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JPRS-CPS-86-024

11 March 1986

19981028 114

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

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11 March 1986

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

MIDEAST PEACE EFFORTS REVIEWED

BK141000 Beijing in Thai to Thailand 1330 GMT 8 Feb 86

[Report: "Observing Mideast Peace Discussions from a West European Perspective"]

[Text] The Arab countries and Israel recently stepped up diplomatic activities in West Europe concerning the Middle East peace talks. On 21 January, King Husayn of Jordan ended a 2-week private visit to Great Britain.

From 10 to 29 January Israeli Prime Minister Peres visited the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the FRG respectively. U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Middle East Affairs Murphy shuttled between London and The Hague and held talks with Husayn and Peres respectively. On 28-31 January President Mubarak of Egypt visited France and the FRG.

Over the past 10 years, Arab countries have made significant efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. Middle East peace talks gained momentum especially after the conclusion of the Jordan-Palestine agreement in February 1985. However, there was a lack of response from Israel, backed by the United States, which even went so far as to bomb the PLO headquarters in Tunisia on 1 November 1985, an act tantamount to bombing the path leading to peace in the Middle East. It resulted in another stalemate in the Middle East peace talks. When talks between Jordan, Palestine, and Israel stalled, there was a widespread appeal for the holding of an international conference on the Middle East. This is the explanation for the recent flurry of diplomatic activities by the Arab countries and Israel in West Europe.

Reports had it that the diplomatic activities reflect the fact that Israel's stand on the major issues to be discussed at an international conference on the Middle East is in sharp contrast to that of the Arab countries as well as the stand adopted by West European countries. They also reflect the intentions and ideas behind calls for holding an international conference. Mubarak wanted the talks to be held based on the equality of both parties and balancing the survival of Israel with self-determination for the Palestinian people without any preconditions. King Husayn wanted Israel to concede territory in exchange for peace. But Israel stood firm on both territory and peace and rejected any right to self-determination of the Palestinian people.

Peres told the FRG weekly review DER SPIEGEL that Israel is determined to create preliminary conditions to achieve peace in the West Bank, at least a peaceful coexistence between Israel and the Arab people. It is clear to see from Peres' statement that Israel wished the international conference to create preliminary conditions enabling it to continue establishing communities in the West Bank thus making Israel occupation of the Arab territories permanent. According to a DPA report, Bonn rejected Israel's Middle East policy. Chancellor Kohl wanted Israel to give clearcut recognition to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

The crux of the conflicts of the various parties is the problem of representation of the Palestinian delegation at the international conference. Peres accused PLO leader 'Arafat of posing a major obstacle to the peace talks and insisted on keeping the PLO out of the conference. He threatened that the Palestinian people had to choose between the PLO or the settlement formula, either one or another, not both. In London, Peres attacked the stands adopted by the various West European governments calling for a role for the PLO in the peace talks. He even tried to convince King Husayn to give up efforts to support 'Arafat and have other Palestinian leaders represent 'Arafat.

British leaders consider it unrealistic and even dangerous to seek a solution to the Middle East problem through talks with Jordan that leave out the PLO and ignore opposition by Syria and other Arab countries.

Based on reports from West Europe, the perspective of the Middle East peace talks does not look good. In fact, Israel's determination to push ahead with its policy of aggression and expansion is the real obstacle of the fair and permanent settlement of the Middle East peace problem.

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CSO: 4207/173

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

COMMENTARY RAPS INTERCEPTING OF LIBYAN JET

BK141010 Beijing in Thai to Thailand 1330 GMT 9 Feb 86

[Unattributed commentary: "The United States Exposes Itself in a Terrorist Incident"]

[Text] On 4 February a new terrorist incident occurred in the Middle East when Israeli fighter planes blatantly intercepted a Libyan passenger plane flying an international aviation route and forced it to land at an Israeli base. The world community has been unanimous in condemning this act of terrorism which infringers on civil aviation freedom, but the United States has chosen to defend the Israeli crime, tantamount to exposing its own undignified stand.

Libya has exposed that the Israeli act of terrorism was abetted by the United States, disclosing that the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean Sea provided intelligence on the Libyan civilian plane to Israel. World public opinion has accepted this expose. The U.S. State and Defense Departments immediately rejected it but have not been able to refute U.S. involvement. The U.S. State Department's statement says the United States opposes interception of aircraft in times of peace, but it also says that interception is legitimate under special counterterrorism circumstances. Clearly, this is an obvious defense for Israeli air terrorism and matches Israel's lame allegation that the Libyan passenger plane may have been carrying individuals planning terrorist attacks on Israel.

The U.S. statement's wording means that antiterrorism can be used as a pretext for freely committing acts of terrorism, even using military forces to implement the policy of terrorism, violating other countries' sovereignty, and trampling upon international law. In fact, the United States has already done all that. In October 1985, the United States not only supported the blatant Israeli attack on the PLO headquarters in Tunisia, which resulted in many casualties, it also directed its Air Force to intercept an Egyptian passenger plane and force it to land at a NATO base, thus creating an incident unprecedented before anywhere in the world.

Now the United States has again brought out the old trick. On the one hand, it mobilized its Air Force in the Mediterranean to threaten Libya militarily.



On the other, it encouraged Israel to intercept the Libyan passenger plane, creating a new terrorist incident. All of this is based on the pretext of counterterrorism. However, the world community opposes all forms of terrorism and feels that terrorism should be countered by legitimate methods and that terrorism must not be used against terrorism. Whoever violates this principle which is recognized by the world community only exposes and isolates himself.

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CSO: 4207/173

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

### SOUTH ASIA'S STRATEGIC SITUATION EXAMINED

Beijing XIANDAI GUOJI GUANXI [CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS] in Chinese No 7, Sep 84 pp 1-7

[Article by Zhao Weiwen [6392 5588 2429]: "A Brief Discussion of South Asia's Strategic Situation"]

[Text] South Asia includes India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Maldives and other countries. It is bordered by the Himalyas to the north, the Bay of Bengal to the east, the Arabian Sea to the west and the Indian Ocean to the south. It occupies the center of the crescent area outside continental Eurasia. Geographically, South Asia connects the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and is in the proximities of the oil producing Gulf area and the shipping lanes of the Indian Ocean. It occupies a strategic location.

Looking ahead into the future of continental Eurasia, the Indian Ocean and the western Pacific as a whole, South South Asia will become increasingly important in the global strategic posture.

#### 1. The U.S., USSR, South Asia

South Asia was the British Empire's predominant base and passage way to the east in her pursuit of world hegemony. Since World War II and the ensuing decline of the British Empire, the basic strategic posture of the subcontinent has fundamentally changed.

In the early postwar period, the United States adopted the anti-communist, anti-Soviet, cold war and military siege type policies of "containment," and attempted to establish a military alliance and strategic defense line in Palistan through the Central Treaty Organization [CENTO]. CENTO was based on the "Baghdad Pact" first drawn up by the British (participated in by Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq; Iraq later withdrew.) CENTO was connected with NATO in the north, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in the east and was the central link in the Eurasian crescent vital to the encirclement of the Soviet Union. Under the historic conditions at that time, Pakistan was a member of CENTO as well as SEATO, and India was excluded from the Soviet encirclement. The United States tried to establish the non-alignment India as Asia's "window of democracy" through economic

aids to counter the influence of the new China. The late U.S. President John F. Kennedy publicly declared that "we hope India would emerge as the winner in her race against Red China." Subsequently, following the emergence of the people's liberation movements in Asia and Africa, the British retreated strategically from east of Suez; the U.S. invasion of Vietnam failed, SEATO disintegrated in 1975 and was officially abolished in 1979. In the same year, Pakistan withdrew from CENTO, and the Islamic revolution erupted in Iran. From western Asia to Southeast Asia, the U.S. chain of encirclement crumbled. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and the United States, in order to "contain" the Soviet's strategic expansion to the south, and to "protect" Middle East oil fields, adopted a series of policies to reinforce strategic deployment in the Middle East, the Gulf region and the Indian Ocean. At the end of 1981, it also decided to extend \$3.2 billion in military and economic aids to Pakistan within the next five years. But from the stand-point of the strategic situation as a whole, the U.S. military arrangements and power in the periphery of the crescent area have drastically diminished.

The Soviet "southern advance" followed in the wake of this gradual penetration of the U.S. strategic posture.

The Soviet "South Asia strategy" has long been closely watched by the West. A traditional western concept is: if Russia cannot make major breakthroughs in western Europe as well as the eastern and western flanks of northeast Asia, then she can only move towards western Asia and the subcontinent; otherwise she will not be able to gain access to warm water territories. According to Bhabani Sen Gupta, India's expert on East Asian and international affairs, the present Soviet South Asia strategy is to "lump Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka, to implement regional and security cooperation," and "the Soviet Union has escalated her involvements in areas from east of the Arabian Sea, past the Persian Gulf, extending towards the subcontinent and reaching into Southeast Asia." Gupta felt that this "strategic concept" was formed subsequent to the end of the 1965 war between India and Pakistan when the Soviets successfully directed the conference in Tashkent. In fact it is the blueprint for the Soviet "Asian collective security."<sup>1</sup>

Since the mid-1950's, the Soviet policy in South Asia has been to emphasize her relation with India. Through support for and alliance with India, the Soviets intended to accomplish the following: compete with the United States for influence and markets in India; restrain China; and use India's influence in the Third World by making India a promoter, or at least a "tacit supporter" of Soviet foreign policies. After the Tashkent talks, the Soviet also attempted to befriend Pakistan to increase her influence in South Asia, but abandoned the idea when India opposed it vigorously.

According to Professor Bimal Prasad, chairman of the Institute for International Studies at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, before Nehru took office, he had researched "the question of which country would be in the position to invade India after her independence. His conclusion was that only the Soviet Union could." "Therefore upon India's independence, he

decided that India should avoid getting involved in the U.S. anti-Soviet global strategy. This could only be achieved by adopting a non-alignment stand."<sup>2</sup> When the fallout between the Soviet Union and China became apparent, India made full use of the Soviet support, and entered into a "peace, friendship and cooperation treaty" with the Soviets. According to P.R. Chari, former chairman of India's Center for National Defense Research and Analysis, "India's relations with the superpowers are centered around her relations with the Soviet Union." India can "obtain economic and technical cooperations from the west as well as political support and military cooperations from the east," and "India also serves as the lever in the Sino-American relations."<sup>3</sup> According to S.D. Muni, assistant professor, Center for South, Southeast and Central Asian Studies at the Nehru University, the reasons Mrs. Gandhi "unduely involved the Soviets in the affairs of the subcontinent was to maintain and enhance India's position in the subcontinent."<sup>4</sup> Bhahani Sen Gupta believed that the "nucleus of the friendship between the Soviet Union and India is the strategic compromise between the Soviet Union as a superpower and India as a regional power."<sup>5</sup> These views perhaps revealed the motives behind India's "Indo-Soviet cooperation."

Today, the Soviet Union has helped India to establish more than 70 large-scale industrial and mining projects (including capacities to produce 13.5 million tons of steel, 100,000 tons of aluminum, 6.5 million tons of iron-sand, 13 million tons of petroleum, 47 million tons of coal and 125,000 tons of heavy machinery.) Trade between India and the Soviet Union is expanding. Between 1980 and 1983 there has been a 55 percent increase, totalling 31 billion rupees (\$3.1 billion); this year it will increase to 38.4 billion rupees. Sixty percent of India's exports to the Soviet Union are industrial goods. The Soviets have trained over 100,000 technical personnel in India and have extended \$4.6 billion in military aids (of which \$2.6 billion were promised after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.) India has consolidated her military expansion plans. Since 1962, troops have increased from 550,000 to 1.1 million and the national defense budget has increased from 3 billion rupees to 59.4 billion rupees in 1983-84, an increase of almost 20 times; and arms productions are worth 7.6 billion rupees annually (1981-82 figure.) The 20 year "peace, friendship and cooperation treaty" with the Soviets specified that "in the event of imminent attacks or threats of imminent attacks, the parties shall immediately consult each other and take appropriate and effective actions." According to India's experts, "India's advantageous position in the past ten years has been achieved through her own military capabilities, the Soviet Union's friendship and the diminished capabilities of the United States in Asia."<sup>6</sup>

The Soviets' relative success in establishing the "special relationship" with India, in backing Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, and especially in the direct invasion of Afghanistan, clearly demonstrate that the Soviet Union has strengthened her position in the subcontinent as well as regions to the east and west. The Soviet Union's proximity to South Asia is a clear strategic advantage over the distant United States. Once the Soviets are firmly established in Afganistan, the pressure on Pakistan

and Iran will increase significantly, as well as potential Soviet involvement in Pakistani and Iranian affairs. With an air force base in Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, northern India, the oil producing Gulf region as well as northern Arabian Sea are all within the radius of Soviet fighters. The Soviet Union is, and will continue to be, the most powerful presence affecting South Asia. Henceforth, the Soviets will continue, and even expand, their South Asia-Indian Ocean strategy.

## 2. The Internal Situation of South Asia

Countries in South Asia have a long history of anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles. India has long been the leading advocate of the Bandung Conference, the Non-alignment Movement and the South-South cooperation; Pakistan currently is a "frontline nation;" Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka have taken clear stands in their anti-hegemony struggles. Therefore, this region is becoming more prominent in world affairs. However, South Asia has been unable to form a cooperative and united force mainly because there exists a divisive tendency within the region. This tendency is influenced by powerful nations outside the region as well as developments to the east and west of the sub-continent. The situation is quite complicated.

Among the seven nations in South Asia, India has an overwhelming advantage over the others: India occupies 72 percent of the total area of the region, accounts for 77 percent of the populations, 84 percent of the arable land, 79 percent of the gross national products and 64 percent of the foreign trade, (all 1978 figures.) India's military capabilities too, far surpass the others. A comparison of the military capabilities of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is as follows:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Total Troop Strength</u>	<u>Army</u>	<u>Air Force</u>	<u>Navy</u>	<u>Para- Military Units</u>	<u>National Defense Spending, (U.S.\$)</u>
India	1,104,000	944,000	113,000	47,000	260,000	\$5.26 billion (1981)
Pakistan	478,600	450,000	17,600	11,000	109,100	\$1.89 billion (1981)
Bangladesh	77,000	70,000	3,000	4,000	66,000	\$115 million (1980)

Source: "Comparison of Military Strength, 1982-83," compiled by the London International Institute for Strategic Studies.

According to Perala Ratnam, India's former ambassador to Laos and Indonesia, "India's neighboring countries are antagonized by her policy of great-nation chauvinism and her role as the big brother."<sup>7</sup> In the early days of her independence, while India was still in the process of consolidating her territories, the National Congress Party's number two man, Patil, had advocated annexing Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim; but the idea was rejected by Nehru. Nehru adhered to the British policy and signed separate treaties with India's three neighboring countries. These treaties specified that Sikkim would remain India's "protectorate;" India would act as Bhutan's

"charge d'affaire;" Nepal and Bhutan must "consult" India on matters of "national security" and could import arms only with the assistance and consent of India; Nepal and Bhutan's foreign trades must be conducted within limits set by India; and Indian citizens in Nepal and Nepali citizens in India have the same rights of residence, property and business in each other's territories. According to Professor Muni's article cited earlier, at that time, India was trying to form a "multilateral strategic community" through these treaties in order to "protect and promote India's security and strategic advantages." This roused the suspicions of the neighboring countries who began to look for other friendship and support. In the 1960's, while maintaining their relationship with India, these smaller countries also began to develop relations with China and other neighboring countries. Pakistan designated her friendship with China as the "fundamental principle" of Pakistani foreign policy, and followed Nepal in signing a border agreement with China. On the other hand, subsequent to her 1971 agreement with the Soviet Union, India intervened in the conflict between east and west Pakistan, and in 1975 annexed Sikkim and stationed a huge army there (according to Indian reports, there were 45,000 troops and Sikkim's population was only 3.15 million.) These actions intensified the fears of the small neighboring countries. They vigorously sought friendship and assistance from the United States and other western nations as well as other Islamic countries in western Asia, and at the same time strengthened their relations with China. India believed that as a regional power, she had the right to develop broad foreign relations and assistance, while its small neighboring countries did not. Well-known Indian strategist, K. Sibrabmanyam, chairman of India's Center for National Defense Research and Analysis, clearly explained in his book. "Indian Security Prospects," published in 1982, that "because of her poverty, India is unable to comply with the request of her neighboring countries for help; therefore these countries must seek help, and even free military equipment, from rich countries outside the regions." But their situation is quite different from India's situation: "because of her vast territory and her position in the global strategy of the superpowers, India managed to get assistance and at the same time maintain her non-aligned and independent position, a position unattainable by Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal." He went on to say: "Undoubtedly all nations in the world are equal. But India has 1/7th of the world's population, and her share of the advantages cannot be equal to that of a nation with a much smaller population. India must reject any and all propositions that might undermine her security; the Nepal peace zone and neutrality proposal is an example."

South Asia also has serious racial and religious problems which cut across national boundaries. For examples, the Punjabis are found in India and Pakistan; Nepalese are found in India, Nepal and Bhutan; Biharis are found in India, Bangladesh and Nepal; Tamils are found in India and Sri Lanka. Other examples, 11 percent of India's population are Muslims, 85 percent of the Nepalese are Hindus, 17 percent of Buddhist Sri Lanka's population are Hindus. This complex racial and religious relationships often create internal conflicts which spill over into neighboring countries, causing tension among them. But India is still the center of conflicts because

India is in the middle of the sub-continent, sharing common borders with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan, and is separated from Sri Lanka only by the narrow Palk Strait. The other six nations do not share common borders. Besides, India is by far the strongest among those countries.

Mutual economic assistance is rare in South Asia. Intra-regional trade is minimal. For example, in 1978, intra-regional trade only amounted to \$923 million, representing 3.8 percent of the region's total annual foreign trade (\$24 billion). \$923 million, India's trade with the other South Asian countries totaled \$290 million, representing 1.8 percent of India's total foreign trade. This situation is caused not only by political factors but also because India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and the other countries need large amounts of foreign aids, technical equipment and petroleum. None of them can satisfy the needs of the others. India has no intention of balancing her trade surpluses with her neighbors. So they must concentrate on developing economic relations with the outside world for foreign aids. India has a foreign debt of \$18.7 billion mainly to the West.)

Since the Soviet Union's invasion of Afganistan, there has been a new movement towards regional cooperation in South Asia. This movement was initiated by the late President Sheikh Rahman of Bangladesh. In May 1980 he proposed a South Asian summit meeting to discuss regional cooperation. It was enthusiastically supported by Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives; but Indian and Pakistani stands were less clear at the time. Well-known Indian reporter [Kuerdipu Nayaer] reasoned that India "is concerned that her neighbors might band together and interfere with her independent stands" and therefore "prefers bilateral contacts." Pakistan, on the other hand, "is worried that India would control this kind of regional organization and would rather hitch a ride with the Islamic countries." But after several discussions, there have been six conferences of foreign ministers since April 1981. The first meeting of foreign ministers was held in early 1983 in New Delhi. Although the conference did not discuss the bilateral questions or any other conflicts, it was an historic event in itself. The conference formally ratified the South Asian Regional Cooperation Proclamation, and the regional cooperation joint action principle and joint declaration. They decided to meet annually and proposed a seven-nation summit conference. They also decided to implement regional cooperation in the areas of agriculture, rural development, communications, meteorology, sanitation, population studies, transportation, postal service, technology, physical education, culture and fine arts. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi declared at the opening ceremony that regional cooperation would include short term policies as well as long term plans. Short term policies include exchanging information, experts and research results, and training personnel and organizing discussions. Long term plans include establishing a regional cooperation organization, establishing and reinforcing relations between government offices. The second conference of foreign ministers took place as scheduled in Maldives in July of this year. The first South Asian Seven Nation Summit Conference is scheduled for next year.

Many people with in-sight are vigorously promoting regional cooperation in South Asia. Analysts from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have initiated a "South Asia Cooperation and Development Study Committee," and drafted a list of research topics pertaining to the question of regional cooperation. Activities of this committee are sponsored by the Asian and Pacific Economic and Social Council and other international organizations. In late 1982, the Pakistani Strategic Research Center sponsored an international conference on "South Asia's Peace and Security." In February 1984, the Pakistani MUSLIM NEWS sponsored a "South Asia Cooperation Symposium." At that meeting, experts from India and Pakistan patiently exchanged views.

During this period, although there have been ups and downs in India's relations with her neighboring countries, on the whole, development has been towards moderation. This was most apparent at the meeting between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Pakistani Prime Minister Zia-al-Haq in November 1982. It relaxed the tension between the two countries, tension which often stemmed from the fact that India and Pakistan were getting military aids from the Soviets and the United States, respectively. India has also increased economic assistance towards her neighboring countries: she has promised Bhutan 3.3 billion rupees in financial aid by 1987; total aid to Nepal has increased to 1.7 billion rupees, and in late 1982, India also promised Bangladesh 600 million rupees in aid. India has separately established ministerial-level joint economic committees with Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan.

There are external and internal factors, short term as well as long term causes for the launching of the South Asia regional cooperation and the moderation of relations between India and her neighboring countries:

(1) India and her neighboring countries need a moderate situation. Although India strongly opposes U.S. military aids to Pakistan, she acknowledges that Pakistan has the right to safeguard her territorial integrity. According to some western analysts, "although New Delhi continues to take advantage of Pakistan's border problems to the north and the west," and "often incites internal dissatisfaction and separatist movements in Pakistan," "on the whole, India wants the region to remain stable and to maintain the status quo. She does not want to see Pakistan split up into four or five nations." "Rather than facing three of four non-viable countries which might eventually become other nation's puppet states, India would rather deal with a Pakistan which can survive and which does not pose genuine threats to India."<sup>8</sup> As for Bangladesh, India worries that the "weakness, poverty and over population" there will lead to an influx of Bangalis into neighboring Indian states, creating instabilities in the area. Emil Fredericks [?] assistant professor at the Institute for International Studies, Nehru University, pointed out that "because of geographic factors, internal instability in any of the neighboring countries will affect India's political system, in whole or in part."<sup>9</sup> At the International Conference on South Asia's Peace and Security in Pakistan, K. Subrahmanyam, head of India's Institute for National Defense Study and Analysis, also said: "Countries in the subcontinent should understand that



the collapse of India or Pakistan will be detrimental to the whole region; stabilizing the present structure will benefit all." Pakistan too worries about being attacked in front and rear; and the other countries are willing to make up with India to reduce tension." Therefore, although during the second half of last year there was a period of tension caused by disturbances stemming from India and Pakistan accusing each other of interfering in internal affairs, by border skirmishes between India and Bangladesh, and by disputes between India and Nepal because of the influx of Indians into Nepal, eventually, all parties remained self-restrained because everybody had sticky internal problems, and the political situation was unstable so that a calm regional environment was needed.

(2) India is concerned that the neighboring countries might "bring in outside forces to deal with what they see as threats from India."<sup>10</sup> That would undermine India's position as a "regional power." Since the invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has directly threatened South Asia on the one hand, and enhanced the "friendship" with India on the other hand. She has also tried to canvass the other South Asia countries. These countries, in order to fortify their own position and reap more favors, also continued to befriend India and China and maintained close relations with the United States and other western nation, but at the same time strengthened their contacts with the Soviet Union. They also showed an inclination toward closer relations with the subcontinent's east and west wings. K. Subrahmanyam pointed out that "Pakistan is trying to identify with West Asia; Bangladesh is trying to identify with South Asia, while Sri Lanka attempts to find the long lost common trait with the ASEAN countries."<sup>11</sup> In fact, Pakistan has proposed on several occasions the establishment of a "Islamic Defense Coalition." In November 1982, the Pakistani prime minister visited Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and other members of ASEAN; Sri Lanka has publicly requested admission to ASEAN; and the proposal of Nepal "peace zone" has the support of 38 nations.

(3) Among South Asian countries, the capitalists in India were the first to become interested in regional economic cooperation. The 1981 Yearbook COMMERCE, the mouthpiece for India's commerce and industries, published a 400-page special report entitled "South Asia Economy." It explored South Asia regional economic cooperation and analyzed its pros and cons. For example, the countries all share a common colonial background; the people's lifestyle, the government structure, the economic systems as well as product specifications are similar, and the close geographic locations also means savings in transportation costs. The report suggested that India should spearhead regional cooperation and dispel the fears and suspicions of the neighboring countries that India would assume a monopoly. It also suggested the launching of regional cooperation in food production, joint exploration of energy resources and induce foreign investments in the 1980's. According to the INDIA EXPRESS, former Pakistani Minister of Finance Dr. M Hassan [?] once proposed a detailed plan for India and Pakistan economic cooperation. In the past 3 years, India has repeatedly shown huge trade deficits (5.8 billion, \$5.5 billion and \$5 billion respectively.) Therefore there are increasing interests in developing intra-regional trades.

(4) India hopes to present a clear image of a peaceful neighbor during her term as president of the Non-alignment Movement, resume her position as leader among the non-alignment countries, and make a new effort to expedite a South-South and a North-South dialogue.

(5) The United States and the Gulf nations, especially Saudi Arabia, would like to see a reconciliation between India and Pakistan, to stop the Soviet Union's southern advance. India and Pakistan, on the other hand, have economic needs from these countries.

(6) Influence of other regional cooperation movements. Experts from both India and Pakistan often point out that the EEC not only has established western Europe as equals among the United States and the Soviet Union, but has also enabled Germany and France to bury their past grudges. The antagonisms between India and Pakistan also can gradually be resolved through regional cooperations.

### 3. Outlook on South Asia Strategic Situation

As discussed earlier, the Soviet Union's power in South Asia has increased significantly. It is not likely that the United States can return to the strategic postures of the 1950's. From now on one of the most important focus on South Asia strategic posture will be to observe developments in India, as well as the developments of the Soviet's relations with South Asia, especially with India.

