-year Plan" and the further replacement of old staff members by new ones in the central leading organs—have an important practical and far-reaching historical significance.

Some people feel that the important documents issued since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are simply current policies, not theories, and to implement and study them for a while is enough; they do not consider them to be books which should be constantly studied. This is a biased view. The works of Marxist-Leninist writers are mostly designed to deal with contemporary revolutionary tasks and are not theories written for the sake of argument. They represent a summing up of the practice of the masses at that time. Contemporary party documents represent both the inheritance and the development of Marxist-Leninist writings. The important party documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are exactly the theories which, combining Marxist-Leninist principles and China's realistic situation, are to be used to build socialism with Chinese characteristics, and they represent the use and development of Marxist-Leninist theories in a new historical stage. For example, they recognize that a socialist economy is a planned commodity economy, develop different economic forms and management methods while retaining the system of ownership by all people, and insist on emphasizing the two civilizations at the same time in order to strengthen the construction of socialist spiritual civilization so that it might possess ideals, integrity, and culture. Such basic theories have guided the practice of reform and we have obtained good results. Practice has proved that the

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party documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is Marxism which has combined in practice with China's socialist modernization. Thus, why can they not be listed as major components in the theoretical education of the cadres at their posts?

In guiding cadre theoretical study, we cannot be divorced from the reality of socialist modernization, from the reality of reform, or from the turbulence of real life and let the backbone cadres of the socialist modernization "study Marxist-Leninist theories abstractly and aimlessly" or "study theories simply for the sake of studying theories." At present, such a tendency deserves our attention. Some people, after studying many books and textbooks, still cannot comprehend the meaning of the "reversal of the buying and selling" of secondary agricultural products and the rise in prices of certain secondary agricultural products after the liberalization of prices. Some people, based on certain writings, find out the basis of the development of a commodity economy in socialism and question the idea of the "planned commodity economy." Some people do not understand the protracted, complex, and arduous nature of the reforms and criticize the problems which have emerged; when they see that certain people have taken advantage of the reforms to make money illegally, they mistake this to mean that the reforms "have created a mess" and that we have "gone down the

capitalist road." They even feel that there should never have been reforms, etc. All these complaints fully demonstrate the importance of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's request to focus on the new reality in our study of Marxist theories and prove the necessity and urgency of organizing the broad masses of the cadres to study the party documents issued since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

Let us all pay serious attention to the learning, study, and propaganda of contemporary documents! Under the guidance of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's new request to study Marxist theories, let us link theory with reality and search incessantly for and display an innovative and outstanding style of learning.

12380/9190 CSO: 4005/463

COLUMNIST URGES BETTER USE OF CAPABLE PERSONNEL

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 86 p 1

[Article by Pei Yiyuan [5952 5669 0337] in [Weekly Forum] column: "Don't Let Capable Personnel Do Work Unworthy of Their Talents"]

[Text] In our lives, there are often some quite capable people who work hard and have some outstanding achievements but who are focal points of incessant rumors. The leadership considers them to be "too prominent" and dares not make good use of them. The masses, while sympathetic, are powerless and some of them believe that the fact that these people are not being used seriously confirms the rumors. Yet none can say clearly what the problems are and many people while away their "golden years" in a state of unsubstantiated truth or falsehood. Some of them become discouraged and dejected and others have to find other ways to "display their talents." Such a development is distressing because it stifles and wastes capable personnel and impedes the great enterprise of the four modernizations.

If we examine the causes, this situation results mainly from the ideological problems of certain leading cadres.

The first is the problem of "prejudice and accepting things at face value." A perfect individual does not exist in real life. In particular, some of those capable and up-and-coming personnel are not absolutely perfect. If someone is bent on maligning them, he can certainly find excuses. If the leading cadres do not analyze the various opinions carefully or fail to check the facts seriously and consider the "gossip" and "hearsay" to be true, or if they keep firmly in their minds what they have heard the first time or what they have read in their "correspondence" and form a bad impression of someone, then it becomes difficult for them to get rid of such biases. Even though there may be recommendations which report on the actual situation, the leader keeps on saying: "Oh, him. I heard that he has certain problems!" Such a working style which tends to be biased and believes only in one side of the story not only stifles talent but also encourages unhealthy tendencies so that capable persons suffer while incompetents put on airs.

The second is the problem of judging people with jaundiced and "leftist" eyes. For a long time, because of the influence of "leftist" ideology,

some comrades frown upon people who are politically sound and have specialized skills but whose working style is different. They make subjective assumptions and unreasonable criticisms. For example, they view the reforms and innovations of capable personnel and their eagerness to make suggestions as being unconventional and pursuing after personal gains. Some comrades who treasure their time and are devoted to learning more about their jobs are considered to be "indulging in self-admiration" and "ignoring politics"; those who like to read and write articles at their spare time are labeled as "not attending to their proper duties" and "concerned with money"; and those who dare to express their original and different views are even accused of being "arrogant" and "presumptuous" and of "disregarding the leadership."

The third is the problem of being afraid to get involved and to shoulder responsibilities. There is still another reason why some people are not used in a serious way for such a long time: although some leading cadres know that certain opinions regarding some controversial cadres are not fully substantiated, they do not investigate or check. If they use those cadres, they can never be sure and fear that they are making a mistake and have to shoulder the responsibility. If they do not use them, they feel that things cannot be done without the necessary capable personnel. Thus, such phenomena as "giving the appearance of using certain people," "using talented people for trivial tasks," or "being semi-suspicious of them and not making full use of them" emerge, causing some people to be burdened with the prospect of constantly being "tested." In such a situation they cannot display their talents freely.

It would be impossible for a unit to make a breakthrough and cause its enterprise to flourish if it does not know how to discover and use large numbers of capable personnel. But a fine tree in the forest can be easily "damaged by the wind" and the leaders should pay special attention to protecting it. If it is cut down once it has been damaged, or if no one pays any attention to it, then there will be fewer and fewer fine trees. In order to develop fully the potential of talented personnel, we must try to gain a comprehensive understanding of people, be concerned about them, and nurture them enthusiastically (this includes helping them to overcome certain shortcomings). We must boldly use and promote people with both ability and political integrity so that no one who has real knowledge and skills, an innovative spirit, and ability will be neglected, wronged, or stifled. Only this kind of leadership can propel the reform and construction forward.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TREND OF MAKING FALSE ACCUSATIONS CRITICIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by Dan Chi [0030 6375] : "We Must Not Tolerate the Trend of Making False Accusations"]

[Text] Making false accusations against somebody can be rather "deadly" at times. At critical junctures, eg., when a comrade applies for membership, undergoes evaluation or when his promotion hangs in the balance, anonymous letters of accusation unfailingly appear. Such letters are quite "powerful." As they say, "Spend 4 fen (to buy a stamp) and make him suffer half a year." One after another, these letters have ruined the political life of many a fine comrade and created numerous tragedies both sad and infuriating.

In its ninth issue last year, WENHUI, the monthly magazine, carried a reportage titled "A Model Not Allowed to Join the Party." A grassroots civil administration assistant, Yin Shuqin [1438 3219 3830] was born into a poor family and joined the army's cultural troupe at 11. At the tender age of 13, she volunteered for the front in the War To Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid During a performance in the combat zone, she was wounded and received Korea. After the "gang of four" was crushed, such newspapers as 46 bullet wounds. JIEFANGJUN BAO, ZHONGGUO MINZHENG, HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, QIANGJIN BAO, and HEJIANG RIBAO successively ran stories on advanced elements like Yin Shuqin. Her exemplary deeds were also the subject of an exhibit at the Chinese Military Museum. But why has she not been admitted into the party? Because of the "timely" appearance of so-called public accusation letters just when she was filling in her party membership application form, in 1973, 1976 and It takes only a little analysis to see that the things the letters 1980. purportedly "brought to light" were trumped-up charges, pure and simple. However, the leaders concerned often assumed that "where there is an accusation, there must be a problem." Yet they either did not take the trouble to "find out the truth" or concluded that "the truth could not be found." As a result, Yin Shuqin's hopes of joining the party were frustrated. This incident tells us that the trend of fabricating charges has not been effectively checked exactly because there is an unhealthy tendency to tolerate, or shall we say, covertly protect such a trend.

