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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 February 1984

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

UNSC SCORES S. AFRICA; PRC SUPPORTS ANGOLA

OW070146 Beijing XINHUA in English 0135 GMT 7 Jan 84

[Text] United Nations, 6 Jan (XINHUA)--The UN Security Council [UNSC] today demanded that South Africa cease immediately all bombing and other acts of aggression and withdraw unconditionally all its occupation troops from Angola.

In a resolution adopted by a vote of 13 in favor to none against with two abstentions (the United Kingdom and the United States), the council strongly condemned South Africa for its renewed and unprovoked bombing, as well as the continuing occupation of parts of the territory of Angola.

These acts committed by South Africa, the resolution says, "Constitute a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola and endanger seriously international peace and security."

The resolution calls upon all states to impose an arms embargo against South Africa and extend all necessary assistance to Angola to help it defend itself against South Africa's escalating military attacks and continuing occupation of parts of Angola.

At a council meeting yesterday, Chinese permanent representative to the UN Ling Qing declared that "the Chinese delegation resolutely supports Angola in its struggle against South African aggression, strongly condemns South Africa for its new large-scale invasion of Angola and demands that South Africa withdraw all its troops from Angola immediately and unconditionally."

Since 1981, South Africa has occupied a substantial area of southern Angola, basing its operations in the town of Ngiva, about 30 kilometers north of the Namibian border. Recently, South African troops have used artillery and warplanes to strike as far north as Lubango--the former Sa da Bandeira--in central Angola, causing heavy losses in life and property. Its infantry is reported to have advanced into Angolan territory more than 200 kilometers.

CSO: 4000/173

GENERAL

BRITAIN URGED TO RETURN KOH-I-NOOR GEM TO INDIA

HK090504 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jan 84 p 7

["Jottings" by Feng Xiong [1409 7160]: "What Is There Against It?"]

[Text] The Indian Parliament recently asked Britain for the return of a huge diamond which formerly belonged to India. This 110-carat diamond, known as the "Koh-i-noor," is one of the famous diamonds in the world.

When Britain annexed the Indian native state of Punjab by force in 1849, Dulibu [2629 0448 1580] Singh, the Prince of Lahore, was forced to "present" this diamond to Britain. It was later set in the crown of Queen Victoria, and became the brightest gem on the crown. At present, the crown is worn by Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, on state occasions.

On 25 November last year, the United Nations passed a resolution by 120 votes to nil calling on all member countries to return works of art of historical significance to their original countries. The British delegate had abstained from voting on the grounds that Britain "does not endorse the return of works of art of historical significance obtained by legitimate means."

The demand for the return of its national treasure, the "Koh-i-noor," by the Indian Parliament is based on this UN resolution. When an official explained Britain's attitude to the members of parliament, and mentioned that this diamond has been "presented" as a "gift," it immediately aroused indignation among the members. Many of them pointed out that the return of this diamond is a demand of the whole Indian nation. According to the TIMES in Britain, India would probably, by way of international forum, convince Britain to return the diamond to its original owner.

Britain dominated the South Asian subcontinent for more than a century. Although the colonial era is now gone forever, the vestiges of colonial plunder have not been eradicated. Not long ago, Egypt sought the return of the nose of the Sphinx from Britain, so that the original feature of this famous Egyptian relic could be restored, and the sensible attitude of Britain has also won the praise of world opinion.



The "Koh-i-noor" belongs to the people of India. Since its removal to the British crown, this diamond has in fact lost its brilliance. Only when it has been returned to its ancestral home will it again emit its extraordinary radiance. The diamond is a minor matter, but the elimination of colonial vestiges is a major matter. What is there against Britain returning the diamond to India?

CSO: 4005/316

UNITED STATES

ANALYSIS OF U.S. EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN 'ASIAN FRONT'

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 20, 25 Oct 83 pp 58-59

[Article by Huang Yong [7806 3057]: "Why Is the U.S. Strengthening "The Asian Front?"]

[Text] On the heels of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger's visit to Southeast Asia at the end of October last year, U.S. Secretary of State Schultz has already visited Asia twice this year in a 6-month period and President Reagan himself is planning a visit to Asia this year. The United States is stressing a buildup in Japan's role in Asia and has beefed up its economic and military assistance to several Asian countries. As international circles see it, this indicates a certain strengthening of the Reagan administration's attention to the Asian/Pacific region and one part of a U.S. effort to strengthen "the Asian Front."

The U.S. strengthening of "the Asian Front" proceeds from its global strategy and economic interests.

As for its global strategy, after the conclusion of the Vietnam War, American forces in Asia were in a condition of gradual reduction for quite some time. In direct contrast to this, the Soviet Union in recent years has been engaged in a continuous buildup of its real military strength in the Asian/Pacific region--especially its offensive forces. The Soviet Union's largest fleet afloat--the Pacific Fleet--has been expanding rapidly, and in actual strength it now surpasses the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Figures supplied by the U.S. Navy indicate that in 1982 the Soviet Pacific Fleet consisted of 500 vessels, among which there were 50 large warships and 130 submarines (26 of which carry strategic guided missiles). At the same time, the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Asian region has about 75 vessels and 400 aircraft. Last year the Soviets also added an aircraft carrier which is thought to be "an unmatched direct challenge to the aircraft carriers of the Seventh Fleet." Even more seriously, the Soviets have turned the Vietnamese airbases at Cam Ranh Ban and Xianganghai [1501 3263 3189] and the Cambodian port of Bangxun [4319 6676] into footholds in the Asian/Pacific region and way stations between Vladivostok and the Indian Ocean. According to a very recent Thai newspaper report, approximately 15 Soviet warships are cruising the route between Cam Ranh Bay and Xiangang. Wharves, logistics supplies, communications liaison, navigation and electronic monitoring facilities have already been set up at Cam Ranh Ban in support of Soviet

nuclear subs docking there, and construction of a guided missile firing station is just beginning. Ten Soviet ships are permanently stationed there, along with four TU-95 Bear reconnaissance planes. In addition, Soviet "Backfire" bombers are headquartered at Cam Ranh Bay whose activities take them from Australia to the Indian Ocean; and even the west coast of the United States itself is within roundtrip range. This aggressive expansionist stance of the Soviets has provoked U.S. military personnel to warn, "The increase in Soviet military strength has greatly changed the balance of forces in Southeast Asia."

A primary goal of the Soviet Union in undertaking this expansionist strategy is to control the Straits of Malacca between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The straits are one of the busiest shipping routes in the world, with up to 50,000 ships passing through each year. Many of the strategic materials and much of the oil transported to the West must pass through the Straits of Malacca. For this reason, as far as the West is concerned, this is a "lifeline." If the Soviets should some day cut this route, transport of strategic materials to the West would be blocked, and the United States cannot look lightly on this developing situation.

Economic factors are also involved in the U.S. strengthening of "the Asian Front." The Hong Kong papers have noted that the United States has brought together a new kind of alliance in Asia to complement its mission of enhancing its strategic position there. The basis for its new alliance is "a commonality of economic interests, in part." According to reports, total American trade with the Asian/Pacific region has gone up 20.9 times between 1960 and 1982. Last year, trade with the region amounted to 34.8 percent of total U.S. exports. American investment in countries in the alliance amount to \$50 billion. It is America's fourth largest trading partner. Between 1973 and 1979, American trade with alliance members increased 2.7 times.

From this it is obvious that U.S. interests in the Asian/Pacific region are considerable; and it is an extremely important link in its global strategy and economic interests. Thus, in strengthening its "Asian Front" policies, the United States is bound to have even more intense run-ins with the Soviet Union in the region which should make the situation there even more complex and turbulent.

12303  
CSO: 4005/170

## NORTHEAST ASIA

### IMPROVEMENTS IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS NOTED

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] No 19, 10 Oct 83 pp 56-57 in Chinese

[Article by Zhu Minzhi [4281 2404 0037]: "Governments and Peoples Both Flourish in the New Situation: Notes on Friendly Sino-Japanese Contacts"]

[Text] Contacts between China and Japan, which have grown increasingly more frequent and vigorous since diplomatic relations were normalized, were vividly reflected at the recently held third meeting between members of the two governments. The meeting can be characterized as one at which governments and peoples both flourished, all channels were open, talks were varied in format and broad in substance; and the friendly cooperative relationship bodes for even broader contacts in the future.

Economic cooperation plays an important role in Sino-Japanese contacts. Sino-Japanese economic and trade relations have been developing along the lines of increasing range and depth in recent years. Trade with Japan holds first place among all of China's foreign trade partners, and in 1981 reached \$10 billion--one-fourth of China's total foreign trade. Although it fell slightly last year, it still held approximately to that level. This year it is already up over last year. Expansion and new construction projects under the first series of intergovernment loans from Japan to China between 1979 and 1983 included two seaports (Qinhuang Island and Shijiusuo) and two railroads (the Yantai-Shijiazhuang and Beijing-Xian lines) upon which work is smoothly underway; and all of these should be completed on schedule over the next 3 years. The Japanese Government has, moreover, expressed an interest in continuing its policies of cooperation with China's modernization in the future, and talks on the second series of intergovernment loans have already begun.

Since China and Japan began their technological cooperation in 1978, China has become one of the most important countries with whom Japan is conducting such an effort. The scope has included funds for railroads, communications, mineral exploitation, and water conservancy, weather, rural aquatic products industry, medical and health care, and entrepreneurial management.

There have been good beginnings in Sino-Japanese cooperative funding, cooperative exploitation, cooperative production and trade compensation. Of the 105 joint ventures in China between Chinese and foreigners between 1979 and the end of this past June, seven have been Sino-Japanese. In addition, there have been heartening results in cooperative exploration for undersea oil and natural gas. Recently in the international bidding for exploiting China's Nanhai oil-field, two Japanese companies submitted bids, and the developments on seven coal mines are all going well.

The number of persons traveling from one of the countries to the other was approximately 9,000 in 1972, when diplomatic relations were normalized. Last year it was up to over 150,000. The annual Sino-Japanese Meeting for the Exchange of Economic Knowledge has had impressive results; and sister-cities contacts have been varied and productive. Last year for the first time there were meetings between Chinese and Japanese folk artists, and exchanges between youth and students of various sorts are in the process of being expanded, in the interests of improving friendship between the peoples of the two countries in generations to come.

As First Secretary Hu Yaobang heads off on his important visit to Japan, we can look back on the vigorous development of contacts between the peoples and governments of China and Japan, and rest assured that in this second decade of normalized diplomatic relations between the two nations even more splendid flowers are yet to bloom.