India has not been able to make much progress in utilizing the Soviet Union's backing toward her plan to become a regional power. Rather, she has roused deeper suspicions among her neighboring countries. Not only is the "grand scheme" of creating a "India's Indian Ocean" difficult to realize, but the competition between the Soviet Union and the United States in the Indian Ocean has cast a deep shadow in the subcontinent, intensifying the development of a "crescent crisis." India's endorsement of the Soviet Union in the matters of Afghanistan and Cambodia has hurt her international reputation. Under these circumstances, in order to improve her image, as well as improve her position internationally and with the Soviet Union, Indira Gandhi has made some adjustments in foreign relations. Besides improving the relations with her neighboring countries as discussed earlier, other steps include improving relations with China to a certain degree: India conducted four rounds of cabinet level talks with China on the border question; the atmosphere has been friendly. India has also improved relations with western Europe and the United States and continued to obtain economic assistance as well as advanced technology from them: India has purchased late model jets and submarines from Britain, France, and the FRG. India hoists a banner of non-alignment and assumes the role of the "fore-runner" of the South-South Cooperation. But all these measures are under the premise that "friendship between India and the Soviet Union will not be compromised."

In conclusion, to forecast South Asia's future position and trends in international struggles, the following complicated relationships must be considered:

(1) The Soviet Union will strengthen her relations with India and continue her policies which confirm an alliance with India, the invasion of Afganistan and the involvement in Indo-China. At the same time the Soviets will broadly infiltrate other South Asian countries to further the "southern advance" strategy as well as restrain India. These will increase the potential conflict between India and the Soviet Union. The Soviets "welcome" the improved relations between India and the United States and between India and Pakistan to a certain degree. According to Bhabani Sen Gupta who attended the International Conference On Contemporary Questions in the USSR in August 1982, he understood from extensive contacts with relevant parties that "Soviet-Indian friendship is still the key to the Soviet's South Asian policy;" the Soviet Union "is not concerned with whom India is normalizing her relations, but is not willing to see India actively seeking a place in U.S. international relations;" the Soviet Union "welcomes" any non-combat treaty between India and Pakistan, especially a treaty which would prevent Pakistan from permitting U.S. deployment of military bases in the event of a "Persian Gulf crisis."<sup>12</sup>

(2) Even if there should be an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations, friendship with India will still be the Soviet's priority. Similarly, even though India has intentions to improve relations with China, her relations with the Soviet Union is her priority. B.S. Gupta's article cited earlier also revealed that "improvement of relations with China is at the bottom of the Soviet's agenda" and "the possibility of a Sino-Soviet reconciliation is still quite remote." According to a report in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, during her visit to the Soviet Union in September 1982, Indira Gandhi guaranteed that "India's effort to improve relations with China will not be at the expense of a trusted and tested friendship." The Soviet sent Yurichev [?] to Beijing for talks in October, soon after Mrs Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union. In June 1983 the Indian defense minister visited the Soviet Union and was promised the latest Soviet MiGs and tanks and other military equipment. In July, Gandhi's son, National Congress Party Secretary Rajiv, and family visited the Soviet Union and was given a reception normally reserved for heads of states. Rajiv emphasized in a TASS interview that the Soviet-Indian treaty is "the firm foundation of Indo-Soviet relations," and "an important milestone." "Indo-Soviet economic relations too will have great prospects." Soviet defense minister Marshal Ustinov was originally scheduled to visit India on 6 February, but the trip was canceled due to Andropov's death. The trip was undertaken on 5 March. The Indian government declared a 3-day mourning period in memory of Andropov. According to the INDIAN EXPRESS, during his visit, Ustinov "mentioned the 1971 treaty on several occasions, reiterating the Soviets' support of India in all probable unforeseen events."

(3) The countries within the subcontinent will increase communication and cooperation activities, but development of a strategic entity is unlikely. There will continue to be disputes between India and her neighboring countries. According to G.K. [Leidi], reporter for the HINDUSTAN TIMES, a paper often reflecting the official view, "Indian foreign policy in 1984 will emphasize improving relations with neighboring countries, and

According to the NATIONAL VANGUARD, which represents the views of India's National Congress Party, "it is erroneous to think that India's foreign policy is leftist or anti-West." "India and the Soviet Union may concur on major international issues, but when it comes to their own interests, they are not that harmonious."

From the above discussion of the outlook on the multi-level strategic relations inside and outside the subcontinent, we can surmise that within the next period in history, the Soviet Union and the United States will intensify their rivalry in strategic South Asia, and the influence of the Soviet Union will probably increase. The latent conflict between the Soviet's "southern advance" strategy and India's "regional power" demands may develop, but to a certain extent, India will continue her relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual exploitation while maintaining her principle of independence and self-determination. There will be continued, but gradual, improvements and strengthening of Soviet-Indian relationship. The Soviets will also attempt to improve relations with China in order to restrain the United States and to expedite the implementation of her South Asia-Indian Ocean strategy. China will adhere to her fundamental policy of anti-hegemony and preservation of world peace as well as peace in Asia. In continuing to develop relations with Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Maldives and other countries, China will simultaneously improve her relations with India and promote friendship between India and her neighboring countries.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "South Asia Strategic Environment in the Eighties," 1979
2. "India's Foreign Policies--Studies in Continuity and Change," 1979
3. "South . . ." op. cit.
4. "India's Foreign . . ." op. cit.
5. Article by Bhabani Sen Gupta in INDIA TODAY, 15 December 1980
6. Ibid.
7. "India's Foreign . . ." op cit.
8. Article by Leo E. Ross [?], editor of ASIAN SURVEY, in a book entitled "The Subcontinent in World Politics."
9. "South . . ." op. cit.
10. "India's Security Perspective," 1982
11. Ibid.

enhancing her position in the region," but India's neighbors should be reminded that they must not "put pressure on India."<sup>13</sup> K. Subrahmanyam said "although most people in India believe that the subcontinent is a strategic entity, people in the upper circles in Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka do not widely support this view." These countries "have much closer ties with the West than India does," and "there exists a fundamental conflict in security interests" between India and her neighbors which "prevents the shaping of a common concept of security threats." "Regional organizations like NATO, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, ASEAN and others are inappropriate in the subcontinent."<sup>14</sup> India's neighbors are ambivalent about improved Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian relations. They will continue to develop regional cooperations to give each other momentum. India will support these activities in order to protect her own status as a "regional power" and also to counter China's influence in the area. In "India's Security," published in 1983 and edited by U.S. Vajpayee [?] (India's secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, 1978-79,) it was clearly pointed out that one of the reasons behind India's desire to establish a "bilateral and multilateral cooperation entity" was to "establish an effective strategic force in South Asia to confront China."

(4) The United States, Japan, and Europe support the moderation of intra-regional relations and improvements in Sino-Indian relations. They feel that these will be the link in "containing" the Soviet's "southern advance" strategy, and they also maintain an attitude of tacit approval towards improved relations between China and India's neighbors. But they are basically concerned with the expansion of China's influence in the region, especially with the repercussions of an improved Sino-Soviet relations which could further change the "balance of power" in central Asia (western, South and Southeast Asia.) Therefore, their relations with South Asian countries will be strengthened. For example, France has already designated India as one of three key nations in her new focus on the Third World. In addition to the sale of the Mirage jets, France has replaced the United States as the supplier of enriched uranium to India. Besides supplying India with Jaguar jets, Britain, in November 1982, pledged 1.93 billion rupees (177 million British Pounds) towards the building of a thermal power plant in India; this sum represents Britain's largest single gift to a foreign country to date.

The United States is very much concerned about an intensification in the "crescent crisis." Therefore, besides continuing to place her "defense emphasis" on the Middle East naval and aerial controls, the United States will join other western countries in extending economic aids to India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and others, and strengthen ties with them in order to maintain U.S. influence in the region. For example, in July 1982, the United States extended Indira Gandhi an invitation for a visit. Her visit was followed by visits from leaders from Pakistan, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. India and the other South Asian countries too, are eager to continue getting economic and technical assistance from the West. (For example, annually, organizations for private investments have extended \$3.6 billion in aids to India, \$1.3 billion to Pakistan, \$1.7 billion to Bangladesh, and Nepal is promised \$542 million in the next 2 years.)

12. INDIA TODAY 15 Aug 1982

13. HINDUSTAN TIMES 7 Jan 1984

14. "India's Security . . ." op. cit.

15. INDIA TODAY 15 Aug 1982

12986/9190

CSO: 4005/406

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ABILITY TO DEAL WITH DIFFERENT OPINIONS PRAISED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by Li Ping [2621 1627]]

[Text] Nobody knows when we began to witness the emergence of the pursuit of "unanimity" and "consensus" at all levels and in everything we do as a show of unity and solidarity.

In a wide world of endless complexities and contradictions and in the wake of the unprecedented four modernizations launched by our party, how could there be complete consensus in everything while the thinking, experience, upbringing, and knowledge of the party cadres differ in thousands of ways? Absolute consensus simply does not exist. Contrived "consensus" will inevitably jeopardize the healthy political development of the party and the state. During the "Cultural Revolution" there was an apparent high degree of uniformity of opinions. In reality, however, it marked a period of extreme disunity in thinking. When discussions in search of truth emerged after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, opinions were so widely divided that there was no consensus at all. But a high degree of unity existed in the overall direction of the activities of the party and the majority of its members in the pursuit to liberate thinking and to bring order out of chaos.

Our party is a fighting entity with a unity of purpose. The emphasis on political agreement with the CPC Central Committee is to enable the party to develop fully its fighting capability. The consensus we set out to maintain is a consensus on the general line, the general direction, and the basic policy but it is not a complete consensus on everything and every issue. Otherwise, the CPC Central Committee would have no need, under the premise of political unity, to call on us to rely on our intelligence to weigh everything carefully without depending solely on one's superiors or books, to combine the things we do and the policies we carry out with the actual condition of the locality, department, or unit concerned, and to encourage the leaders at every level and all the party members to pursue creative work. If we all spoke in a single voice and followed a single method of work, it would not only contradict the principle of seeking truth from facts in our thinking and action but also undermine the party's principle of democratic centralism.

In his address at the CPC National Congress, Comrade Chen Yun reminded us: "Historical experience attests that it is not easy to practice democratic centralism." He pointed out emphatically that "the leadership at every level should bring democracy into full play and listen to all shades of opinions, especially different opinions." Normally, different opinions will always exist. Contending opinions are actually conducive to a comprehensive and correct understanding of different situations and to healthier policy decisions. Be sure to let people speak out, respect and listen attentively to different opinions, and be able to draw on the rational parts of diverse opinions. These are the manifestations of a confident and unswerving belief in truth, the kind of tolerance and quality required of every leader. The pursuit of formal unity and consensus based on disregarding or suppressing different views always leads to a meaningless, false, and unreal unity and consensus which are self-deceptive and ruinous. Such folly should be avoided.

5360/12624

CSO: 4005/316



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CRISIS FORECAST IN CHINA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM

HK190155 Hong Kong SEN WEI PO in Chinese 15 Feb 86 p 7

[Article condensed from "Weilai Yu Fazhan": "Ten Great Crises in China's Education"]

[Text] According to an analysis by some knowledgeable people, 10 great crises exist in the future of China's education:

First, the baby booms in China, in the 1960's and 1970's, will bring about two peaks in the number of school students and will bring great pressure to bear on China's education.

Second, there are now more than 200 million illiterates in China, and this may affect several generations to come.

Third, rural intellectuals, including teachers in rural schools, will continue to move to cities and agricultural modernization will be delayed. At present, there is one rural technician to every 3,200 rural people and every 6,000 mu farmland.

Fourth, China's education investment remains at a low world level.

Fifth, during the "Cultural Revolution" period, China failed to train 1.6 million university graduates. This was an irretrievable loss.

Sixth, at present, one third of the country's school teachers, or some 3 million people on the teaching staff, are incompetent.

Seventh, management education remains backward. Education in computer software, engineering, law, accountancy, commerce, consultation, banking, and various service trades is backward.

Eighth, the education level of workers is still low. Each year 200,000 to 300,000 people need to receive vocational education.

Ninth, for a long time, the educational policy has been unstable and has failed to adhere to a consistent orientation. Problems exist in schools' management, systems, teaching materials, and teaching methods.

Tenth, society pays too much attention to diplomas. A person's whole life may be determined by a single examination. This may lead people astray.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT, SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION DISCUSSED

Chengdu MAO ZEDONG SIXIANG YANJIU [STUDY OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT] in Chinese  
No 2, 25 May 85 pp 1-7

[Article by Liao Gailong [1675 5556 7127]: "Another Discussion of Mao Zedong Thought and the Building of Socialism With Chinese Characteristics"]

[Text] With the basic completion of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy in 1956, our country moved into the period of total socialist construction; this was the lengthy period of economic construction in which the social productive forces were developed rapidly so that the socialist economic pattern could fully play their role in replacing the spontaneous role of the capitalist economic pattern of private ownership. From the beginning of 1956, the Communist Party of China, under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, taking heed of the mistakes of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, searched for a path of socialist construction suited to China's conditions. As the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee pointed out, Comrade Mao Zedong's speech "On the Ten Great Relationships" of April 1956, the various reports and resolutions of the 8th Party Congress in September of the same year, and the basic theory and policy proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" are correct, and they will continue to have an important guiding significance, now and for a long time to come. Then, in the process of correcting the "leftist" tendencies in the "Great Leap Forward" and the communization of the countryside in 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong and other revolutionaries of the older generation further proposed many important ideas about socialist construction.

I have preliminarily discussed the important guiding ideology on socialist construction proposed by Comrade Mao Zedong after summing up the party's experience--or Mao Zedong's thought on socialist construction--in my special report, "Mao Zedong Thought and the Building of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics" in the national conference on Mao Zedong thought in November 1983 (the report was later published in WENHUI BAO; but that report is not complete and accurate and I have now revised and added to it as follows:

1. The Shift in the Focus of the Nation's Tasks and the Duty of Building a Modernized Socialist Country

On the eve of the founding of the nation and after the basic completion of socialist reconstruction, Comrade Mao Zedong had repeatedly pointed out

that we have to shift the focus of the nation's tasks to economic construction and technological revolution so as to achieve gradually the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology, thereby building our country into a great socialist nation and to make it possible for our economy to catch up or surpass the most industrialized nation on earth within the next 50 or 100 years.

2. The Policy of Socialist Economic Construction Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out that in order to develop our country's social productive forces rapidly, we have to develop agriculture and light industry rather rapidly and to plan the national economy according to the order of agriculture, light industries and heavy industries. We have to handle correctly the relationship between the center and regions, national defense and economic construction and coastal and inland areas. We have to pay attention to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and to make overall plans which take into consideration the interests of all the nationalities and people at all levels so that the active nature of the people of the entire nation could be mobilized to build a socialist country. We have to let the workers participate in management and cadres in labor and implement the "three unity" system unifying the workers, technical personnel, and cadres. At the same time while we strive to modernize agriculture, we also have to carry out the policy of placing equal emphasis on agriculture and forestry to guarantee the ecological balance, and to deepen and expand production through diversification in agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, secondary industry, and fishery. We have to develop a commodity economy, respecting the law of value and paying attention to the comprehensive balance of the entire national economy. In short, as far as the construction of a socialist economy is concerned, we have to take the "road of Chinese industrialization." In other words, we "have to self-reliantly carry out the revolution in industry, agriculture, technology and culture, to overthrow slavish ideology and bury doctrinairism."

### 3. Socialist Construction in the Nation's Political Life

Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out that because of the basic completion of socialist reconstruction, the antagonistic contradiction between the working class and the capitalists have been fundamentally resolved and class struggle has basically ended. Contradictions between the advanced and the backward, and correct and mistaken understandings, as well as those developing from differences in partial and local interests which are rooted in the basis of united common interest among the people have now emerged to assume a major role in the historical arena. Therefore, to handle correctly the contradictions among the people so as to mobilize all active factors to build a socialist country becomes the general, i.e., main topic of the nation's political life. In order to handle correctly the contradictions among the people, we have to expand the nation's democratic life, criticism and self-criticism and to realize the greatest possible democracy among the people so that the workers can effectively exercise the right to manage the country and economic and cultural enterprises (this is the workers' greatest and most basic right under socialist conditions). At the same time, there must be freedom among the people, but there must be discipline also; there must be

democracy, but there must be centralism also. Such a unity of democracy and centralism and freedom and discipline is our system of democratic centralism. Our objective is to create a political situation in which there are centralism and democracy, discipline and freedom, a unified will, and a happy and lively state of mind for the individual.

Although the reactionary force is a passive factor, we still have to do our work well to change the passive factor into an active one. In other words, after the overthrow of the political power of the reactionary classes and individuals, as long as they do not rebel, carry out sabotage activities or make trouble, we can also give them land and work to allow them to continue to live and to transform themselves and become new men through labor. If they are not willing to work, the people's state have to force them to work. Such transformation work for the reactionary classes can only be done in a country with a people's dictatorship led by the communist party.

There are still some, although not many, counterrevolutionaries after the basic completion of socialist reconstruction. Of course, such contradictions between the enemy and us which are based on the conflicts of basic interests between opposing classes are partial and local--not major--in a socialist society. Yet, as far as those opposing elements who resist socialist reconstruction and sabotage socialist construction, we must still implement dictatorship or autocracy. Such a dictatorship or autocracy for those opposing socialist reconstruction or sabotaging socialist construction is, for the victorious people, as indispensable as their daily necessities. This is a good thing, a magic weapon for protection and a cherished heritage. This magic weapon cannot be put aside until the day when foreign imperialist and classes in our country are totally eradicated.

#### 4. Socialist Construction in Ideology and Culture

Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out that the struggle to transform the world be the proletariat and revolutionary peoples includes the following tasks: transform the objective world and one's own subjective world--that is, to transform one's capability to understand and to transform the relationship between the subjective and objective world. In order to transform our capabilities to understand, our people must work hard to raise the level of scientific education and to overcome the backward state of our scientific education as quickly as possible. In order to transform the relationship between the subjective and the objective world, our people should use the scientific communist ideology of Marxism to educate themselves so that they can break away from the influences of external and internal reactionary cliques (such influences are still very great at present and will exist for a long time; they cannot be eradicated quickly), and change the bad ideologies and habits inherited from the old society. This lengthy process of using democratic methods for self-education and self-transformation within the whole country and for everyone is possible only after the founding of the people's state under the leadership of the communist party. In order to develop socialist scientific educational enterprises and use advanced ideas to overcome backward ideas, we have to implement the policy of democratic free competition and discussion--this is the policy of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." We also have to

carry out a cultural revolution (this refer to the improvement of the cultural level, not the domestic chaos of the "Great Cultural Revolution" with the word "great") and a technological revolution. As for those reactionary classes and individuals, such thought transformation requires a stage of coercion before entering the stage of self-consciousness. When the peoples of the world are self-consciously transforming themselves and the world, that is the period of world communism.

5. In the Realm of the Three Great Social Lives--Economic, Political and Spiritual--Mentioned Above, We Must Strictly Distinguish Between and Correctly Handle the Two Different Social Contradictions: Those That Are Among the People (This is Major) and Those Between the Enemies and Ourselves (This is Partial).

Comrade Mao Zedong has said that the handling of antagonistic contradictions and those among the people in a socialist society is a science which should be studied carefully. He also has said that admittedly, these two contradictions are confusing at times and we have indeed confused them in our work in the past. In the purge of counterrevolutionary elements, we have mistaken good people for bad: such cases have happen before and are still happening now. Our mistakes have not increased because our policies stipulate that we must distinguish clearly between ourselves and the enemies and that mistakes will be redressed. The correct handling of contradictions among the people is a general topic, but if we talk about it a lot and get used to it, we will not be fearful. We have to think through and discuss the contradictions among the people and after obtaining results from correctly handling a number of issues, we will gain experience and will no longer be afraid.

6. The Basic Contradictions in a Socialist Society and the Constant Reform and Improvement of a Socialist Productive Relationship and the Superstructure

Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out that in a socialist society, the basic contradictions are still those between the productive relationship and the productive forces as well as between the superstructure and the economic base. Yet such socialist contradictions are basically different in nature from similar contradictions in the old society. The socialist productive relationship has been established and it corresponds to the development of the productive forces; but it is still not quite perfect. Such imperfect aspects are contradictory to the development of the productive forces. Apart from the situation in which the productive relationship and productive forces both correspond to and are contradictory to one another, there is also the corresponding and contradictory relationship between the superstructure and the economic base. Such superstructure as the political system and law of the dictatorship of the people and the socialist ideology which uses Marxism-Leninism as the guide has provided a positive impetus for the victory of our country's socialist reconstruction and the establishment of socialist labor organizations. It corresponds to the socialist economic base, i.e., the socialist productive relationship. Yet, the existence of capitalist ideology, certain bureaucratic style in national organs, and the flaws in certain links in the national system are all contradictory to the socialist economic base. In the future, we must continue to resolve the above contradictions based on concrete situations.

Of course, new problems and contradictions will emerge after these have been resolved and people will have to take care of them.

Comrade Mao Zedong has stressed that contradictions in a socialist society and those in the old--such as a capitalist--society, are basically different. Contradictions in a capitalist society manifest themselves in violent oppositions and confrontations and in violent class struggle. Such contradictions can be resolved only through a socialist revolution, not by the capitalist system itself. A socialist society is different; the contradictions are not antagonistic and they can be resolved continuously through the socialist system itself.

Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific thesis that contradictions within a socialist society can be continuously resolved through the socialist system itself is closely related to the above mentioned thesis that in a socialist society, contradictions among the people have now occupied the major position, replacing the antagonistic contradictions between classes which have been relegated to a subordinate position. This is one of Comrade Mao Zedong's major contribution to the scientific socialist theories of Marxism.

#### 7. The Establishment of China's Modernized National Defense and the Strategy and Tactics of a War Against Aggression in the Future

Regarding this, Comrade Mao Zedong's important ideas can be summarized in the following three points:

First, in order to protect the fruits of our country's socialist revolution and construction, and to preserve the peace of the Far East and the world, we must step by step achieve the modernization of our national defense. China must have not only a strong army, but must also have a strong navy and air force as well as other technical forces. In order to destroy the nuclear monopoly of the two superpowers, China should also possess the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Second, the building of our modernized national defense should be based on a modernized economy. The reliable method to build a modernized national defense is to reduce, within a rather lengthy period, military and government expenditures to an appropriate ratio while increasing the expenditures for economic construction. Only when economic construction is developing more rapidly will there be a greater progress in the building of national defense.

Third, we have to study the strategies and tactics in anti-aggression wars under current conditions and we should be prepared to triumph over better equipped enemies. During the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the army, air force, navy, infantry, artillery, engineers, tank forces, railway corps, and signal corps of our volunteer army and the medical corps and rear-service units have obtained practical fighting experience against the invading American army. Our experience is that by relying on the people and with a relatively correct leadership, we can use our inferior equipment to triumph over better equipped enemies. Many of the ten major military principles proposed in the past will still be useful in the future, but some of them have to be supplemented and developed based on new conditions.

#### 8. China's Foreign Policy is Determined by the Nature of Her Socialism and Serves Her Socialist Four Modernizations

In the opening speech of the first session of the First National People's Congress in September 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out: "Our general task is to unite the people of the whole country, to win the support of all international friends, and to struggle for the construction of a great socialist country and for the preservation of international peace and the development of human progress." The foreign policy proposed in this general task clearly defines its peaceful and revolutionary nature (i.e., the nature of proletarian internationalism which promotes human progress). Comrade Mao Zedong has also repeatedly stated clearly that in the relationship between states, including those with similar or different social systems, our country will insist on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

In his talk "On the Ten Major Relationships," Comrade Mao Zedong has said that we should propose the slogan of learning from other countries. Our policy is that we should learn from the good points of every race and every country including everything that is really good in politics, economics, science, technology, literature and arts. Yet, we must learn analytically and critically, not blindly. We cannot copy and mechanically transfer everything and, of course, we do not learn their weaknesses and shortcomings. We should adopt such an attitude toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We should be determined to boycott and criticize every decadent system and ideological style of foreign capitalists, but this does not prevent us from learning advanced science and technology and those scientific aspects of methods of enterprise management in capitalist countries.

Since the end of the 1950's and the early 1960's, our people have, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, carried out a resolute struggle against the Soviet hegemonists who have vainly attempted to control our country and party and who have carried out such unreasonable actions as breaking faith in tearing up contracts and withdrawing experts and military intimidation through stationing millions of troops along our country's borders. Such struggles are absolutely necessary.

In his later years when Comrade Mao Zedong committed the "leftist" error of the "Cultural Revolution," he still grasped a basically correct foreign policy. He proposed the anti-hegemony and anti-imperialist strategy of the threefold division of the world and the important idea that China would never become a superpower. He also personally directed the opening of the new external situation of normalizing relations with the United States and Japan and developing economic and cultural exchanges with the United States, Japan, and Western Europe.

#### 9. Comrade Mao Zedong Pays Close Attention to and Has Proposed Many Important Ideas for the Building of Our Party as One Which Guides the Political Authority of the Whole Country.