Individual leaders may tolerate accusers and connive at their conduct in the following ways. First, they may be timid and overcautious, and their only

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concern is self-preservation. People who make false accusations have an intense desire to "do somebody in" and are extremely "persistent" in their effort. If their accusations get nowhere at your level, they will write to your supervisory department and make charges against you too. Consequently, some leading comrades are worried that in trying to uphold justice and fight evil, they will open themselves to charges of "shielding their subordinates," a fear that has paralyzed them. Second, they may be cold and indifferent to other comrades and have no interest in their work. Most anonymous accusation letters are ghostwritten and are full of monstrous lies; there is a deliberate attempt to complicate matters. To get to the bottom of a case inevitably takes time and manpower. To some leaders, that would be tantamount to "asking for trouble" and "wasting energy." So instead of affirming or refuting the charges, they put them on the back burner. Third, factionalism is at work too as some leaders harbor their own evil desires. Often the victims of false accusations are unpopular and have a penchant for criticizing and grumbling. They are thorns in the leaders' sides and have affronted the latter's dignity. For leaders who have been looking for a pretext to punish these people, anonymous accusation letters are a godsend. In the name of letting the masses bring the truth to light and inform on others, they are only too ready to pit one group against another. We can analyze this mentality from another angle, which will make it instantly clear. Had the accused been members of the leaders' own factions, their supervisors' relatives or children or close the leaders would have handled the accusations very comrades-in-arms, differently -- perhaps getting mad and ignoring them, perhaps putting together a task force to find out the facts right away. Even if the accusations were true, they still would have been able to "turn big problems into small problems and small problems into no problems at all."

Many upright and honest comrades both inside and outside the party report the situation to their superiors truthfully and systematically. Their actions should be protected and must never be labeled "accusations" indiscriminately. At the same time, however, we should see that there are indeed individuals who harbor evil intentions and stop at nothing to trump up charges. A minority of leading cadres, too, condone such a practice. These two groups are interdependent. To check the tendency to make false charges, we must destroy the unhealthy climate of tolerance toward them.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DONG BIWU'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO CHINESE LEGAL SYSTEM NOTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342]: "The Founder of Our Socialist Legal System: The Centennial Commemoration of Dong Biwu's Birthday"]

JPRS-CPS-86-032 24 April 1986

[Text] Dong Biwu was a great Marxist, a revolutionary proletarian, a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, and a distinguished leader of our party and our nation. These are well-known facts that require no further elaboration. Here I would like to discuss the revered comrade Dong's major contributions to the construction of our nation's socialist legal system, based on my personal understanding.

I consider the revered comrade Dong one of the founders of our country's socialist legal system. He studied law in Japan; he was consummate in Marxist theory and erudite in the science of law. He became one of the first, and most distinguished proletarian jurist of our nation. Applying Marxist legal theory to China's actual situation, Dong realized that laws were indispensable tools in the proletariat's struggles: when the exploiting class controls political power, the people must reject the laws, but when the people are in power, they must utilize the laws. During the Second Revolutionary War, Dong became president of the Chinese Soviet Supreme Court. Later he was in charge of legal and political work in the liberated areas and was instrumental in establishing and developing the people's democratic rule and revolutionary laws in the revolutionary bases. During the War of Resistance Against Japan, Dong led the democratic constitutional movement in the Kuomintang-occupied areas; he criticized the Koumintang's anti-people, the so-called "5 May Draft Constitution" He successfully waged a quid-pro-quo "legal" struggle wgainst the anticommunist, anti-people, fascist atrocities conducted by diehards in the Kuomintang. I joined the task under the leadership of the revered Dong at that time and benefited much from the experience.

On the eve of the founding of our nation, the Preparatory Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference delegated Dong with the task of drafting "The Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China," which became one of the country's basic laws at that time. We should say that he was one of the creators of modern China's national organization and its political and legal systems. After the founding of the nation, he devoted his time and efforts to guiding

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our nations' legal and political systems; he made major contributions to the construction of our nation's political power and legal systems, especially in the establishment and development of the people's congress system and the people's judicial system. Based on practical theories, Dong wrote many brilliant expositions on political power and the legal system and especially on the system of people's congresses and the socialist legal system. His ideas enlightened the cadres in legal and political work, especially those in the judicial organs.

As early as in 1940, on the issue of political power construction, Dong had clearly pointed out that "the government must secure real power." He criticized "the substitution of the party for politics" and the "nonseparation of party and politics." He pointed out that "it is extremely unwise for the party to take over the job of the government. When a government exists in name only, its laws will be ineffective; the government must have real power. In the past some comrades have assumed that for the party to guide the government is for the party directly to control the government in form. That is wrong"

In October 1948, at the people's political power discussion session to study the drafts for the "Township, County, and Municipality Electoral Rules" and the "Organic Rules," Dong delivered a speech entitled "On the Question of a New Democratic State Power. He expounded on the substance of nations and political power, and especially on the relationship between class composition, democracy, and dictatorship in our people's democratic dictatorship; he analyzed the mechanisms and forms of political power and further emphasized the people's congresses as the bases of our nation's fundamental system. His ideas established the foundation of our people's democratic grassroots political power. On 3 December 1951, Dong wrote the letter "On the Question of County and Township Political Power Constructions: A letter to Mao Zedong, Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPC." Comrade Mao responded on the 4th, saying that "the content of the letter is accurate," and approved the sending of copies of Dong's letter, together with Mao's response, to the comrades in charge of various central offices for their review and awareness. The letter was mainly about the Huadong Bureau prototype experiment on county- and township-levels political power construction. Dong's suggestions were: first, the party should allow the higher-level state power organs to lead in the establishment of the lower-level state power organs. That is to say, the party committee should attain leadership in political power indirectly, through the party members or party organization in the state power organs. Second, at present the political power construction in the county level is more pivotal than at the township level. Third, there must be sufficient preparation in organization and ideology. These suggestions were entirely appropriate at that time and are still basically appropriate today.

In February 1953, at the Conference of the National Committee of the CPPCC, Dong delivered another speech on "The People's General Election of Township, County, and Provincial (City) Levels of the People's Congresses." He analyzed the actual conditions at that time and pointed out the necessities and the possibilities of implementing general elections for township, county, and provincial (city) governments. He felt that this would represent further progress in our people's democratic political power construction. He also clearly stated that if the CPPCC relinquished its authority over the people's congresses and became a united front organization instead, it would remain a positive force in our nation's political life. Dong's exposition served as a meaningful guidance to our people's democratic dictatorship's political power construction.

Most importantly, on 19 September 1956, at the Eighth National People's Congress, Dong delivered a speech entitled "A Further Step in Reinforcing the People's Democratic Legal System To Guarantee the Socialist Constructions." Both from the theoretical standpoint and the practical standpoint, he comprehensively and systematically expounded on the formation, the development, and the purpose of our socialist legal system; he summed up the basic experiences of the work of the legal system and analyzed the source of the failure to value and observe the laws; and he suggested guiding ideologies toward a healthy legal system and suggested that the party should strengthen its leadership and practical measures concerning the legal system. This important speech was a brilliant document with significant historical meaning for the construction of our party's socialist legal system. The party's Eighth National People's Congress pointed out that because a socialist system had gradually been established in our nation, our people should now concentrate on developing the social productive forces and begin a comprehensive large-scale sociolist construction. Dong said: "In view of this task, the party must adopt positive measures to strengthen our people's democratic legal system, further protect the people's democratic system, reinforce law and order, guarantee the people's democratic rights, protect public property, and effectively promote the people's initiative and creativity. At the same time, the party must continue to eliminate the counter-revolutionary elements, continue the struggle against all criminal phenomena, and guarantee the expedient progress of socialist constructions." Dong especially emphasized that "I feel that requiring everything be done according to the law is the central link in our progress toward strengthening the people's democratic legal system. Requiring that everything be done according to the law connotes two things: first, there must be laws. That is why we must expedite the formulation of the yet inadequate major laws and regulations.... Second, all laws must be observed. All regulations stipulated in explicit terms must be precisely implemented; everything should be done according to regulations and the judicial organs in particular should strictly abide by the law and never infringe on the law. Of course, where the regulations are inappropriate or not entirely appropriate under certain situations, they should be modified, supplemented, or amended through the proper legislative process. We must reject all reckless acts of non-compliance with the law. From now on, those who deliberately break the law, regardless of their high positions or their past contributions, will be prosecuted in accordance with the law. Those who are ignorant of the law must be taught about the law, but more importantly, they should be taught to observe the law. Requiring that everything be done in accordance with the law is an important way to eliminate the phenomena of failing to value and observe the law." Later, on 18 March 1957, at the conference of the chief military

procurators and the military court presidents, Dong again expounded on the nature and purpose of the legal system from the standpoints of theory, system, historical development, and practical experiences. He emphatically pointed out the seriousness of "not obeying existing laws." He said: "Our present problems in the area of legal work are, first, that our laws are inadequate and, second, that they are not being observed. Of the two, the failure to observe the law is a more serious problem. Why do we have to obey the law? As we have said earlier, the law is the will of the ruling class. Laws are formulated to express our will. If we cannot obey the laws that we ourselves have formulated, how can we expect others to obey them? Are laws more frequently broken by the average citizens or by the cadres of the state organs? I would think it is the latter. When those who work for the state organs break the law, it is a serious problem indeed. If laws are constantly being broken, then laws are just empty words. They are useless."