12303

CSO: 4005/170

## WESTERN EUROPE

### REVIEW OF 19-YEAR DEVELOPMENT OF SINO-FRANCO RELATIONS

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 9, 1 May 83

[Article by Min Wei [7044 5517]: "On Sino-Franco Relations"]

[Tex ] French President Mitterrand is about to visit our country, He is the third French president to visit our country, and it is also his third visit to China. Without a doubt President Mitterrand's visit is an important event in Sino-Franco relations. At this time, people are led to review the many happy memories in the history of the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The bridge of friendship between China and France was built by Chairman Mao Zedong, Premier Shou Enlai, and President De Gaulle. In 1964, President De Gaulle, with his statesman's foresight and sagacity, resolutely decided to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries, and thus France became the first big western power to establish formal diplomatic relations with our country.

The 19 years of the development of Sino-Franco relations can be roughly divided into three periods.

The first period lasted from the establishment of diplomatic relations to President Pompidou's visit to China in 1973. In the first 2 years after diplomatic relations were established, although contacts between the sides markedly increased, they were still in the initial stage. Before long, the "Great Cultural Revolution" began in our country, and in 1968 the "May Storm" erupted in France. These factors could not but adversely affect the pace of the development of relations between the two countries. Even if this was the case, with the joint hard efforts of the leaders of the two countries, not only were there no major setbacks in Sino-Franco relations but they actually developed. In 1966, the two countries signed their first aviation agreement. This was the first aviation agreement that our country signed with a western country.

In November 1970, General De Gaulle suddenly passed away. In his message of condolence Chairman Mao called him an "indomitable fighter against fascism and for the defense of the French nation's independence." In Tian'anmen Square flags were lowered to half staff in mourning, and in front of De Gaulle's tomb the wreaths sent by Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou as a token of their respect were displayed. The high appraisal of General De Gaulle by the Chinese people and leaders made a profound impression on the French people.

In September 1973, President Pompidou on invitation paid a visit to our country. This was not only the first visit to our country by France's head of state but also the first by a head of state of a western country. Premier Zhou Enlai accompanied the president on the whole course of his visit. President Pompidou's visit caused the relations between the two countries to enter a new stage.

The second period was the 7-year period of President Giscard d'Estaing, during which the relations between the two countries had a fairly big development.

In May 1974, Giscard d'Estaing occupied the Elysee Palace. On our country's National Day that year, he broke France's diplomatic practice by personally attending the National Day reception given by our ambassador in France, thereby showing the importance France's new government attached to Sino-Franco relations.

In May 1975, Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping visited France, and this was the first formal visit to a western country by a leader of our country. During his visit, the two sides decided to set up an economic and trade commission and agreed that the foreign ministers of the two countries would exchange views on major international questions at irregular intervals. These were both "firsts" in our country's relations with western countries. In October 1979 our country's premier visited France first on his tour of western Europe. In October 1980, President Giscard d'Estaing, and the two sides agreed that officials of their foreign ministries would hold regular consultations on questions of common concern. In this period the mutual exchange of visits at ministerial level between the two countries became more frequent, and there were also mutual exchange of visits between high-level leaders of the armed forces of the two countries. In particular, in May 1980 Deng Yingchao, vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, led an NPC Delegation on a visit to France, making the visit which Zhou was unable to realize before his death. In February 1981, Mitterrand visited our country in his capacity as first secretary of the Socialist Party.

The third period: After President Mitterrand came to power, the relations between the two countries have further developed.

In 1981, the French Socialist Party won the presidential election and Mitterrand became the president of France. In a message of thanks in reply to our country's leaders, Mitterrand said: "I hope that the relations between France and China will develop, and I am deeply convinced that this undertaking tallies with the sentiments and fundamental interests of the people of our two countries and can only be favorable for insuring world peace." In this period, the French leaders have expressed on many occasions the importance they attach to Sino-Franco relations and have many times sent official delegations on visits to our country. Officials of the foreign ministries of the two countries have also held several consultations on some international questions of common concern and on bilateral relations. China and France are determined to promote the advance of Sino-Franco relations.

These good political relations have promoted cooperation in other fields. For 19 years there have appeared gratifying scenes of friendly cooperation between the two countries in economics, culture, science and technology.

Although China and France had established trade relations before they established diplomatic relations the volume of trade was very small, the annual average only being \$35 million. In the year after diplomatic relations were established, it broke the \$100 million mark. In 1976, it increased to more than \$600 million. In 1981 the volume of trade was close to \$700 million, setting the highest record in history. Also, the economic relations between the two countries developed from purely commodity trade to complete sets of equipment and transfer of technology, and forms of cooperation like joint capital businesses and compensatory trade were begun. France was the first western country to sign long-term economic cooperation agreements with our country. Following the development of economic interchange, banking relations between the two countries strengthened day by day. The two countries also signed a banking and finance agreement. In 1978, Vice Premier Fang Yi visited France and signed a scientific and technological agreement, and the two countries practiced cooperation in many spheres of science and technology. Cultural exchanges between the two countries have also been relatively brisk. From exchanging students to mutually sending scholars to give lectures, from mutual visits by troupes of artists to cooperation in rehearsing famous classical plays, and from mutual visits by sports teams to mutual sending of athletic coaches, the scope is wide, the contents are rich, and the forms are many. They play a role in promoting friendship between the peoples of the two countries that cannot be ignored.

The development of friendly, cooperative relations between China and France is not fortuitous. The industriousness, courage, and intelligence of the peoples of the two countries, the magnificent cultures, art, and revolutionary traditions of the two countries, have deepened the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The French revolution and the great attempt to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat--the Paris Commune--had a tremendous influence on the people of our country. Many of our country's revolutionaries of the older generation, like Comrades Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Nie Rengzhen and Chen Yi, studied and engaged in revolutionary activities in France in the 1920's, and they cultivated the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The French and Chinese peoples have always associated the revolutionary tradition with this beautiful land and with the activities of our revolutionaries of the older generation.

Today, there are no direct conflicts of interest between China and France, and they have much common ground and many similar interests. For example, the two countries both treasure their own independence, pursue a policy in foreign affairs and defense of independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands, and oppose other people's "baton"; they both have similar or common viewpoints and interests with regard to the major questions of disarmament, opposition to policies of aggression and expansion, and safeguarding of world peace.



France is a country with developed science and advanced technology, and in many fields it has been original. Our country has abundant natural resources and a vast market, and in science and technology and in culture it also has its own strong points and superiorities. Therefore, looking ahead, there are bright prospects for the countries developing economic cooperation, cultural interchange, and people-to-people contacts. I believe that if the governments and peoples of the two countries assiduously irrigate and jointly work hard, the flowers of friendship between China and France will certainly bear even richer fruits.

9727

CSO: 4005/1034

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

OAU LEADER VIEWS ORGANIZATION'S TASKS FOR 1984

OW311530 Beijing XINHUA in English 1449 GMT 31 Dec 83

[Text] Addis Ababa, 31 Dec (XINHUA)--Acting Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Peter Onu said the African countries are able to solve their own problems as shown at the 19th OAU summit.

In a year-end message issued here today, Peter Onu praised the wisdom of the African leaders in attending the summit, which, he said, saved OAU early this year when the organization faced a split on the Sahara and Chad problems.

He also reaffirmed support for the Namibian people's struggle for independence led by the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

He expressed the hope that the coming year will lay foundation for the national reconciliation in Chad and a lasting solution to its problem.

He called on both Morocco and the POLISARIO guerrillas to carry out the resolutions adopted at the 19th OAU summit calling for a ceasefire and referendum in Western Sahara.

The acting secretary general listed as difficulties facing the continent an acute food shortage, severe foreign exchange constraints and low productivity in major economic sectors.

However, he stated Africa has made progress in intra-African cooperation, taking the establishment of the Economic Community of the Central African States as an example.

He said in the new year and the future Africa must make greater effort to develop on its own resources while expanding external exchanges.

CSO: 4000/171

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

BRIEFS

MEDICAL PROTOCOL WITH SIERRA LEONE--Freetown, 16 Dec (XINHUA)--A protocol between China and Sierra Leone on inviting a Chinese medical team to work in Sierra Leone was signed here today. It was signed by Chinese Ambassador Tian Ding and Sierra Leonean Minister of Health Dr Fasuluicku Tamba. According to the protocol, the 6th Chinese medical team will soon come to Sierra Leone to take over the work of the 5th team. After the signing ceremony, the Sierra Leonean minister praised the Chinese medical team for its service to the people of Sierra Leone. [Text] [OWL70338 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 17 Dec 83]

PRC AID IN UPPER VOLTA--Lome, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--Fifty wells that were sunk with China's assistance were handed over to Upper Volta at a ceremony held today in Reo, capital of Bourkina Province, according to a report from Ouagadougou. More than 400 people including Upper Volta's Minister for Agricultural Development Seydou Traore attended the ceremony. Traore and Chinese Charge d'Affaires ad Interim Zheng Zhaoxing signed the transfer document on behalf of their respective governments. Speaking at the ceremony, Traore said that the completion of the wells reflect the good cooperative relations between China and Upper Volta. On behalf of Head of State Thomas Sankara and the people of Upper Volta, he expressed his thanks to the Chinese Government. [Text] [OW240308 Beijing XINHUA in English 0243 GMT 24 Dec 83]

CSO: 4000/171

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JINGJI RIBAO CARRIES REPORTS ON NATIONAL CENSUS

Parts 4, 5

HK050958 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 83 p 2

[Article: "Pleasing Results of the Third National Census in China, Parts 4 and 5"]

[Text] IV. Births Among Women of Childbearing Age in our Country in 1981

The pooled data from the preliminary 10 percent sample survey of the third national census reveals that in 1981, 91.76 percent of the total number of women of childbearing age did not bear children. Among those women who bore children in 1981, 47.30 percent bore their first child, 25.67 percent bore their second, 12.86 percent bore their fifth or subsequent child. If by women who had borne many children we mean those who had borne at least 3 children, then, in 1981, 27.03 percent of the women of childbearing age in our country were those who had borne many children. Considering age distribution, there were women who had borne many children in all childbearing age groups, the largest number of such women being in the 25-29 age group, accounting for 40 percent of all women who had borne many children. There was also a relatively large number of such women in the 30-34 age groups, accounting for 35.82 percent of the total number of such women.