In his report at the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong has already suggested the policy to prevent the corrupting

influence of capitalist ideology and stressed that the entire party must maintain the excellent style of being modest and prudent, not being arrogant and rash, struggling hard, linking up closely with the masses, developing the link between theory and reality and self-criticism. In particular, he stressed his opposition to the singling out and praising of one individual. In the early 1950's, Comrade Mao Zedong and the CPC Central Committee led the rectification campaign, the consolidation of the party, the "three-anti movement" and the struggle against the divisive anti-party activities of Gao Gang [7559 1511] and Rao Shushi [7437 3359 4258], thereby guaranteeing the successful completion of the socialist construction of the private ownership of the means of production. In the struggle against the divisive activities of Gao and Rao, Comrade Mao Zedong has stressed that as a communist party member holding power, especially as the party's leading cadre, one must pay attention to preventing oneself from falling into the despicable individualism of the capitalists from the noble quality of enthusiastically and wholeheartedly serving the people. After the completion of socialist reconstruction and the beginning of total socialist construction and at the same time when Comrade Mao Zedong put forth in 1957 the thesis of the two kinds of social contradictions in a socialist society, a new rectification movement against subjectivism, sectarianism and bureaucratism was initiated to make the whole party aware of the contradictions in a socialist society, to enable them to learn to handle correctly the contradictions among the people through the method of expanding democratic life and criticism and self-criticism so that the party and the country's political life could be guided toward the lively path of democratic centralism. In correcting the "leftist" mistakes of the Great Leap Forward" and the people's communes, Comrade Mao Zedong has also explained in detail in his talk during the enlarged work conference of the Central Committee in January 1962 the decisive significance of a healthy system of democratic centralism to the party's unity of will and action. He pointed out that only when democracy is fully manifested will there be correct centralism and the unity of thought and action.

#### 10. Comrade Mao Zedong Repeatedly Stresses the Significance of the Principles of Seeking Truth From Facts, the Mass Line and Self-Reliance to the Building of a Great Socialist Country

He said that dialectics should be taken from the circle of philosophers to the broad masses of the people in order to build a great socialist country. He has repeatedly pointed out that we lack the experience in socialist economic construction and for us, there are still many realms of necessity in the law of socialist construction that we do not know. Consequently, we have done many foolish things. Therefore, in summing up the mistakes of the "Great Leap Forward" and the people's communes, he reiterated the need to encourage study and investigation.

What should we study and investigate? In his work, "On Practice" written in 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong has generally summarized man's realm of social practice into the three processes of material production, class struggle and scientific practice (note: scientific practice is an important component of man's spiritual life). Such a summary is basically correct in a society with opposing classes and this is one of Comrade Mao Zedong's important



contribution to Marxist philosophy. In 1963, based on the above principles, Comrade Mao Zedong has again put forth a new topic, viz., production struggle, class struggle and scientific practice are the three great revolutionary movements in the building of a socialist country. From Comrade Mao Zedong's point of view, the outstanding contribution of such a topic is that the question of socialist construction should never be confined to the realm of material life (i.e., economic life) and should include such areas as political and spiritual life. Yet, based on Comrade Mao Zedong's own thesis of the two kinds of social contradictions put forth in late 1956 and early 1957, it would be more accurate to change the aforementioned "class struggle" to "social struggle" (i.e., the unity and struggle between individuals). In a society with opposing classes, such a type of "social struggle" (refers mainly to the struggle within political life) is basically class struggle (but it also includes the unity and struggle among the people); in the early stages of socialism, it is to distinguish and handle correctly the antagonistic contradictions (which is partial and local) and those among the people (which is major); after the total eradication of international imperialism and classes in the country, it is to use democratic methods to carry out advanced or backward, ideologically correct or erroneous struggle among the people, aiming to realize their own free union and consolidate and develop the mutual-aid and cooperative comrade relationship between individuals; it is also to coordinate the partial contradictions of interests among the people based on a basic unity of interests. From this perspective, what Comrade Mao Zedong has referred to as the three great revolutionary movements in the building of a socialist country is in fact our current total socialist construction and reform which, while having economic construction and reform as the core, includes the various areas of economic, political and spiritual life. However, it is now put forth in a more complete and accurate manner.

How should we study and investigate the law of socialist construction within the various realms? The most important thing is to follow three principles:

First, we should uphold the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and unifying theory and practice; in other words, we should use the stand, viewpoints and methods of Marxism to study socialist construction within the various realms of social life so as to elicit their inherent laws to act as the guides of our action.

Second, we must uphold the work and cognitive policy of the mass line. Comrade Mao Zedong has reiterated that human intelligence or correct thoughts are derived from the masses carrying out social practice. The party's leadership and even the entire Central Committee is a processing plant with the raw materials coming from the workers, peasants and the localities. Whether the products of this processing plant (ideology, plans and programs) are accurate or suitable depend on their being tested through the practice of the masses and, based on the results of such tests, they have to be revised, supplemented or developed. Comrade Mao Zedong has also said; what is the correct handling of the contradictions among the people? It is to seek truth from facts and the mass line. Ultimately, it is the mass line.

Third, we have to uphold the principle of self-determination and self-reliance. Socialist construction is similar to revolution and socialist reconstruction: it must be carried out independently and along China's own path of socialist industrialization. At the same time, we will critically learn what is useful in foreign countries and, through equal and mutually beneficial cooperation, introduce their advanced equipment and technology.

It can be seen from the above brief discussion that the basic idea to build socialism with Chinese characteristics was put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. Since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the path of socialist modernization suitable to Chinese conditions established step by step by the CPC Central Committee has been based on Comrade Mao Zedong's correct ideas which will have important guiding significance for our socialist construction now and for a long time to come.

In other words, the important fact is that the line for building socialism, i.e., the "blueprint" for socialist construction formulated by the 8th National Party Congress in September 1956 which was put forth and explained by Comrade Mao Zedong is basically correct. In the opening speech of the 12th National Party Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "The 8th National Party Congress of 1956 has analyzed the situation after the basic completion of the socialist reconstruction of the system of private ownership of the means of production and put forth the task of beginning total socialist construction. The line of the 8th National Party Congress is correct; yet, because of the party's inadequate ideological preparation in total socialist construction, the line of the 8th National Party Congress and many correct ideas had not been upheld in practice. We have achieved a lot after the Congress, but we have also suffered serious setbacks."

In general, the many achievements after the 8th National Party Congress include the basic solving of the question of food and clothing for 1 billion people and the laying of a considerable material and technological foundation for the country's socialist modernization.

The first setback which we suffered after the 8th National Party Congress was the "leftist" error of being too eager for quick success during the "Great Leap Forward" and the communization movement of 1958-1960 which led to the 3 years of economic hardship from 1959 to 1961 and serious losses for the people. In particular, we committed an even more serious and suffered a longer period of "leftist" mistake during the "Cultural Revolution" from 1966-1976, causing our country's socialist construction to suffer the most serious setback since the founding of the nation.

Basically speaking, the many important achievements in socialist construction after the 8th National Party Congress resulted from the implementation of the line of the Congress and the correct guiding ideology of Comrade Mao Zedong on socialist construction. We suffered serious setbacks because our party and Comrade Mao Zedong himself have deviated from the line of the 8th National Party Congress and Mao Zedong thought for socialist construction and carried out instead an opposing policy which expanded class struggle

and sought quick success. Therefore, such successes and failures actually prove, both positively and negatively, the correct nature of the aforementioned Mao Zedong Thought on socialist construction.

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CSO: 4005/311

11 March 1986

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

## PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTING 9-YEAR COMPULSORY EDUCATION PROGRAM

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 9, 4 Sep 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Zhang Guangxi [1728 0342 0823] and Yang Dongliang [2799 2767 2733]]

[Text] I. Go a Step Further To Clarify the Guiding Ideology and Implement Compulsory Education in Keeping With Local Conditions

The implementation of the 9-year compulsory education program in China calls for a program of differentiated measures and diversified guidance to suit local conditions instead of an unwarranted pursuit of uniformity.

China differs in certain areas from other countries and regions where compulsory education is in force. (1) China has 1 billion people. Today, 95 percent of all school-age children are enrolled in elementary schools, where the school population has reached 135 million. If children of junior middle school age are included, the number of school-age children actively enrolled amounts to one-quarter of China's total population. This makes China a country with the largest number of children receiving compulsory education.

(2) China is a poor country where the economy is so weak that some localities can barely manage to provide their people with adequate food and clothing.

(3) China is a multinational country of 56 different ethnic nationalities.

Since their level of cultural and educational development is so different, it is hard to synchronize the implementation of the 9-year compulsory education program. (4) Expansive in territory and uneven in economic development, China is a country of vast economic disparities which exist not only between the more developed coastal areas on the one hand and the less developed inland and border areas on the other but also between the urban, plains, and mountainous areas within a province (autonomous region), and even between different villages in a county. A 9-year compulsory education program which could be easily achieved by the wealthier villages might prove taxing on the poor villages. Thus the 9-year compulsory education program should be scheduled for implementation group by group at different stages in order to accommodate local conditions.

The CPC Central Committee and the State Council are in favor of diversified guidance. "The Resolution on Restructuring the Educational System" (hereinafter referred to as the "Resolution") adopted recently by the CPC Central Committee reiterates that those regions with a well-developed economy, which

have one-fourth of China's population, should achieve compulsory education up to the junior middle school level by 1990; that they should lead other towns and villages with a medium level of economic development, which have about 50 percent of China's population, to achieve general, vocational, and technical compulsory education up to the junior middle school level by 1995; and that those regions which lack economic development but account for one-fourth of China's population should strive to achieve a basic education of different descriptions and degrees commensurate with their respective level of economic development. This allows each region to implement step by step the 9-year compulsory education program in keeping with its own economic development.

To provide diversified guidance commensurate with local conditions is a complicated matter. First of all, it calls for a suitable program. Having found out what they need through investigations and research, some provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities directly under central government) have built complete files on compulsory education which cover comprehensive assessments of the needs and possibilities, the quantity and quality, the objectives and measures of implementation, and a precise tally of the size of the local population, birthrates, actual student enrollment, class facilities, teachers, and funding. They have defined the criteria of implementation based on actual local conditions to make their program scientific, truthful, and feasible. This is a very valuable experience. With the program as a base, the next vital step is to enact as soon as possible local laws and regulations governing the execution of the 9-year compulsory education program.

## II. Adhere to the Principle of "Local Responsibility for Compulsory Education Administered by Different Levels (Different Functions)"

The purpose of restructuring the middle and primary school education of China is to realize a system of "local responsibility for schools administered by the different levels (different functions)" so as to safeguard compulsory education. Since the founding of the People's Republic, the middle and primary school educational system of China has been restructured five times: "the early years of the PRC," "1985," "1963," "the 10 years of turmoil," and "since 1978." Except for the "10 years of turmoil," when middle and primary school education was utterly ruined, the general trend of all restructuring measures has been to increase gradually the authority of the localities over their middle and primary schools. The focus is to achieve a rational division of work between a county and its rural subdivisions (villages) and to arouse the enthusiasm of urban communities and enterprises to operate schools.

Working on the strength of their past experience of administration of the school by different levels, some provinces (autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government) have standardized their restructured county (village) educational system and have drawn up regulations on "schools run by the different levels and administered according to functions." As a rule, the counties administer the (full) senior middle schools, agricultural and vocational middle schools, teacher training schools, experimental primary schools, and schools for the blind and the deaf and dumb while the villages administer their junior middle schools and primary schools. Some localities find it more advantageous to place the evaluation, appointment,

and training of school cadres and teachers under "joint county and rural administration led by the country" and to place funding under "joint county and rural administration led by the rural authority." The rural (village) authorities are expected to bear a greater part of the responsibility to improve the livelihood of the teachers and conditions for running schools and to reach the "four ratios." The system of "local responsibility for schools administered by different levels (different functions)" now in force has made popularization of education workable and raised the ratio of school-age children enrolled, the ratio of annual enrollment stability, the ratio of passing tests, and the rate of making education universal.

The pilot projects of "running schools by different levels" demonstrate that the system of "local responsibility for schools administered by different levels (different functions)" should be based on the development of each economic region in order to retain the enthusiasm of village and school authorities in their schools, improve the quality of middle and primary school education, and turn out better students. The restructuring of the system and the implementation of the 9-year compulsory education program should be well coordinated and "pursued actively and in an orderly way" and not pushed ahead in an uproar.

For instance, the policy to increase the authority of village authorities over education must not be "inflexible." Today, 46.8 percent of some 90,000 new village and town governments are formed by one or more brigades each, which are limited in scope, lacking economic resources, and ill prepared to handle educational administration. It is better to let the overall authority to implement the system of "local responsibility for schools administered by different levels" in such rural areas repose in the counties (cities or districts) and give them more administrative authority and responsibility.

### III. Develop and Reinforce Teachers Training To Solve the Problem of the Teacher Shortage

China has a sizable contingent of dependable middle and primary school teachers, though not enough nor equally qualified. In 1984 there were 5,369,000 active primary school teachers, 6.4 times the total in 1949 (48.9 percent of them are teachers in school run by the local people). There were 2,097,000 junior middle school teachers, 39.6 times the total in 1949 (nearly 15 percent of them are teachers in schools run by the local people). Viewed in terms of the 9-year compulsory education program, they are far from meeting its requirements both in numerical strength and in qualifications. Today, China's primary and junior middle schools are short of 1,800,000 and 900,000 teachers, respectively, or 33.6 percent and 43 percent of the current number of primary and junior middle school teachers, respectively.

The "Resolution" of the CPC Central Committee therefore designates teacher training as a "strategic priority" of educational development which calls for realistic measures of implementation.

First of all, the National Commission of Education and the local governments at all levels should reinforce the agencies in charge of teacher administration and teacher education, reorganize the current system of teacher administration, and keep the placement of normal school graduates and the allocation of teachers under the unified administration of the education department at every level. Keep pace with the reorganization of the labor force personnel system to eliminate multiple leadership as practiced in some localities which allows the administration of the teacher contingents to fall into the hands of too many departments.

Second, secure an adequate supply of teachers by all available means. Make good use of policy, funding, and the allocation of recruited students to encourage all general institutes of higher learning, colleges of education, and refresher schools of all kinds at every level to do their best to train and provide qualified middle and primary school teachers. Some of the qualified cadres of the institutes of higher learning, research institutes, and party and government agencies may be loaned to train middle and primary school teachers or to teach.

Third, set aside more special funds to build up the teacher contingents by brining about a genuine step-by-step improvement of the treatment of teachers. Make the teaching profession in China really respectable and admirable. It is also vital to design proper titles for teachers and improve their working and living conditions. The state and local authorities at all levels should make available a definite sum of special funds to improve the teacher training colleges and schools and raise the level of the wage of China's middle and primary school teachers, which has been below the average wage of the staff and workers of other sectors of the national economy.

Fourth, improve the method of student recruitment and placement by all teacher colleges and schools to guarantee that their graduates will be assigned to teach in middle and primary schools. In addition to advanced recruitment, directive recruitment, and selective recruitment of students, the teacher colleges and schools may expand their commissioned teacher training programs and use "service contracts" signed between schools and students to ensure that all their graduates are assigned to where they are needed. Today, 80-90 percent of the graduates of teacher colleges and schools cannot get teaching positions. This calls for improvement.

#### IV. Uphold the Policy of "Walking on Two Legs" To Resolve by All Possible Means the Problem of Educational Funding

The established policy of the party to popularize education is "to walk on two legs," a correct policy suited to the conditions in China as attested by decades of practice. It gets twice the results with half the effort as long as this policy is conscientiously carried out. However, some localities which favor state-operated compulsory education "would rather spend money in non-essential areas than on basic education." This thwarts the drive to improve conditions for the popularization of education.

Now the "Resolution" of the CPC Central Committee points out: "Compulsory education is a national education required by law for children and youths of school age which the state, society, and family shall provide." The fact that "the whole party, the whole society, and the people of all the nationalities of China are called upon to see that it is carried out actively and methodically" demonstrates clearly that while the state is duty-bound to implement compulsory education, both "society" and "family" also have a share of the responsibility.

The state is the most important of the three. In addition to providing funds for the middle and primary schools, the state shall increase from time to time its investment in education. But a shortage of educational funding is still quite acute. The huge size of schools, the debts they owe, and the rising personnel costs offset a large portion of the newly increased funds. Moreover, the cost of cultural and educational supplies which has gone up 40-60 percent actually eats away the funds of the primary and middle schools, leaving them with very few funds to cover the administrative, operational, equipment, and building maintenance costs.

To resolve the problem of the current shortage of educational funds, it is still vital to uphold the policy of "walking on two legs" to carry out the relevant provisions of the "Resolution" of the CPC Central Committee that "the increase of educational funds appropriated by the central and local governments should be greater than the normal increase of government revenue," that "educational funds should increase step by step according to the average number of enrolled students," and that "the localities may levy educational surcharges." The findings of many localities indicate that the educational surcharge levy amounts to no more than 5 percent of the average per-capita peasant income. To the staff and workers of urban enterprises whose tax payments are withheld in accordance with state regulations, it does not amount to any extra levy. Moreover, the "Resolution" calls for fundraising through multiple channels. For instance, "an appropriate percentage of the flexible local revenue should be set aside for education," "a major part of the rural areas revenue should be spent for education," and "all units, collectives, and individuals should be encouraged to make educational donations." The multiple-channel fundraising program looks very promising. According to incomplete statistics, several billion yuan of educational funds were raised through multiple channels in 1984. Hebei Province raised 210 million yuan, or 40 percent of the educational expenditure of the whole in 1984. In view of the successful in-depth restructuring of China's urban and rural economy, it warrants an optimistic prediction that the problem of funding the 9-year compulsory education program may be resolved much faster than that of the teacher shortage.

5360/6662

CSO: 4005/263



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RECENTLY CRITICIZED PLAY 'W.M.' DISCUSSED

Beijing WENXUE BAO [LITERATURE PRESS] in Chinese 31 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Hu Xuehua [5170 7185 2901], executive director of the play]

[Text] The charm of a play rests on its creative portrayal of life and its real value depends on how it makes the audience think. "W.M." a stage play which employs a brand-new theatrical format to demonstrate on stage how the present generation of youth strives persistently to assess its own value in real life, aims at making the audience ponder over how we should live and pursue our goals. One of the viewers wrote us: "I have been through what was presented in the play but have not done much thinking. Your play which I saw really started me seriously thinking."

At first, the play was written in the traditional theatrical format by Wang Peigong, a playwright. Comrade Wang Gui, the managing director, and I felt that even though the theme of the script is excellent, its format is too outmoded to put forward enough intrinsic meanings, let alone have an emotional impact. So we tried to break down the traditional theatrical structure to create a new theatrical format. By combining script writing, directing, and acting, we rehearsed it act by act when the script was ready. The script was then revised and rehearsed again and again. Although the play has been revised 10 times and rehearsed for 1 month, it is still being revised.

The play is about the personal experiences and changes in thinking of seven young intellectuals before they left the "collective household" they shared to return to town. Though different in social background, they survived the ups and downs of the historical turbulence. In spite of dejection and indecision, they never stopped assessing the value of their lives.

Marx said that the character of an epoch is represented by its youth and the state of mind of an epoch is symbolized by the state of mind of its youth. The images of the seven youths portrayed in "W.M." though somewhat imperfect, do represent a generation of youths heading toward new lives at a turning point of history. They differ from their parents in their structure of knowledge, their way of thinking, and their sense of beauty. The beauty they pursue tends to be multivalent, philosophical, abstract, and intrinsic. How could the thinking and the drive of this generation

of youths be best expressed? We find the traditional theatrical format no longer adequate to contain the intrinsic meaning of life and keep pace with the rapid advances of the times. There must be a new format of acting to demonstrate freely on a limited stage the unlimited phenomena and intrinsic implications of life.

The access to such freedom rests on an artist to maximize his skill to produce a dynamic representation of life which combines perfectly both artistic hypothesis and reality. The content of the representation must reflect the true nature of things without a rigid adherence to a true simulation of life. It requires a much greater freedom to present on the stage the wide spectrum of life. So we decided to employ "fictions" of theatrical aesthetics and symbolism to bring out fully the hidden feelings, perceptions, and fresh thinking of the characters. Not identified with any specific time and location, "W.M" represents the vivid background of an epoch. It does not have a well-formed theme but shows the changes in the relationship between individuals and a logical development of the intrinsic individuality of the characters. Donned in drab unisex garments, the characters differ from each other as individuals. To stress the theatrical orientation of the play, the audience is reminded repeatedly: "This is only a play." The acoustic effects provided by the actors' simulations in the presence of the audience are obviously unreal but the thoughts and feelings of people are real. The four different settings--winter, spring, summer, and fall--symbolize not only the changes of time and location but also the changes of historical epochs, especially the coming of age of the younger generation. This helps break down the ordinary connotations of the harmony of beauty and leaves a gap to allow the viewers to develop an urge to participate and fill in the gap with their feelings and fantasies. Everything on the stage may be "fictitious" and "epitomized" except "people" who must be "condensed" and their feelings must be "genuine and moving" so as to generate richer intensions with limited images. At the same time, we try to present a full spectrum of aesthetic effects to focus the reflection and brilliance of the symbols.

Having experienced these creative attempts, we realize that some traditional theatrical concepts can and should be scrapped because each epoch has its own way of thinking, its own theatrical perceptions, and its own sense of beauty. Like the seven youths in the play, we will never abandon our ideals and will do our best to revitalize the art of the stage play.

5360/12624

CSO: 4005/316

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR ADULTS DISCUSSED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN /HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT/ in Chinese No 11, 13 Nov 85 pp 27-30

/Article: "Spokesman of State Education Commission Answers Questions on Adult Higher Education"/

/Text/ /Question/ What is adult higher education? What position and role does it have in China's education as a whole?

/Answer/ Adult higher education means advanced education for cadres, workers, peasants, and teachers of the level of senior middle graduates who are engaged in work and production labor, and continuing education for personnel of college and university level or above to acquire supplement and fresher training.

Adult higher education is an important part of China's higher education. With the implementation of the policy to open to the outside and enliven the economy at home and the intensification of educational reform, the need of the socialist construction for large numbers of high-level specialized personnel is growing ever more urgent, and the desire of adults for scientific and cultural knowledge ever stronger, thereby posing new demands on the development of adult higher education. Growing rapidly in the 3 decades or more since the founding of the nation, China's regular institutions of higher learning have reached a considerable scale, but their capacity for personnel training remains far below the need of economic and social development and the desire of the broad masses of young people for knowledge. Meanwhile, the unitary full-time educational system is unable to satisfy the multifaceted needs of adults, and adult higher education is receiving the serious attention and support of the entire society. In recent years, China has adopted all kinds of forms in adverse levels, standards and channels for adult higher education, demonstrating levels of personnel in active service and training construction talents of intermediate and advanced levels.

/Question/ What is the basic situation of China's adult higher education?

/Answer/ China's adult higher education went from nothing to its current state, from inadequate attention and slow development to general interest and rapid growth. According to statistics, there was only 1 school for

adult higher education at the time of the founding of the nation, with an enrollment of only 100 plus students, but by 1965, there were 964 schools, with a total enrollment of 410,000. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the State Council formulated a series of provisions on adult education and provided policy guarantees for its rapid development. By 1984, after readjustment and reorganization, 1.29 million students were enrolled in 1,157 adult schools for higher education, comprising of 599,100 students enrolled in 29 television universities, 192,300 students enrolled in 850 workers' and workers' spare-time universities, 900 students enrolled in 4 peasants' universities, 15,100 students enrolled in 54 colleges for management cadres, 2,700 students enrolled in 2 independent correspondence colleges, 162,900 students enrolled in 218 colleges of education, and 319,100 students enrolled in 456 correspondence departments and night universities run by regular schools of higher education. In 1984, 473,600 adults were admitted to these schools and 164,000 graduated. As shown by the facts, China's adult higher education has become a significant force to exploit intelligence and train personnel.

/Question/ What are the forms of adult higher education recognized by the state?

/Answer/ Currently, mainly the following forms of adult higher education are recognized by the state:

1. Television Universities. Television universities are adult schools of higher education which uses modern means to provide teaching to remote areas. The schools are managed and offer courses by levels (central, provincial and city). The students may take the full course and, upon passing the graduation examination, are issued professional graduation certificates. Or, they may take single courses and, upon passing the examinations, are issued single-course completion certificates. The entire full course takes 3 years to complete and follows the credit system. Students are either on leave from work, on part-time leave or attend during their spare time.

2. Correspondence Departments and Night Universities. Established by and forming a part of regular schools of higher learning, correspondence departments and night universities are in a position to make full use of the available teachers, school buildings, and facilities. For both correspondence departments and night universities, the undergraduate course is generally 5 to 6 years and specializations 3 to 4 years. There are also individual courses and short-term training classes for selection by active personnel according to their needs. Correspondence teaching consists of the following parts: self-study, correspondence, tutoring, answering questions, assignments, experiments, fieldwork, tests and graduation design or thesis. According to the distribution of students, correspondence tutoring facilities are established. Night universities mainly utilize spare time to give personal instruction.

3. Cadres' Special Courses. Sponsored by the various branches of the central government and State Council, provincial, autonomous regional and municipal party and government organs, and enterprise and professional units, the cadres' special courses held by regular schools of higher learning mainly train cadres for state organs and enterprise and professional units. The term of the courses is 2 to 3 years, and the students attain college and university level upon graduation.

4. Colleges for Management Cadres. Adult schools of higher learning run by the relevant branches of the central government and State Council and provinces, autonomous regions and cities directly under the central government, they mainly train management cadres on leave from work. The term is 2 to 3 years, and the students attain college and university level upon graduation.

5. Workers' and Workers' Spare-Time Universities. Institutions of higher learning run by plants and mines, enterprise and professional units or business management branches for their own units or systems, workers' universities offer special and undergraduate courses for workers on leave from work. They are also responsible for the continuing education of skilled cadres in technological, scientific and cultural knowledge and the training of elementary and intermediate teachers.

Workers' spare-time universities are run by the educational branch of labor union of local governments. The term of special courses is 4 to 5 years, mainly for spare-time studies, and for students enrolled in schools nearby.

6. Colleges of Education (Advanced Teachers' Colleges). Run by provincial, autonomous regional and municipal (including prefectural and city) governments and managed by the educational administrative branch, colleges of education are adult schools of higher learning for training teachers and educational administrators. After 2 years of full-time study on leave from work or 3 to 3½ years of spare-time study, working middle school teachers and educational administrators of senior middle school level given college and university level degrees. After 2 years of study, active middle school teachers with special-course background are given undergraduate level degrees. In addition, the schools conduct refresher courses and continuing education for middle school teachers who are college graduates.