On 16 May 1959, Dong spoke before the nation's advanced workers in the public security offices, the procuratorates, and the judicial organs. He pointed out that good legal and political works came from a practical and realistic summation of experiences, not from imagination or doctrine. He said: "All knowledge comes from practice. Theories are summations of practical experiences; theories are formed by organizing systematizing, and enhancing experiences and in turn will play a role in guiding all practices. Our party's political line and its general and specific policies, including the correct lines, principles, and policies of our legal and political work, are the product of practical revolution and construction. Our nation's laws too are the actual summations of our people's practical and realistic struggles and are formulated through specific legislative procedures." He also said: "Ever since our party established the revolutionary political power in Jinggang, we have had our own legal and political duties, Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the people's legal and political tasks, military tasks, economic tasks, and cultural and educational tasks have progressed from a democratic revolution to a socialist revolution; we have gradually accumulated a rich experience and formed our own distinguished tradition, a tradition of obeying the party leadership, following the mass line, uniting productive labor, and serving the central tasks of the party and the country: these brilliantly summarized the fine traditions of our people's political and legal tasks. In order to succeed in our present tasks, and carry forward our distinguished tradition, we must seriously, practically, and realistically sum up our actual experiences. I truly believe that our comrades on the legal and political front will be even more successful with this mission. Dong criticized two common misconceptions. First, the idea that our summation of experience was incomplete. Dong said: "To be complete is a relative term. To progress from incomplete to relatively complete is a development process. At present, we summarize a series of experience; later on, we summarize another series, and by gradual accumulation, we will have a relatively complete summation. To demand instant "completeness" is to go against the objective law of reality. The things that appear complete but are actually just hodge-podges and imitations will only serve to bind us, but they do not serve the interest of our revolutionary cause."

Those were accurate criticisms. Even today, similar problems still exist in our legislative work. Dong also criticized the idea that the summations of our experience were not quite presentable, Dong said: "Actually, we are revolutionaries; events are still developing and transforming. How do we make things presentable? How should things look? Naturally it must not resemble capitalism; a brotherly nation may look nice but it may not suit us. We should not worry about looking good; we should not be impressed with appearances. As long as our summation complies with Marxist-Leninist principles, as long as it is practical, it is presentable." This criticism was again entirely appropriate. To be "presentable" is actually to imitate foreign doctrines, to be conventional. To put it bluntly, it is to worship and idolize foreign things.

We have touched just a small number of the revered comrade Dong's rich and profound expositions on the legal system. But we can already see their significant affects on strengthening our socialist legal system. For historical reasons, Dong's expositions on the legal system were slighted; there was no in-depth study, research, propaganda, or implementation of his works for a period of time. At the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in an effort to bring back order after chaos, Comrade Dong Xiaoping pointed out that "in order to guarantee the people's democracy, we must reinforce the law; we must institutionalize and legalize democracy so that laws and regulations do not change just because leaders have changed." Dong Xiaoping also wanted to reinforce the legislative task and strengthen the procuratorial and the judicial organs so that "there will be laws to be observed and laws will be observed; laws will be strictly enforced and violators will be prosecuted." The new party constitution ratified at the 12th National Party Congress specified that "the party's activities must be within constitutional and legal boundaries."

The revered comrade Dong's legal ideology will illuminate the task of constructing our nation's legal system and bring forth even greater success in the new historic era.

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JPRS-CPS-86-032 24 April 1986

EAST REGION

CHANGZHOU MUNICIPAL CPC COMMITTEE SECRETARY INTERVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by Jinfeng [6855 7685]: "Spring Will Arive in the Back Alleys: An Interview with Changzhou Municipal CPC Committee Secretary Chen Yuying [7115 3768 5391]"]

[Text] The minute I arrived in Changzhou, Jiangsu, I heard that the city's CPC committee secretary was a woman. Perhaps it is because of historic limitations, but even in New China today, it is still rare for a woman to be in a leadership position. As the city's CPC committee secretary, Chen Yuying has big responsibilities. I very much wanted to meet her. Unfortunately, she was ill and was hospitalized. I decided that I should not bother her there.

While I was visiting at a factory, I received a telephone call from the propaganda department of the city's CPC committee. I was told that the committee secretary wanted to see me, so I rushed back to the Changzhou guesthouse.

Walking in the Rain

It was drizzling. I waited by the door in the lobby watching the cars that came by the guesthouse.

To my surprise, out of the rain, a middle-aged woman carrying a black umbrella walked up to me and said: "You are probably the comrade reporter. Welcome to Changzhou. I am Chen Yuying."

We shook hands; I was still taken by surprise. In recent years, our country has imported many small cars, even some luxury models, but Changzhou's city CPC committee secretary came on foot, and in the rain too.

I was interested in knowing Chen's background. "I hear that you are from the working class, but you look more like an intellectual." She smiled but said nothing. Young Zhong, who accompanied her from her office, said: "Chen graduated from the Huadong Textile Industry Academy in the early 1960's. She used to be section chief and a plant director and had an engineer title. She is a modern intellectual." I realized that I was being indiscreet. But Chen did not mind; she just smiled and said: "Not only was I a worker, but I also have a parentage of workers: both my parents worked in the Shanghai Silk Factory. My father died when I was in my first year of middle school. We were very poor. When I was 13, I became a child laborer at the Changzhou Daicheng Textile Mill. After the Liberation, I became a cadre; I joined the party. The party sent me to college. Even though I have a professional knowledge of the textile industry, that small amount of knowledge is really inadequate under the present circumstances. I must work hard on Marxism-Leninism and learn more about the new science and technology and management know-how."

The conversation then turned to other subjects. She talked about reforms in Changzhou and about the city CPC committee's attitude and guidance ideology toward reform. She also talked about Changzhou's economic situation and the conditions of the cadres' and the people's ideologies. I walked her to the door and watched her walk out into the rain, holding her umbrella. Cars kept passing by. Later I heard from the comrades at the city CPC committee offices that several years ago, when she was still the committee deputy secretary and director of the organization department, she used to ride the bus to work. She said that the advantage of riding the bus was that one got to learn first hand the people's responses and suggestions.

Listen to the Voices of Those Who Are Most Troubled

"Chen is special because she is totally dedicated to her work. She goes among the people, really gets to know them, and solves their problems." A comrade at the city CPC committee office said this about Chen Yuying.

On Sundays, she visits the factories, the schools, or the villages. On weekdays, at the office, whenever she has the time, she goes to the grassroots level to gather first-hand information. She knows Changzhou's major factories and research centers well. In 1982, Changzhou implemented the municipality-administered county system reform. In 2 years she traveled to over half of the townships in Wujin, Liyang, and Jintan Counties. She has a good grasp of the situations; during committee discussions, she always managed to make calm and precise decisions and adopt practical and effective policies.

When it comes to the major or weak links in a task, she will conduct systematic surveys and studies. In 1984, she looked into the small-town and village enterprises and specialized-trade households. In late August of 1985, in the middle of the summer heat, she made a special trip to survey the 11 remote and poor townships in 3 municipality-administered counties.

One Saturday night, after an afternoon meeting with the standing committee, Chen Yuying took off after dinner; she arrived in Liyang County after 9 pm.