The births among women of childbearing age in 28 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions of our country in 1981 are tabulated below (there was no survey of births in Xizang):

Births Among Women of Childbearing Age in 1981  
(data from 10 percent sample survey; figures for  
the total population not yet inferred)  
(each unit is 1 person)

Age Group	No of women	Women who did not bear children	Women with one child
Total (15-49)	24,800,357	22,755,864	967,035
15-19	6,146,707	6,108,922	35,371
20-24	3,637,843	3,110,222	396,464

[Table continued]

Age-Group	No of women	Women who did not bear children	Women with one child
25-29	4,474,465	3,417,891	495,339
30-34	3,499,000	3,200,176	35,784
35-39	2,560,530	2,476,333	3,120
40-44	2,254,023	2,221,975	690
45-49	2,227,208	2,220,275	267

Age Group	Women with 2 children	Women with 3 or more children
Total (15-49)	524,883	552,575
15-19	2,250	94
20-24	109,668	21,489
25-29	341,238	219,997
30-34	65,678	197,943
35-39	5,045	76,032
40-44	872	30,486
45-49	132	6,534

The information from the 10 percent sample survey reveals that in 1981, the overall per capita total number of births for all women of childbearing age in our country was 2.584. This number refers to the combined figure derived from the birth rates for women of various childbearing age groups in a certain year. In demographic statistics, the overall per capita total number of births for women in a certain year is usually used to determine the possible number of children born of each woman of childbearing age over her entire life, calculated according to the levels of births among women of various age groups in that year. In 1981, for various provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, among women of childbearing age, the overall per capita total number of births and the percentages of women who had borne various numbers of children are shown in the following table:

Over per capita total number of births and percentages of women who had various numbers of children, for women of childbearing age in 1981  
(date from 10 percent sample survey; figures for the total population not yet inferred)

Locality	Total births per person	Percentage with 1 child	% with 2 children	% with 3 or more children
Average for 28 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions	2.584	47.30	25.67	27.03
1. Shanghai	1.316	87.04	12.03	0.93
2. Beijing	1.589	85.11	12.02	2.87
3. Tianjin	1.645	78.54	16.17	5.29

[Table Continued]

Locality	Total births per person	Percentage with 1 child	% with 2 children	% with 3 or more children
4. Liaoning	1.773	71.48	19.20	9.32
5. Jilin	1.842	60.16	25.25	14.59
6. Zhejiang	1.982	54.08	26.83	19.08
7. Heilongjiang	2.062	54.10	26.74	19.16
8. Jiangsu	2.076	61.11	26.09	12.80
9. Shandong	2.104	60.56	24.54	14.90
10. Shanxi	2.385	47.74	27.78	24.48
11. Shaanxi	2.394	49.64	26.27	24.09
12. Sichuan	2.434	56.56	24.15	19.29
13. Hubei	2.445	50.29	27.70	22.01
14. Nei Monggol	2.621	44.19	26.44	29.37
15. Hebei	2.650	54.27	27.50	20.23
16. Henan	2.651	44.55	27.85	27.60
17. Fujian	2.717	40.94	29.99	29.07
18. Gansu	2.728	43.35	24.88	31.77
19. Jiangxi	2.790	36.62	28.19	35.19
20. Anhui	2.799	37.40	28.56	34.04
21. Hunan	2.833	43.26	30.81	25.93
22. Guangdong	3.283	36.96	27.92	35.12
23. Yunnan	3.814	28.30	22.71	48.99
24. Xinjiang	3.883	27.14	18.15	54.71
25. Qinghai	3.927	26.63	19.79	53.58
26. Guangxi	4.103	31.10	23.89	45.01
27. Ningxia	4.120	30.37	20.51	49.12
28. Guizhou	4.355	23.91	20.35	55.74

The data from the 10 percent sample survey also reveals that the number of children born is closely related to the education standard. See the following table:

Education level of women with three or more children  
(computed according to data from 10 % sample survey)

Education standard	Total No of women with 3 or more child- ren	Women with 3 children	Women with 4 children	Women with 5 or more children
(Ave. for 28 pro- vinces, municipalities and autonomous regions)	17.96	9.64	4.38	3.94
University graduate or student	1.23	0.82	0.17	0.24
Senior middle school	3.41	2.50	0.55	0.36
Junior middle school	9.15	5.69	1.95	1.51
Primary	26.75	13.74	6.76	6.25
Illiterate	40.19	17.54	9.86	12.79

## V. Natural Changes in our Country's Population in 1981

According to the manually collated information for the 1982 national census, in 1981, in the 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in our country's mainland, the birth rate was 20.91 per 1,000, the death rate was 6.36 per 1,000 and the natural population growth rate was 14.55 per 1,000. This growth rate was relatively far from satisfying the requirement, put forth at the 12th CPC Congress, of keeping our country's population within the 1.2 billion limit by the end of this century. In a period of 18 1/2 years, from the time of the 1982 national census to the end of this century, the increase in population must be kept within the limit of 191.82 million, with an average annual growth of only 10.37 million. According to this target, the average annual population growth rate should fall below 0.95 percent. At present, the number of women of childbearing age in our country is relatively large and the number of births is at a peak. Therefore, the task is considerably arduous. If various localities overall per capita total numbers of births for women of childbearing age and the percentages of women who have many children, for the year 1981, are placed alongside various indicators of natural population changes, then we can more clearly observe that women bearing many children exerted a very prominent effect on the natural population growth rate.

Natural population growth rates for 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in mainland China in 1981 (manually collated national data)  
(Unit: per thousand)

Locality	Birth rate	Death rate	Natural growth rate
All 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions	20.91	8.36	14.55
1. Shanghai	16.14	6.44	9.70
2. Sichuan	17.96	7.02	10.94
3. Zhejiang	17.93	6.27	11.66
4. Beijing	17.55	5.78	11.77
5. Jilin	17.67	5.32	12.35
6. Jinagsu	18.47	6.10	12.37
7. Tianjin	18.60	6.10	12.50
8. Shandong	18.84	6.26	12.58
9. Hubei	20.17	7.33	12.84
10. Liaoning	18.53	5.32	13.21
11. Shaanxi	20.35	7.10	13.25
12. Anhui	18.73	5.20	13.53
13. Shanxi	20.31	6.54	13.77
14. Jiangxi	20.42	6.54	13.88
15. Hunan	21.11	7.03	14.08
16. Gansu	20.12	5.72	14.40
17. Henan	20.64	6.01	14.63

[Table continued]

<u>Locality</u>	<u>Birth rate</u>	<u>Death rate</u>	<u>Natural growth rate</u>
18. Heilongjiang	19.79	4.95	14.84
19. Fujian	22.07	5.87	16.20
20. Yunnan	25.36	8.60	16.76
21. Nei Monggol	23.11	5.77	17.34
22. Hebei	23.99	6.05	17.94
23. Qinghai	26.65	7.48	19.17
24. Guizhou	27.89	8.48	19.41
25. Guangdong	24.99	5.54	19.45
26. Xinjiang	29.08	8.41	20.67
27. Xizang	31.05	9.92	21.13
28. Guangxi	27.25	5.61	21.64
29. Ningxia	29.65	6.08	23.57

Part 6

HK051025 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Dec 83 p 2

[Article: "Pleasing Results of the Third National Census in China, Part 6"]

[Text] VI. People With a Primary or Higher Educational Standard in our Country's Population

The manually pooled data from our country's third national census reveal that in 1982, 605,932,447 people in our country had attained a primary or higher educational standard, accounting for 60.36 percent of our total population. Among them, 6,016,969 persons were university graduates or had attained a university standard, accounting for 1 percent of those people with a primary or higher educational standard; 244,755,168 persons had attained a senior or junior middle school education standard, accounting for 40.39 percent; and 355,160,310 persons had attained a primary school education standard, accounting for 58.61 percent.

In our country, 440 out of 100,000 people had attained the university graduate educational standard. Thirteen provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions surpassed the national average. These were: Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Liaoning, Qinghai, Jilin, Shaanxi, Heilongjiang, Ningxia, Fujian, Xinjiang, Jiangsu, and Hubei. Sixteen provinces, cities, and autonomous regions were below the national average. These were: Henan, Yunnan, Shandong, Guangxi, Anyui, Guizhou, Sichuan, Zhejiang, Hunan, Jiangxi, Hebei, Guangdong, Xizang, Nei Monggol, Shanxi, and Gansu.

[Table on next page]



Locality	No of uni- versity graduates	No of per- sons who had at- tended or were at- tending universi- ties	No of peo- ple of senior or mid- dle school standard	No of people of junior middle school standard	No of people of primary school standard	No of people per 100,000 who were universi- ty grad- uates
Total	4,414,495	1,602,474	66,478,028	178,277,140	355,160,310	440
1. Beijing	330,308	119,020	1,628,336	2,684,962	2,417,372	3,578
2. Shanghai	285,989	125,374	2,412,809	3,325,303	2,989,151	2,411
3. Tianjin	123,136	54,145	1,033,010	2,214,307	2,390,627	1,586
4. Liaoning	261,645	101,791	3,337,718	9,866,637	12,735,134	732
5. Qinghai	25,779	5,689	199,261	544,725	999,470	662
6. Jilin	114,921	52,960	2,428,969	4,709,218	8,118,746	642
7. Shaanxi	180,023	69,500	2,269,669	5,599,602	9,440,101	623
8. Heilong- jiang	168,838	54,910	3,063,459	7,247,661	11,607,545	517
9. Ningxia	19,855	5,814	206,230	605,457	1,000,614	510
10. Fujian	123,393	33,301	1,477,707	3,262,343	9,397,071	477
11. Xinjiang	61,033	21,896	841,680	2,289,284	4,423,855	467
12. Jiangsu	280,504	104,643	4,222,270	12,135,498	19,732,951	463
13. Hubei	210,967	88,824	3,592,953	8,944,551	17,034,424	441
14. Gansu	85,598	22,447	1,223,889	2,388,159	5,422,844	437
15. Shanxi	109,980	40,156	1,881,791	5,526,531	9,821,903	435
16. Nei Monggol	83,334	26,467	1,436,096	3,720,883	6,314,475	432
17. Xizang	6,968	1,038	22,960	68,364	311,583	368
18. Guangdong	212,729	69,766	4,694,941	10,024,533	24,086,232	359
19. Hebei	182,952	49,447	3,990,196	10,208,381	19,287,130	345
20. Jiangxi	114,426	43,421	1,825,110	4,399,740	12,805,737	345
21. Hunan	117,908	68,355	3,536,385	9,329,715	23,235,789	329
22. Zhejiang	126,914	54,607	2,019,524	6,915,644	15,310,873	326
23. Sichuan	309,965	116,972	3,955,902	15,423,474	41,330,996	311
24. Guizhou	86,833	23,559	845,724	3,259,608	8,216,019	304
25. Anhui	146,127	56,028	1,972,954	7,073,442	14,753,600	294
26. Guangxi	103,098	29,233	2,378,668	5,727,533	14,139,619	283
27. Shandong	189,085	73,486	4,376,519	13,171,751	25,103,593	254
28. Yunnan	80,598	27,277	908,980	3,328,392	9,539,974	248
29. Henan	181,598	62,348	4,694,318	14,281,442	23,192,882	244

Part 7

HK051030 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Dec 83 p 2

[Article: Pleasing Results of the Third National Census in China, Part 7"]

[Text] VII. Composition of our Country's Illiterate and Semiliterate Population

The manually collated data from our third national census reveal that in 1982, there were 235,820,002 people in our country who were illiterate or semiliterate

(that is, at least 12 years old, knowing less than 1,500 characters, unable to read ordinary publications or newspapers, and unable to write brief notes). According to pooled information from the 10 percent sample survey, in our country, 31.90 percent of those people age 12 or above were illiterate or semiliterate; that is, among those people in our country age 12 or above, 1 out of 3.14 persons was illiterate or semiliterate. At the time of the 1964 second national census, 52.4 percent of all people age 13 or above in our country were illiterate or semiliterate. This shows that the proportion of our country's illiterate population has been decreasing, and a definite success has been achieved in our work to eliminate illiteracy.