7. Peasants' Universities. Run by local governments, peasants' universities are responsible for training college-level technical personnel for rural areas. The term of study is 2 to 3 years, and the students are on leave from work.

/Question/ What procedures should adult schools of higher learning follow for state certification? What are the basic requirements?

/Answer/ According to State Council stipulations, adult schools of higher learning must strictly follow the procedures of application and approval to receive state certification. The following is a brief description of the procedures for some of the schools:

1. Workers' and Peasants' Schools of Higher Learning. When independently establishing workers' schools of higher learning and correspondence colleges, the various ministries and commissions of the State Council must apply to the State Council for approval and file a copy with the State Education Commission.

The establishment of workers' and peasants' schools of higher learning by units under the ministries and commissions of the State Council must be examined by the State Council departments in charge, and approved with the consent of the educational administrative branches of the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities where the schools are to be located. Copies of the applications and approvals must be filed with the State Education Commission.

Workers' and peasants' schools of higher learning independently established by the various provincial, autonomous regional, and municipal departments or units under them must be jointly examined and approved by local departments in charge and educational administrative branches, and the papers filed with the ministries and commissions concerned of the State Council and the State Education Commission.

To apply for the establishment of workers' and peasants' schools of higher learning, a contingent of full- and part-time teachers must be available, with the former as the mainstay; a competent leading management mechanism which can uphold the four basic principles; school buildings commensurate with the scale of the school and special paramount classrooms for college and university courses for students on leave from work; a certain amount of experimental equipment and experimental classes offered with outside help in the teaching program; and standardized teaching material and a certain amount of books. The schools must have a long-range plan and the capacity for continuing student recruitment.

2. Correspondence Departments and Night Universities. In regard to correspondence departments and night universities run by regular schools of higher learning, the State Council departments in charge and the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities should, in line with the subordination relations between institutions and schools, submit the list of institutions and schools under their jurisdiction desiring to run such correspondence departments and night universities for examination, approval and publication by the State Education Commission. When setting up correspondence departments and night universities, institutions of higher learning should, under the leadership of the school administrative affairs committee, create appropriate mechanisms and implement unified management. When units concerned wish to request institutions of higher learning to train personnel by means of correspondence education and night universities, the business departments of provincial, autonomous regional and municipal levels or above should sign agreements with the schools, and no department or teaching and research section may undertake such tasks on their own.

3. Cadres' Special Courses. To offer cadres' special courses by institutions of higher learning, schools under central government departments must obtain approval from such departments; schools under local governments must obtain approval from the provincial, autonomous regional or municipal people's governments. When the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government desire to request schools under central government departments to hold cadres' special courses, they must seek the consent of such departments. Plans for student recruitment should be formulated by the school or provincial, autonomous regional and municipal departments in charge for examination and approval by the State Education Commission and State Planning Commission.

Institutions of higher learning holding correspondence courses and night universities and accepting requests for cadres' special courses and cadres' training classes must have the following qualifications: a sound leading group, a fairly strong faculty, relatively good facilities, stable teaching order, having graduated at least one class of undergraduates, certain experience in running schools, and guarantee of educational quality. In terms of special courses, they should as a rule offer only the comparatively stable courses on their full-time curriculum.

The principles on the examination and approval of schools of other types are found in relevant regulations.

/Question/ How are the fees for adult schools of higher education charged? What treatment do the students enjoy during training and after graduation?

1. Charging of Fees. Currently, the fee standards for correspondence education, night universities and cadres' special courses held by institutions of higher learning are as follows: for science, engineering, agriculture and medicine, 170 yuan per annum for correspondence education, 340 yuan per annum for night universities, and 900-1,000 yuan per annum for cadres' special courses; for liberal arts, law, finance and economics, 120 yuan per annum for correspondence education, 240 yuan per annum for night universities, and 700 yuan per annum for cadres' special courses. The fees for students approved by their own units to take the entrance examinations are paid by their units. Unemployed urban youths are charged 50 percent of the fees listed above. In case of correspondence and night university classes offered by teachers' colleges for the specific purpose of training middle school teachers, the funds are allocated in the state budget and no tuition fee is charged. The funds for correspondence stations are paid by the sponsoring units.

In regard to other adult schools of higher education oriented toward particular systems and units in student admission, the fees are paid by the departments in charge.

2. Remuneration during the Term of Study. In terms of students on leave to study, they receive full wages from their own units and enjoy, according to state regulations, such nonproductive welfare benefits as home visits and public health service. The charges are paid by their own units. All welfare benefits for spare-time students remain unchanged.

3. Academic Record, Remuneration, and Employment upon Graduation. In terms of adult schools of higher learning of all kinds established after fulfilling the procedures required by the state and obtaining approval, the students, completing the stipulated college courses, passing the tests according to the required methods of examination, qualified in academic achievements, ideology and morals, and of good health, are issued special-course or undergraduate graduation certificates certified by the state.

As a rule, working personnel should return to their original units upon graduation and serve as cadres, technicians, or workers. In line with the principle of making use of their knowledge and skills, their original or higher level units should, according to the need of work, gradually assign them appropriate work. In terms of non-working personnel among the graduates the state gives no guarantee of employment; the various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government will, according to their need, select the top people for employment.

Graduates of adult schools recognized by the state who were originally state employees will, according to regulations, be paid the same wages as graduates of regular institutions of higher learning of the same educational level in the same field.

Wages of graduates who are workers in collective ownership enterprises or who were previously not working but have obtained employment are determined by the provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government by referring to state regulations on working personnel.

/Question/ What are some of the other ideas on developing China's adult education?

/Answer/ The "Resolution of the Party Central Committee on the Reform of the Educational System" clearly states that the State Education Commission should make special decisions on improving and strengthening adult education. For this reason, we will, together with all the departments concerned, conduct more intensive investigations and studies of adult higher education as a whole, earnestly clarify the conditions and summarize the experiences, affirm the achievements and uncover the abuses, and make proper preparations for formulating measures of improvement. To facilitate the study and exploration of some issues, I will discuss some preliminary ideas.

1. Adult higher education must be adjusted to the need of economic, scientific and technical, and social developments. When determining the rate of its growth and scale, educational structure, and proportion of fields and categories, serious attention must be given to this issue. We must firmly establish the ideology of raising the workers' cultural and scientific qualities, work skills and management levels and serving the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. We must strengthen planning and macrocosmic management, reduce blindness, and enhance the social results of education.



2. We must change the "small yet complete" idea in the scope of adult education. For this reason, the various areas and branches have formed the good practice of making overall plans, establishing schools rationally, setting up fixed locations of specializations, establishing a division of labor and cooperation, and running schools by joint effort, and taken a forward step in the reform of adult higher education. We should render them support and encouragement and, in the course of practice, further summarize the experiences and make continuous improvements.

3. We must implement the principle of teaching according to need, integrating learning and application, and stressing real ability and knowledge, and run schools through diverse channels and in diverse forms. Today, China's adult higher education mainly focuses on specializations and undergraduate courses, mostly oriented toward academic records and diplomas. Such overemphasis on academic record is not completely compatible with the need of the socialist construction and the characteristics of adult education. To adapt to the diverse personnel needs of economic, scientific and technical, and social developments, the goals of adult higher education can be roughly classified into three types, namely, specialization (post) qualification certificates, diplomas certified by the state, and short-term training. The main approach is to determine the specifications and levels of training according to the different requirements of work posts (functions) and implement the principle of teaching according to need, integrating learning and application, and stressing real ability and knowledge, giving primary importance to specialized skills needed in work and to basic cultural and scientific knowledge with a purpose in mind. Those passing the examinations are to be issued specialization and technical qualification certificates. Those seeking diplomas certified by the state must fulfill the state requirements on specialized personnel of the same levels and qualifications. Short-term training should be purposeful, practical, flexible and diverse. As the above issues involve the reforms of the labor personnel and other systems and the readjustment of relevant policies, we must synchronize our study of them.

4. We must encourage regular institutions of higher education to conduct all forms and levels of adult higher education. Already having teachers, equipment, teaching materials and management experience at their disposal, such schools are in a favorable position. We must formulate appropriate policies and relevant regulations, fully utilize and develop their favorable position, and encourage them to promote, while properly running full-time schools, correspondence education, night universities, other short-term and advanced training classes of all types, and postgraduate continuing education.

5. Some urgent problems are still found today in adult higher education, e.g., blindly establishing schools without personnel forecast and expert demonstration; admitting students without fulfilling the required procedures and indiscriminately issuing or promising college and university diplomas;

no minimum requirements on the students' qualifications and no entrance tests; absence of basic conditions for school running, teaching plan and quality standard; chaotic management, fraudulent practices, commercializing education for profit; and so forth. In order to ensure the sound development of adult higher education, we must take firm measures against such unhealthy trends and earnestly rectify them.

6080/12276

CSO: 4005/400

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PROBLEM OF URBAN POPULATION CONTROL ANALYZED

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI /POPULATION AND ECONOMY/ in Chinese No 4, 25 Aug 85  
pp 38-42

/Article by Zhang Dingwu /1728 1987 0063/: "An Analysis of the Problem  
of Population Control in Large Municipalities"/

/Text/ Cities are the economic, political, scientific, technical, cultural, and educational centers of our country, playing a vanguard role in socialist modernization. In the current new situation of urban reform, opening to the outside world and domestic rejuvenation of the economy, such questions as how to view the problem of population development in large municipalities, the policies to be adopted, and should population control be continued in large municipalities are practical problems encountered during the current development of our country's large municipalities. This essay will discuss my personal preliminary understanding of these issues.

Why Has the Population of Our Large Municipalities Been Without Control  
For a Long Time

The number of large municipalities with more than a million people in our country has more than doubled--increasing from 9 to 20--from the early period of Liberation to the present, greatly exceeding the rate of population growth in the country's cities and towns during the same period. Yet, the development of medium-sized and small cities with less than 500,000 people each has been slow and by late 1984, these cities which account for 83 percent of the total number of medium-sized and small cities constituted only 39.6 percent of the total urban population. Everyone knows that since the late 1950's, our country has adopted a policy of strictly controlling the urban migration of the rural population; but the population of large municipalities has continued to grow and expand rapidly. Why has there been no control over the large municipalities' population for such a long time? The reasons include the problems of ideological understanding and reality, the demands inherent in the objective law of economic and urban developments and the unchecked population growth in large municipalities.

Basically speaking, the important reason for our losing control of population growth in large municipalities is an imbalance in the functions of large municipalities. The city's various functions are the basic reasons for its existence and an important reason for its development, determining the social composition of the city. In general, the more the city's functions, the more rapid will be the corresponding growth in the urban population. If there is an imbalance in the city's functions, its population will be difficult to control. In the past, we have for a long time neglected the division of labor in the cities. Among the 20 especially large municipalities in the country, besides Beijing, Tianjian and Shanghai, 11 out of the remaining 17 are provincial capitals with the functions of political centers; at the same time, they are scientific, educational, transportation, communication, commercial, financial or huge industrial centers. It is exactly because of these many functions which increase the cities' burden, leading to the high concentration of employed population for the different functions and the rapid growth in urban population.

Practice has proved that in the past, the excessive population growth in large municipalities was determined by the cities' economic function; this was especially the case in cities with an over-concentration of industries. In 1949, there were only 2 especially large municipalities--Shenyang and Harbin--in the 3 provinces in the northeast; as a result of large scale economic construction and our country's policy of focusing on the cities for plant construction investment to develop heavy industries, there are now 6 cities with more than 1 million people each: Shenyang, Harbin, Changchun, Dalian, Anshan, and Fushun, as well as the city of Qiqihaer which has close to one million people. Under the influence of the policy of "converting cities of consumption to cities of production," there were excessive construction of economic enterprises in large municipalities, neglecting for a long time the characteristics of the cities' functions; and, in an excessive attempt to develop the cities on a full scale, too many industrial facilities have been planned, including some unsuitable large-scale raw material industrial facilities which were also crowded into the cities. In recent years, in order to double economic production and adopt the open-door policy, some cities, ignoring their own functions and characteristics, have been concerned with their economic development through competing for projects, investments and the unrestricted expansion of production arrangements; some took advantage of the convenient condition that the land is owned by the country in our socialist system to expand constantly the land used by the cities, causing them to lose control of their sizes. Moreover, urban economic development, the expansion of the commodities' circulation area, and the development of transportation, urban construction, communication, afforestation and various service enterprises will inevitably lead to a constant increase in the employed labor population.

Further, such factors as the irrational urban administration and economic system, and the drawbacks of the labor system of "eating from the same big pot" and "iron rice bowl" have also contributed to the tremendous growth

of the urban population. Some department and enterprise leaders, anxious to form their own clique, tried to achieve "big and complete" or "small and complete," and expanded the units blindly; things which ordinarily could be done by a single enterprise have to be shared by many; everyone has to be attached to a particular body and everyone "did not have enough to eat"--there was too much overstaffing. Some of them did not distinguish between politics and enterprise, creating central- and local-level divisions, all stressing the professional division of labor and the compatibility of needs between upper and lower levels, causing a duplication of organs and overstaffing. Accompanying these were the annexation of land, expanded construction and an increase in staff and workers, to be followed by large numbers of their family members moving their households to the cities and finally resulting in the high concentration of urban population.

Looking back, it can be seen that the process of urban population development is the result of a combination of the functions of economic development and various social and political factors. In the first place, the failure of past population policies has led to a loss of control over the natural population growth in the 1950's and many large municipalities experienced peaks of births. In 1954, Shanghai's birth rate was as high as 5.27 percent. The national urban natural birth rate remained above 3 percent from 1954 to 1957, and with the compensatory birth peaks in the early 1960's, the urban natural birth rate was more than 2 percent from 1962 to 1965. Second, in the 1950's, large numbers of rural people were recruited into the cities; in the early 1960's, some of the staff members and workers were returned to the countryside because of retrenchment; later, during the "cultural revolution," young intellectuals were sent to join workteams in the countryside while other residents were also "sent down." By the 1970's, these individuals gradually moved back into the cities, accompanied by a flow of rural population to the urban areas. Such major movements resulted in more people entering the cities, causing an excessive increase in urban population and sharpening the various contradictions in the cities.

Viewed from another perspective, big cities are national or local political, economic, cultural and technical centers. They have high production levels, superior material conditions, and better working, labor, study and living conditions. Such differences between the cities and the countryside and localities will inevitably affect the direction of people's mobility. Not only will cities in general have great attraction for the rural population, large municipalities in particular exert an even greater attraction. Thus, when staff members and workers of large municipalities are transferred, their households are not moved; this is also true of some cadres. All of these exacerbate the population pressure in especially large municipalities.

We should realize also that there are many factors contributing to the expansion of the urban population; the massive urban migration resulted not only from the normal needs of economic development, there are also complicated human factors which have caused the general phenomenon of a loss of control. For many years, the party and the state have deemed urban

population control to be a major policy, but in practice, there was inconsistency and lack of effective control. In particular, there was no general plan for the size of the urban population, the authority to investigate households was decentralized and with too many voices, a strong authoritative agency was lacking. Some departments, stressing the uniqueness of their work, demanded special consideration and used every means to try to crowd into the cities. Some units stressed the urgency of their work and relocated the entire organizational system or contingent of personnel into the cities, resulting in the loss of control over the population. Consequently, in recent years, the increase in urban population resulting from migration has exhibited the trend of surpassing the rate of natural population growth.

#### Why Do We Have to Continue the Strict Control of Urban Population

Taking into consideration the interests of the entire country, the increase in the population of large municipalities should be based on the situation in agricultural development so that the rate of increase would correspond to the increase in the volume of commercial foodstuffs and secondary agricultural products provided by agriculture. People have to eat and "to have more people to feed than people producing food" simply would not do. Our country has 1 billion people and feeding them is a major task. Any increase in urban population has to first consider developments in agriculture. In his "The History of the Theory of Surplus Value," Marx has already pointed out that "the number of laborers who do not have to engage in agriculture and can be put into commerce and industry...depends on how much agricultural products those engaged in agriculture can produce above and beyond their own amount of consumption." In other words, the number of people leaving agriculture to engage in commerce and industry is determined by the number of agricultural products produced in excess of the agricultural production's own consumption. It can be seen that within a certain period, for the urban population, the size and rate of its increase and the size to be maintained depend first and foremost on how much commercial foodstuffs and secondary agricultural products agricultural production can provide. At this time, our country's agricultural production has continued to increase greatly, but we still cannot neglect this problem. Last year, although each person had nearly 800 jin of foodstuff and more than 10 jin of cotton, yet based on the current composition of our people's diets and the standard of clothings, we have only basically solved the problem of food and clothing for the masses and the foundation of agriculture is still rather weak. Therefore, on the question of the increase in urban population, it is worthwhile to remember these historical experiences. In 1960, our country's agriculture suffered various calamities continuously and, compared to 1957, food production declined by 26.4 percent. Yet, in that year, there was a 1.8-fold increase in capital construction investment and a 65.5 percent increase in industrial and enterprise units owned by the people. In the 3 years from 1958 to 1960, 19 million people were recruited from the countryside, and with the urban migration of the households of staff members and workers, urban population increased from more than 99 million in 1957 to

more than 130 million in 1960, causing a serious imbalance in the national economy. In particular, since the urban population's demand for food far exceeded the volume of commercial foodstuffs that agriculture could provide at that time, the countryside could not provide any more food and we had to use our reserves and import foodstuffs on a large scale. Therefore, we had to adjust the economy, greatly reduce the number of staff members and workers and vigorously limit the population in the cities.

Although the current agricultural situation has improved, yet as far as the city itself is concerned, if we examine the relationship between the size of the city and the population, there still exists the objective question of population capacity and population limitation, i.e., the city itself--especially a big one--has the problem of capacity and that of controlling the limits for city management. If the population exceeds the limits imposed by the city's size, urban problems will develop; the greater we exceed the limits, the more will be the contradictions and the more serious will be the problems. These will be reflected in the interrelated aspects of economic, social and environmental consequences in the city.

Taking into consideration the economic consequences, population growth in large municipalities should be based on the cities' functions, resources, energy sources and the load capacity of municipal facilities so that the increases in city populations would correspond to the requirements of urban economic development. Generally speaking, population is a prerequisite of urban development and a certain size of city population is an indispensable manpower resource for the development of the city's economic, political, cultural and scientific enterprises. Man is a producer and as someone who creates social wealth, he plays a significant and active role in urban economic development. Yet, under certain conditions, there is a limit to the demand for manpower resources in the development of the urban economy. When population development is appropriate to the needs of economic development, then it will certainly act as an impetus to urban economic development; but if it exceeds the needs of economic development, then the excess population will play a negative role in urban economic development. Objectively, a capacity to accommodate the population by the economic development has been created. In fact, urban over-population aggravates the difficulties in employment, creating contradictions between the supply and demand of labor resources and the phenomenon of people waiting for jobs will emerge, causing the development of population to move away from the normal needs of economic development. The pressure of over-population creates a tremendous burden for the productive construction and management of the cities, and is not beneficial to urban construction and development. It can be seen that urban population growth has to take into account the demands for manpower resources posed by urban economic development and the capacity for accommodating the population prescribed by the size of the city. We should weigh the pros and cons based on the needs and feasibility and select the most appropriate course.

If we are concerned only with economic benefits, it is generally assumed that large municipalities will be better off than the medium-sized and small cities; but we have to analyze this problem from a total perspective. Some people have used Shanghai as an example to prove that the bigger the city, the higher the per capita production value. Such a view is debatable. We should see that the greater economic benefits of Shanghai result from many factors. Looking at the situation in the last 20 years, Shanghai's total industrial output, if computed according to the fixed prices of 1980, has increased 3.7 times, from 14.39 billion in 1964 to 67.85 billion in 1983; but in that same period, the urban population has increased only 17 percent. It can be seen that the constant increase in Shanghai's economic benefits within the last 20 years did not depend entirely on the increase in urban population; it was mainly the result of technological reconstruction and the renewal of equipment. At present, there are some large municipalities with huge populations but whose economic benefits remain low, while some medium-sized and small cities, such as Changzhou, Wuxi, Suzhou and Nantong of Jiangsu whose populations are not big but enjoys substantial economic benefits. At this time, major developments in the urban economy does not necessarily involve a significant increase in the urban population. Urbanization is not the same as becoming large municipalities. In particular, the current urban reforms, economic development, technological reconstruction and renewal of equipment do not require a substantial increase in population--indeed, for some, it has to be reduced. What is needed most is to improve the quality of the people, pay attention to intellectual investment and find a way through the adjustment of the people's employment and occupational structures.

Taking into consideration the social benefits, population growth in large municipalities must pay attention to the constant improvement of the people's material and cultural life so that the increase in migration will correspond to the scale of the municipal administration's basic facilities and construction. The city's main component is its population which is also a complex and changing social entity. From the viewpoint of social benefits, there is a definite limit to a city's population capacity and the increase in population must be appropriate to the basic municipal facilities. As producers, the urban population need the conditions for cultural and technological quality suitable for social production; they also need conditions for a comfortable livelihood and a good working environment in order to play their full role in creating social wealth. As consumers, they have demands for the basic necessities in their material life and for fine recreation such as cultural and entertainment activities in their spiritual life--only these will satisfy the needs of the constant improvement in the people's living standard. This means that the basic municipal facilities such as public enterprises, urban projects, hospitals, schools, and cultural and recreational facilities and housing construction must meet the needs of urban population growth. If the population in large municipalities increases too rapidly, it will cause many contradictions and will inevitably affect the normal operation of the residents' lives and add to the burden of municipal construction and administration. In particular, the present population of large municipalities are too congested, most of them have exceeded the capacity that the basic municipal facilities



can accommodate, thereby causing housing shortages, transportation over-crowding, and the inability of public enterprises and facilities to catch up with the needs and creating a series of urban social problems. Even if we can constantly expand the construction of basic municipal facilities to increase the load capacity for accommodating the population, yet such construction must correspond to the development of the urban economy and is similarly restricted by financial and economic conditions. Every year, there is a limit to urban construction investment and the expansion of such construction can be accomplished only gradually; thus, the urban population can be increased only through a planned and orderly manner. It can be seen that from the view of social benefits, there is also the problem of control and the control of scale in the movement and increase of the population in large municipalities.

This is especially the case since there are 800 million peasants in our country and the transformation of the rural population to a non-rural one is inevitable. With the improvement in the level of agricultural modernization, there will be several hundred millions of surplus rural laborers leaving agriculture and moving to the cities and towns. At present, the economic and cultural level and living conditions of the big cities are still better than the villages and towns and differences between urban and rural areas and between workers and farmers still exist; if we do not control the cities' population, not only will a sizable portion of the rural population move into the cities, many staff members and workers from outlying areas and medium-sized and small cities and towns will also be attracted to return; this is not beneficial to the development and construction of the outlying areas and to the development of small towns.

Taking into consideration the environmental consequences, population growth in large municipalities should be based on the cities' resources, energy sources and geographical environment so that the density of population distribution will correspond to the cities' ecological environment. In fact, nature provides the geographical environment in which the urban population lives, as well as the water and land resources, but there is a definite limit to the size of the population which these resources can sustain. At the same time, the urban ecological environment is an indispensable condition for human existence, affecting directly the people's health and it is also an important part of the urban spiritual and material civilization. The rapid increase in and over-concentration of urban population will inevitably cause complex environmental problems. The congestion of urban population and the over-concentration of organizations, shops and residences will be accompanied by the reduction in suburban cultivable land and afforestation areas, an inadequate water supply, energy shortage, ecological imbalance and environmental pollution. Some big cities have limited water resources and with industrial development and population growth, the use of water increases; for those cities which use mainly underground water, if the amount of water derived from artificial exploration exceeds the amount replenishable by nature, and if we explore the water

sources in the dead reserve levels, then we would cause the water table to drop and the original level containing water will dry up, weakening its resistance to pressure and causing the ground to sink. Some cities have improper water disposal systems and the underground water becomes seriously polluted by sulphuric salts. In some cities, surface water bodies have been polluted and the water quality have deteriorated; this not only affects the residents' drinking and use of the water but also contributes to the metallic pollution of the soil. This will endanger agriculture in the suburbs since the vegetables grown in the sewage irrigation and fertilization areas will have an excessive amount of heavy metal residues and are not fit for consumption. Some cities mainly use coal as their energy sources and the burning of coal releases into the air such toxic elements as carbon dioxide, nitrogen oxides, carbon monoxide and dust, polluting the air and causing the residents to inhale constantly toxic polluted air. Moreover, with population congestion, the number of automobiles will increase and industrial production and audio appliances all create noises, causing noise pollution and making it difficult for people to have a moment's peace; all of these will adversely affect the people's health. Therefore, urban population should not be too congested; we should avoid the harmful effects and maintain as much as possible the balance of the natural ecology.

#### How to Control the Population of Large Municipalities

Although cities in socialist countries like ours are different from those in capitalist countries, yet a series of contradictions and problems have also emerged in their development. Of course, the development of our socialist cities will not follow the same path as the capitalist cities and once we become aware of any problems which would hinder the development of the urban civilization and social progress (including undue rapid population growth), we can self-consciously try to solve them diligently and gradually through different adjustments so as to prevent and reduce some of the shortcomings in urban development. At present, how to control the population of large municipalities, and what kind of population policies and control measures should be adopted should be a very important problem in urban reform and development.

As far as the guiding ideology is concerned, to control the population of large municipalities is mainly to control the size of the cities, including their population and land use and not their economic development. Control is needed to solve such irrational spatial arrangements as the over-expansion of urban population, concentration of properties and congestion of buildings, and to overcome the various shortcomings brought about by urban over-expansion, thereby maintaining the cities' economic, social and environmental benefits at the highest level and allowing them to better play a central role in the four modernizations. Based on the premise of strictly controlling the size of the population, control must promote the cities' healthy development, rationally adjust and improve the structure of their functions so as to combine population, economy and urban construction in a comprehensive arrangement and coordinated development.