The jeep traveled between Quiling, Gangluan, and Weichong. During the day, Chen Yuying would visit the families in the villages; in the evening she gathered the cadres for informal discussions. The situation in those areas distressed her. Changzhou urban area's per-capita industrial and agricultural output value has exceeded 10,000 yuan, but among the 11 townships, the 1984 per-capita agricultural and industrial supplementary output value was only 853 yuan; 30 percent of the total agricultural households had an annual per-capita income of less than 250 yuan. The 22 households of the 15th Team of the Shihang Production Brigade in Wansui Township at the intersection of Wujin County and Danyang County had a per-capita income of 93 yuan. These people are still living in poverty.

Chen Yuying visited the home of the old team leader. There are six people in his family, five of whom are workers, and they farm 9 mu of responsibility fields; they still owe the production brigade 800 yuan in overdue debts. When Chen arrived the family was having lunch: they only had soy sauce broth and rice. Chen Yuying was very much saddened by the sight.

These townships understand that "there will be no wealth without work." Rural industries had a late start and efficiency is low. In 1984, the average annual output value of the rural industries of the 11 townships was 3.77 million yuan, which was only one-fourth of the total urban and rural average; economic efficiency is very low. Profits of the enterprises are low too, with little left to pay to the villages. Funds for every social cause must be raised from the individuals and the farms. The direct burdens on these farmers are heavier than in the average townships.

The educational standards in these townships are low too. In Puhe Township, only seven junior high students have been accepted into the senior high in the past 3 years. The school buildings need repair and the facilities are lacking.

When Chen Yuying returned to the city, she immediately gathered a secretary's working conference, a city poverty-relief guidance small-group meeting, and a county CPC committee secretary's meeting to study the implementation of policies to change the impoverished conditions of these rural areas. The city treasury allocated 240,000 yuan gratis to aid these impoverished townships, to repair the village elementary schools, to maintain the school grounds, and to buy new equipment. The city and the county each contributed 120,000 yuan toward a production circulation fund to extend loans to the poor households at no interest, to be repaid in 3 years. There will be a 30,000-yuan farm tax exemption for the households in these poor townships. The city plans to allocate some money each year, to request some money from higher authorities, and to adopt the system of "state subsidy of local efforts" to help repair village roads and electrify those villages still without electricity. Chen Yuying also organized various city offices to extend communication and technical guidance and commodity circulation services to these townships, to assist them in reasonable product-mix adjustments, to develop the form of commodity production best suited to local conditions, and to assist and guide them in improving village and small-town enterprises.

It is clear that Chen Yuying's heart is in helping those who need help; she is genuinely working in their interest. Sharing the Good Times and the Bad in a Back Alley

I heard that Chen Yuying, although she is the city CPC committee secretary, still lives in the same simple single-story house she has lived in since the 1950's. I decided to visit her at her home in the evening.

It was drizzling. Holding my umbrella, I trudged over puddles and came to an old one story house.

I knocked. Chen Yuying's husband, Comrade Xu Duo [1776 6995], answered the door. Xu used to be the senior engineer and chairman of the Textile Research Institute of the Changzhou No 1 National Cotton Mill. He was tortured during the "Cultural Revolution"; he is retired now because of poor health. He warmly took me into his house but said that Chen was away at a reception for a party central leadership comrade who was in Changzhou on inspection. Well, how unfortunate, I have missed another opportunity.

I entered an old-style room about 30 chi wide divided in half: Chen and another family each occupied 15 chi. Xu Duo told me that the house belonged to the Tianning area housing administration bureau and that they have lived there for over 30 years, ever since he and Chen got married in 1955.

A dining table and two bicycles belonging to Chen's son and daughter-in-law occupy half the central room. There are some miscellaneous household items, and the room is cramped. The room to the left belongs to Chen and her husband. There is a double bed, a chest of draws, a desk, and a bookcase, all purchased when Chen got married; after 30 years, this furniture naturally appears used. A small sofa was added 5 years ago; a 14-inch color television and a refrigerator were purchased in 1984. Behind the room a wooden partition formed another small room, about 6 or 7 square meters. It belongs to Chen's mother who has gone back to her own home in the village. On special occasions, Chen's son would bring her to town on his bicycle so she can visit her daughter, her son-in-law, and grandson for a few days.

Chen's only son Xiao Ding [1420 7844] is 28 years old. Xiao Ding and his wife Xiao Hung [1420 4767] both work in the semiconductor factory in Changzhou. They work contentedly and are eager to learn. They were married the year before last. Their new home used to be a storage room behind the central room; it has no window and no ventilation. At that time, Chen was already the deputy secretary, but she had not secured housing for her son. She repaired the storage room and added a couple of windows, but the room is still dark and lights need to be turned on even during the day. The floor is damp. Chen's house is an old-style one-story house; there are no modern facilities. At the corner of the room is a nightstool.

Looking at Chen's accommodations, I thought of the housing facilities for the workers and teachers in Changzhou's Qingtan Xincun which I had just visited: those houses are far superior. In the new village, each family has its own balcony, toilet, and bathroom facilities; there, the rooms are nicely furnished, unlike the make-shift appearance of Chen's home. I asked old Xu: "Comrade Yuying must have many visitors. When they come to visit, what do you do?" He smiled and said: "If not too many people are here, I can still read a book in the corner; if too many people are here, I will go to the back room." Again he smiled and explained: "Comrades from the office of the city CPC committee have repeatedly urged us to move, but Yuying has refused. She says that after all these years, we have established close relations with our neighbors; even after she became secretary, the people still treat her as one of their own, they confide in her and consult with her. In recent years, there are more older retired comrades whose housing problems have yet to be solved. Even though the city has built many new villages, some housing for workers and teachers is very cramped. A house like ours is not bad." Xu was completely at ease when he spoke. It is obvious that they understand each other well. Their status may have changed but they still place themselves among the people. Their lives appear harmonious and fulfilled.

It was still raining outside. I recalled old Xu's poor health and said goodbye to him. I held my umbrella and walked from Lingquanmiu Lane. I looked back at the ugly back alley where Changzhou's city CPC committee secretary lived. I could not help thinking that our nation is still impoverished; we still have a long period of struggle ahead of us. A few cadres have selfishly tried to profit in the areas of "housing," "cars," and "children" and have caused public resentment, but on the whole, there are more good comrades like Chen Yuying who deserve our respect: they bear their responsibilities as leaders and willingly stay in a back alley, sharing the same fate and sharing the same breath with the people. They realize that in the alleyway, they can hear the voices of the people, and they can smell spring in the air. These alleys will not remain here forever; in a few years, they will be demolished, and modern highrises will take their places. Spring will arrive in the back alleys: that is our hope and our strength.

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NORTHEAST REGION

LIAONING CYL IMPROVES STYLE OF CONFERENCE

Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Cai Xiaojun [5591 2400 6511] and Li Chunfa [2621 2504 7569]: "No Temporary Transfer of Cadres; Speeches Less Than 20 Minutes--Provincial CYL Congress Makes Great Effort To Improve Style of Conference--No Drapery, No Souvenirs, No Tours"]

[Text] The Communist Youth League Liaoning Provincial Congress closed on 22 December. Over 300 delegates from every part of the province voiced the same opinion that this conference was thrifty and simple, stressing effectiveness. During the meeting's preparation stage, some of the leaders of the CYL provincial CPC comimtee went to every city and county to summarize typical models, preparing material for the conference. From writing up documents to the conference rear-service work, they did not transfer temporarily a single person from the grass roots.

One symbol of the Provincial CYL Congress was to place the emphasis on practical results. There was no ostentation or extravagance. The opening and closing ceremony each lasted less than 2 hours, and there were no greeting couplets and silk drapery hanging in the auditorium. The speech by a leader of the Liaoning CPC committee was just 20 minutes. Almost two-thirds of the time was spent in discussing and studying problems by the delegates. In just one resolution--"The CYL Provincial CPC Committee Branch"--alone, the delegates proposed 130 places to be amended, making this resolution more in conformity with the actual situation of the grass roots.

A proper conference style was another characteristic of the conference. No souvenirs were given away during the conference, and there were no organized tours for the delegates. There were only two movies, 50 fen per person; the photo of all the delegates was 4 yuan per person. The leaders of the CYL Provincial CPC Committee and the delegates all lodged in ordinary rooms.

During the 3-day conference, they discussed and passed a series of resolutions, and field a secret-ballot by-election for members of the seventh CYL Provincial CPC Committee; Luo Lin [7482 3829], et al., or 48 persons, were elected.