In 1983, of our illiterate and semiliterate population, 29.49 percent were in the 12-34 age group, with an illiteracy rate of 15.79 percent; 35.25 percent were in the 35-54 age group, with an illiteracy rate of 43.96 percent; and 35.26 percent were in the 55-and-above age group, with an illiteracy rate of 75.88 percent. This shows that it is still an important task to develop educational undertakings and eliminate illiteracy.

Classification of illiterate and semiliterate persons by sex and age  
(data from 10 percent sample survey; figures for the total population not yet inferred)

Age Group	Total number of illiterate or semiliterate persons			% of illiterate or semiliterate people age 12 or above		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total for 29 provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions	23,792,530	7,326,898	16,465,632	31.90	19.17	45.27
12	254,444	72,167	182,277	9.60	5.29	14.18
13	278,624	76,758	201,866	9.87	5.29	14.71
14	244,787	66,914	177,873	9.98	5.30	14.95
15-19	1,178,322	271,054	907,268	9.40	4.25	14.74
20-24	1,064,209	215,988	848,211	14.32	5.71	23.27
25-29	2,078,147	456,985	1,621,162	22.44	9.56	36.18
30-34	1,917,234	501,786	1,415,448	26.28	13.24	40.38
35-39	1,520,196	405,293	1,114,903	28.05	14.20	43.45
40-44	1,876,627	578,444	1,298,183	38.79	22.43	57.47
45-49	2,472,226	809,863	1,662,363	52.20	32.33	74.79
50-54	2,518,337	875,211	1,643,126	61.65	40.59	85.18
55-59	2,302,099	829,369	1,472,730	67.89	47.39	89.75
60 and above	6,087,278	2,167,066	3,920,212	79.41	60.89	95.46

Considering sex distribution, the illiteracy rate was higher among females than males. The national illiteracy rates were 19.17 percent for males and 47.27 percent for females.

Considering differences between urban and rural areas, the national illiteracy rate was 16.42 percent among the urban population and 34.78 percent among the rural population.

The illiteracy rate among people aged 12 to 44 was 19.04 percent. The illiteracy rates for various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions are tabulated below:

Illiteracy rates in various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions (data from 10 percent sample survey; figures for total population not yet inferred)  
(Unit: percent)

Locality	Illiteracy among people aged 12 or above			Illiteracy among people age 12 or above in cities or counties		Illiteracy among people age 12-44
	Total	Male	Female	Cities/ towns	Counties	
(Ave. for 29 provinces, municipalities & autonomous regions)	31.90	19.17	45.27	16.43	34.78	19.04
1. Beijing	14.93	7.73	22.24	10.39	22.35	3.07
2. Liaoning	16.61	10.06	23.41	11.01	19.65	4.17
3. Shanghai	16.67	7.38	25.88	11.15	23.41	4.05
4. Tianjin	17.07	8.27	26.12	12.84	26.03	5.49
5. Jilin	21.82	15.02	28.96	14.64	24.33	9.55
6. Heilongjiang	22.14	14.32	30.35	14.23	25.29	11.08
7. Guangdong	23.02	9.27	37.27	13.46	24.49	10.10
8. Hunan	23.81	13.10	35.44	12.08	25.12	10.78
9. Shanxi	24.43	16.05	33.58	14.45	26.62	9.10
10. Guangxi	25.00	12.29	38.61	13.26	25.97	12.20
11. Hebei	29.58	17.54	42.13	13.17	31.87	14.83
12. Xinjiang	31.06	25.78	36.68	17.72	34.89	19.73
13. NeiMong-gol	31.11	21.65	41.63	15.51	34.54	18.76
14. Hubei	31.11	17.69	45.20	13.91	33.53	17.17
15. Zhejiang	31.20	19.12	44.18	26.83	32.20	17.78
16. Sichuan	31.97	19.78	45.00	18.49	33.61	19.13
17. Jiangxi	32.23	16.95	48.43	16.51	34.81	19.84
18. Shaanxi	33.35	22.46	45.00	15.04	36.58	20.45
19. Jiangsu	34.64	19.27	50.42	15.85	37.14	21.00
20. Shandong	36.75	21.64	52.14	22.31	38.74	22.47
21. Fujian	37.03	18.18	57.01	22.04	39.44	26.61
22. Henan	37.07	23.47	51.96	17.34	39.38	21.91

	Total	Male	Female	Cities/ towns	Counties	Illiteracy age 12-44
23. Ningxia	43.27	29.61	57.80	18.80	49.07	34.66
24. Anhui	46.22	29.60	64.05	22.82	49.01	34.91
25. Qinghai	47.43	32.49	63.16	14.33	55.55	40.71
26. Guizhou	47.93	29.45	67.26	37.28	49.83	37.67
27. Gansu	48.02	32.65	64.56	15.29	52.01	39.18
28. Yunnan	49.17	34.49	64.14	22.36	51.68	38.05
29. Xizang	74.72	63.12	85.65	30.91	77.03	68.76

#### Part 8

HK051229 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Dec 83 p 2

[Article: "Pleasing Results of Third National Census in China"--Part 8 and Last]

[Text] VIII. Professions and Occupational Structure of Employed Population

The pooled information from the 10 percent sample survey of the third national census reveals that in the 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions in our country's mainland, the employed population was 51.94 percent of the total population, or 90.92 percent of the 57,347,227 [as published] persons who were of working age (15-59 for males, 15-54 for females). Males accounted for 56.20 percent, and females 43.70 percent, of the employed population.

Some 94.4 percent of the employed population of our country were in sectors of material production, while 5.6 percent were in sectors of nonmaterial production.

For the sectors of material production, 73.72 percent of the total working population were in the agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, and fishery sectors; 11.84 percent were in the manufacturing sector; 2.96 percent were in the sectors of commerce, catering, supply and marketing of goods and materials, and warehousing; 2.10 percent were in the building and construction sector; 1.73 percent were in the communications, transportation, postal service, and telecommunications service sectors; 1.58 percent were in the mining, lumbering, and timber transportation sectors; 0.29 percent were in the sector of production and supply of tap water; and 0.15 percent were in the geological prospecting and reconnaissance survey sector.

For the sectors of nonmaterial production, 2.37 percent of the national total employed population were in the sectors of educational, cultural, and artistic undertakings; 1.54 percent worked in state organs and administrative, party and mass organizations; 0.78 percent were in the sectors of medical and health services, sports, and social welfare undertakings; 0.47 percent were in the sectors of residential housing management public utility management, and services for residents; 0.24 percent were in the sectors of scientific research and comprehensive technological services; and 0.20 percent were in the finance and insurance sectors. See the following table:

Table of Occupational Structure of Employed Population  
 (date from 10 percent sample survey; figures for the  
 total population not yet inferred) (Unit: person)

Occupations	# of persons employed Total employed	% of total	# of males	# of females	Sex distribution (%)	
					% of males	% of females
Totals	52,137,773	100.00	29,353,522	22,784,251	56.30	43.70
1. Agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, & fishery	38,433,868	73.72	20,659,114	17,774,754	53.75	46.25
2. Mining, lumbering & transportation of timber	822,505	1.58	663,231	159,274	80.64	19.36
3. Production & supply of electricity, coal, gas, and tap water	149,065	0.29	110,024	39,041	73.81	26.19
4. Manufacturing	6,173,505	11.84	3,453,721	2,719,784	55.95	44.06
5. Geological prospecting & reconnaissance	77,165	0.15	59,263	17,902	76.80	23.20
6. Building and construction	1,093,907	2.10	888,894	205,013	81.26	18.74
7. Communications, transportations, postal services & telecommunications	901,911	1.73	696,506	205,405	77.23	22.77
8. Commerce, catering, supply & marketing of goods & materials, & warehousing	1,542,222	2.96	874,385	667,837	56.70	43.30
9. Residential housing management, public utility management & services for residents	245,468	0.47	135,564	109,904	55.23	44.77
10. Medical & health services, sports, & social welfare undertakings	409,070	0.78	212,313	196,757	51.90	48.10
11. Educational, cultural, and artistic undertakings	1,237,452	2.37	800,092	437,360	64.66	35.34

Occupations Totals	Total employed	% of total	# of males	# of females	% of males	% of females
12. Scientific re- search & compre- hensive tech- nological ser- vices	123,198	0.24	79,130	44,068	64.23	35.77
13. Finance & insurance	102,173	0.20	69,479	32,694	68.00	32.00
14. State organs & administrative, party & mass organizations	801,445	1.54	635,986	165,459	79.35	20.65
15. Other occupations	24,819	0.05	15,820	8,999	63.74	36.26

Considering the categories of work actually undertaken by the working population, in our country, 92.08 percent of the total employed population mainly performed physical labor, while 7.92 percent mainly performed mental labor. Among the working population mainly engaged in physical labor, 78.22 percent were agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, and fishery workers and 17.33 percent were engaged in production, transportation, and related work.

The pooled data from the 10 percent sample survey reveal that a relatively high proportion of women in our country were employed. Various occupations in which women accounted for over 50 percent of the numbers of persons employed included: tailoring and sewing workers; textile, knitting, printing, and dyeing workers; workers manufacturing rubber and plastic products; workers in the printing and related occupations; workers doing inspection, computation, testing, analysis, and related work; workers manufacturing and making leather and furs; paper and paper products making workers; tobacco workers; salespersons; cultural workers; service personnel; animal husbandry workers; workers in the paint industry; and so on.