The main items in urban population control should include adjustment, dispersal, stemming the flow, restriction, appropriate movements, and the improvement of the population's quality; we cannot interpret control simply as the control of the population: we are not going to shut the city gates, suspend all movements of households or apply one solution to every problem; instead, we should apply control based on the understanding of the principle of both comings and goings and relaxation and strictness.

As far as policy is concerned, we should, based on the principle of "controlling large municipalities, rationally developing the medium-sized and small cities and actively developing the small towns" comprehensively plan the scale of population development in large municipalities and formulate corresponding policies of control. As everyone knows, urban population results from natural increases and migration. Before the implementation of family planning, the natural increases in the population of large municipalities generally exceed increases from migration; but in recent times, the latter has become an important factor since the natural increases have been controlled. It can be seen that urban population control should be directed first at controlling the increases from migration. In general, control should move outward from the center, and be carried out level by level at key points. In the main, we should strictly control population movements into the central districts of the cities and scenic spots and clearly stipulate the conditions for the movement of various personnel into large municipalities; in particular, we have to include in the general plan the extent of increase resulting from the transfer of staff members and workers, demobilization and change of jobs, recruitment of workers and assignments and apply strict control in a planned manner. On the other hand, we should not be too rigid in applying the restrictions in cases involving spouses who have been separated for a long time, under-aged children living with their parents, old people moving to be supported by their children or the rational movement of personnel. What should be controlled through household management are those non-blood relatives of staff members and workers who should not be moving into the cities and the outside population who move into the cities recklessly. Moreover, the authority to control the urban population should be centralized and the personnel approving the people's inward movement should not be too decentralized. In some cities, the mayor has the sole authority so that the urban population can be effectively controlled and good results are obtained.

Taking into consideration the rational distribution of the cities, the development of medium-sized and small cities and peripheral towns is an effective way to curb and ease the unduly rapid increase in urban population. According to foreign sources, more than half of the increases in urban population in developing countries come from the villages. The flow of rural population into the cities is a common phenomenon of urbanization in this world. This would be difficult to deal with if we use only legislative means to intervene or apply artificial controls rigidly; the problem is how to divert and stem the flow properly. One of the effective methods

is to reduce the pressure of the urban population through the active development of medium-sized and small cities and peripheral towns so as to stem the flow of rural surplus labor in a planned manner and to bring together the rural population who want to become workers, or run businesses or service enterprises. Viewed from the perspective of the satellite towns, we should transfer the enterprises of large municipalities and disperse their population thereby easing the pressure of the over-concentration of urban population.

12380/12276  
CSO: 4005/307

EAST REGION

PARTY COMMITTEE SECRETARY OF YICHUN CITY, JIANGXI PROFILED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 85 p 4

[Article by Zhao Xiangru [6392 4161 1172]]

[Text] Yang Fengmu received a notice by the end of 1983 to proceed to Yichun City to set up a new leadership.

"You are doing very well in Wanzai County. You don't have to go there!" someone suggested to Yang Fengmu.

He was party committee secretary of Wanzai County for 5 years during which time he did a number of meritorious deeds, particularly his effort to encourage the peasants to manufacture traditional firecrackers in their spare time. This made Wanzai a conspicuously prosperous county of Jiangxi Province.

He declined the well-intentioned advice and decided to leave the County of Wanzai.

"Take a few people with you, or you may be isolated and unable to do anything."

He just smiled to show appreciation. Yang Fengmu, a man of medium height who looks like a simple peasant, went alone to take up his position of party committee secretary of a city with an urban population of 100,000 and a rural population of 64,000.

There were no moving speeches nor any stirring excitement. Although the cadres of the city party committee were anxious to learn about Yang Fengmu's political platform, and although the city residents wanted to find out what the new secretary intended to do, Yang Fengmu just kept a busy schedule covering streets and alleys to visit grocery markets and meat stores.

Since there were only two preserved-egg processing plants which have to produce mostly for export, is it a surprise that the "land of preserved eggs" did not have enough preserved eggs for local consumption? He gathered together some cadres and asked them to mobilize more collective factories to process preserved eggs, promising more pay for more work. This led to the emergence of 20 processing plants. That's not all. He said he wants

to get all skilled preserved-egg masters to chip in. Zhao Shuren, known as "the king of preserved eggs," was retired for quite a few years. One day he was surprised by Secretary Yang, who visited him and urged him "to come out of retirement," promising him loans and a supply of fresh eggs. Zhao Shuren, who once thought his skill in making soft and tasty preserved eggs would perish with him at the crematorium feels enthusiastic now about making good use of his skill. He processes over 100,000 eggs a year. His household alone turned out 300,000 preserved eggs this year. In a few months, Yang Fengmu got several hundred households to specialize in making preserved eggs. Within 6 months after he took office, Yichun was in a position to supply preserved eggs without restriction.

The city had only one bean curd store and it was very hard to buy bean curd. Fortunately, four master workers from another locality made their way to the city, but the officials concerned wanted to send them away. Yang Fengmu personally intervened and said: "They are only four, far too few to supply the people of the city with enough bean curd. We must ask them to lead the idle labor force to make more bean curd. Why do you people want to send them away?"

There are lots of people looking for jobs even though the city residents face an acute job shortage. Such a contradiction must be resolved. Sure enough, Yang's initiative has brought forth several hundred bean curd stores in Yichun. Now, there is bean curd for sale every day all year round. As the variety of bean curd multiplies, jellied bean curd is hawked for sale in the streets during the summertime. There is no longer any need to queue up to buy meat. He was in favor of abolishing the state monopoly on buying and selling vegetables. At that time, there was not a single decontrolled city. Someone cautioned him: "That may get out of control!"

Yang Fengmu said: "Guangzhou is a much more populous city than ours. Its decontrol did not get out of control. You should read yesterday's Guangzhou evening newspaper."

Others asked: "What will the vegetable corporation do from now on?"

"Work on a job, work on any job. When it wants to work, there'll be jobs. You people may handle surpluses and shortages, process vegetables, and procure an ample supply of dried and pickled vegetables. How can you say it will have nothing to do?"

According to the "rigid retirement ruling" of Jiangxi, Yang Fengmu who is already 53 years old is due to "retire" and give up his position no matter how popular he is. Why does he want to work so hard?

"I was deputy secretary of a county party committee for more than 20 years under the 'leftist' leadership. Looking back, I really didn't do much for the people. According to the promotion practice at that time, I was a cadre who could never qualify for a full-rank position. Now that has been scrapped since the 3d Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Now I am

the secretary of a county party committee and it is about time that I make full use of my positive and negative experiences to work for the people. I must double my efforts to make good my past mistakes. Since I will not be able to hold my position much longer, I ought to do something good which the people can see and touch, starting with what the people need the most."

A shortage of residential housing is a common failure of all cities. His own statistics list 1,005 households in the city requiring housing accommodations. He has plans to build 40,000 square meters of houses to accommodate 800 households so that by the time of his retirement the needy households may occupy the new houses. He intends to turn Yichun into a prosperous city for his successor and, more important still, to win the ardent love of the common people for the party.

5360/12624  
CSO: 4005/317

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN PERSONNEL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AIDS FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Wang Yaming [3769 0068 2494] and He Huangbiao [0149 7806 1753]

[Text] The Personnel Research Institute of Henan, which pursues system research geared to personnel training, exchange, and service in conjunction with the reforms in progress, has been honored as the "personnel staff department."

When the institute first undertook to run a correspondence course on modern management for the county-regiment grade cadres of the province, it strived to raise the quality of the cadres of Henan. It selected and compiled 19 volumes of systematic and adaptable teaching texts and materials covering a system of information required by the leadership. It reached out to procure first-rate specialists and scholars to teach and organize teams of touring teachers for the whole province. Its instruction programs include not only tutoring but also discussions and question-and-answer sessions and not only survey questionnaires but also investigation and research consultations and dissertation evaluations. It is so well organized that its applicants represent one-third of the county-regiment grade cadres of Henan. Its lecture sessions at the provincial people's auditorium which seats 3,000 always draw a capacity audience.

Its "Henan Provincial Personnel Resource Data Bank" plays a positive role in helping the enterprises embrace scientific personnel management and research. This computerized "personnel bank" is an important base for instituting scientific personnel management. Its long-term project covering scientifically collected information and programs now stored in seven branch banks include information on all Henan-born specialists who are abroad, senior specialists outside Henan, high-level intellectuals in Henan, intellectuals who seek transfers, "skilled craftsmen" of all descriptions, and scientific and technical personnel who have received achievement awards from the state, the department party committees, and the provincial authorities since 1978. This data bank can furnish the biographical sketch, special skills, achievements, contributions, and technical service capabilities of any particular person. The institute also pushes for comprehensive research on the theory, methods, models, and applications of personnel forecasting. It possesses the technology,



information, and data for the program and has launched pilot projects of general surveys and assumed responsibility to conduct personnel surveys and forecasting for the whole province. For instance, the Zhongyuan Petroleum and Natural Gas Exploration Corporation asked it to apply its personnel forecasting procedure, methods, and data to screen, select, and recommend scores of management, finance, technological, and translation experts, and they all proved competent during the probation period.

The Henan Personnel Research Institute has also launched a series of investigations and studies on personnel problems and provided the provincial party committee and the provincial government with first-hand materials on personnel policy and reforms. It is also engaged in investigations and studies on major problems concerning the leading cadres, top-notch specialists, and personnel mobility at all levels throughout the province. To rectify past unsystematic surveys, numerical errors, and an undue emphasis on quantity at the expense of quality, the institute organized teams of specialists to conduct thoroughgoing investigations in more than 100 districts, cities, and counties. It mailed 8 different questionnaires to 12,000 cadres at or above the county-regiment grade and other top-notch technical personnel and received over 6,000 replies. These are computerized for statistical tabulation and analysis to look for the patterns, trend, and causes of the problems and to formulate initial measures and recommend a solution to the problems. To provide a scientific basis for personnel development, it has reproduced and clipped all the replies and compiled a "Digest of Replies" and a "Reprint of Replies" consisting of 800,000 characters in length as attachments to its serialized reports.

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CSO: 4005/317

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG SECRETARY REPORTS TO PROVINCIAL CPC MEETING

HK070410 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jan 86 pp 1, 2

["Report (excerpts) by Lin Ruo [2651 5387] at the Fourth (enlarged) Plenary Session of the Fifth Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee"]

[Text] On behalf of the Standing Committee of the provincial CPC Committee, I hereby submit a report to the session. This report will focus on two topics.

The Work of 1985 in Retrospect

The year 1985 was the first for implementing the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure," for carrying out all-round party rectification, and for Guangdong to surmount numerous difficulties and achieve remarkable successes in all fields of work under the guidance of the CPC Central Committee's line, principles, and policies.

Above all, Guangdong made further headway in its economic construction. Owing to the measures adopted to strengthen macrocontrol over credit funds to restrict the use of foreign exchange in 1985, industrial and agricultural production and the economic work as a whole were confronted with a grim situation. Typhoons, floods, and other natural disasters and large numbers of economic and financial problems left over by the Hainan automobile case added peculiar difficulties to Guangdong's economic construction. Under such circumstances, party organizations at all levels throughout the province led the broad masses in carrying out reforms, implementing the policy of opening up to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy, and advancing amid difficulties. The total output value of Guangdong's industry and agriculture in 1985 is expected to reach 63.4 billion yuan, an increase of 18.4 percent over 1984. Revenue is expected to reach 6.88 billion yuan, a 33.8 percent increase over the previous year (calculated in terms of comparable items). Such a favorable situation had been rare over the years. The volume of foreign trade and export reached 2.898 billion yuan, an increase of 15.7 percent over 1984. In the course of summing up and accumulating experience, the special economic zones made further headway in construction and achieved generally acknowledged successes, producing a great impact at home and abroad. The province also made new progress in its foreign economic work, commercial circulation, transport and communications, and capital construction.

Since 1985 the provincial CPC Committee has adopted a series of practical measures to strengthen overall leadership over the building of spiritual civilization. As a result, Guangdong made headway in the building of socialist spiritual civilization and scored new successes in various fields. First, we maintained a political situation characterized by stability and unity; second, social order took a turn for the better; and third, new progress was made in cultural building.

Fairly good results were achieved in party rectification at the city (prefecture) and county levels. Party rectification work which got fully under way at the city (prefecture) and county levels throughout the province last year is expected to wind up by the end of 1985 and before this year's spring festival, respectively. Party rectification work of the first and second group of provincial organs to undergo party rectification concluded in June 1985. Party rectification of the third group of provincial organs was also completed by the end of last year.

In accordance with the principles and policies of the CPC Central Committee and in connection with Guangdong's realities, the united front and Overseas Chinese affairs departments and workers', youth, women', and other mass organizations did a great deal of work. Other fronts and departments, including central units and enterprises in Guangdong, also registered fresh progress in the building of spiritual and material civilization.

While affirming the successes, we must also be aware that there are still many problems in our work. In economic construction, while economic growth was too fast, energy and communications fell short of demand, which led to a strain on various fields. The scale of investment in fixed assets, though curtailed on several occasions, was still large. The output of grain dropped by a big margin. Large numbers of outstanding problems in the building of spiritual civilization, party workstyle, and social general mood remain to be solved.

#### Plans for Work in 1986

The general objective of the work in 1986 is to persist in reform and opening up, lay stress on economic construction, pay equal attention to the building of material and spiritual civilization, give prominence to party rectification, the building of spiritual civilization, and effecting a turn for the better in party workstyle and social general mood in our work throughout the year, and to strive to raise the work in all fields to a new high plane on the basis of conscientiously summing up experience and straightening things out on every front of endeavor.

There are many things to be done this year. I would like to dwell on the work in the following three fields:

#### I. Take the Road Focused on Intensive Development, Maintain the Sustained and Steady Growth of Guangdong's Economy

First, resolutely control the scale of capital construction and consolidate and develop the favorable situation in finance and economy.

At present there are still ideological obstructions on the question of controlling the scale of capital construction. First, some hold that their conditions are special and their projects are reasonable. Although some comrades understand the importance of controlling the scale of capital construction, when the respective locality, department, or unit is involved, they refuse to cut down on any items under the excuse "we should not impose uniformity on every case." The key to this question lies in the correct handling of relations between the part and the whole. Some projects may be reasonable when viewed from the locality, department, or unit, but would be unreasonable when viewed from the situation as a whole. Without the necessary conditions, we cannot carry out the projects even if they are advantageous to the overall situation. Otherwise, it would be impossible to control the general scale of capital construction. Second, for the sake of one-sidedly seeking high output value, some have vied with one another for high speed regardless of the objective conditions and have extensively increased their investment in fixed assets. Third, some adopt a wait-and-see attitude and try to drag the matter out as far as possible. Such an idea is extremely harmful and not realistic. The projects that should be curtailed must be resolutely cut down. The projects that are already under way should be stopped if there is no guarantee of funds, electricity, and supply of raw materials or if they cannot produce better economic results.

Second, muster financial and material resources to ensure the construction of key projects.

After curtailing capital construction, the limited funds and material resources should be used to ensure the qualitative and quantitative completion of energy, transportation, communications, and other key construction projects that have an important bearing on the overall situation and condition of Guangdong's economic development. For example, the power plants to be newly built or expanded in Shajiao and other places, preparations for the exploitation of Nanhai gas, the multiple track project for the Hengyuang Guangzhou railway and the construction of the Yao-Maomin section of the Sanshui-Maomin railway, and the transformation of Guangdong's main highways and the highways extending from Guangzhou to other provinces and regions. The construction of these projects must be ensured.

Third, strenuous efforts must be made to invigorate enterprises, large and medium-size enterprises in particular.

It is the key link of the reform of the economic structure to invigorate enterprises. In order to create external conditions for invigorating enterprises, the departments concerned at the city and county levels should simplify their administrative procedures and delegate powers to enterprises, exercise indirect control, separate government administration from enterprise management, reduce the intermediate links, and abolish the administrative companies. In accordance with state regulations, we must gradually establish and perfect the markets for commodities (including consumer goods and means of production), technology, and funds under planned guidance and make use of market mechanism to invigorate enterprise. We must develop economic relations among regions and enterprises and extensively carry out economic combination and cooperation

in accordance with the relevant stipulations of the state and in light of the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit.

Fourth, give impetus to technical transformation of old enterprises.

Practice in recent years has evidently provided that the regions can accelerate their economic development, attain better results, and have reserve strength so long as they attach great importance to technical transformation of old enterprises.

In order to accelerate the pace of enterprise technical transformation, it is necessary to muster funds through various channels. Financial allocation, bank loans, funds raised by enterprises, use of foreign capital, bank loans, funds raised by enterprises, use of foreign capital, and other methods should be used rather than merely relying on financial allocation.

Technical transformation of enterprises should be focused on attaining better economic results and centered on improving product quality, saving energy, and developing new products.

In recent years, Guangdong has gained successful experience in technical transformation of enterprises, that is, closely integrating technical transformation of old enterprises with introduction of advanced foreign technology and combining cooperation with foreign firms in operation and management with compensation trade and processing materials for foreign businessmen.

Fifth, vigorously develop export-oriented economy and increase export and the ability to create more foreign exchange.

The special economic zones should take note of developing an export-oriented economy. All localities throughout the province should strive to increase exports and their ability to bring in more foreign exchange. This year the central authorities have requested Guangdong to increase its foreign exchange quotas by 8.7 percent. We must strive to overfulfill the quotas. Leading cadres at all levels should be aware that whether Guangdong can take the lead in opening to the outside world in accordance with the requirements set by the CPC Central Committee and make further use of foreign capital and advanced technology to accelerate the pace of its construction depends to a great extent on its ability to earn as well as maintain a balance of foreign exchange. In order to expand foreign trade and increase exports, it is necessary to reform the foreign trade system in a planned manner under proper leadership. In accordance with the unified plan of the CPC Central Committee, Guangdong should try by every means to find solutions and adopt effective measures to vigorously and steadily carry out reforms in the appropriate fields. We must earnestly implement the principle of "trade, industry, and agriculture," make the most of Guangdong's advantages, particularly the Zhujiang delta and the vast coastal areas, and vigorously develop the export of perishable goods, food, and light industrial products.

Sixth, further develop Guangdong's agriculture in a down-to-earth manner.

In line with the general objective and guiding ideology for rural work put forward by the CPC Central Committee, Guangdong should accelerate the pace of its agricultural development this year. To put it specifically, we must lay stress on solving the following three problems: First, put agriculture in a correct position in the national economy, prevent the ideas and practices that attempt to relax our efforts on agriculture as a result of the favorable turn in agricultural production, and adhere to the strategic principle of taking agriculture as the foundation. Second, implement in an all-round way the fundamental principle guiding agricultural production, namely, "never relax our efforts on grain production and vigorously develop a diversified economy. Third, reform the rural economy in a deepgoing way and particularly perfect the circulation and cooperative systems.

## II. Give Prominence to the Building of Spiritual Civilization

Following the switch of the party's work of economic construction, the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly instructed us to implement the principle of simultaneously carrying out the building of material and spiritual civilization. Viewed from practical work, we have failed to attach due importance to the building of spiritual civilization. Once the building of spiritual civilization is neglected, serious problems may occur in party workstyle, social general mood, and the guiding ideology for economic work and the building of material civilization would also be undermined. Therefore, we must give prominence to the building of spiritual civilization.

First, the key to strengthening the building of spiritual civilization lies in party committees attaching great importance to the matter. The leading groups of all city, prefecture, and county CPC committees in charge of the building of spiritual civilization should rigorously perform their functions. Party committees should discuss and make studies on progress, problems, and experience concerning the building of spiritual civilization and promptly adopt appropriate measures.

Second, in the building of spiritual civilization, it is particularly necessary to strengthen ideological and political work. What are the current tasks of ideological and political work? Centered on education in ideals and discipline, we must unswervingly publicize the four basic principles with a clear-cut stand. By conducting education in ideals and discipline in a deepgoing manner, we must vigorously publicize the four basic principles so that the broad ranks of cadres and masses will ardently love the party, have faith in party leadership, firmly believe in socialism and communism, and effectively resist the corruption of capitalist, feudalism, and other decadent ideas and oppose and combat bourgeois liberalization. The press, radio, and television should be good at using typical examples to vividly publicize the positive factors in society and within the party. The publicity and education should be focused on a definite objective, that is, to maintain and develop the political situation characterized by stability and unity. In order to strengthen ideological and political work, it is necessary to enhance the ranks of ideological and political work.

Third, strengthen education in Marxist theory among cadres. In an important speech delivered at a national conference of party delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically called on veteran and young cadres to study Marxist theory. This is a matter of great importance to the building of cadre ranks and the building of spiritual civilization. Therefore, we must make further efforts to do the work well. The connection with the new tasks and practical experience in the new period, it is necessary to further strengthen Marxist theoretical work and continue to regularize the cadres' theoretical education. We must run well the study classes for leading cadres at the city, prefecture, department, and bureau levels and the advanced studies classes for leading cadres at the county level. Those comrades who have never studied in party schools should persist in learning while working at their posts and regularize their theoretical study.

Fourth, extensively carry out the activities of building civilized units, including civilized villages, townships, factories, ships, and neighborhoods. The building of civilized units is the basic work as well as overall work of the building of spiritual civilization. Carrying out such activities in deep-going manner will produce a great impact on social general mood and give impetus to the building of spiritual civilization as a whole.

Fifth, it is necessary to further strengthen management over social cultural activities. Guangdong's social cultural activities have been dynamic because it opened up to the outside world earlier than other provinces. The general principle for the management of social cultural activities, literary works, and literary and art programs should be: "Support the beneficial, permit the harmless, resist the harmful, and attack the criminal." Ballrooms, concert halls, and other amusement centers should be regularly inspected and consolidated in light of the stipulations concerned and unhealthy tendencies should be checked whenever and wherever discovered. Those who produce, sell, and show reactionary obscene video tapes should be sternly punished according to law. In accordance with Document No 45 (1985) of the CPC Central Committee, all localities should close down profit-making video showing dens. Vulgar and unhealthy tabloids should be rectified by the prescribed time. All localities should set up cultural management committees as quickly as possible. Propaganda, cultural, publishing, television and radio, public security, customs, anti-smuggling, and industrial and commercial administrative management departments should all undertake responsibility over management.

Sixth, in order to strengthen the building of spiritual civilization, it is also necessary to maintain all-round social order, guard against and attack the economic and criminal offenses, and further strengthen the socialist legal system. We must earnestly implement the measures for maintaining all-round social order and take special note of helping and educating young people who do wrong. Meanwhile, we must vigorously strengthen management over social order, and ban and attack the illegal and criminal activities that harm the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

Seventh, in the building of spiritual civilization, it is also necessary to attach great importance to cultural building. In 1986, Guangdong should make further headway in education, science (including social sciences), culture,

press, publication, television and radio, sports, public health, and other undertakings. The Seventh 5-Year Plan should regard the development of various cultural undertakings as an important task. Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out: "Ideological, cultural, educational, and public health departments should take social benefit as the sole criterion for their activities and so must the enterprises affiliated with them." Scientific, educational, cultural, public health, and sports departments are closely related to the building of spiritual civilization. We must seek unity of economic results and social benefit. When contradictions arise between the two, we must put social benefit and not money-earning in first place. With the development of the economy, we must try every possible means to increase expenses for cultural undertakings and build more cultural facilities so that the building of spiritual civilization as a whole will be suited to the situation of opening up and reform.

### III. Pay Close Attention to Rural Party Rectification, Continue To Do a Good Job of Education in Party Workstyle and Discipline, and Further Strengthen Party Building

Guangdong's party rectification this year will be focused on the rural areas. This phase covers a lot of ground and constitutes the largest scale in the party rectification work as a whole. There are more than 50,000 party branches with some 1.26 million party members in Guangdong's rural areas. These party members are in the forefront of the socialist construction. As pointed out in the circular of the Central Committee for guiding party rectification work on the plan for rural party rectification work: "We depend on them to implement the party's rural principles and policies. The peasants appraise the great image of the party and the correctness of the party's principles and policies through their words and deeds. The peasants' views are collected and reported to the higher levels by them. The party relies on them to establish close ties with the 800 million peasants." Therefore, it will be of particularly great significance to do a good job of rural party rectification.

Following are the four requirements for the current rural party rectification: First, strive to deepen the party members' understanding of the party's purpose; second, have a correct understanding of the party's policies for rural reform and economic development; third, sternly deal with the handful of party members who have made serious mistakes; and fourth, pay meticulous attention to the building of leading bodies. These requirements are the problems to be solved in rural party rectification. We should conduct education by positive measures and strive to heighten the ideological awareness of the broad ranks of party members. We should have a good grasp of policies and all our work concerning party rectification should be advantageous to the deepgoing development of the rural reform, to the further expansion of rural productive forces, to the invigoration of the rural economy, and to the stimulation of the peasants' enthusiasm for production.

We must strive to complete Guangdong's rural party rectification by 1986. We must first conduct party rectification at the district level and then extend it to the township level so as to prevent one from overlapping with the other and to give full play to the role of district leadership over townships.