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NORTHEAST REGION

SHENYANG CORRECTS UNHEALTHY TRENDS WITHIN PARTY Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Zhi Wei [1807 0251] and Wen De [2429 1795]: "Halt Party Officials Using Authority To Seek Personal Gain; Halt Unhealthy Trends in Service Trades--Municipal CPC Committee Sets Focus for Next Year's Party Rectification"]

[Text] At the Conference on Exchanging Experience in the Work of Party Rectification held by the CPC Shenyang municipal committee on 18 December, the committee required the following: Next year, the party trends must show a marked improvement in all units of the city, in which over half of the county and regimental units, the leading offices of the municipal's county, district, bureau, and up and the leading cadres of the county and regiment and up should show a fundamental improvement, and last year's "Rectification Advanced Units" must show a fundamental improvement.

To accomplish the task of fundamental improvement in the party trends of the whole city, the conference reviewed the previous phase of the party's rectification proceedings and the existing problems in the party's trends. They then set the requirements on how to better the job of party rectification in the next phase:

1. Firmly Grasp the Inspection of Party Trends and Party Discipline from Beginning to End.

During inspection, pay attention to two factors: (1) follow every step of the inspection and be sure that each stage is not just going through the motions; (2) closely associate the party rectification with the inspection. Units that have concluded party rectification must use the inspection of party trends and party discipline as an important measure in consolidating and developing the positive results of party rectification, using inspecting and correcting unhealthy trends as contents to carry out make-up lessons. Units that are going through rectification must put the stress on sorting out and correcting unhealthy trends and inspecting seriously; if the main problems of the party trends are not solved, the party rectification cannot be concluded. Units that have not begun party rectification must also grasp party trends and this key point of inspecting seriously, discovering problems, and correcting before rectifying. 2. Grasp the Key Point, Firmly Putting a Halt to Unhealthy Trends, and Promote an All-round Turn for the Better in Party Trends.

The city should grasp two important factors in the next step of party rectification: first, grasp party officials using their authority to seek personal gain. Second, grasp the unhealthy trends in the service trades (window service). The unhealthy trends in both cases affect vast areas, endanger many, and are abhorred by the public. Therefore, we must do all we can to halt these two kinds of unhealthy trends. Concurrently, all services and trades must seriously analyze its own situation and solve whatever problem it has. The party and administrative organs must seriously solve "the six problems" existing in its work style, and it must overcome its bureaucratic style of work, change the pehnomena of "the door is hard to enter, the face is ugly to look at, and the business is hard to transact." Step into reality, investigate and study, do your duty, shoulder your responsibility, be a good servant to the people enthusiastically with initiative, and serve the grass roots and the people.

3. Must Adhere to Effective Methods and Work Hard on Making Radical Changes.

In the movement of party rectification, every department and every unit must grasp both positive and negative typical models from its own department or unit, using typical models that are right to educate the people; we must enhance the education of party character, party trends and party discipline; and we must grasp the leading organs, with the leading cadres taking the lead. All the leading organs and officials of the municipal, county, regimental units, and up must act in accordance with the requirements of the municipal committee, combine it with the reality of each and everyone, draw up a plan, and make concrete the measures to bring about a basic change for the better in party trends. We must guarantee its fulfillment on the date due. We must strengthen the party organizationally, especially the grass roots.

4. Realistically Strengthen the Leadership in the Party Rectification Work.

All levels of the party committee must place the party trends problem in the right position, really work hard on it, and grasp it in a down-to-earth manner. The heads of the party committee at all levels especially must grasp the party trends. The leading cadre who is responsible for the administration must also pay attention to the party trends and maintain a proper balance between economy work and party rectification work, concientiously adhering to grasping the "two decorums" at the same time. We must combine party rectification with reformation and economic construction and guarantee that economic activities healthily develop along the correct track. We must persist in one level overseeing the next level and continue to improve and implement the system of responsibility in grasping party trends. The key points for improvement are: first, from the party committee to the discipline commission, and from the municipal committee to the grass root party branch, establish the system of responsibility in grasping party trends at each level. Second, divide the work clearly, in which each has his own responsibility. Third, strengthen supervision and inspection, discover

problems, and solve them quickly. We must solemnly enforce party discipline and persist in sternly managing the party. Dare to meet the tough, especially those with a thick protection layer and a dense net of relationships; these should solemnly be investigated and prosecuted. We must reinforce the work of the discipline inspection departments.

During the conference, the Shenyang Municipal Gas Company committee, Shenyang Power Industry Bureau committee, Huang Gu District committee, and Shenyang Nonferrous Metal Processing Factory committee passed on their experience in the work of grasping party trends.

The leaders of the Shenyang municipal CPC committee, municipal advisory commission, municipal discipline commission, standing committee of the municipal people's congress, municipal government, and municipal people's political consultative conference; the heads of the departments, offices, bureaus, counties, and districts directly under the municipal government; and the heads of the party committee, administration, and discipline inspection commission of each county and regimental unit attended the conference. The total attendance was over 1,700.

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NORTHEAST REGION

FORUM ON LENGTH OF PARTY CONFERENCE SPEECHES HELD

Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Chen Haijia [7115 3189 0857]: "Forum: A Speech for Party Conferences Should Not Exceed 20 Minutes"]

[Text] The members of the Liaoning provincial Communist Youth League have adopted many excellent measures to reform their customary practices at meetings. When the leading member of the Liaoning provincial Communist Party committee made a speech at the conference, he got off to a good start by not using more than 20 minutes, something that really deserves our admiration.

The "mountains of documents and endless seas of conferences" have had a very deleterious effect on the four modernizations. Everyone finds this state of affairs disagreeable and yet it appears to be difficult to change. This is particularly so during conferences--everyone loves making long reports. Besides the important matters that require extensive reports, why must every run-of-the-mill conference also produce large reports? As soon as someone begins to speak, we hear an endless speech hitting points 1 through 4 and all the sub-points from A to Z. It is as if the speech won't seem important if they don't go on for 4 hours. When some comrades begin to speak, they couldn't care less about the audience's reaction. They go on endlessly, seemingly unstoppable, and even after making all their points, they still want to deal with some "last question." These people couldn't care less about the effectiveness of their speeches. The audience ends up looking as if they had taken sleeping pills or were lost in a mountain fog.

A few days ago while flipping through the paper I saw a news item on the opening ceremony of the Beijing Marathon held at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing. The opening speech given by the chairman of the organizing committee, Li Wenyao [2621 2429 5069], could not be said to be unimportant inasmuch as it summarized the accomplishments and significance of the past four races. Yet the text of the speech was less than 300 characters. It was truly both concise and comprehensive, quite deserving of our admiration. Speaking of simple opening speeches brings to mind a regulation in the Olympic rules that limits the leader of the host country's opening ceremony speech to no more than 16 English words (translated into Chinese that would be no more than 2 sentences. At the 23d Olympiad opening ceremony, the president of the United States, Ronald Regan, wanted to add a few extra lines. However, his request was refused by the head of the Olympic Organizing Committee. Reagan was therefore forced to act accordingly and not exceed 16 words.

This is what we call "making a long story short" in Chinese. Good! Speak and write concisely. Even the high and mighty like the President cannot be excepted.

Normally, minutes and seconds do not seem worth talking about. But where the four modernizations are concerned, even minutes and seconds are valuable and should not be wasted. Some articles do not need to be written, and some meetings do not need to be held. Those articles that must be presented and those meetings that must be held should be short. If we promote the spirit of a 20-minute limit, then the mountains of documents can be flattened and the endless sea of meetings can be dried up.

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JPRS-CPS-86-032 24 April 1986

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SHENYANG HOLDS CONFERENCE ON WORK OF INTELLECTUALS

Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Li Zhaofang [2621 0340 5364]: "Thirty-three Advanced Units Doing Intellectual Work Receive Awards: City Party Committee and Government Hold Conference Requesting All Enterprises To Make Further Efforts To Create a Better Situation in the Work on Intellectuals"]

[Text] During our city's first conference for advanced units doing intellectual work, 33 units including Tiexi District and the University of Chinese Medicine received awards from the city government and CPC committee (the list of names will be published elsewhere].

The conference was held on the afternoon of 25 December by the city party committee and the city government at the Shenyang Guesthouse. The conference lasted only 2 hours. The units awarded were not given money or gifts, just plaques of merit. Everyone attending was also given a cup of tea.