Table of Structure of Posts of Employed Population (date from 10 percent sample survey; figures for the total population not yet inferred) (Unit: person)

Posts	<u>Figures for employed persons</u>			<u>Sex distribution (%)</u>		
	<u># of employed persons</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u># of males</u>	<u># of females</u>	<u>% males</u>	<u>% females</u>
<u>Total</u>	52,137,773	100.00	29,353,522	22,784,251	56.30	43.70
1. Various cate- gories of spe- cialized & technical personnel	2,644,264	5.07	1,634,699	1,009,565	61.82	38.18

	# of employed persons	% of total	# of males	# of females	% males	% females
2. Leading cadres in state organs, party & mass organizations, enterprises & institutions	808,465	1.55	724,255	84,210	89.58	10.42
3. Office workers & related personnel	676,714	1.30	511,385	165,329	75.57	24.43
4. Commercial work personnel	942,832	1.81	508,416	434,416	53.92	46.08
5. Service per- sonnel	1,147,165	2.20	596,940	550,255	52.04	47.96
6. Agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, & fishery workers	37,549,954	72.02	19,977,389	17,572,565	53.20	46.80
7. Workers engaged in production & transportation & related personnel	8,320,424	15.96	5,372,457	2,947,967	54.57	35.43
8. Other workers difficult to classify	47,955	0.09	27,981	19,974	58.35	41.63

CSO: 4005/320

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WORK ON POPULATION, PLANNED PARENTHOOD

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI /POPULATION AND ECONOMICS/ in Chinese No 5, 25 Oct 82  
pp 4-7

/Article by Bai Jiefu /4101 0094 1133/: "Work on Population and Planned  
Parenthood"/

/Text/ Controlling the growth of population is a great strategic problem facing our nation in its socialist modernization and one of concern to people of all ethnic groups throughout the party and the nation. There is not much debate that the nation has to implement planned parenthood to control the population. The question lies in concrete policy guidelines and the actual work. In other words, most people approve in principle; but when concrete questions arise, some people take differing points of view. For this reason, to get to the root of it, there is a question of understanding which must be resolved concerning planned parenthood work.

Marxist population theory tell us: people as producers and consumers are a unity of opposites. On the one hand, they are producers, and on the other, consumers. Population requirements for people as producers are that they should be adapted to production of the means of production. Those same requirements for people as consumers is that they be adapted to the production of the means of consumption. If adapted to both, they promote the development of society. If not, they can retard that development. The establishment of the socialist system has created the conditions for our nation to regulate the production of human population and material resources. However, owing to our one-sided understanding of the population problem in the past--especially the mistaken criticism of Comrade Ma Yinchu's /7456 1377 0443/ "New Theory of Population"--population problems and population theory became a forbidden area; and nobody did any further conscientious research or investigation of it. In criticizing Malthus and mistakenly criticizing Ma Yinchu, our explanation of the population problem was as follows. The superiority of socialism would guarantee clothes for us to wear, food to eat and work to do. The relative population surplus rules of capitalism did not exist. Consequently, population problems and unemployment problems did not exist in socialist society; and moreover, the more people there were the better. Since people were producers and not only opened their mouths to eat but put out their hands to work, the more producers, the more wealth that could be produced, and the faster the economy would develop. Using a "theory of manpower" to criticize a "theory of population," these explanations resulted



in a rapid spurt in population and taught us a profound lesson. Not only was this a question of quibbling over population theory, there was also a problem of the style of theoretical work. For a time, some comrades were not doing systematic, comprehensive research on population, but rather making one statement of a leading comrade into the basis of a theory, coming up with far-fetched interpretations, and finally making a muddle of the distinction between real work and a theoretical question. For example, Chairman Mao's statement on the eve of liberation and again in the 1958 Great Leap Forward that "the larger the population the better" and "the more the people, the easier the task" were made under specific conditions and according to the political climate, and were mentioned in the contentiousness of struggle. They were not a systematic explication of questions of population theory; and consequently, the idea that the more people there are the better things are should not be made conclusive.

In the initial stage of liberation we had birth incentives much like the heroic mothers of the Soviet Union. Moreover, our economy was not a developed one, culture was lagging, boys were favored over girls, and a big family was thought a blessing. These were the influence of generation upon generation of feudal thinking, and resulted in our nation's population increasing at an excessive rate. In the period of Kuomintang rule, the rate of increase of population in old China approached 10 percent. In the hundred and some years from the Opium Wars in 1849 until 1949, our population increased by 130 million. From the standpoint of this historical period, growth in population was rather slow. In the 30 years after liberation, the population increased by 430 million. Naturally, one important reason for the slow growth before liberation was natural catastrophes and disease, along with other social factors such as wars. Since these factors were greatly reduced after liberation, the life of the people was improved and the death rate greatly reduced. So relatively speaking the birth rate went up. Looking backward, if we had had a clear understanding of the population problem somewhat earlier, the situation today would be somewhat better than it is.

Even though our national economy developed a great deal after liberation, since population grew at an excessive pace, around 30 percent of the annual national income was expended on new arrivals. With this being the case, and with the absolute increase in population also great, the production of population was not adapted to the production of material goods. Housing, employment, education, transportation, medicine--a whole series of problems fell behind the people's needs.

Beijing is the capital, with relatively superior conditions in politics, economics, and culture. In comparison with other provinces and municipalities, its population problem is concomitantly even more prominent. The present resident population of the city is 9,008,000. As the hordes of children born at the beginning of liberation reach enter marriage, the number of births in recent years has reached a peak. Last year 150,000 children were born in the city. In one quarter of this year 40,000 were born, and the prediction for the year as a whole is 180,000. This peak in the parent population should continue for several more years.

Because of the increased population, the population density within the city limits has reached 26,837 people per square km, with some areas up to 30,000. This is 6 times New Delhi, India's 3,800. The average annual increase since liberation has been 2.5 percent, faster than the rate of increase in any other nation's capital. One is a natural increase. One is mechanical increase. In the 30 years after liberation, the mechanical population increase in the city was more than 900,000. Between 1976 and 1980 the mechanical increase was 340,000. Owing to the population increase, there have been accompanying problems in construction within the capital and the life of the people, including the following.

1. Employment Problems: From the standpoint of theory, the law of relative population surplus of capitalist society should be inapplicable to socialist society. But we cannot deny the proportional relationship between labor force and the means of production because of this. For if people are to be employed, there must be a set means of production. In order to sell a big cup of tea, one must prepare a cup and also a water pail. To engage in production or services requires investment. One cannot do it barehanded. Thus in manipulating the proportionate relationship between the means of production and labor force, there can occur a situation in which labor force is inadequate or excessive. According to yearly calculations, from 1982 to 1985, Beijing will have 600,000 to 800,000 youths in need of a job. An investment of as much as 1,000 yuan is required to employ one person in a comparatively simple job. For more complex production or modernized production, up to 10,000 yuan might be required. Taking 5,000 as an average investment per capita, investment of 3-4 billion yuan will be required in the period mentioned. Hold a meeting on employment and immediately it is palpable that the labor force is too large and unwieldy. But if one holds a planned parenthood meeting and suggests that a couple have only one child, people feel that controls are too strict and unmanageable. What is to be done? Basically speaking, the relationship between employment problems and controlling population should be coordinated. This problem also exists in rural villages. Beijing Municipality has 6.38 million mu of tilled land, which has been reduced from an average of 3.3 mu per capital right after liberation to 1.7 mu today. A real problem which cannot be ignored is the question of alternatives for the excess in farm labor force. At the present time there is an excess of farm labor in all but the most remote mountain regions. Added to that fact is that after the enactment of the production responsibility system, the positive nature of the production of the farmers was further mobilized, which made the question of alternatives to farm labor even more evident. If we cannot resolve the relationship between population, capital accumulation, the means of production, and land, a vicious circle may be the result.

2. Housing Problems: The total area of Beijing which has been constructed with housing since liberation equals 2.18 times the total housing area of the city before. The average annual increase has been upwards of 1 million square meters, reaching 2 million a year in recent years. Nevertheless, at present, the average per capita living space is still about the same as it was after liberation. Right now 223,000 families throughout the capital are severely lacking in housing--17.4 percent of the total population. It is predicted that 600,000 young couples will reach or pass the legal age for marriage in the next 5 years. This is another serious problem to be faced. Moreover, Beijing Municipality

still has a mission to carry out policies on private dwellings, which will require 2.1 million square meters. In sum, the difficulties brought about in housing by the increase in population are problems which will take a great deal of effort to solve.

3. Problems of Education, Physical Education, and Health: The difficulties with education, physical education, and health are due to factors besides our own work problems and the ground we lost in the 10 years of turmoil, including the important one of excessive population growth. The peak year for the municipality's primary and middle schools was 1977, when there were 2.17 million students. At that time, classrooms were sorely strained and a double-session system had to be adopted. In the years since planned parenthood was put into effect, there have been manifest results. This year's primary and middle school population is above 1.5 million--a reduction of 600,000 from 1977. But now as the children born right after liberation are becoming parents, by the end of the century it may go up to 1.8 million to reach a new peak. Overpopulation has brought many problems to education. Only 2 of the 473 primary and middle schools have a 400-meter track and exercise field, so the students have to run and practice in the streets and alleys. In a survey of the physiques of students in 16 cities, Beijing's male students came out last and female students third from last. Student physical wellbeing is clearly deteriorating. In addition, because of the number of children, the daycare rate is only 39.6 percent, and many children cannot be placed and cultural facilities cannot keep with the needs of the masses. In urban areas, there is one theater for every 380,000 people, a movie house for every 110,000, and 1 bookstore for every 70,000.

This discussion says nothing more than that we should see the population problem as a serious one and remind people to take note of it. Yet there is no need to reach any negative conclusions about it or feel that there is no way to deal with the situation. In fact, if the entire party and people and cadres at every level would all take this situation seriously and make it into an important task to be studied and solved, then after a period of effort, China's population problem can certainly be solved. The future is still a bright one.

Now I will discuss how to understand more fully the question of a national population policy.