While doing a good job of rural party rectification, party organizations at all levels throughout the province should unswervingly conduct education in party spirit, workstyle, and discipline and check unhealthy tendencies. Regarding the question of party workstyle, we must do more practical work rather than indulge in empty talk. Only by making sustained efforts to investigate the unhealthy tendencies and adopt prompt measures to deal with them can we achieve satisfactory results. First, the CPC committees of the province, cities (prefectures), and counties should take the lead in examining their unhealthy tendencies and take earnest measures to eliminate bureaucratism. It is necessary to conscientiously study and implement the important speeches made by Hu Yaobang and other leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee at a meeting of cadres of the central organs. Leading organs should set an example for the whole province in raising their efficiency, studying hard, observing discipline, and enhancing party workstyle. Hence, if any level or department has failed to check its unhealthy tendencies, the leading cadres at that level or department will have to bear the responsibility. Second the discipline inspection departments, the departments responsible for handling people's letters and visits, and party rectification offices at all levels should promptly report to the CPC committees the progress of their work and seriously deal with the cases. Third, provided they are in good health, veteran comrades who have withdrawn from the first line may conduct some social investigations and help check the unhealthy tendencies. Fourth, take vigorous measures to deal with major cases, namely, resolutely curb the unhealthy tendency of vying with one another in purchasing and exchanging imported cars, check the unhealthy tendency of indiscriminately making visits abroad, stop party and government officials from making tours at the expense of public funds, strictly forbid the practices of extravagantly giving dinners or sending gifts, and forbid party and government officials to obtain income by inappropriate means in addition to their wages and welfare benefits. We must strictly examine the practices of party and government organs and leading cadres and their children or relatives engaging in profit-making businesses by abusing their powers. Those who violate discipline and law must be dealt with according to party discipline and state laws.

In light of the principle of making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and professionally competent, party committees at all levels should strengthen the building of leading bodies and effect the succession of new cadres to old ones. Party committees at all levels should continue to implement the policies regarding cadres, intellectuals, united front, and Overseas Chinese. The problems left over in this regard should be solved within 1986 and 1987 and measures must be adopted to prevent new practices that violate the policies. Party organizations at all levels should perfect the system of inner-party life and stick to the principle of democratic centralism. We must perfect the systems of party congress, party committee, and democratic life, carry out criticism and self-criticism, improve our leading method and workstyle, enhance the fighting capacity of the leading bodies, and unite and work together with one heart to build the four modernizations.

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CSO: 4005/460

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG GOVERNOR OUTLINES TASKS FOR 1986

HK180233 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial People's government held an enlarged meeting of all its members in Guangzhou this morning. Vice Governor Yan Deyuan presided.

Governor Ye Xuanping delivered a work report. He reviewed work in 1985 and the excellent situation in the province's economic construction during the Sixth 5-Year Plan. On the work arrangements for this year, he pointed out that the government's tasks in 1986 are to persevere in opening up and reform, build the two civilizations together, stress internal potentials in developing economic construction, center efforts on developing the productive forces, harmonize relationships, stress high standards and quality, pursue good economic results, and work hard to improve quality.

He put forward the following demands on work in the province this year: Persevere in reform and put it in first place in all work, and promote the establishment of lateral ties; persevere in opening up to the world and expand foreign economic relations and trade; maintain a suitable growth rate and scale and achieve basic balance of general social supply and demand; strengthen and improve macroeconomic controls, and continue to enliven the enterprises and the grassroots; speed up technological transformation in the enterprises, do a good job in enterprises management, and improve economic results; strengthen leadership and vigorously develop agriculture; work hard to develop education, culture, science, and public health; improve market supplies, stabilize prices, and improve living standards; strengthen the building of the legal system and economic legislation, to guarantee and promote the smooth progress of reform and opening up; improve organ workstyle, and achieve a better standard of leadership in economic work.

He stressed: We must stimulate the building of socialist spiritual civilization, step up ideological and political work, make culture flourish, launch a more extensive drive to build civilized units, and achieve a fundamental turn for the better in social mood and public order.

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CSO: 4005/460

NORTH REGION

EDUCATION ON IDEALS, DISCIPLINE EMPHASIZED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by Lu Yu [7627 4416]]

[Text] In an educational drive on ideals and discipline, the leaders of the Sixth Bureau of the Central Construction department won ardent public sympathy for their willingness to face reality and participate actively in uncovering shortcomings in work and ideology and opening their hearts to the staff and workers. As a result, they have aroused the enthusiasm of the staff and workers of whole bureau to love the enterprise and be its masters.

At the initial stage of the educational drive on ideals and discipline, the bureau found some of its staff and workers somewhat apathetic. An in-depth investigation revealed that they were very critical of some leaders who show no concern over the hardships of the masses and abuse their authority. Some staff and workers pointed out candidly: "If we are asked to pay attention to ideals, the leaders must set an example; if we are asked to love the enterprise, it must love us." This shook the leaders of the Sixth Bureau of the Central Construction Department, who began to see the futility of preaching unless they themselves are participants like the rest. Otherwise, they could not win the sympathy of the staff and workers.

Determined to break away from the normal routine, Wen Duanren, the bureau chief, took the lead in opening his heart to the masses at a meeting of the whole bureau. Instead of making a report, he examined in the light of reality his own shortcomings in both ideology and work. Citing his personal experience as an example, he lectured on the importance of ideals and discipline. The audience was so touched by his honesty and sincerity that the workers said after the meeting that this session of heart-to-heart discussions between the cadres and the masses was reminiscent of the best traditions of the past. Like waves stirred up by casting a stone in a body of water, the example set by the bureau chief encouraged the leaders of its companies and enterprises to open their hearts to their staff and workers. As grievances give in to enthusiasm, the staff and workers also become willing to reveal their innermost thoughts and feelings.

The staff and workers of the Sixth Bureau who bear the brunt of arduous field work all year round rate their cadres by a simple yardstick, the way

they perform. Realizing that the pursuit of ideals rests on the example they set, the leaders of the bureau have taken their sleeping gear to the work site to give directions on the spot. They have kept in touch with the masses to learn about their feelings and needs. When the construction of the floodgates on the Haihe River reached its critical point, the cadres of the Sixth Bureau braved torrential rain to work shoulder to shoulder with the workers at the front. After that, the staff and workers listened attentively to the lectures on ideals given by the leading cadres. They say they respect ideal-oriented cadres lecturing on ideals.

As the education on ideals develops in depth, the leading cadres of the Sixth Bureau turn their attention to "love" and "work": love the enterprise, love the staff and workers, and work more for the masses. When the leadership of a processing plant of the Sixth Bureau's Installations Company uncovered a number of problems by soliciting the views of the masses, they worked all night and found solutions to those tough problems, including a leak in the plant roof, poor management of the facilities, and irrational distribution of its labor force, which had remained unresolved for 4-5 years. The bureau and its companies and enterprises also adopted measures to upgrade the living conditions and facilities which had not kept pace with the open-air work undertaken by the staff and workers. They installed shower rooms at the work site for the staff and workers to take warm baths after work, improved the work site mess halls to provide a greater variety of food at reasonable prices, and built flower beds and fish ponds at the work site to beautify the environment. With their livelihood taken care of, the staff and workers begin to feel attached to the enterprise. Even those who had asked for relocation have withdrawn their requests.

The fact that the staff and workers are recognized as the masters helps reaffirm their sense of duty. Both the quality and speed of the construction of more than 20 key projects and other items for helping Tibet and foreign lands undertaken by the bureau have improved considerably this year.

5360/12624  
CSO: 4005/257

NORTH REGION

COMMENTATOR URGES DRIVE TO MAKE CADRES MORE REVOLUTIONARY

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 85 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "We Must Focus On Making Cadres Revolutionary"]

[Text] An extremely important strategic mission of our party is to speed up the drive to make the contingents of cadres more revolution-oriented, younger, better educated, and more professional. Leadership at all levels have done a great deal in recent years to carry out the "four transformations" of cadres. But there are still some comrades who do not understand clearly the implications and content of the "four transformation." Those comrades who do not care to be more revolutionary used to say: "Does it count that much to be more revolutionary?" Other comrades who pay lip service to the importance of being more revolution-oriented still find its implications and content too abstract and not as clear-cut as being younger, better educated, and more professional. If these concepts were not clarified, the "four transformations" of cadres would be undermined.

"Does it count that much to be more revolutionary?" It counts a great deal. It takes more revolution-oriented cadres to guarantee the socialist road and the pursuit of Chinese-style socialism. Today, the CPC Central Committee has been pushing for the "four transformations" of cadres to guarantee that the party's line and programs be carried forward and that its policies be continued. What is meant by the continuity of party policies? Speaking before the CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "That of course includes both domestic and foreign policies based independence and autonomy, democracy and the rule of law, opening the country to the outside world, and revitalization of domestic economy. We will not change these policies. These four basic principles, the foundation of all our policies, will remain ever more steadfast and unshakable. The realization of this objective depends on younger and better-educated cadres who are well versed in Marxism-Leninism, capable of combining in practice Marxist-Leninist principles and the reality in China, and creative enough to pursue the building of Chinese-style socialist undertakings. These are the qualities of being more revolutionary. Whenever the question of construction arises, some comrades immediately turn their attention to knowledge and education. There is nothing wrong with that except they have forgotten or overlooked the direction and road of the construction. There are other comrades who do not understand that our

emphasis on youthfulness implies both ability and integrity often regard youthfulness and a revolutionary orientation as antithetical. We should work conscientiously to correct such one-sided views of the "four transformations" of cadres.

To be more revolutionary is a change personally experienced by the cadres during the progress of our modernization program. The kind of party spirit, ideological line, political quality, work style, revolutionary ideals, integrity, and discipline of a cadre are expressed in his words and deeds. Consequently, the degree of one's being revolution-oriented could be gauged and measured. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that youthfulness and professional knowledge alone are not enough; a good work style is also essential. Those cadres whose party spirit is questionable, who indulge in bad practices, and who lack a proper attitude are unlikely to dedicate themselves to the socialist modernizations even though they are young and better educated. We may utilize their special talents but must not let them occupy important leading positions. Furthermore, it requires patient educational assistance to keep them from drifting toward dishonest practices or disillusionment due to depression. Consequently, a cadre who lacks a revolutionary orientation cannot become an important leader even if he were successful in any of the other "three transformations." In the past, the foremost issue underscored by mass opinion was that some cadres lacked a proper revolutionary orientation. Today, the masses expect us to take warning from those cadres and strive for a better and higher level of revolutionary orientation. This is another indication of the importance of the revolutionary orientation of cadres.

Although the first stage of party consolidation has basically concluded, there is still the need to solidify its achievements and reinforce party awareness. The second stage of party consolidation now being pursued in accordance with the program laid down by the CPC Central Committee also faces the problem of how to prevent it from deteriorating into a mere formality. All these are directly related to the question of making the cadres more revolution-oriented. The drive to make the cadres more revolutionary should keep pace with the party consolidation and the cultivation of a keener party awareness and higher political and ideological qualities of the cadres. We hope all the cadres will have a correct understanding of this issue and strive to be cadres of "four transformations" as expected of them by the party and the people by adhering to unrelenting self-remoulding, a greater party awareness, and a rectified workstyle in party consolidation and day-to-day work so as to achieve intellectual and professional transformations through the impetus of being revolution-oriented.

5360/12624

CSO: 4005/257

NORTHEAST REGION

NEW PARTY MEMBERS SCREENED TO ENSURE GOOD QUALITY

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by Bao Wen [2552 2429]" "New Party Members Exhibit Their Good Performances"]

[Text] From mid-September to mid-October the provincial CPC department of organization conducted an examination on the quality of all new members admitted into the party throughout the province last year, and the findings will provide a basis for strengthening the education of new members and for the future development of party organizations.

It was the first comprehensive quality check on new party members ever conducted in this province. To conduct this examination, a total of 289 organizational personnel and party cadres were selected to form 19 large groups and 60 small groups responsible for carrying out the examination on 16,033 new party members now working in 190 CPC committees at departmental (bureau), county, and basic levels and 601 party branches. It can be seen from this examination that for more than a year, party organizations at all levels throughout the province have earnestly implemented the ideological instruments and operational guidelines issued by the central and provincial CPC concerning the expansion of party membership in the new era, have done a great deal of work, and have adhered to the important things in expanding party membership. As a result, the quality of the new members is good. According to an analysis, outstanding performers account for 85 percent of all new members, mediocre performers account for 14 percent, and poor performers account for 1 percent. Among these new members, 9,123 persons have been elected model workers at different levels, with advanced producers (workers), excellent teachers, and honor students accounting for 56.9 percent of all new members. A great number of intellectuals and well-educated and meritorious young people have been admitted into the party, bringing with them positive changes to the political quality, age structure, and cultural background of the rank and file of the party throughout the province. The overwhelming majority of new members have a higher level of political consciousness, are among the first to accept difficult tasks, always work hard, have the courage to reform, maintain close links with the masses, show correct party discipline, take the lead in helping the masses get rich through diligence, lead the field in accomplishing all their tasks, embody the spirit of dedication to socialism and communism, and do credit to the party.

However, it is a fact that in the process of this examination, a number of new party members were found to be of low quality, incapable of playing an effective role, and even grossly unqualified. Most of them lacked the qualifications for party membership when they were admitted; some were admitted, bring along various kinds of problems; others had only a mediocre performance but were admitted through "preferential treatment"; and still others have become negligent and have made mistakes after their admission into the party.

During the briefing session on the quality of new party members, convened by the provincial CPC department of organization and now in progress, the department reemphasized the need for a correct understanding of and insistence on the criteria for party membership and strict observance of the admission procedure, in order to ensure the good quality of new members, rather than seek merely a numerical increase. With regard to detected problems, effective measures must be taken with the determination to rectify them. For mediocre performers, actions should be taken to strengthen their education and impose strict demands on them. Those who show no change or cannot play an effective role after receiving an education should be deprived of their probationary membership. As for the few members who have sneaked into the party, bringing with them economic and political problems and now creating "evil winds," they must be dealt with by means of party disciplinary measures, while investigations should be carried out in order to place the blame on persons involved, in an effort to preserve the advanced condition and purity of the party.

12958/7051

CSO: 4005/394



NORTHEAST REGION

ESSENTIAL STEPS TO RECTIFY PARTY DISCIPLINE DISCUSSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 85 p 4

[Commentary by Sun Qingchao [1327 1987 6389]: "Rectify Party Work Style, Place Value On Concrete Work"]

[Text] The 12th CPC Congress, which convened in September 1982, issued an injunction to carry out the militant mission aimed at a fundamental improvement of the party discipline before the opening of the party's 13th Congress in 1987. Since then, it is a fact that tireless efforts have been made throughout the party and that party discipline has indeed improved. However, it is also a fact that party discipline has not shown a fundamental improvement. Therefore, the key to rectifying party discipline is fewer empty words, more practical deeds, and effective solutions to problems.

At present, a major sign of the ineffectiveness of the campaign against the "evil winds" is that certain organizations have only a partial and muddy knowledge of their situations, described them in general terms, and dealt with them in a perfunctory manner. Even if they do understand certain situations, they often react by merely issuing general appeals, principled demands, and superficial criticisms. As a result, it is difficult to cause even the slightest improvement in their work. With regard to the problem of restoring party discipline, only when we overcome the tendency to take up all problems at the same time and deal with them in vague generalizations, and only when we get to know the problems really well and try to solve them one by one, just as we have done in dealing with production and the economy, can our efforts acquire real significance; only thus can our efforts to restore party discipline be integrated with the various reforms and incorporated into and effectively carried out among all the activities that center around our economic development.

A system is a guarantee for implementation along correct lines; it is also an important guarantee for rectifying party discipline. In recent years, the CPC Central Committee and its Commission for Inspecting Discipline have established a series of regulations and systems on the question of restoring party discipline, thus playing an active role in promoting a fundamental improvement of party discipline. The key problem facing us is the need to take a further step to establish and strengthen the normal life of every party organization, including such systems as the well-organized life of the whole party, supervision

by the masses, and regular reporting on ideological progress and problems, criticisms, and self-criticisms, so that party members and cadres are constantly placed under the control of party organizations and are provided with regulations to follow. If the party has unsound systems, all the party lines, principles, and policies, however good, will achieve nothing and may even be distorted.

The evil practices of placing personal relationships above party spirit and of respecting personal feelings to the detriment of principles are the predominant problems encountered in the process of restoring party discipline. Comrade Hu Yaobang recently pointed out that "no party, people, or country can do without strong discipline.... Those who have done something which they are not allowed to do must be thoroughly investigated. Those who deserve criticism must be criticized. Those who deserve punishment must be punished. Those who deserve dismissal must be dismissed. Those who deserve prosecution must be prosecuted." Strict discipline must be established and applied first and foremost to leading cadres, if we want party members to place party spirit above personal relationships and to adhere to principles without regard to personal feelings. If the leading cadres take personal relationships as the measure of their actions, their subordinates will form factions. If the leading cadres respect personal feelings, their subordinates will devise "countermeasures." If the leading cadres give "special treatment," their subordinates will break the law and rebel against discipline. Only those who obey party discipline while they speak about restoring it can inspire and convince others.

The campaign to rectify party discipline must be carried out mainly through education. But education is not a panacea. When dealing with the small number of people who have a total disregard for party discipline and national laws, punishment should be meted out in accordance with party discipline and national laws. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Congress, our party has formulated many regulations and rules for the purpose of promoting a fundamental improvement of party discipline, such as "Some Guidelines on Political Life Within the Party" and other party regulations, which have given a strong impetus to improving party discipline. However, it should be noted also that certain provisions, appeals, and demands have yet to be established in the form of party rules and party regulations and must be further standardized, codified, and perfected. What deserves particular attention is the fact that both the party and the state constitutions specifically provide that party members shall carry out their activities within the scope permitted by the state constitution and the law. Yet when dealing with cases involving party members and cadres who have broken the law and discipline, certain organizations often rely on party discipline instead of state discipline and laws. As a result, members of the Communist Party become special citizens before the law, may be subjected to disciplinary action within the party instead of punishment according to law, and may evade criminal responsibility for violating the law. If this tendency is allowed to spread, it will weaken the concept of the legal system among party members and bring discredit to the party. This is extremely dangerous and should arouse sufficient concern among us.

"One concrete step is worth more than a lot of guiding principles." If only each of our party members can become consciously aware of his or her duty in the campaign to restore party discipline and be strict with him- or herself, good discipline will surely prevail everywhere within the party.

NORTHEAST REGION

HEILONGJIANG CONVENES SYMPOSIUM FOR NON-PARTY PERSONAGES

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Yang Tianzhu [2799 1131 5511]: "The Provincial Party Committee of Heilongjiang Convene Symposium for Non-party Personages of Various Circles To Strengthen and Develop the Bright Prospects of Stability and Unity"]

[Text] Special to HEILONGJIANG RIBAO--23 November--The provincial party committee of Heilongjiang convened a symposium for non-party personages of various circles at the assembly hall of the provincial chapter of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) this afternoon to discuss ways to carry out the spirit of the National Party Congress of the CPC, to strengthen education on current events and policies, and to consolidate and develop the bright prospects of stability and unity.

The deputy secretary of the provincial party committee attended the symposium.

The director of the united front department of the provincial party committee, Wang Zhao [3769 6865], presided over the symposium and delivered a speech. He said that consolidation and development of the political situation of stability and unity constitute the most important and fundamental condition for carrying out the spirit of the National Congress of the party, pushing on the economic reform and open-door policy and enhancing the development of the two civilizations. Without a stabilized and united political environment, one cannot begin to talk about carrying out the four modernizations, about enabling the people to live and work in peace and contentment, or about anything at all. Now people are longing for stability and reform. This is the general trend of events and the desire of the people. The provincial party committee attaches a special importance to the implementation in depth of the spirit of the National Congress of the party, the intensification and improvement of ideological and political work, and the enhancement of ideological and political work, and the enhancement of ideological and political work among workers, youths, and students. Wang Zhao expressed the hope that members of the CPPCC and all the democratic parties will consider it their most important political responsibility at present to study the documents of the National Congress of the party and to consolidate and develop the bright prospects of stability and unity.

Comrades attending the conference unanimously expressed the wish to devote their own efforts to promote political stability and unity and the continuous, steady, and coordinated development of the economy.

The deputy secretary of the provincial chapter of the CPPCC, Bao Zhong [0545 3822]; Yang Zirong [2799 1311 2837]; Tang Liandi [0781 6647 4573]; Wang Weizhi [3769 4850 6037]; Huang Dexin [7806 1795 7451]; Ma Xinquan [7802 2450 3121]; and the leading cadres of the provincial chapters of the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the China Democratic League, the China Democratic National Construction Association, the China Association for Promoting Democracy, the 3 September Society, and the Association of Industry and Commerce; some deputies to the National People's Congress and member of the CPPCC living in Harbin; members of the standing committees of the provincial CPPCC; and members of the committees and standing committees of all the democratic parties who work in colleges and universities, a total of more than 40 people, also attended the symposium.

12958/6662

CSO: 4005/395

NORTHEAST REGION

INTEGRITY OF MODEL CADRES DISCUSSED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Nov 85 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "A Mirror of Party Cadres at Basic Level"]

[Text] The story of Liu Yude [0491 3763 1779], party branch secretary of Shicheng Village, Yanshou County, who wholeheartedly works for the benefit of the masses and who never competes with the people for profits, is worth reading. He is a mirror for our party members and cadres at the basic level. In this mirror, one can see the distance between ourselves and the requirements the party imposes on us. It encourages us to strive to become qualified members of the Communist Party.

To serve the people wholeheartedly is the one and only purpose of our party. Comrade Liu Yude is worthy of praise because he always remembers the purpose of the party and exhibits a high level of political consciousness in the practice of working for the benefit of the people. As long as something is profitable to the masses, he will spare no effort to achieve it. When something turns out to be in conflict with the interests of the masses, he will voluntarily yield. If something infringes on the interests of the masses, he will resist it vigorously. As a party branch secretary, he always keeps the masses in mind and tries every means to organize people to get rich together.

For more than half a century our party, proceeding from the determination to work wholeheartedly in the interest of the masses, has united hundreds of millions of people in the task of founding and building a new China. In this new historical era, our party continues to uphold this glorious banner to lead the people in their struggle to achieve the ambitious goals of the four modernizations. As for each individual member of the Communist Party now engaged in carrying out reforms or other tasks, should he think of the country as a whole and insist on placing the public interest in first place, or should he look only after his own interests and go so far as to abuse his power for his own interests and seek private gain at the expense of the public? That is a key test to find out whether his belief in communism is staunch and whether his party spirit is strong. Whoever forgets this is not a true Communist Party member and will even take the road to degeneration.

Of course, the demand for party members to work for the interests of the people does not mean the denial of the legitimate personal interests of party members. Party members, like non-party members, need clothing and food and have families to support. As far as legitimate interests are concerned, the party's policy is to provide guarantees. On the other hand, party members must be of a superior quality, which is the communist world outlook. They must, therefore, have the magnanimous spirit to be "the first persons to suffer and the last persons to enjoy" and must have the courage to sacrifice themselves for the interests of the masses. Working for the interests of the people instead of competing with the masses for profits is a manifestation of this superior quality of a Communist Party member. In the rural areas, it is the policy of the party to encourage the masses to get rich through hard work, allowing a sector of the population or an area to get rich first. Of course, this policy also applies to party members who are farmers. But while these party members and comrades are striving to get rich through hard work, they should not forget that the reason for our party to practice socialism is to lead all the people to wealth. They should not forget their responsibility in carrying out this historical mission. We should have the resolve to wipe out the equalitarianism of the "big rice pot," but should also bear in mind the socialist premises of our four modernizations. For this reason, when the masses want to get rich but are afraid to do so, Communist Party members should act as role models by effectively implementing the guidelines and policies of the party, with the courage to take the lead to increase production and to get rich through hard work. When the masses want to get rich but do not know how to do so, Communist Party members should open up new ways, serve as consultants, and help the masses get rich. When their own interests come into "collision" with those of the masses, Communist Party members should yield to others and firmly uphold and protect the interests of the masses. We hope that on the road to riches, the great number of party members in the rural areas, especially those who form the leadership at the basic level, will play the roles of vanguards and models, keep the masses close to their hearts, and be their bosom friends.

12958/6662  
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NORTHEAST REGION

LIAONING SECRETARY GIVES REPORT AT CPC PLENUM

SK120738 Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 28 Jan 86 pp 1-3

[Report delivered by Li Guixian, secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, at the second plenary session of the sixth provincial CPC committee: "Clearly Understand the Current Situation, Adhere To Reform, and Strive for New Victories in Building the Two Civilizations"--date not given]

[Text] Comrades:

Entrusted by the Standing Committee of the provincial CPC committee, I am going to deliver a work report to the plenary session for examination and approval.

1. On the Situation and the Task

The "Sixth 5-Year" Plan period has already ended. Over the past 5 years, under the guidance of the Marxist line pursued since the 3d plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and through the concerted efforts of the vast number of party members, cadres, and the masses throughout the province, we have created a new situation in which political stability goes hand in hand with economic prosperity, and have made great successes in the readjustment of the national economy and the reform of the economic structure. The relations between various sectors of the economy have been brought into better balance. We have comprehensively fulfilled the major targets set forth in the "Sixth 5-Year" Plan. The national economy is now developing steadily and proportionately, and enjoys the prospect of self-sustained growth. Over the past 5 years, the yearly increase rate of the total industrial and agricultural output value averaged 8.4 percent. The value of the agricultural and light industrial output increased by a big margin. Notable improvements have been made in the supplies of agricultural and sideline products and the industrial products for daily use. With regard to revenue, since 1983, the downward trend has been reversed and the revenue has increased in a sustained manner. The situation of energy shortages and the strains on transport have been relaxed. The proportion of light and heavy industries has been brought into better balance. A large number of people waiting for jobs in cities and towns have been employed. Unceasing improvements have been made in the people's livelihood. Simultaneously, an excellent situation of political stability and unity that accords with the will and the vigorous thinking of the people has emerged through out successes in further bringing order out of chaos in

in the ideological and political fields; in redressing a large number of unjust, framed-up, and false charges; in readjusting the leading bodies at all levels; in realizing cooperation between new cadres and old ones and the replacement of the old by the new; and in further implementing the party's policies on cadres, united front work, and intellectuals.