The Deputy secretary of the Shenyang City party committee, Zhang Chenglun [1728 2052 0243], spoke at the conference, and the vice mayor, Li Zhanglu [2621 0022 7627], made a summation of our city's efforts on the part of intellectuals during the most recent past. It was pointed out at the conference that since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Central Committee our city has included work on intellectuals as an important item on the agenda. A great number of unjust charges and cases as well as problems left over from history have been resolved. Over 16,400 intellectuals have joined the party, and over 2,500 have risen to leadership positions above the county level. Many intellectuals whose specialized jobs were not to their liking have been able to make changes and get reasonable transfers. The housing difficulties of more than 28,000 intellectuals have been taken care of. The city has sought widespread distribution of "preferential medical treatment cards" and increased supplies of rice and flour for mid-level intellectuals. Also in the past few years over 2,300 intellectuals have gone abroad for study and on inspection tours.

It was concluded at the conference that the characteristics of experience common to all advanced units doing intellectual work were that the leadership places importance on intellectuals and honestly strives to solve their problems and that the vast majority of workers value knowledge and respect people of talent, so that intellectuals are able to employ fully their intelligence and knowledge.

The conference requested that all levels of party and government officials in the city strive to raise their consciousness of the immense significance of the work on intellictuals. In order to combine the work on intellectuals with the attainment of major goals, the government must continue to carry out fully the requirements stipulated in the 13-year program for the policy on intellectuals. The government must get intellectuals to contribute enthusiastically to the four modernizations, and it must further improve its ideological work and guidance of intellectuals. All enterprises in the city must work together to make a new breakthrough in the work on intellectuals.

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NORTHEAST REGION

MORE WORK ON INTELLECTUALS POLICY PLANNED

Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by staff commentator]

[Text] Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Congress, in accordance with the arrangements and requests of the Central Committee and the provincial and city party committees, all levels of the city party organizations and related government organs have energetically carried out the policy on intellectuals. A great deal of work has been done, resulting in the mobilization of the intellectuals' enthusiasm to a greater degree.

However, from the standpoint of the actual situation throughout the entire city, there still is not a sufficient balance in the work done in regard to intellectuals. Some units have gone no further than to talk about carrying out the policy on intellectuals. Upon completing the stipulated 3-year plan for implementing the policy on intellectuals, some units have then cast aside the further pursuit of those goals. Still other units believe that the policy on intellectuals has already been carried far enough and that to continue on with it would be overdoing it. These incorrect ways of thinking should be cause for serious concern on the part of leading cadres at all levels, who should seek ways to resolve these problems in the process of carrying out the policy.

The basic reason these problem attitudes described above have appeared, in addition to the fact that people lack an adequately deep understanding of the significance of carrying out the policy on intellectuals, is that they also are blind where their work on intellectuals is concerned, seeing only their own accomplishments and none of the remaining probles. We want to overcome this blindness and the slack manner of implementing the policy on intellectuals. We need to raise consciousness of the policy and further increase the feeling of urgency in pursuing the policy.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has often exhorted the party to "cut out the empty talk and to get more real work done." Implementing the policy on intellectuals also needs this get-down-to-business spirit. Our leading cadres need to immerse themselves among intellectuals, understand their work, study their living situations, and attentively listen to their views and demands. The leadership should establish extensive friendships with intellectuals and sincerely aid them in solving some real difficulties. By ardently conducting their ideological work, the leadership should cause intellectuals to strive for improvement, to set lofty ideals, to attain peace of mind, and to strive uninhibitedly with one heart to contribute their intellectual capabilities to the four modernizations.

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NORTHWEST REGION

ELIMINATION OF BUREAUCRATIC WORK STYLE URGED

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Feb 86 p 4

[Article by Guang Ren [0342 0088]: "We Must Cure Ourselves of the Malady of Bureaucratism"]

[Text] Addressing a general meeting for cadres from central organizations recently, leading comrades on the CPC Central Committee demanded that all party members and cadres in central party, government and military organizations set an example for the entire nation in party style rectification. To bring about the rectification, which has a bearing on the overall situation, we must do many things, a critical one being a firm crackdown on bureaucratism.

Lenin once bitterly denounced the bureaucratic ways of leading proletarian party and government organizations as a "chronic malady" in the proletarian body politic. Several years ago, Comrade Deng Xiaoping sternly warned the party, "Bureaucratism has become a major and widespread problem in our party and political life." "It has reached intolerable proportions."

As the essence and characteristic of the exploiting class, bureaucratism has absolutely nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism and the socialist system. It is the amulet for a tiny minority of decadent elements within the party and is extremely damaging to the party's cause, the people's undertakings as well as the reform movement now in full swing.

Forgetting that they are public servants, leading cadres who behave in a highly bureaucratic manner pay only lip service to the party's cause and the general interest. Their irresponsible attitude to the people has deteriorated to an "intolerable extent." At the height of the flood, for instance, the water conservancy and electric power bureau chief of a certain city in the region went so far as to disregard the physical safety and properties of hundreds of thousands of people and chose to spend the time putting up a small kitchen at home. As a result, over 10 workers were drowned and a vast amount of state properties irrevocably lost.

However, what makes bureaucratism more damaging than the harm it has actually done is the fact that leading cadres in some departments still do not take its danger seriously enough. In some units, the leaders neither study the situation beforehand nor investigate it afterward. When something goes wrong and the higher authorities demand an accounting, they make a show of criticizing themselves and resort to such excuses as "lack of experience" and "mismanagement." Lamely declaring that it "was just testing the water," they will then close the case. If you ask them how to make good the property losses suffered by the state, they will say, "Too bad."

The presence and growth of bureaucratism has done a good deal of harm to the party's cause. It has tarnished the party's public image, undermined its reputation and caused the state and the party severe political and economic losses. We must attach great importance to this problem and take strong measures to check and eliminate it.

At present this region has basically completed the second stage of party rectification. Throughout the countryside, party rectification is now under The bulk of units have reformed themselves as they rectified, with a way. notable improvement in the party style and cadres' conduct. Nevertheless, a minority of units still fail to take the problem of bureaucratism seriously enough, and since their crackdown is superficial and halfhearted, people guilty of bureaucratism remain firmly entrenched. We must change this situation -- by putting together a task force to investigate serious economic criminal cases in the units, set the facts straight and pinpoint responsibility. People who have ignored the party's and people's interests or whose dereliction of duty has led to substantial state property losses must be dealt with in strict accordance with the law. We must hold them accountable for their actions, dismissing, expelling from the party or prosecuting those who should be thus treated. There are individuals who occupy leadership positions but fail to do a stroke of work, are not highly motivated, do not have an iota of professional expertise and are content to remain ignorant for life. We must resolutely remove them from their positions. In selecting people to fill top jobs in the departments, we must adhere to the personnel standards reiterated at the latest National Party Congress. Instead of filling a job with an incompetent individual, it is better to leave it vacant. Under no circumstances should we appoint a person just for the sake of making up a number and thereby do great harm to our undertaking. Even more important, we must practically improve our systems, rules, regulations and laws. Only that way can we completely smash the "iron rice bowls" of the minority of people who behave bureaucratically and transform our leadership style.

At a general meeting convened by the autonomous regional CPC committee not long ago for leading cadres from organizations directly under the region, leaders on the committee exhorted organizations in the region to set an example for the entire nation in party style rectification and make an effort to improve the party style basically. Carrying on the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who moved the mountain, we must act now and exert ourselves for the sake of fundamentally improving the party style and social tone in the region.

12581 CSO: 4005/541 NORTHWEST REGION

COMMENTARY CRITICIZES POLITICAL LIBERALISM

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "Political Liberalism Must be Checked"]

Some organizations these days suffer from lax discipline and are [Text] engulfed in a wave of political liberalism. The chief manifestations of surging liberalism include a failure to study and execute the party's policies and principles and heed criticisms and exhortations and a refusal to put forward suggestions via the regular channels, choosing instead to air their views as they please, regardless of whether the forum is appropriate or Some people even spread dissatisfaction with the party's line, otherwise. principles and policies, go to great lengths to find fault with them and make no serious attempt to combat the unhealthy trends pointed out by the CPC Others have a weakness for rumors; the moment they get Central Committee. wind of some gossip and even malicious slander, they believe and spread them Yet others consider themselves "amateur director of the right away. organization department" and wilfully pass judgment on cadre assignment and All these extremely dangerous and unhealthy trends must be stir up trouble. firmly opposed.