Population policy is an important integral part of the nation's social, political and economic policy. Fixing population policy must start from this national objective fact: it must be adapted to the nation's society, politics and economics. Thus, each country has its own policy; and since each country's situation is different, some will encourage parenthood, and others the control of population. In his report on government work to the Fourth Session of the Fifth People's Congress, Comrade Zhao Ziyang fully laid out the future of the nation's population problem, along with guiding principles and policies. He said, "In order to ensure the gradual improvement of the people's life, we must continue to control steadfastly the growth of population. There are two possibilities for this problem: either we effectively control population growth and gradually upgrade the standards of living of the people and expand national construction, or else we let go of controls and slacken our measures, letting

the population continue to increase. If we do so, not only will we be unable to improve the people's life, we will also be unable to carry out the work on economics, culture and national defense. The first alternative is the better one." "Limiting the size of the population and raising the quality of life is what our population policy is all about." In these words, Comrade Ziyang explicated the objective law that population production and material production are adapted to each other, and that bringing these two modes of production into synchronization is the correct scientific population policy.

Since the Third Plenary Session, the central leadership has taken hold of the population question. On 25 September 1980, the central leadership of the party promulgated an "Open Letter To All Communist Party Members and Communist Youth League Members" discussing planned parenthood in great detail. This was a first in party history. This open letter from the Central Committee is the leading document on planned parenthood. This last February, the Central Committee again promulgated its "Directive on Furthering Planned Parenthood," based upon the trend toward an increase in the natural rate of growth in our nation's population. It considered that planned parenthood should be well grasped, but also done so on principles that the majority of people can accept, after opinions have been repeatedly solicited and weighing the pros and cons. In spirit it was uniform with the open letter, a concretization of the open letter and the substance of Comrade Ziyang's report. Whether this Central Committee document or the open letter, the policies they advocate concerning population start from our national situation, fixing the goal of keeping the population within 1.2 billion by the turn of the century. Both documents suggest late marriages and late birth, fewer births, and better ones. Other than in extraordinary circumstances or real difficulties where two children will be permitted, a couple can only have one child, and three children will not be permitted. This is the general tone. According to special estimates, if affairs are conducted in the spirit of the central documents, the national population will be 1.97 billion at the end of the century. Of course, this proposal is far from perfect, but in order to prevent our population problem from becoming a vicious circle and to gradually ameliorate the population, this is the period in which rather feasible measures and methods must be adopted. It has been fixed under specific historical conditions according to the interaction between production of population and of material interaction between production of population and of material and according to our national situation. Thus, Comrade Chen Yun has said, "Advocating one child is the first order of business at the moment. The problems which may ensue from it are secondary." Whatever the situation, whatever the policy, nothing will be perfect. Therefore, advocating one child, limiting to two and putting an end to three is in tune with the national situation.

After the production responsibility system was carried out in the villages, controlling second births became the key problem in gaining a grasp on rural planned parenthood. The second child has been strictly managed by units in urban areas, and they should continue to bolster the one-child policy. Rural second-child questions are more complex, and should be strictly grasped and appropriately managed. In the Central Committee spirit, one child should be the rural policy as well, but in comparison to the urban areas, various factors must be taken into consideration. There can be no simple pursuit of a one-child rate and even less a total transformation to one child. If we do not as a nation

enact we will have no future. So it must be enacted. The question is what the policy should be, will it fit the national situation and will the majority accept it. Some comrades ask if it is genuine planned parenthood or artificial planned parenthood that we want. If it is the real thing, your policies should be tailored to the people's economic life and political/cultural level as well as their level of consciousness. If it is to such a degree that it is beyond what the people can accept, though it may sound good subjectively, it cannot be carried through. This is why the party policy has always been based on the perceptions and wishes of the masses. This is an extremely important point. Therefore, the party policy in the villages is to advocate one child but in special situations or difficulties to give consideration to two children. As to how to grasp the two kinds of production, Anhui and Zhejiang offer a wealth of experience. One new basis for setting village planned parenthood policies is to set up a birth and parenthood responsibility system. In sum, we who are engaged in the work of planned parenthood must first grasp the spirit. We must each manage the concrete problems, which can only be solved appropriately according to the specific situation.

Could advocating one child per couple over the long run lead to any social problems? Possibly. To deny this would be an un-Marxist attitude. Still, at the movement limiting births to one child is foremost, and the problems which arise from it can be dealt with gradually.

If there should be those who are worried about the population in the future being old and, thus the productive labor force and the military insufficiently supplied, and as the number of elderly to be cared for increased, two workers will have to care for four elderly (parents), plus (their own) one child (the so-called "4-2-1 problem"). From the standpoint of theory, if couples can only have one child there is this possibility. But from the nation's real situation, this is not about to happen very soon. The elderly make up about 6 percent of the population at present and youth 60 to 70 percent. In 2027 about 1 in 4 will be over 65. So there will be no problems of excessive aging of the population, not enough soldiers, or too many mouths to be fed and cared for increasing rapidly in this century.

I think that to raise these questions of the aging of the population, and of insufficient labor force and soldiers at the same time as advocating planned parenthood will let us study these problems early on, and at the proper time, adjust our population policies and adopt measures to prevent these situations from occurring.

The party's population policies are built on the foundation of what the masses perceive and desire, which is to say we must begin forceful promotion and educational work to educate both the masses and the cadres. Because some leading cadres in the minority are not yet clear in their understanding of the party's population policies, to a certain extent this is an obstacle to implementation of the party's population policies of some import. In the past we adopted the method of awards and penalties with a certain amount of results, but to rely purely upon economic rewards and penalties and overlook propaganda and thought education may eventually result in planned parenthood work not being carried out. Currently, some locales "know the penalties" but "do not fear them."

The wealthy do not fear them; nor do the poor. Penalize me and I will still have the children. As the production responsibility system went into effect in the villages, as life improved, a new situation appeared with regard to planned parenthood in some locales. For this reason, we must now give greater stress to grasping the work of propaganda and education. This is the primary substance of planned parenthood work as a whole. Making counts, distribution directions and constraining births outside the plans are all work that must be done. The question is that one cannot put all one's efforts into these areas, but 70 to 80 percent of one's energy should be spent on propaganda and education work. Since planned parenthood affects every family and is also a major event to mould customs, the masses' ideological questions and real ones mesh and the difficulty of the work is really tremendous. It can be said that planned parenthood work is an ideological education movement, and only by involving oneself in a long-term promotion, mobilization and education of the masses can we make our policies reach home.

We should gradually broaden our promotional substance for planned parenthood from one locality and one department to consideration of the national policy as a whole and from immediate gains to long-term ones. Besides settling up economic accounts and carrying out comparisons, we should make our propaganda broader in substance and more profound. While implementing the spirit of the Central Committee documents, we should make full estimates of the various difficulties, but also note favorable conditions as well. The Central Committee and State Council have clear policies concerning controlling population growth and are currently engaged in grasping the construction of material and spiritual civilization. We can use this opportunity to carry out propaganda and education on family planning and set up a new socialist outlook on birth. Recently the central leadership of the party has been emphasizing strengthening implementation of political rights in basic levels of the brigades and production brigades. This will give even greater organizational guarantees to family planning work. Finally, one last thing should be stressed. The mistaken outlooks of an earlier period held that family planning work was a resort to orders. That a minority of cadres should manifest breaches of orders is something difficult to avoid: but we cannot let this unavoidable phenomenon become our guiding ideology. Once we permit a resort to commandism it is bad and unacceptable party behavior. We should stress the work of persuasive education. If our work is built on a foundation of orders, it cannot be sustained. We can only base our work on persuasive education and the self-perception of the masses. Speaking from this standpoint, we should put 70 to 80 percent of our energies, our funds and our materials on propaganda and education work.

In this way, with a long period of effort, our family planning work can achieve results. All in all, if we can just hold steadfast to the party's population policies and to our propaganda and education, we can make the broad masses really understand that this subject relates to the health of the people, the prosperity of the nation, and the success or failure of the four modernizations, they should certainly carry it out of their own free will.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PEOPLE RESENTFUL OF WORSENING PUBLIC ORDER

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 9 Sep 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Crack Down on Criminal Offenses, Strengthen Building of Legal System"]

[Text] At a time when the people of the whole country were paying great attention to the situation of public order of society, the second session of the Sixth NPC Standing Committee adopted "The Decision on Severe Punishment of Criminal Offenders Seriously Endangering Public Order of Society" and "The Decision on Procedures for Prompt Trial of Criminal Offenders Seriously Endangering Public Order of Society." These two decisions are in line with the people's aspirations. They provide the political and law agencies with a powerful weapon for severely and promptly cracking down, in accordance with the law, on criminal activities seriously endangering the public order of society.

For the sake of the nation's lasting rule and permanent peace, it is necessary to strengthen the socialist legal system. To severely crack down on criminal offenders is an important link in the chain of building up the legal system. Cracking down on criminal offenders is fully in keeping with stepping up building of the legal system.

A basic function of the socialist legal system lies in protecting the people, in striking blows at enemies, in punishing criminal offenders, in consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship, in ensuring and enhancing the smooth advance of the building of socialist modernization. Of the criminal offenders seriously endangering the public order of society, some have committed the crimes of murder, arson, explosion, (poisoning) forcible rape, robbery, and theft; others have committed the crime of kidnapping and abducting people, luring and seducing, holding up and (abetting), and forcing women into prostitution; still others have committed the crimes of illegal manufacture, transaction, transport, theft, seizure of firearms, ammunition, explosives, and creation of particularly serious heinous offenses; and there are some others who have committed the crimes of organizing reactionary superstitious sects and secret societies, using feudalism and superstition for furtherance of counterrevolutionary activities; and particularly noteworthy are some of the criminal offenders who have formed gangs, acting like overlords, plundering and looting, waylaying

and robbing, raping women, mercilessly injuring and killing the innocent masses of the people. They have gravely endangered the safety of life and property of the masses of the people, seriously disrupting the public order of society, the sequence of work, the order of life, wrecking socialist construction, and directly violating the socialist law. Serious criminal offense is an important manifestation of class struggle in socialist conditions. Serious criminal offenders are hostile elements against socialism. If they are not cracked down on severely, the people's life and property will have no protection, the building of socialist modernization cannot be carried out smoothly, and it will be all the more impossible to talk about upholding the dignity of law and strengthening the building of the legal system. Severe punishment of the criminal offenders gravely jeopardizing the public order of society is precisely a rigid implementation of the constitution and law. It means exactly a firm implementation of the principle of "observing all laws carrying out laws rigidly, tracking down all law violators." In dealing with the criminal offenders who have seriously endangered the public order of society, leniency and softheartedness or appeasement and connivance constitute a negligence and betrayal of the socialist legal system.