In 1985, we took an important step forward in building the spiritual and material civilizations. With the cordial concerns of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and with the vigorous support of the PLA, the people throughout the province surmounted the difficulties caused by the floods and waterlogging, and thus pushed forward the socialist modernization. Although the grain output declined by a big margin due to the disasters last year, the rural economy developed steadily thanks to the expansion of the industrial and sideline production and the cash crop growing areas through the readjustment of the production setup. Last year, the total social product of the rural areas of the province increased by 12 percent over 1984, which hit an all-time high. The livelihood of the people in the disaster-stricken areas became stable. The industrial production developed in a sustained, steady, and coordinated manner. The pace of the technological transformation was accelerated. Increases were made simultaneously in the growth rate and economic results. The total annual industrial output value of the province increased by 14 percent over the previous year. The profits and taxes realized by the locally budgeted industrial enterprises increased by 15.9 percent. Revenue increased by 17 percent. The scale of the investment in fixed assets covered by the plan was brought under control. The pace of the construction of the key projects was speeded up. The seven large- and medium-sized key projects and single-item projects that the state asked to be completed were completed. Of these projects, two were completed and went into operation ahead of schedule. New progress was made in the reform of the economic structure. The reform work in the new fields, including the reform of price system, wage system, and the system of purchasing agricultural and sideline products, went on smoothly. The policies and measures with regard to enlivening the enterprises were implemented in a step-by-step manner. The vertical and lateral cooperation between the urban and rural areas was extensively conducted. New progress was made in opening to the outside world. The construction of the infrastructure in the Dalian economic and technological development zone began to take shape. The pace of the early-stage preparatory work for opening Yingkou and Dandong to the outside was accelerated. Progress was made in educational, scientific and technological, cultural, public health, sports, radio and television, and press and publication undertakings. Both urban and rural markets were brisk and had ample supplies of commodities. This has laid a foundation for the economic and social development in the "Seventh 5-Year" Plan period.

Last year the situation on the ideological and political front was also very good. The ideological and political work, focusing on the education on ideals, morality, general knowledge, and sense of discipline, was continuously deepened; the trend of stressing ideals and abiding by discipline was on the rise in society; and the activities of "achieving excellence in three fields and learning from the advanced" and of building civilized units cooperatively by army men and civilians were developed in depth. Marked results were



achieved in the consolidation and management of the cultural market. Party building and the work concerning mass organizations were strengthened, party rectification was carried out in a conscientious manner, and definite achievements were scored in improving party style. The situation with regard to both legality and public security showed further improvement. In particular, in combating floods and carrying out the rescue work, most party members and cadres took the lead in sacrificing their own interests for the sake of others, and shared safety and danger and worked together with the disaster-afflicted people. All these facts once again proved that our party members and cadres can withstand tests at crucial moments, and are capable of upholding and carrying forward the party's fine traditions and workstyles; that the party possesses a solid foundation and combat strength; and that the main stream of the party's contingents is good.

The good political and economic situations throughout the province resulted from our conscientious implementation, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee, of the line, principles, and policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the guidelines of the National Conference of Party Delegates, the principle of "opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy," and the principle of grasping the two civilizations simultaneously. They also resulted from the hard work of the masses of party members, cadres, and people. However, we must never note only the good aspects of the situation to the neglect of problems. Our present major problems are as follows:

First, we lack a sufficient understanding of the strategic principle of attending to the two civilizations simultaneously; our ideological and political work is very ineffective; and the tasks in fundamentally improving party style and social conduct remain very arduous. Bureaucracy in work styles, political liberalism, ideological individualism and departmentalism, power abuse for personal gain, and other problems still exist in some departments and units to a serious extent.

Second, we fail to conduct adequate study of and cope with, in a timely manner, the new situations and new problems cropping up in the course of the economic structural reform; and enterprises' vigor for self-development is not sufficient; their pace of technical transformation is not quick enough; their management level is low; and their economic results are not ideal.

Third, our agricultural foundation is still weak, and the collective economy of towns and townships, the tertiary industry, and the township enterprises fail to develop rapidly. Some localities have not totally unfettered themselves, and failed to meet the needs in the development of the commodity economy and the readjustment of the rural production setup in ideology, work, and policies.

At present, our country has entered a new period of development of the Seventh 5-Year Plan period. In the latter 5 years of the 1980's, significant changes will take place in the economic environment at home and abroad. The new technological revolution of the world is developing vigorously, and the competition

in the international market is becoming more acute with each passing day. According to the basic outline of the CPC Central Committee's proposal for the "Seventh 5-Year Plan," in the latter 5 years of the 1980's, our country's urban and rural economic reforms will be deepened and gradually extended to more fields in a coordinated manner, and a foundation for a socialist economic structure with Chinese characteristics and full of vigor and vitality will be basically established. The state has decided to expedite the technical transformation of the old industrial base in the eastern part of our province, and designated our province as a key area of technical transformation. However, other provinces, municipalities, and regions have also increased their key construction projects, and quickened their pace in technical transformation and technology imports, and have great reserve strength and competitive edges. The acceleration of the state's opening to the outside world requires our province, in particular, the Liaodong Peninsula, to play a greater role in opening to the outside world in the northeast China and even the whole country. It is not difficult for us to see from this that the changes in the international and domestic economic environments in the latter 5 years of the 1980's will provide more favorable circumstances for Liaoning's economic and social development than in past years, and also put forward more stern challenges for us. The upcoming 5 years is an important historic period for our province to make progress in modernizing its economy and society. Whether we are able to reform the outdated bases and to make them prosperous will depend on the efforts we exert in the next 5 years. If we are able to accelerate the pace of enforcing the open policy and modernizing the technical foundation, we will have reserve strength for economic development in the 1990's and a good future. Otherwise, we will not only fail to make achievements in this regard, but also bring about a "strained situation" in this regard and lag behind compared to the situation of the country as a whole. Therefore, we must enhance our sense of keeping abreast of the times and the emergency of reforming the outdated bases in order to fulfill the strategic target set forth by the provincial CPC committee with regard to working hard together for the prosperity of Liaoning in order to serve the country as a whole and to be competitive in world markets.

The year 1986 is the first year in which we will begin implementation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In implementing the 5-year plan, we should attach importance to the efforts to be exerted in the first 3 years; thus, we should, in particular, attach importance to our efforts to be exerted in the first year. Success or failure in the work done in the first year has a vital bearing on successfully fulfilling the tasks set forth by the Seventh 5-Year Plan, making the economy prosperous, and achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social morale by the end of this century. Therefore, in the new year we should lead the broad masses of party members, cadres, and the people throughout the province to deeply implement the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the National Conference of Party Delegates, and the speeches given by the central leading comrades at the conference of cadres from the central level organs; to continuously uphold the principle of enforcing the open policy in order to enliven the domestic economy; and to persistently build the two civilizations

simultaneously. A good job should be done in grasping the four major tasks of conducting reforms in both urban and rural economic systems, carrying out technical innovations, straightening out party style, and building leading bodies. We should display the spirit of the foolish old man removing the mountains in working together and waging arduous struggles in a down-to-earth manner in order to push our great cause forward.

In the new year we should continuously maintain the good trend of stable, harmonious, and healthy development in the national economy. On the premise of increasing economic results and reinforcing reserve strength, we should maintain the development rate in a down-to-earth manner in industrial and agricultural production, particularly realizing a large-scale increase in the production of urban collective-owned enterprises and rural industries. A good job should be done in earnestly conducting production and relief work in rural areas in order to strive to restore the grain production level to that realized before the disaster year, unless there are disasters this year; to bring about a more rational structure in production; and to achieve new development in other undertakings. Efforts should be made to achieve new development in making preparations for enforcing the open policy on the Liaodong Peninsula, in building the Dalian economic and technical development zone, and in developing western Liaoning. All economic departments and enterprises should gradually turn themselves into ones filled with economic results, opening measures, and modernized technology and management. In the upcoming few years we should have the large number of enterprises, products, and scientific and technological results reach the world advanced level. Efforts should be made to strictly curtail the scale of capital construction and to strictly control credit funds and the consumption foundation and the spending of foreign exchange in order to maintain a basic stability in commodity prices. The province should realize a larger increase in financial revenues over the 1985 figure and further improve the state of its financial affairs. Efforts should be made to achieve new development in undertakings in education, science and technology, culture, public health, and physical culture and sports, as well as in the work of family planning. On the basis of developing production, the people's livelihood should be further improved. We should achieve new results in building the party's ideology and organizations, conducting the mass work and the CYL activities, and implementing various policies. Efforts should be made to markedly enhance the ideological and political work and to further improve the work of building socialist democracy and legal systems. The leading organs at the provincial, city, and county levels and 500 large and medium-sized enterprises should first achieve a fundamental turn for the better in party style and 13 cities throughout the province should create an obvious turn for the better in social morale.

## 2. Continue To Grasp Well the Urban and Rural Economic Reform, and Stimulate Economic and Social Development

Carrying out urban and rural economic reform thoroughly and successfully is a task of paramount importance in this year's various undertakings. In this year's reform, we should mainly "consolidate, digest, supplement and, improve"

last year's achievements, and, at the same time, vigorously conduct explorations and experimentation in good preparation for significant steps forward in the next year and the year after that.

In the urban economic reform, we should chiefly further invigorate large and medium-sized enterprises, and export-oriented enterprises. Thanks to the previous reform measures, most of the 500 large and medium-sized enterprises throughout the province have gained a certain amount of vigor. Their major task for this year is to improve, coordinate, and implement the existing policies and measures. They should further improve the economic responsibility system enforced within the enterprises, do a good job in the small-scale macroeconomic control after making their basic accounting units smaller, bring into better balance the relations of distribution between various sectors, and widely introduce the system of having plant directors assume full responsibility for the targets to be fulfilled within their terms of office. We should follow the arrangements of the central authorities to properly readjust and reduce the regulatory taxes of large and medium-sized enterprises, and enhance enterprises' vigor for self-development. While invigorating large and medium-sized enterprises, we should also invigorate small ones. Small state enterprises should actively and steadily institute the leasing and the contract responsibility systems. Collective enterprises should restore their nature as enterprises run by the people, extensively apply the stock sharing system, encourage their workers to buy shares, and truly become independent commodity producers and distributors responsible for their own profits and losses. All enterprises should put more efforts into improving their management, and tap their potential.

We should pay attention to overcoming the traditional idea of small-scale production, free ourselves from the "small but all-embracing" and the "large and all-embracing" management patterns, and continue to develop multifaceted and multilayered lateral economic cooperation. The three groups of cities with Shenyang, Dalian, and Jinzhou as their centers should speed up their cooperation; expand their exchanges in the fields of the economy, technology, personnel, information, materials, and funds; further rationalize our province's economic, organizational, and product structures; and make the combination of cities better.

We should continue to reform the circulation system. This year we should further develop some inter-regional and inter-departmental new commercial networks which combine either industrial or agricultural units, or both. We should encourage individuals to embark on transportation and sales business in order to increase new channels and new forms of commerce. We should also experiment with the socialization of commercial and service facilities. While expanding the markets for consumer goods and means of production, we should also exert great efforts to develop science and technology, money, construction, labor, and information markets. Under the current circumstances of an acute shortage of funds, it is very necessary for us to make the money market thriving, and to make the best use of extra-budgetary funds. We should strengthen supervision over and guidance to extra-budgetary funds, and

draw them as much as possible into the credit channels of banks. With the guidance of the state monetary management departments, we should also use bonds and various other monetary means in a planned and selective manner to actively stimulate the sound development of the money market, and make the best use of funds.

We should correctly handle the relationship between microeconomic flexibility and macroeconomic control. Judging from the specific situation of our province, the microeconomy is not thriving, and the macroeconomic control is lagging behind. This is a problem in our economic work. An important reason why our province's economic development lags behind that of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and other provinces and municipalities is that we fail to implement to the letter the measures for opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy. Upholding microeconomic flexibility is not contradictory to strengthening the indirect macroeconomic control. We should not take such a naive view as to say that the state's strengthening of macroeconomic control means its retreating from reform. Microeconomic flexibility is a reform, and macroeconomic control is also a reform, one that goes a step further.

The socialist economy is a planned commodity economy. As a commodity economy, the socialist economy requires that flexibility be allowed in vitalizing the domestic economy, and as a planned economy, it requires strengthening the control over the macroeconomy. Microeconomic flexibility must not deviate from macroeconomic control while macroeconomic control is in service of microeconomic flexibility. Both supplement each other, but neither will work if either is missing. With regard to the macroeconomic control, at present, we must strengthen and perfect the economic regulatory means; control the scale of the investment in fixed assets; make efforts to maintain a balance among credits, consumption, funds, and foreign exchange; and try to keep a balance between supply and demand in general. We must concentrate the microeconomic flexibility on bringing into play the initiative of the enterprises so as to vitalize their economy. Thus, the financial, tax, banking, and economic administrative departments should continue to relax the control over the grassroots but must not apply such a simple method as exercising excessively rigid control over the enterprises. In the course of the economic reform, we must open up a new way of exercising control, but not too rigidly, over the economy, and enlivening it, but not making it chaotic, in order to ensure that the national economy advances along the socialist line with Chinese characteristics. This year, we must pay attention to strengthening and perfecting the macroeconomic control. While paying attention to bringing the increase in social demands under control, we should make efforts to develop production to ensure good supplies. We must maintain a proper growth rate on the basis of stressing economic results but not pursuing speed. We must pay attention to these questions.

The recent rural work conference put forth a plan for the reform of the rural economic structure. We must pay attention to the following three tasks:

First, we should continue to readjust the rural production structure and make good arrangements for balancing the relations between different branches of

agriculture. This year, we must continue to readjust the rural production structure in accordance with the principle of making the most use of the existing natural resources in a good, proper, and timely manner, and in the light of different actual conditions. All localities must pay great attention to the current tendency by which the peasants have lowered their initiative for growing grain. The following are fundamental principles for guiding the rural economic work: "Never ignore grain production, and enthusiastically develop a diversified economy"; "no economic stability without agricultural development"; and "grain shortages will lead to social disorder." Thus, grain production conditions the development of all other trades. It is impossible to enliven the rural economy if we do not take grain production as a basis. In line with the actual conditions of Liaoning Province, we should conscientiously implement a series of policies and measures for arousing the enthusiasm of the peasants for growing grain in an effort to ensure a stable growth of grain production. We must attend to the disaster-relief work and pay attention to helping the disaster-stricken areas solve the problems concerning food and production. The banks at all levels should help the disaster-stricken areas solve the problems concerning funds for production.

Second, on the premise of consolidating and perfecting the system of contracted responsibility on the household basis with payment linked to output, we should develop the cooperative economy, consolidate the double-layered management system, and perfect the service system. We should earnestly help every household solve the problems which it fails to solve. At present, faster development has been made in various kinds of integrated and cooperative organizations characterized by the new economic associations. We must pay attention to perfecting the rules, regulations, and management systems among these organizations in order to expand accumulation, the scope of cooperation, and the scale of production in a step-by-step manner. In accordance with the principle of voluntary participation and mutual benefit, the peasants are encouraged to engage in various kinds of cooperation. We must persistently carry out the output-related contract system and the family-based management system. We must not follow the old roads of seeking uniformity in doing everything and doing things sporadically in order to avoid the recurrence of the "leftist" and formalist mistakes.

Third, we should accelerate the development of town-and township-run enterprises. This is the only way to vitalize the rural economy. We should comprehensively implement the guiding principle of "initatively giving assistance, making reasonable arrangements, giving correct guidance, and strengthening management," and correctly handle the relations between the principles of "no economic stability without agricultural development" and "no wealth without industrial development," between speed and efficiency, and between accumulation and consumption. We must continue giving free rein to the town-and township-run enterprises, relax policy restraints, and create favorable conditions in the fields of funds, materials, skilled persons, and technology for accelerating the development of these enterprises. Since the province overfulfilled this year's revenue plan, all localities should attend to preventing and correcting the tendencies of arbitrarily constructing buildings and guesthouses and buying cars, but should make the most use of the limited funds to vigorously support the development of the town-and township-run enterprises.

Efforts should be made to continuously sum up or popularize the experience gained by the cities of Shenyang, Dalian, and Dandong, as well as by the five counties of Haicheng, Xinbin, Faku, Lingyuan, and Xinmin, in carrying out their pilot work on conducting comprehensive reforms in economic systems in order to further push forward the drive to conduct reforms in urban areas and rural townships and towns.

The educational front should continuously implement the spirit of the decision made by the central authorities with regard to conducting reforms in educational systems and further push forward the reform activities in this regard. The reform as a whole in education comprises the work of improving educational systems, educational ideology, and teaching materials and methods, of which, the improvement of the guiding ideology in education is most important. Efforts should be made to correct the wrong phenomena cropping up due to the out-dated traditional ideas on education, in which people pay attention to academic achievements in science and engineering and turn a blind eye to technology and management, which has resulted in the unreasonable structure and distribution of talented personnel and the imbalanced proportion in personnel supply and demand. We should put our work emphasis on the following tasks: 1) Efforts should be made to upgrade the quality of middle and primary schools and to make the 9-year compulsory education universal. 2) Efforts should be made to readjust the secondary education structure and to develop vocational education. 3) Efforts should be made to enhance education with regard to training teachers and to attach importance to building the ranks of teachers. 4) Attention should be paid to having students take up practical activities outside their schools and encouraging college students and professors to render advisory service for enterprises and rural villages. 5) Efforts should be made to encourage on-the-job cadres to attend rotational training classes on politics, the economy, management, the law, and commerce. 6) Efforts should be made to conduct personnel transfers in a guided and organized manner in order to push forward the reform drive in education. In carrying out reforms in scientific research systems, we should follow the principle of "enforcing the open policy, enlivening the economy, giving a helping hand, and conducting guidance" in order to further improve or open more technical markets and to accelerate the pace of commercializing technological results. We should further improve or enhance the advisory service in science and technology and vigorously develop various associations between production units and scientific research institutes through various channels in order to accelerate the pace of popularizing and applying research results. We should implement the "spark plan" set forth by the state on science and technology and make more arrangements for research on items "which are in short supply, require ordinary technology, and rapidly achieve economic results," in order to directly serve production. We should continuously simplify administration and delegate power to the scientific research units, and enforce, in an all-round way, the responsibility system concerning research funds and the compensatory contracting system among them. Efforts should be made to study ways to conduct reforms on the fronts of literature and the arts, public health, and physical culture and sports. Those that prove feasible should be popularized in a timely manner.

### 3. Vigorously Grasp Technical and Managerial Progress in Order To Accelerate the Pace of Conducting Reforms in the Out-dated Bases

Technical renovations represent a fundamental way to enliven the economy in Liaoning. Whether Liaoning Province is able to make the economy prosperous in the 1990's will depend, to a great extent, on whether it is able to achieve rapid progress in conducting technical renovations among the enterprises. We must boldly adopt a strategic attitude toward the question and regard as major tasks the programs of boldly inducing outside funds, introducing outside technology, and making a success in technical renovations. By conducting reforms during the implementation period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we should enable our province to markedly upgrade its standard of agricultural modernization, to have its industries of energy resources, communications and transportation, metallurgy, machinebuilding, chemistry, building materials, and electronics, and the light and textile industries, basically renovate their technology to a new standard, and to enable its backbone enterprises to improve and upgrade their technology, equipment, and production process to the world advanced standard scored between the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's. Efforts should be made to develop a large number of newly rising business and products in order to create reserve strength for making the economy prosperous in the 1990's.

Technical renovations constitute a complicated and systematic project in which we should do a good job in making overall arrangements, having every industry and trade make their own plans, and integrating microeconomic reforms with macroeconomic development in order to carry them out in a planned manner and by aiming at certain shortcomings.

Enterprises should carry out technical renovations and structure reorganization simultaneously under the guidance of their production plans and refrain from committing again the mistake of carrying out readjustment after technical renovations. At present, our province is estimated to have more than 60 billion yuan (original value) in fixed assets, which tops the highest figure in the country. However, our industrial total output value is much less than that of Shanghai Municipality and Jiangsu Province. An important reason for having a large quantity of fixed assets and poor economic results is the irrational organizational structure of enterprises. There are many "large and all-embracing" and "small but all-embracing" enterprises, and the phenomena of duplicate construction and operation under capacity are rather universal. If we allow a large number of "large and all-embracing" and "small but all-embracing" enterprises to carry out technical transformation without changing their properties, they will remain "large and all-embracing" and "small but all-embracing" even though they adopt some advanced technologies, they will fail to realize socialized large-scale production, and their economic results and competitive edge will continue to be very poor even though they have spent money and time. If our enterprises follow the example of the Yingkou Washing Machine Plant, which allows several dozen spare parts production plants to carry out their own technical transformation in line with the principle of coordination among specialized departments, independent scattered enterprises in society will form a social production line with inherent connections. In this way, the problem of the supply of funds for



technical transformation will be solved, lateral cooperation will be promoted, and rational results in the scope of production will be achieved. We must follow this road.

In technically transforming industrial enterprises, we should persistently expand reproduction chiefly through intensive means. The purpose of the transformation is to produce more products of higher grade, and to accelerate the updating and upgrading of products. The purpose must never be to build new workshops and increase production capacity. Only when product quality is improved can the value of products increase, and economic results become better. At present many enterprises want to build new workshops and increase their production capacity because they feel satisfied with the situation in which product demand exceeds supply. By so doing, they may increase the quantity but not improve the quality. This is a short-sighted view. Many of our products remain "clumsy, large, black, and coarse." In the future we should change our production of primary products into that of manufactured goods, and turn our rough processing into intensive and precision processing.

Technology imports represent a road we must follow in order to expedite the technical transformation of the old industrial base and narrow the differences between our province and advanced countries of the world. We should use foreign funds and import technologies more bravely, and pool the best of the world to cultivate our superiorities. Over the past few years we have scored very good achievements in foreign fund utilization and technology imports. However, there have been many duplicate imports, and technological and economic benefits have not been high. This is a problem we should solve. The purpose of our import of technologies is to equip and improve ourselves, not to buy modernization. For this reason, we should stress mastery of the imported technologies. If we only import and mechanically copy the technologies without mastering and further developing them, our technologies will always lag behind those of others. From now on we should grasp well the mastery, application, and further development of technologies with the same attention as we did imports. Some enterprises import only the assembling and production lines of finished products, and spare parts for assembling, neglecting the need for carrying out imports in coordination with the purpose of realizing domesticization of our products. Such a method will not work because it will put us under the restrictions of others. We should strengthen administrative management and information work, do a good job in planning, and make imported foreign funds and technologies yield better economic results. Our province's machinery industry possesses a substantial foundation and fairly high capacity for coordinated production. In the future we should import fewer complete sets of equipment, and emphatically import key, precision equipment, and software technologies.

Our enterprises have backward technologies, and even more backward management. If we pay attention to technologies alone to the neglect of management, no technologies, however advanced, can fully perform their due functions. We should grasp technological advancement with one hand and managerial advancement with the other, make these "two wheels" turn simultaneously, and

comprehensively improve the competence of enterprises. We should learn from and bring in modern management experiences and methods, continue to try out the system of having plant directors (managers) assume full responsibility, and establish a unified, strong, and highly efficient production command and management system. On this basis, we should improve the economic responsibility system, bring into better balance the relations of distribution between various sectors within enterprises, enhance the competence of staff members and workers, improve management, and enable enterprises to meet the requirements in the development of the planned commodity economy, and to increase their ability to transform and develop themselves.

While strengthening the transformation among the old enterprises, we must vigorously strengthen the technological transformation in agricultural production and among the town- and township-run industrial enterprises, and try to speed up the progress of specializing, commercializing, intensifying, and modernizing agricultural production. We must rely on both policies and science to develop agriculture. There will be no advanced and developed industry without advanced and developed agriculture. It is of strategic significance to accelerate the technological transformation in agricultural production. Liaoning should bring into full play its advantages in having many large industrial enterprises and large and medium-sized cities, try to provide more materials and modern technology for agricultural production, and arm agriculture with modern technology and equipment. We should further enhance agricultural scientific research; popularize education on agriculture and technology; strive to provide new achievements, varieties, and technology for agrotechnological progress; and make efforts to upgrade the technological level of agricultural production and the town- and township-run industrial enterprises. Efforts must be made to import some new varieties, technology, and equipment for agricultural development. We must pay attention of environmental protection in order to prevent industrial pollution from moving to rural areas. We should protect the ecological environment to ensure a benign ecological cycle.

We must vigorously grasp the work of creating foreign exchange through exports in order to accelerate the pace of technological transformation. The import of technology is only empty talk without foreign exchange. Only when we create more foreign exchange can we import more technology. We must base our efforts on upgrading the technological level to produce more export commodities with competitiveness in the international markets so that imports will be sustained by exports and exports will be guaranteed by imports. We should further strengthen the construction of the export commodity bases in an effort to reverse the trend in which our export products of poor quality and fewer varieties and in short supply fail to create more foreign exchange. We should readjust the set-up of the export products in line with our province's advantages. While continuing to grasp the export of textile, light industrial, petrochemical, hardware, agricultural, and livestock products, we should focus on grasping the export of mechanical and electric products, particularly the export of complete sets of mechanical equipment. All relevant departments should apply proper policies and measures for ensuring material supplies and retaining a portion of foreign exchange to enhance exports and create more foreign exchange. Simultaneously, we should strengthen the reconstruction and development of ports to create favorable conditions for developing

foreign economic relations and trade in an effort to upgrade the capacity for creating foreign exchange through exports by a big margin within this year.