According to some comrades, provided we stop people from abusing public office for personal gain, investigate cases of economic crime and punish the culprits, we shall have rectified the party style and solved our problems. The making of irresponsible political remarks is dismissed as a "trivial" matter. As a result, instead of being indignant at, exposing and criticizing people responsible for the existence and proliferation of political liberalism, these comrades even echo and agree with them thoughtlessly. Clearly their action and attitude are totally misguided. In fact, it is exactly in localities and become where political liberalism is rampant that people departments ideologically confused and accomplish little and nothing gets done. The resultant damage to our undertakings is no less than that caused by people who abuse public office for personal economic and other interests. How can we turn a blind eye to and refuse to resist and correct an unhealthy trend like this which is highly damaging to party and public interests?

Some comrades regard their political liberalism as a form of honesty. This is turning things upside down. Communist Party members should be faithful to and frank with the party. But this in no way means that a member can make comments contradicting the party's line, principles and policies as he pleases, heedless of whether the occasion is appropriate and even spreads disaffection.

To overcome political liberalism effectively, we must begin by educating cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres. Their party consciousness and sense of responsibility to the party should be enhanced so that they will on their own initiative stay in line with the party politically and ideologically. Then, leading organizations at all levels must take the lead in bringing about a good party life and promote democracy within the party to enable party members to express fully their opinions through regular channels. Good proposals should be accepted while an effort must be made to explain mistaken ones and provide guidance. All party members must take part in party activities and accept party supervision. Third, discipline must be strictly enforced. People who engage in bourgeois liberalization must be criticized and educated. Those who seriously violate the law of the land and party discipline must be severely punished.

We should make the drive against political liberalism an important part of the current effort to correct the style of provincial organizations.

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BRIEFS

PROBLEMS IN CADRE WORK--There are four problems in cadre work today. 1. We have been too slow in promoting some cadres. Some localities fail to select cadres who should be selected and appoint those who should be appointed. Their excuse for constant procrastination is that the cadres are "immature." 2. Sometimes cadres are not chosen properly as a result of less than thorough There is an exclusive emphasis on educational and technical investigations. qualifications to the neglect of their political and ideological qualities. 3. Some localities are too rigid, as in calculating the age of technical As soon as a person reaches some mandatory age, he is told to leave. cadres. We should be more flexible when it comes to the age of research personnel. Some localities have gone too far. One unit has promoted a person just 4. 2 years out of college and lacking any practical experience to be the deputy head of a hospital. This is not selection in accordance with the "four transformations" criteria. To analyze and select a cadre takes a lot of practice. We must evaluate cadres comprehensively and come to grips with the major points. [Text] [Xian ZHIBU SHENGHUO [PARTY BRANCH LIVING] in Chinese No 1, 5 Jan 86 p 15] 12581

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JPRS-CPS-86-032 24 April 1986

TAIWAN

NEW KMT CENTRAL STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS NAMED

HK311112 Hong Kong AFP in English 1049 GMT 31 Mar 86

[Excerpts] Taipei, March 31 (AFP)--Education Minister Lee Huan, a young technocrat and two native Taiwanese ministers were Monday named new members of the Central Standing Committee of Taiwan's ruling nationalist party, the Kuomintang (KMT). They are to replace four senior members, boosting the number of native Taiwanese in the KMT's highest policy-making body from 12 to 14.

The recruitment of Mr Lee, 69, considered a possible candidate to succeed Mr Chiang and a former director of the KMT Organisation Department, came as no surprise to observers here.

The nomination of the three young rising stars--including National Science Council [Chairman] Chen Li-an, 48, Taiwanese Justice Minister Shih Chi-yang, 51, and another Taiwanese, Interior Minister Wu Poh-hsiung, 46--was also expected.

Mr Wu is to be the youngest member of the Central Standing Committee.

The nominations were approved unanimously by the some 880 top KMT officials attending the Third Plenary Session of the KMT's 12th Central Committee.

Leaving the Central Standing Committee are: Sun Yun-chuan, 72, who retired from the post of premiership two years ago after a stroke and now serves as the president's adviser, and Ma Chi-chuang, 73, who last year became chairman of the Association of East Asian Relations, Taiwan's quasi-embassy in Japan.

Also leaving are: Yen Chen-ching, 73, chairman of the Atomic Energy Council, and Chao Tsu-chi, 73, secretary general of the KMT's Central Committee.

/6091 CSO: 4000/211

TAIWAN

BRIEFS

WEAPON THEFTS BY DESERTERS--The government was urged yesterday to tighten control of weapons and ammunition in the nation's armed forces and strengthen moral education programs for servicemen. Legislator Hung Chao-nan, in a written interpellation, said there are about 1,600 military deserters still at large in the country. As most of them take guns and bullets while slipping away from their military posts, their action seriously threatens public security, he said. It is estimated that the amount of the military equipment which has been stolen is enough to equip an Army battalion, he said. Investigations showed that more than 60 percent of the bullets left at the sites of recent killings and violent crimes are from domestic arsenals, he said. Chang Hui-huan, spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, said yesterday the authorities have always carefully controlled military weapons and ammunition. Most of the missing weapons are recovered in a short time, he added. [Text] [Taipei CHINA POST in English 28 Mar 86 p 12 OW] /6091

KMT PLENARY SESSION PRESIDIUM MEMBER LIST--At its preparatory meeting held on 29 March, the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th KMT Central Committee adopted a motion made by Chairman Chiang on the composition of the Presidium of the plenary session. The namelist of members of the Presidium of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th KMT Central Committee consists of the following 12 persons: Yen Chia-kan, Li Teng-hui, Yu Kuo-hua, Ku Cheng-kang, Huang Shao-ku, Ni Wenya, Wu Po-hsiung, Sung Chang-chih, Chiu Chuang-huan, Hsu Heng, Huang Tsun-chiu, and Wang Ya-chuan. [Excerpt] [Taipei CHUNG KUO SHIH PAO in Chinese 30 Mar 86 p 1 OW] /6091

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HONG KONG

PAPER VIEWS HONG KONG'S ROLE IN SMUGGLING ARMS TO IRAN

HK300608 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 30 Mar 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Robert Karniol and Caroline Dewhurst]

[Text] Hong Kong is being used as a staging centre in the illegal smuggling of military material to Iran from the United States.

Bogus companies have been set up to take advantage of Hong Kong trade laws which allow the re-export of materials to the Middle East country.

Military equipment, including vital parts for jet fighters, have been ordered from the U.S. from the "companies" and then shipped out to Iran from Hong Kong. Two men, one who had been based in Hong Kong, were jailed in the U.S. last month for setting up an operation.

U.S. export controls to Iran were tightened in 1984. But now it has been revealed that a black market for military ware is still operating in Hong Kong.

The illegal trade began shortly after the start of the Iran-Iraq war in September 1980. It is continuing, although at a reduced rate, despite the stepping up of U.S. controls.

Most of the clandestine traffic is made up of aircraft parts and related material, although the SUNDAY MORNING POST has also learned of three small shipments of parachutes and an unsuccessful attempt to acquire 60,000 gas masks. Other recorded transactions include a shipment of helmets and another of small boats, although the types were unspecified.

In February this year two men were jailed for illegally shipping restricted material--gyroscopes for the navigation system of F-4 Phantom combat jets--to Iran. A third man wanted by authorities is believed to be in hiding in Europe.

Iran's consul-general in Hong Kong, Mr Said Zare, denies that Hong Kong is being used as a conduit for the military parts shipments.

He said: "We don't have any military trade with Hong Kong. If companies wanted to sell to Iran, they would not be allowed to. The U.S. would not supply these items."

Contradicting him are published Hong Kong Government re-export statistics together with statements by several locally based businessmen and U.S. intelligence sources.

The visible edge of this trade is not substantial in terms of value. Hong Kong-Iran re-export figures, with goods coming not just from the United States, were worth roughly U.S.\$10 million in 1984 and U.S.\$6.6 million last year. But these figures only reflect those goods which were landed in Hong Kong and therefore fully documented.

Trans-shipments--goods which transit through Hong Kong and are seldom checked by the authorities--are not recorded. But a U.S. intelligence source says there are "indications" that a further volume of strategic material bound for Iran passes through the territory in this manner.