The aspiration and the willpower and the interests of the broad masses of the people are a real basis for strengthening the socialist legal system. The broad masses of the people have long been extremely resentful of the criminal offenders, because of their acts of committing murder and doing evil, of defying laws human and divine. They are eagerly anticipating adoption of severe measures to crack down on criminal offenders, thereby ensuring safety of life and property and upholding normal economic and social life. Striking blows at the criminal activities is in compliance with the will of the people, for it frees the people from anxieties and rids the people of a scourge. Only when the willpower of the broad masses of the people finds a concentrated manifestation, and only when the basic interests of the people are safeguarded and defended, can building of the socialist legal system secure its correct orientation. Practice has shown that in places where building of the legal system is strengthened in earnest, where the dignity of law is upheld and propagated, and where the criminal offenders breaking laws are cracked down on firmly, resolutely and energetically, there we see the public order of society improving promptly, the people having a sense of security--being able to "go to work feeling at ease, go away from home feeling relieved, go to bed feeling calm and composed," with production, livelihood and all aspects of work proceeding smoothly. To the people, the socialist legal system is sunlight, rain and dew, and spring breeze. To the criminal offenders, the socialist legal system is severe frost, hurricane and sharp sword. This is precisely a dual function entrusted the socialist legal system by the people's democratic dictatorship system.

To severely and promptly crack down in accordance with law on criminal offenders seriously endangering the public order of society not only tempers the political and law cadres as well as the ranks of people's police in improving their political and professional quality, in correctly using the



legal weapon to exercise powerfully the functions of dictatorship, but also provides the broad masses of the people with a living education on the legal system and facilitates a further enhancement of the socialist legal system, making it sound, perfect and consolidated. Cracking down on criminal offenders severely and promptly and in accordance with the law means, in effect, pushing forward building of the socialist legal system.

The socialist legal system must truly become a powerful weapon for combating criminal offenders by the masses of the people, the political and law departments, the public security cadres and police, thus making the people feel they are protected by law and keeping criminal offenders from doing as they please. This is the only way to uphold justice, to prevail over evil influence, and to fully demonstrate the might of the people's democratic dictatorship. This is also the only way to achieve a basic improvement of the general mood and the public order of society, to ensure that socialist construction is smoothly carried out. Today the broad masses of the people are all warmly supporting an intensification of the socialist legal system, a vigorous exercising of the function of the state dictatorship, and severe punishment of the criminal offenders. As long as we carry this out persistently and unremittingly, it would definitely be possible to do a good job in public order. As was pointed out by chairman of the NPC Standing Committee Peng Zhen: "If only we act firmly in line with decisions of the party and the state, rely on the broad masses in carrying out resolutely the struggle for severe punishment of criminal offenders seriously endangering public order, we shall definitely be able to restore at an early date the good public order of the late 1950s and the early 1960s. What we could do at the same time would definitely be attained in the days to come."

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EAST REGION

LEADERSHIP CADRES MUST EXERCISE RESPONSIBILITIES

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Aug 83 p 1

/Commentator Article: "Leadership Cadres Must Be Brave in Taking Responsibilities Independently"

/Text/ Today, in the course of ushering in a new horizon for an all-round building of socialist modernization in our province, the leadership cadres of some localities as well as departments and units have shown varying symptoms of "waiting," "watching," "shirking," and "procrastinating." By "waiting" is meant "screwing up both eyes" and waiting for instructions to come from the higher authorities in all matters, acting like "abacus beads" that move when flipped and that stand still when not pushed around. By "watching" is meant glancing left and right, looking at how other people are doing and then deciding their own course of action, calling it by the high-sounding name of: "be neither advanced nor backward, we just follow the general trend;" "first, slowing down; second, looking around; third, getting through, we muddle on steadily and surely, making no mistakes." By "shirking" is meant seeking to avoid duties and responsibilities through kicking up to the higher leadership or pushing down to the lower authorities the problems and responsibilities which have cropped up in one's own localities or units, thus behaving like "irresponsible shopkeepers" that are leisurely and carefree, thoroughly pure and clean. By "procrastinating" is meant adoption of measures of soft procrastination, promising verbally to take matters into "consideration," yet in reality putting matters off without doing anything at all, thus ending up ultimately with nothing definite.

The above phenomenon boils down to just one point, that is, lack of a spirit of taking responsibilities independently. This is caused by a whole complex of factors: Some are overwhelmed with "fear," being afraid of taking responsibilities and making mistakes. Others have not yet freed themselves from the "leftist" influences," and they are accustomed to "acting in accordance with established patterns to avoid deviations," wrongly believing that doing things this way means standing on the same line as the party Central Committee. Still others are tainted with the dust of bureaucracy. They are destitute of feelings for the people. Therefore, in performance of work, there is no strong sense of responsibility, no zeal, and no initiative. To alter this situation, the most essential thing is to firmly establish a spirit of valor in taking responsibilities independently.

What, then, is the spirit of taking responsibilities independently? The spirit of taking responsibilities independently means absolutely not acting arbitrarily and domineeringly or establishing "independent kingdoms." Not does it advocate pretending to know what one does not know, nonprofessionals arbitrarily giving the final verdict, or "one person laying down the law." It has had very rich contents. The spirit of taking responsibilities independently means, first and foremost, the ability to take charge of a task and to make bold innovation in a certain department, locality and unit. It means practically and realistically integrating party lines and principles and policies with the realities of one's own localities and units and carrying them into effect, breaking with convention, bringing into play a spirit of creativeness, opening up and marching on. It means the courage to give final verdicts and make bold decisions on whatever is advantageous to the party, the people, the building of the four modernizations, without waiting, without watching, without shirking, without procrastinating, yet racing merely against time, breaking through resistances, taking up responsibilities one by one and through to the end, and achieving fruitful results. Meanwhile, it also means one should be good at discovering new experience, new typical examples, new things, at giving energetic support and making timely summation, and at conducting popularization in earnest. Also embodied in taking responsibilities independently is a spirit of firm adherence to truth and revision of errors. One's work must accept judgment by the masses and judgment by practice on a continuing basis. Be brave in adhering firmly to whatever is correct, in fearing neither attacks nor strong pressures, nor reproach. Be brave in looking squarely at whatever is wrong, in shouldering responsibilities, in taking lessons and in making a thorough rectification. To take responsibilities independently, one must be responsible to both the higher authorities with responsibilities to the people. To sum up, the spirit of taking responsibilities independently is precisely an intense dedication to the cause of revolution, a high sense of responsibility, a spirit of working wholeheartedly for the people and a spirit of willingness to be public servants of the people.

Bravery in taking responsibilities independently is an excellent working style essential to each and every party cadre, notably the leadership cadres. Whether cadres at all levels can take responsibilities independently has a direct bearing on the rise and decline or the success and failure of the cause of our party and state. In the history of our party it was precisely because of the existence in different times of a large number of cadres capable of independently undertaking responsibilities of developing and propelling tasks that we were able to achieve one victory after another and to make the entire revolutionary cause forge ahead uninterruptedly. Today, in going one step forward to carry on and keep up the spirit of shouldering responsibilities independently, we must open up a new horizon for an all-round building of socialist modernization in line with the programs and tasks set forth at the 12th Party Congress. This is a great mission entrusted to us in a new historic period. Therefore, our leadership cadres at all levels must definitely enhance a revolutionary spirit and overcome the various faulty ideologies and practices of "waiting," "watching," "shirking" and "procrastinating," set the machine in motion and speed up, and undertake responsibilities independently. Only by moving along this line can we truly carry into effect the party's policies, principles, lines; fully arouse the enthusiasm and creativeness of the broad masses of the cadres, bring into

being a new horizon for building of socialist modernization; effectively get rid of bureaucratic practices, keep the body of our party from being corroded, prevent the degeneration of cadres, and enable the broad masses of the cadres to attain a tempering of themselves, to enhance their abilities, and to be competent for their own jobs. From a long-range point of view, this is the only ways and means of training and bringing up generation after generation of qualified leaders for the great socialist cause of China throughout the ages, thereby ensuring that our party and state will forever march victoriously along the course of socialism and communism.

To be brave in shouldering responsibilities is a revolutionary character the leadership cadres must possess. And this requires first of all a further elimination of the "leftist" influences and firm establishment of a spirit of responsibilities toward the people. One must think the way people think, worry the way people worry, and in all matters proceed from the interests of the party and the people. Thinking along this line, acting along this course, one becomes bold, "lingering fear" disappears and the zeal to be brave in shouldering responsibilities appears. Second, one must have "a thorough grasp on both ends." On the one hand, it is necessary to study revolutionary theories assiduously, to study the "Selected Writings of Deng Xiaoping" well and in earnest, to raise the ideological and theoretical level; to study the party lines, principles and policies, to understand fully the theoretical basis, spirit and essence, and trends of development of the various policies of the party, and to upgrade the level of policies. On the other hand, it is essential to investigate penetratingly and find out clearly about the reality and situation of one's own locality and unit. Only when the situation is clearly understood can one be immensely determined to work steadily and carry out tasks thoroughly to the satisfaction of the masses. Third, it is necessary to establish a clearcut and rigid system of responsibility and achieve the objective of well-defined duties and responsibilities, strict inspection, fairness and justness in meting out rewards and punishments. Commendation and encouragement should be given generously to the men of action who have integrated party lines and principles and policies with independent responsibilities, who have made bold innovation, and who could usher in a new horizon. To be justly and forcefully criticized and educated are the leaders who perform their duty in a perfunctory manner, who are seriously plagued by bureaucraticism, and who hold on to their posts without doing their jobs. As long as ideological education and the limits of the system are integrated and put to work along both lines, there will appear in our ranks of cadres a new phenomenon of flourishing vitality and valor to shoulder responsibilities, and the building of the four modernizations will definitely be able to forge ahead consistently and persistently, bringing about new changes day after day.

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EAST REGION

WAYLAYING RAPISTS SENTENCED TO DEATH, EXECUTED IMMEDIATELY

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 83 p 1

Report: "A Criminal Gang of Scoundrels Severely Punished in Nanjing City"

Text The Nanjing City Intermediate People's Court officially pronounced in the Wu Tai Shan gymnasium yesterday afternoon the judgment on a case of criminal scoundrels gang waylaying and raping women. Five prime culprits--Yang Jiarun /2799 1367 3387/, Cao Ronggen /2580 2837 2704/, Yang Genxi /2799 2704 9240/, Di Ronping /4574 2837 1627/, Zhao Guangyue /6392 0342 6460/--were sentenced to death in accordance with law, executed immediately and deprived of political rights for life. Zhang Sumei /1728 4790 2734/, a female culprit, was sentenced to death, with the sentence suspended for 2 years. She was deprived of lifelong political rights. Cheng Deliang /4453 1795 0081/, a culprit, was sentenced to imprisonment for life and deprived of political rights for life.