#### 4. Further Straighten Out Party Style, and Strive To Realize a Fundamental Turn for the Better in Party Style

The CPC Central Committee has taken a series of resolute and effective measures for straightening out party style since the National Conference of Party Delegates set forth the issue concerning further straightening out party style last September. Not long ago, the general offices of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued a circular on concentrating on solving the problems of party style in six fields. Recently, the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee held the meeting of cadres of central organs to call on all party members and cadres of the central organs to set an example for the whole country with lofty mental outlook and fine work style. The important speeches of the central leading comrades delivered at this meeting were really of important significance for straightening out party style, achieving reform, and strengthening the two civilizations, as well as of far-reaching significance for achieving the work ahead of us.

In order to straighten out party style, at present, we should, first, deeply study the important speeches of the central leading comrades delivered at the meeting of cadres of central organs; simultaneously restudy the party constitution, the "guiding principle for inner-party political life," and Document No 57 of (1985) issued by the General Office of the CPC Central Committee; arm ourselves with the guidelines of these speeches and documents; and guide the work of straightening out party style with the guidelines. Through the study of these speeches and documents, we should seek unity of thinking among party members and cadres and solve the current ideological problems concerning our understanding about the political and economic situation, the reform work, the tasks for the two civilizations in the latter 5 years of the 1980's, the exemplary role of leading organs in straightening out party style, and the principles and policies for grasping party style. In particular, we should clearly understand the decision, principles, and policies of the central authorities on straightening out party style. Comrade Yaobang pointed out that in correcting unhealthy trends, we should, first, be resolute and, second, be persistent, and called on the whole party to carry forward the spirit of the foolish old man, and never stop until the purposes are achieved. This showed the CPC Central Committee's firmness in improving party style, and also the protractedness and arduousness of this work. Improving party style is work for the entire party. Major leading comrades of the party, the government, and the army have set a good example by attending to party style personally. We should see the determination of the CPC Central Committee, enhance our confidence in driving out the evil and ushering in the good and eliminating defects, swing into action, and wage a resolute and thorough struggle against unhealthy trends. The key to improving party style lies in the actual deeds of leading comrades at various levels. They should not wait and see, carry out the work in a sporadic manner, lower

their spirit, and slacken their fighting will. They should successfully work out the overall plans and specific arrangements for improving party style, and deepen this work in step-by-step and persistent manner.

Second, attention should be paid to the exemplary role of the provincial organs. In its work to improve party style, the CPC Central Committee clearly pointed out the exemplary role of the central organs throughout the entire country, and designated the central organs and the Beijing Municipal organs as the priorities in improving party style. As far as our province is concerned, we should also improve the party style of the provincial organs and the Shenyang City organs on a priority basis in order to improve the party style of the whole province. This requires each and every cadre of the provincial and the Shenyang City organs to fully understand the responsibility he is shouldering, and set an example for the whole province with his own exemplary deeds.

In improving the party style of the provincial organs, the general demands are to start with the implementation of the guidelines of the CPC Central Committee's Document No 57, conscientiously solve the problem of unhealthy trends, and correct the malpractices in various trades. We should persistently start from leading organs and leading cadres, and fully mobilize the masses to uncover various unhealthy trends. Judging from the problems already exposed during the provincial organs' implementation of the CPC Central Committee's Document No 57, the several unhealthy trends as pointed out by the CPC Central Committee also exist to varying degrees, and some problems are very serious. We should make it clear that our provincial CPC Committee should be held responsible for the several unhealthy trends which appeared in the provincial organs. We already conducted self-criticism in recent regular activities held by the Standing Committee of the provincial CPC committee. For example, the provincial CPC committee set a bad example by engaging in vying to buy deluxe cars. Although we obtained approvals and went through legal procedures before importing these cars, it was, anyhow, improper to import 700 cars at one time (of which 100 were for the provincial organs) with our local foreign exchange. Our leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee and government also created much bad influence by taking the lead in exchanging to obtain better cars. With regard to sending personnel abroad, we failed to exercise strict control after delegating the power for examining and approving foreign trips to lower levels. As a result, the teams and groups which were sent abroad last year increased by a large number; unhealthy phenomena, such as duplicate foreign trips, sending personnel abroad as a sign of preferential treatment, and assigning unnecessary personnel to join groups for foreign trips, appeared; and some teams and groups even abandoned national and personal dignity during their visits, thus creating a very bad impact. With regard to wining and dining, some of our leading comrades were not strict enough with themselves, and exceeded the standards for meals when dining at lower levels, or accepted dinner parties. During the previous implementation of the CPC Central Committee's Document No 57, the provincial organs and their subordinate units conducted examinations on their efforts to correct unhealthy trends. Of course, some of them did not conduct examinations thoroughly, and some even did not conduct examinations at all. We

will now reiterate that those which did not conduct examinations and those which did conduct examinations but have not uncovered problems should further examine and correct problems in line with the requirements of the document. In improving party style, the focus is to properly solve the problems of leading cadres. However, the serious unhealthy trends of other people should also be corrected. At present, all industries and trades have more generally incurred the malpractice of seeking personal gain by taking advantage of power. In addition to the prevalence of hegemony among the gas, electricity, water, and housing supplies units, the fronts of tax affairs, industry and commerce, banks, and communications and transportation have also committed serious malpractices that had been checked but have also cropped up time and again. Other industries and trades and departments have also committed malpractices that need to be solved, such as selling major prescriptions by doctors, selling family registers by the personnel in charge of household registration, selling layouts by the journalists of publishing departments, and asking payment for information by the units in charge of approval. If we don't block these malpractices, we will be in a bad way. In straightening out party style, the provincial-level organs should not only deal well with their internal problems, but also assist various localities to correct well the malpractices among various industries and trades. On behalf of the provincial CPC committee, he solemnly declared that those who have committed malpractices and violated the law and discipline, no matter what organizations they belong to, who they are, and whether they are responsible persons of the provincial CPC committee, deserve to be exposed by the broad masses of cadres and the people, who can also report such cases accurately to the provincial CPC committee or the central authorities, in line with the party's regulations and rules. In correcting malpractices, efforts should be made not only to strictly run the party, but also to strictly implement the party's policies. Attention should be paid to differentiating the malpractice of seeking personal gain by taking advantage of power from some inevitable faults cropping up in the course of conducting reforms in order to protect the enthusiasm of cadres and the people in upholding the drive to conduct reforms. In correcting malpractices, we should adopt a careful attitude toward and deal adequately with the problems related to the vital interest of the vast number of people. The few who have actually committed serious malpractice should be resolutely and strictly dealt with. Efforts should be made to uphold the principle of dismissing those who deserve to be dismissed from their posts in line with the facts, the party's discipline, and the state law; punishing those who deserve to be punished; and dealing with those who deserve to be dealt with in line with the law. Economically, a good job should be done in recovering the illegal money that deserves to be recovered and by no means should we rush through the cases and let the wrongdoers gain advantage. It is imperative to enhance the leadership over the work of straightening out party style and to support the work done by the discipline inspection departments at all levels. The units of the provincial-level organs that have been found to be ineffective in correcting malpractice should be readjusted in their work, and their leading cadres, who have not actually been suitable to their posts in correcting malpractices should be replaced by others. On the basis of exposing and correcting malpractices, various units should also establish necessary regulations and

rules in coping with the exposed problems and in order to plug loopholes, and should enhance the supervision of the mass in order to provide systematic guarantee for thoroughly dealing with the malpractices.

Third, a good job should be done in grasping party style. In 1986, the province will carry out party rectification among the grassroots-level units, such as small and medium-sized enterprises and establishments, rural townships and towns, urban neighborhoods, and primary and middle schools. These units that will take up the work of party rectification involve various social circles and a large number of people and party members, and have a close relationship with the masses. The success or failure in straightening out party style by these units has a vital bearing on achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style throughout the province. While fulfilling the tasks of party rectification with high standard and quality among these units, we must put the task of straightening out party style in a most important place in order to deal with the problems concerning party style by firmly seizing the favorable opportunity of the party rectification drive. All units that have taken up the party rectification work should specially spend a certain period of time on exposing and dealing, in a concentrated manner, with the problems concerning party style. Efforts should be made to regard the success or failure in achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style as a yardstick in measuring the achievements scored by the units in conducting party rectification. Those units that have not dealt with their problems actually concerning party style will not be allowed to pass the acceptance test in this regard. Those party members who have committed serious problems that have not been dealt with well will not be allowed to have party member registration. Those units that have completed their party rectification work should also spend a certain period of time on straightening out party style in order to make up for their missed tasks. By "reviewing" the party rectification work, we should earnestly examine, expose, and deal with the problems concerning party style. The "review" of the work in this regard is chiefly aimed at determining whether the leading bodies and cadres have dared to check or deal with malpractices, whether the problems of most concern to the masses and the source of great complaints by the people have been solved, whether malpractices have cropped up during the conducting of the party rectification drive, whether the major and serious cases have been dealt with, and whether the problems concerning bureaucracy, regulations and rules, and systems have been solved. In short, we must realize a fundamental turn for the better in party style within this year through "reviewing" the party rectification work. The units that cannot begin the party rectification work within this year should make corrections with the focus on straightening out party style in order to create favorable conditions for the next step of party rectification work. In the course of party rectification, we should continue to firmly grasp the work of checking and taking organizational measures against the "three types of persons." Attention must be paid to preventing the tendency of overly lenient or overly strict punishment.

Fourth, it is necessary to strengthen the building of socialist democracy and the legal system. Developing socialist democracy and perfecting the socialist legal system is an important task of the party. At present, we should further

strengthen propaganda and education on universalizing general knowledge of the law so that the broad masses of the people, particularly the cadres at all levels and the youngsters, will be able to know and abide by the law and to bravely deal blows to the activities of violating the law and discipline. The provincial people's congress should strengthen local legislation work, simultaneously supervise and inspect the situation of the implementation of the law and regulations, and conscientiously check the tendencies of not abiding by the law or not strictly enforcing the law so as to promote the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in social order.

It is necessary to firmly check and handle the cases violating party discipline and state law, in particular, major and appalling cases. Leaders should personally take a hand in checking and handling the major and appalling cases, be brave in facing difficulties, and handle the cases impartially. It is necessary to firmly and thoroughly investigate cases involving the organizations and cadres at various levels. Attention must be paid to preventing the tendency of neither checking nor handling the cases and the tendency of only checking but not handling the cases. It is necessary to take strict measures in a rapid manner against economic criminal activities. At present we should pay special attention to strictly dealing blows to serious speculators and swindlers in accordance with the law. Serious speculators and swindlers should be strictly punished according to the law once their crimes are thoroughly investigated. The leaders of the units that bring about great economic losses to the state must be called to account. Criminal sanctions must be pursued against those who ask for, offer, and accept bribes; those who support and engage in speculation and swindling; and those who are derelict in their duties and seriously violate criminal law. We should continue to strictly deal blows to various criminal offenders in an effort to reduce the number of cases to a minimum. We should resolutely get rid of the arrogance of the evil members who seriously disturb public order and damage economic construction.

Fifth, we should grasp party style to promote a turn for the better in folk customs and to comprehensively consolidate and improve public order. It is necessary to extensively launch the activities of building civilized cities, creating civilized units, and being civilized citizens so as to enhance the level of people's civilization. We should further enhance education on professional morality to foster fine social practices. All trades and professions and all units should foster fine practices. For instance, factories, schools, hospitals, and [word indistinct] establish their own good practices, and the urban and rural residents should have good family precepts. Our province has made great achievements in the work of armymen and civilians jointly building the spiritual civilization. The armymen-civilian joint civility enabled a group of advanced units to emerge. From now on, we should continue to strengthen the work in this regard so as to enable all grassroots units to engage in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization.

Sixth, we should vigorously strengthen ideological and political work. We should attend to ideological education in order to realize a turn for the better in party style and social practice. We must focus this year's

ideological and political work on the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in party style and social practice. It is necessary to vigorously launch the education on "having ideals, morality, knowledge, and a sense of discipline," and the current situation and policies. Special attention must be paid to launching education on party spirit, party discipline, and the purpose of serving the people wholeheartedly among party members and party-member leading cadres. All mass organizations and the press, radio, television, publication, and literary and art departments should bring into play their important functions in strengthening ideological and political work and in the work of realizing a fundamental turn for the better in party style. The press, publication, and cultural departments should take social benefit as the principle for building their activities, combine economic results with social benefit, and guard against and check the tendency of making money to the neglect of social benefit.

Leadership over ideological and political work should be strengthened. The ranks of ideological and political workers should also be strengthened to improve their competence. We should perform the functions of CPPCC committees at various levels, conscientiously implement the party policies on the united front and on intellectuals, and bring the initiative of all quarters into full play. We should publicize on a large scale the heroic deeds of the PLA on the Lao Shan frontline, and should also discover, sum up, and publicize the good examples in building the two civilizations so as to educate the masses of cadres and people.

#### 5. Strengthen the Building of Leading Bodies, and Improve the Level of Leadership

The accomplishment of the party's tasks in the new period sets forth increasingly higher demands on leading bodies at various levels. The key factor deciding whether the building of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations can be led well lies in the competence of all leading bodies. Therefore, in the new period we should all the more regard the building of leading bodies as a strategic task and attend to it.

After several years of readjustment and with the assistance and guidance of veteran comrades, leading bodies throughout the province are, generally speaking, good or fairly good, and possess combat strength. They are capable of earnestly implementing the CPC Central Committee's line, principles and policies, and possess a revolutionary spirit of going all out for the prosperity of the country, fairly unfettered minds, and a fairly down-to-earth workstyle. During the past year in particular, they were tempered by the reform and tested by the natural disasters, avoided big faults and mistakes under rather complicated situations, and achieved new successes in the work on all fronts, thus winning the trust of cadres and people. This is the main stream of our leading bodies, and should be fully affirmed. However, we should also soberly note that some new problems meriting our attention has cropped up because we were busy readjusting the organizations and failed to pay sufficient attention to the ideology and workstyles of leading bodies. Some



comrades were busy doing routine work to the neglect of the study of basic Marxist theory, and lacked creativity in performing their work. Some were impure in party spirit and unhealthy in workstyles, and let individualism become swollen. Some failed to straighten out their relations with the organization and did not conscientiously carry out the party's principle of democratic centralism. Some failed to stand the test by the new situation, and lost in the battle against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas. Some were seriously bureaucratic, did not go deep into the realities of life, and divorced themselves from the masses. Some lacked a consideration of the overall situation, proceeded from the interests of their own departments in doing everything, and "adopted countermeasures against the policies of higher levels." Although only a small number of persons have the above-mentioned problems, their corrosive influence is large and political impact bad. Without a successful solution to these problems, it will be impossible for us to fulfill the arduous and yet glorious tasks entrusted by the party. Therefore, in the new year CPC committees at all levels, in particular those at the provincial, city, and county levels, should attach great importance to the building of leading bodies. As large-scale organizational readjustment has by and large been completed, we should in the future further improve the structure of leading bodies in light of the principle of maintaining basic stability while conducting small readjustments, greatly reinforce the third echelon, and continue to readjust and install the leading bodies of colleges and universities, scientific research units, and cultural, art, press and publication departments. While conducting organizational readjustment, we should in the future pay particular attention to improving the ideology and workstyles of leading bodies in order for every member of the leading bodies to enhance his sense of respect for party spirit, organization, policies and the masses, and increase his ability for adaption, prediction and decisionmaking. Fundamentally improving the competence and leadership level of leading bodies is a very pressing task.

1. We should intensify study. At the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Xiaoping called on the cadres of the entire party to study Marxist theory. This call was very to the point. It has an important significance in improving and strengthening party leadership and maintaining the continuity of policies. At present there is a trend of neglecting theoretical study among cadres. They hold that specialized knowledge is needed in carrying out socialist modernization but that Marxist theory is not essential. It is, no doubt, correct to attach importance to specialized knowledge, but it is wrong to neglect the study of Marxist theory. In building socialism with Chinese characteristics and solving problems in reform and construction, we should master not only modern scientific and managerial knowledge but also the ideological weapon of Marxism; neither can be neglected. Although our present leading bodies are much younger, better educated, and more professionally competent than they used to be, we should note that many of our middle-aged and young cadres lack a solid foundation in the study of Marxist theory and the party's basic theory, and their professional knowledge should also be enhanced and updated. For this reason, both new and old cadres must conduct restudy. Only when we master and apply well the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods, and modern scientific knowledge can we implement the

party's principles and policies in a straightforward and creative manner, and can become more capable in solving practical problems. From now on leading persons at various levels, in particular members of the CPC committees at the provincial, the city and county levels, should read some works by Marx and Chairman Mao in a selective manner in line with the requirements of the new situation. They should study the documents and the speeches of the CPC Central Committee and central leading comrades on building characteristically Chinese socialism because they institute the most practical Marxist theory. The provincial CPC committee has established a standing committee study system and formulated study plans. It is hoped that all city and county CPC committees, the CPC committees (party leading groups) of various provincial offices and bureaus, and leading comrades at various levels should make earnest arrangements for their own study, and study perseveringly. Standing committees of CPC committees at various levels should not only discuss major political and economic policy decisions but also discuss theoretical issues at regular intervals, and use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to guide their work.

In addition to conducting theoretical study, we should learn from practice, from the veteran comrades' noble character and sterling integrity, their revolutionary spirit of taking the overall situation into account, and doing work a diligent, united, down-to-earth and persevering manner, and their workstyle of seeking truth from facts, and conducting investigations and study, and from the masses' pioneering spirit of being keen in seeking knowledge and brave in making explorations.

2. We should adhere to the party's principle of democratic centralism and safeguard the party's centralization and unification. Democratic centralism is an organizational principle of the party. At the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Chen Yun exhorted us: "Young and middle-aged cadres just elected to the leading bodies should learn how to perform their duties in accordance with democratic centralism." This is very important. To implement the principle of democratic centralism, we should, first of all, adhere to the principle of subordinating the individual to the organization, subordinating the minority to the majority, subordinating lower levels to higher levels, and subordinating the whole party to the CPC Central Committee. We should unreservedly and resolutely carry out the party's line, principles, and policies and the decisions of higher levels, enforce all orders and prohibitions, maintain unity with the CPC Central Committee, and never take what we need and go our own way. Second, we should fully develop democracy and uphold the principle of collective leadership. In the collective of a CPC committee, the secretaries and the members have equal rights. They should discuss and make decisions in a collective manner on all important issues, and then carry out their individual duties. CPC committee secretaries should act as good "class masters," be good at pooling the wisdom of others, make correct policy decisions, and oppose the practice of allowing only one person to have the say, and acting arbitrarily. Attention should be paid to maintaining the unity, mutual respect and mutual support of leading bodies. At the same time, the system of division of labor with individual responsibility should be enforced strictly, and the practice of evading contradictions and shirking responsibilities under the pretext of collective leadership should

be opposed. We should be vigorous, active and resolute in performing our work, and should strive to improve our work efficiency.

3. We should tighten our organizational life and earnestly carry out criticism and self-criticism. Over the past few years a large number of party organizations have not convened meetings on party life in a timely manner or have turned such meetings into ones of study and "chatting." They have not earnestly carried out criticism and self-criticism and have enabled these meetings to become a mere formality. Such a state of affairs is abnormal. What is worth mentioning is that participation in organizational life by leading cadres represents the manifestation of party spirit. Therefore, by no means should they do as they please and adopt an attitude of liberalism. All party organizations should tighten their organizational life, and the leading staffers at all levels should not only do a good job in convening meetings on democratic life, but also should attend the meetings on party life sponsored by the party branches or the party groups, in which they should take the lead in eliminating the vulgar practice of staying on the right side of everyone. In facing the problems obvious between right and wrong, efforts should be made to tell the truth, to refrain from saving face, to dare to overcome knotty difficulties, and to boldly wage struggle against evil trends. Meanwhile, attention should be paid to listening to the people's opinions and accepting the supervision performed by the masses and lower-level organs. Only by so doing can we check erroneous ideas at the outset, enhance our power of immunity from mistakes, and reinforce our fighting power in order to make the party's cause prosperous and to achieve unity among the party's ranks.

4. We should overcome bureaucratic workstyles in a down-to-earth manner. The party's workstyle constitutes a guarantee of the implementation of the party's line. Comrade Xiaoping said at the 1985 Conference of Party Delegates that "it is hoped that efforts should be made to carry forward the party's fine tradition and workstyle," and also said that "those who not only are young and have professional knowledge, but also have fine workstyle, can deal well with problems." All of these words are aimed at the questions concerning workstyle. At present, the leading organs at all levels have engaged in the serious workstyle of bureaucracy, which poses as the archenemy of our undertakings. In the new year, whether we can better fulfill the tasks imposed on us by the party and the people will depend to a great extent on whether we can truly overcome bureaucracy and earnestly improve the leadership workstyle.

We should carry forward the workstyle of delving into reality and establishing ties with the masses. Bureaucracy is embodied in various fields, and that committed by provincial-level organs chiefly results in the following expressions: 1) They issue "excessive documents and convene excessive meetings"; 2) They indulge in empty talk and deal with no practical problems; and 3) They dispute each other over trifles and have low efficiency in work. In 1984 the provincial CPC committee made up its mind to grasp the problem concerning "excessive documents and meetings" by adopting a large number of strict measures, and has scored marked achievements in this regard. However,

since 1985 the problem concerning "excessive documents and meetings" has become rampant again. The provincial CPC committee urged these organs to make up their mind to deal with the problem in a down-to-earth manner. The provincial-level organs should take the lead in striving to score marked achievements in this regard within this year in order to truly extricate the broad masses of cadres from this problem and to enable them to carry out investigation and studies by delving into reality and going deep into the grassroots-level units. The workstyle of indulging in empty talk and solving no practical problems must also be resolutely corrected. As the central leading comrades accurately pointed it out, leadership means service that is to deal with problems. The leadership should not be satisfied only with convening meetings, giving comments on the documents, and writing articles of lip service. We should rely on the masses in all work, establish close ties with the masses, do our work for the masses because we come from the masses, and should earnestly follow the mass line. Efforts should be made to simplify the administrative structure, to have personnel master specialized knowledge, to enhance the system of responsibility among organs, to educate the cadres to enhance their sense of responsibility in work, and to accelerate the pace in carrying out work in order to deal with problems in a down-to-earth manner. The leading cadres each year should grasp the major issues most concerned by the masses and which exert influence to the situation as a whole, firmly deal with issues through to the end, and should score marked achievements in dealing with these issues.

We should persist in the practical and realistic way of doing things and divide everything, including our work, into two. We must not see our achievements only to the neglect of our weaknesses. We will not be able to make progress if we do not catch sight of our weaknesses. We must speak the truth instead of telling lies. Telling lies is a bad habit. The tendencies of making false reports about achievements and the disaster situation and concealing problems still exist among some localities and grassroots units at present. From now on strict criticism and punishment must be imposed on those who engage in such practices.

We should keep to the style of hard struggle and plain living. This style of work is a glorious tradition of the party as well as a long-term guiding principle of the party. At present our country is still very poor, although the financial situation has taken a favorable turn. We will yet be comfortably off by 2000. We must continue to work arduously even if we are well-off in the future. This year we must further make careful calculations and strict budgeting in order to make up the losses caused by last year's flood disasters. Some comrades hold that they should be generous in spending money under the circumstances of opening to the outside world and enlivening the domestic economy, and that careful calculation and strict budgeting do not go along with the world trends. They are wrong. At present the practices of cadres competing with each other in payments and displaying their wealth seriously exist. Practices such as importing cars, factories with from 80 to 100 people having telephones installed, and cadres driving cars to and from work are seriously divorced from the masses and do not accord with the level of our economic development. This year, going abroad and going sightseeing

should be strictly controlled and cars must not be imported. Units that must add new cars are allowed to buy locally-made ones. We must regard this as discipline and strictly abide by it.

Comrades, the first 5 years of the 1980's have successfully ended and a new period has started. We have made great achievements in the two civilizations in the past 1 to 5 years. However, such achievements can only illustrate the past but can not stand for the future. Only when we make efforts and use our wisdom can we create good prospects. The passage of the time waits for no one. Thus, we must have a sense of urgency to guide and unite the broad masses of party members, cadres and the people of all nationalities throughout the province to work in the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountains to achieve work in all fields and to win new successes in the two civilizations. "Boundless natural charm is attractive for a while." In the new year, we must make efforts to spread new customs, new atmosphere, and new achievements into every part of Liaoning and welcome the convening of the 13th CPC Congress with the realization of a further turn for the better in party style and public order and the excellent achievements in "carrying out reforms, opening to the outside world, conducting transformations, and development."

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NORTHEAST REGION

JILIN CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING OPENS

SK180712 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 17 Feb 86

[Text] The 5th provincial CPPCC Committee Standing Committee held the 11th meeting in Changchun today. Liu Jingzhi, chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over the meeting.

Through full consultation and discussion, Standing Committee members participating in the meeting unanimously determined the agenda and schedule of the fourth session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee which will soon be convened, and adopted the draft work report of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee Standing Committee, and the draft report on handling the motions put forward since the third session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee. The meeting also decided to add a commission in charge of the work of unifying the motherland under the provincial CPPCC committee. The commission should focus on strengthening propaganda on policies concerning unifying the motherland and enhancing the contacts with foreign countries for catering to the needs of the party policy of opening to the outside places, and should act as a go-between in importing funds and bringing in technology and talented persons from abroad. The meeting also adopted the draft namelist of the members of the commission in charge of the work of unifying the motherland.

Present at the meeting were vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, including Zhang Fengqi, Zhang Dexin, Guan Mengjue, He Yunqing, Geng Yuelun, Luo Yuejia, Xin Cheng, Jin Minghan, and Cai Qiyun.

The meeting decided to convene the fourth session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee in Changchun on 7 March. The main agenda items of the fourth session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee which will soon be convened are to hear and also discuss the work report of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee Standing Committee and the report on handling the motions put forward since the third session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee, and to adopt the policy decisions made at the fourth session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee. The participants in the third session of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee will attend as observers the fourth session of the sixth provincial people's congress.

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