An official at the American Consulate in Hong Kong said they had their eye on the subject. Officials were aware of the trade in aircraft parts by American companies to Iran through Hong Kong, but it was difficult to prove.

The trend shown in the published Government statistics (see chart) is equally significant as it indicates a dramatic shift in the nature of Hong Kong-Iran trade. Aircraft parts and related materials, which were never noted before 1981, last year accounted for more than half the total two-way commerce.

Previously, Hong Kong re-exports to Iran were topped by watches, bicycles and similar items.

This trade does not violate Hong Kong law. A spokesman for the Trade and Industry Branch said: "There does not appear to be any breach with the Import and Export Ordinance. Hong Kong's status as a free port is well recognized by its trading partners."

The extent to which this contravenes U.S. legislation is unclear as the Hong Kong Government will not elaborate on its published figures, or on the general categories under which it classifies commodities.

Because of this, it is difficult to identify the companies and individuals involved, although some payments appear to be made through the local branch of the Bank Melli Iran. A spokesman indicated as much while declining to comment.

The published information also leaves unclear what types of aircraft are being re-equipped. Iran is known to be seeking parts for Boeing 707s, Lockheed C-130s, McDonnell Douglas F-43 and Grumman F-14s, among others.

But it can be shown that at least some of the trade before September 1984 and much of the trade after that date is illegal under U.S. law, which applies to

goods originating in America. Most of the commodities--at least those documented--are of U.S. stock.

There is no general embargo on U.S. trade with Iran as the American Government was forced to lift its economic sanctions under the terms of the Algiers Accord of January 1981. This agreement also brought about the release of U.S. diplomats held in Teheran.

But domestic legislation falling outside the terms of the Algiers Accord, such as the Export Administration Act and the Arms Export Administration Act, has been used to limit U.S.-Iran trade.

Target items have been those with military application. This is not unusual. America normally regulates the export of military equipment.

On September 28, 1984 additional controls were applied to countries designated by the U.S. as supporters of terrorism, including Iran. One result has been that the trade ban on military aircraft parts--which can be difficult to define clearly--has since then also applied to commercial aircraft parts.

But the problem is that Iran Airways Industries, the agency which buys parts for the commercial airline Iran Airways, also buys spares for Iran's military planes.

Iran puts out weekly telexes to an estimated 60 to 80 approved suppliers worldwide. Most of the tender lists seek "nuts and bolts" equipment, standard stock hardware. But more unconventional parts are sometimes included among the ordinary.

One company on this tender list is Asia Airsupply Enterprises. Its managing director, Mr Liu, says he still does business with Iran "off and on" but so far this trade has not amounted to much.

He said the company first made a deal with Iran in 1980 and has since sold only small items for commercial aircraft.

Hong Kong Aircraft Engineering Company is also on the tender list. But it has refused to take new orders since late 1984 although invitations to tender continue to arrive.

Mr Ken Galpin, Haeco's marketing manager, said the Iranians first approached the company in 1981. The company had since sold them half a dozen orders of "no more than U.S.\$10,000-worth of stock hardware for commercial aircraft."

Iran has also asked Haeco to provide training in the overhaul of 707s. The company says it has not complied and does not plan to. "Boeing, Gulf Air and the U.S. Air Force are among our major clients," Mr Galpin said. "We have no wish to offend them." Another company which confirmed having traded with Iran is the N Mings group of trading companies which includes N Mings (Aeronautical). A spokesman said it was "accepted" even today that aircraft parts were sold from Hong Kong, although N Mings had only sold "general items." Business had stopped in 1984.

All three companies said their links with Iran had virtually stopped since the 1984 U.S. restrictions, but all confirmed that bogus operators were still trading on the black market.

Further proof of the trade has come from the court case in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1984 Assistant U.S. Attorney, Mr Jere Morehead, and his team learned that an Atlanta businessman named Pat Stevens was illegally shipping restricted material to Iran (and also Chile).

With his co-operation they identified his Hong Kong-based confederates as John McTavish, an Irish national operating under the name Aviation Enterprises, and J.C. Smith, an American national operating under the name Centurion Aviation.

Their activities included the sale to Iran of 11 gyroscopes for Phantom jets, shipped from Hong Kong on March 6, 1984, and worth U.S.\$159,000.

On March 20, 1984, this was followed by a consignment of 10 more gyroscopes worth a further U.S.\$135,000. And later that year a sample gas mask was forwarded to Teheran in anticipation of a 60,000-unit sale which was never completed.

Subsequent court records show that Smith placed the orders with Stevens. McTavish received the shipments and then diverted them to Iran.

On May 16, 1985, McTavish was arrested in Seattle during a trip from Hong Kong to pick up still more gyroscopes. He had been set up: the boxes he claimed in fact contained telephone directories.

McTavish was convicted of 11 crimes on January 17, 1986, eight involving Iran and three involving Chile. These included conspiracy to violate the Export Control Act and conspiracy to commit wire fraud. He was sentenced on February 20 to five years in prison.

Stevens, who co-operated with the court, is currently serving a three-year prison sentence. And Smith is a fugitive, having fled on learning of McTavish's arrest.

How it's done. Stage One: A bogus operation is established in Hong Kong, apparently trading as a legitimate business. It is used to order military materials from the U.S.

--Stage Two: As there is no law against such goods being traded between the territory and the U.S. the operators are given legal export licences to carry out this part of their operation. --Stage Three: When the goods arrive in Hong Kong they are immediately transshipped to Iran. Because they are not being offloaded and there are few restrictions on trade with Iran, customs inspection is difficult.

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--Stage Four: The goods are then legitimately re-exported to Iran without infringing any Hong Kong laws.

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HONG KONG

HONG KONG GROUPS COMBINE TO FORM POLITICAL BODY

HK300536 Hong Kong HONG KONG STANDARD in English 30 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by Chalina Ching]

[Excerpts] A new political entity is about to rise out of Hong Kong's fledging grassroots movement.

Modelled like a political party--with a platform on the political, economic, and social aspects of the territory--it will not be one in name, as political parties are still taboo to the Chinese and British Governments.

A spokesman for the political group, in the formation stage for more than a year, said it will be officially registered when translation of the constitution into English has been completed. He declined to reveal the name chosen for the group, but said it should be going public in a month or two.

Although the group is new, many of its members are no strangers to the public.

And the Association for Democracy and Justice, which stated it was an election-oriented group when it was set up last year, will most likely be dissolved and its members joining the new group.

Another feature of political entity is that no member will be permitted to belong to other political organisations, unless they are strictly opinion groups and not action-oriented.

This is a new scenario for Hong Kong, where it is common for candidates to hold dual or even triple membership.

The political aspiration of the group is to install the democratic process in Hong Kong. To bring this about, the core members see support from the grassroots as an important element to the group's success.

"We need their support and we also need to educate them the importance of democratisation," the spokesman said.

However, he stressed that the group, unlike pressure group, is not fighting for the benefits of the lower class. The group has been very careful in wording its platform so as to avoid giving an impression that it is advocating "free lunches."

After its registration, the group will start recruiting more members from different social classes.

Since many of its potential members--such as Mr Lee Wing-tat and Mr Frederick Fung--have held offices in public services for quite sometime, they will bring a long list of contacts to the new group.

The group hopes to consolidate its base in the next two years to allow their members to participate in the district board elections in 1988.

"No matter whether there is direct elections to the Legislative Council [Legco] in 1988 or not, Hong Kong needs political groups of this kind to push forward democratisation," the spokesman said.

"If there is direct polls to the lawmaking body, we will try our best to grab seats. If there is none, which I think will not happen, then we will try to grab as many seats on district boards as possible, so as to field members to Legco through the electoral college of the board."

He added: "Members will stand with a similar platform, based on the one of the group."

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HONG KONG

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BRIEFS

CURRENCY BLACK MARKET PROBE--China has sent two police officers to Hong Kong to investigate the rampant currency black market in southern Chinese cities. Sources say the two Interpol officers were due in the territory, reportedly for talks with Commercial Crime Bureau officials on the currency black market in mainland cities close to Hong Kong. Beijing is thought to [be] worried that the currency deals are disrupting renminbi rates, and despatched the two top officers to Hong Kong. There is no usual direct Interpol link between China and Hong Kong, but this is seen as a special case. [Text] [Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 2 Apr 86 p 1 HK] /6091

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