On 16 July, at about 2 pm, the four culprits roaming the streets and looking for an opportunity to engage in criminal activities of hoodlums--Yang Jiarun, Cao Ronggen, Yang Genxi, Di Ronping--held up by means of violence a 14-year-old girl in the vicinity of Hunan Road and took her to three places where they raped her many times. During the long 15 hours, from 2 pm till before dawn the next day, this gang of hoodlums ravaged the young girl, fatally wrecking her body and mind and creating very grave consequences. With the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of the people, the public security organs promptly squelched this case after its occurrence and rounded up the whole gang of hoodlums at one swoop. Of this gang of hoodlums, three culprits--Yang Jiarun, Cao Ronggen, Zhao Guangyue--had previously been sentenced to reform through labor for committing crimes of hooliganism, larceny, and gang rape. Di Ronping had been sentenced to re-education through labor for committing crimes of hooliganism and larceny. This gang of culprits are the dregs of society, the newly bred hostile elements against socialism. In broad daylight they openly held up a young girl and resorted to gang rape, being guilty of particularly serious crimes. The broad masses of the cadres warmly supported this rigid and just verdict of the people's court, all clapping and cheering with joy.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

NANFANG RIBAO EXPLAINS PARTY RECTIFICATION

HK161111 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jan 84 p 2

["Thirty-six Questions and Answers on Studying the Documents on Party Rectification (Part 1)"]

[Text] Editor's note: The "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification" states: "The basic method of the current party rectification is: on the basis of conscientiously studying the relevant documents, raising our ideological level, and enhancing our understanding, we should launch criticism and self-criticism, distinguish right from wrong, correct our mistakes, and purify our organization." At present, in our province, in those units where party rectification has started and also in those where it has not, the vast numbers of party members and leading cadres who are party members are conscientiously studying the documents on party rectification according to the requirements of the resolution. A satisfactory study of the documents is the basis for satisfactory party rectification. To ensure that party rectification is not carried out perfunctorily, we must first avoid perfunctoriness in studying the documents. Our thinking can be genuinely unified only through a conscientious study of the documents. Once our ideology is unified, we will all have a correct and common cognitive basis for rectifying our work style; strengthening discipline, and purifying our organization. If we make full efforts in studying and understanding the gist of the documents, we can be ideologically prepared for doing a series of work from now on in party rectification.

To support the current study of documents, we have compiled "Thirty-six Questions and Answers on Studying the Documents on Party Rectification," which is based on "A Must Book for Party Members" and other relevant references. These questions and answers will be published here in three parts, starting from today. [End editor's note]

Question 1: What is called an overall rectification of our party?

Answer: The decision of the CPC Central Committee on party rectification states: "It was resolved at the 12th CPC National Congress that the party's work style and organization will undergo overall rectification over a period of 3 years, starting from the latter half of 1983." Overall party rectification implies two things. First, the party rectification extends in scale

to the whole party, from the CPC Central Committee to the localities; it covers all party members and party organizations at all levels, rather than some party members or some party organizations. Second, the content and tasks of party rectification cover the realms of ideology, work style, discipline, and organizations, rather than one particular realm alone.

Question 2: Why must we launch the current party rectification?

Answer: It involves the question of a correct appraisal of the condition of our party organizations and our contingent of party members. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, thanks to an initial rectification of our party over several years, our party's condition has markedly improved and healthy forces have powerfully dominated our party. Our party has combat capability. This is convincingly proved by the fact that over the past several years, our party has led the whole nation to implement its line, guiding principles, and policies, and all over our country the situation is very good. However, at present, there are still many grave problems within our party, mainly serious unhealthiness of ideology, work style, and organization. Some party members do not know the great significance of bringing order out of chaos and have not switched to the stand of the Marxist line. Some party members have only a vague knowledge of the basic principles and superiority of the socialist system and the bright prospects of communism; they are ideologically confused. Some party members turn a blind eye to those ideologies violating Marxism and socialism, or even openly propagate these ideologies. Some party members and cadres who are party members basically forget the objective of serving the people wholeheartedly; they seriously indulge in individualism, which may even develop malignantly to such an extent that in striving to benefit oneself or a clique, one may not hesitate to try any unscrupulous tricks, to undermine the interests of the state and the people, and to embark on the path of criminal activities. Among some party members who are cadres at leading posts there is a serious problem of bureaucracy; their revolutionary will have waned; they are sated with food and remain idle. Among some party members, including cadres, the sense of organization is weak and discipline is lax; they are in low spirits, attempting nothing and accomplishing nothing; and they do not play an exemplary vanguard role. Some party organizations are weak, disorganized, or even paralyzed, no longer playing the role of a fighting bulwark. In our party, the "people of three categories" have not been completely eliminated. Such serious unhealthiness of ideology, work style, and organization is extremely harmful to our party. Therefore, we must resolutely and effectively rectify the situation.

Not only does such grave unhealthiness of ideology, work style, and organization exist in our party, but there are many ways in which our party is not compatible with the new situation and new tasks facing us. Therefore, we must further adhere to and improve party leadership through party rectification.

Question 3: Why do we say that our party can correct its mistakes by relying on its own strength?

Answer: This is because our party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class and is a tried Marxist party. All serious mistakes in our party's history were corrected by our party itself. Our party has summed up both positive and negative experience and has led the people to achieve success after success in the democratic revolution and in socialist revolution and construction. Although the 10 years of internal disorder caused serious harm to our party, purity and the possession of strong combat power are still our party's main characteristics. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has reestablished the Marxist line, shifted the focus of its work and the state's work, started a socialist modernization whose core is economic construction, satisfactorily tackled many major problems left over by history, systematically summed up the historical experience since the founding of the PRC, carried out organizational reform and readjustment of leading bodies at various levels, launched a series of work and struggle to combat serious economic crimes and other criminal activities, and undertaken education in socialist and communist ideology. Our party's condition has thus been markedly improved. All this fully demonstrates that our party can absolutely overcome its dark side and correct its own mistakes by relying on its own strength, and can advance even more vigorously.

Question 4: What are the aims and requirements of the current party rectification?

Answer: Its aim and requirements are that under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, we must rely on the revolutionary consciousness of all comrades in our party, correctly use the powerful weapon of criticism and self-criticism, abide by our party discipline, expose and solve our party's grave problems of unhealthy ideology, work style, and organization, basically improve our party's work style, raise our party's overall standards of ideology and work, establish closer links between our party and the masses of people, and vigorously build our party into a strong core of leadership over socialist modernization.

Question 5: What are the tasks, basic guiding principles and basic policies of the current party rectification?

Answer: The decision of the CPC Central Committee on party rectification sums up our party rectification task in 16 characters which mean: unify our ideology, rectify our work style, strengthen discipline, and purify our organization. Unifying our ideology means achieving a higher degree of ideological and political unity among the whole party, and correcting all erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies which violate the four basic principles or the line stipulated by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Rectifying our work style means developing the revolutionary spirit of wholeheartedly serving the people, combating various ways of using the powers of one's post to seek private gain, and opposing irresponsible bureaucracy in dealing with our party and the people. Strengthening discipline means adhering to the organizational principle of democratic centralism, opposing organizational incoherence and lax discipline as reflected in patriarchy, factionalism, anarchism, and liberalism, and ending the weakness and disorganization in party organization. Purifying our party organization means weeding out [qing li chu lai 3237 3810 0427 0171] and



expelling [kai chu 6030 7110] from our party, according to party constitutional stipulations, those elements who persist in opposing and undermining our party.

The basic guiding principle concerning our party rectification can be summed up as follows: we must resolutely and vigorously solve various problems, accomplish the party rectification tasks on a full scale, and fulfill the overall aim and requirements of party rectification; moreover, we must be prudent and steady and avoid creating disorder, so that the political situation of stability and unity as well as our socialist modernization will not be affected. This basic guiding principle runs through various relevant parts of the decision. For example, its first part, which analyzes our party's condition, not only sharply points out the serious problem of unhealthiness in our party's ideology, organization, and work style, but also fully affirms that our party is in the main pure and healthy, and that it is absolutely capable of correcting its mistakes by its own strength.

The basic policies concerning the current party rectification define the basic limits which reflect the basic guiding principles concerning party rectification. For example, the second part says that among party members, including cadres, the majority of those who committed "leftist" or rightist mistakes did so for ideological and cognitive reasons, and that they must be helped to improve their understanding and correct their mistakes; and, as to the minority of party members who adhere to an erroneous political stand and refuse to correct their mistakes, not only must they be subjected to solemn criticism and ideological struggle, but some necessary disciplinary measures must be taken against them.

Question 6: Why must ideological unification be taken as the first category of work in party rectification?

Answer: It is because unifying our ideology to achieve a high degree of ideological and political unity in the entire party is the basic condition for success in revolution and construction.

The principal indicator of ideological unification is ideological and political consistency with the CPC Central Committee. At the present stage, this means adhering to the four basic principles, adhering to the line, guiding principles, and basic policies drawn up by our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and persisting in concentrating our efforts on socialist modernization.

Ideological unification calls for a resolute correction of all erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies which violate the four basic principles of our party's line. On this question, two erroneous tendencies now exist in our party. Some party members, including cadres, have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of "leftist" ideology; they distort the meaning of the four basic principles and adopt an attitude of resisting our party's line, guiding principles, and basic policies; some of them even take to covert opposition though showing overt compliance, or openly stage resistance. On the other hand, some party members, including cadres, cannot withstand the

test of historical setbacks and the corrosive influences of capitalist ideology; they are skeptical of the four basic principles, negate them, depart from our party's line, guiding principles, and policies, and preach bourgeois liberalism. If these two erroneous tendencies are not overcome, ideological unification will be out of the question.

Question 7: What are the requirements of our work style rectification?

Answer: In rectifying our work style, we must pay special attention to grasping two things: first, we must solve the problem of using the powers of one's post to seek private gain; and second, we must solve the problem of irresponsible bureaucracy in dealing with the party and the people. These two problems affect the relationship between our party and the people; they directly affect our party's prestige, image, and reputation. If they are satisfactorily solved, the masses of people will have greater confidence in our party rectification.

Question 8: Why is the strengthening of discipline an important task in the current party rectification?

Answer: The implementation of our party's line must be guaranteed by discipline. Only if strict organizational discipline is maintained in our party can we accomplish our party's programs and tasks and increase our party's combat power.

At present, the pernicious influence of the anarchism prevailing during the 10 years of internal disorder still reappear from time to time in many party organizations and among many party members. There also exists a serious problem of violating democratic centralism. Some leading cadres place themselves above their organizations, so that collective leadership exists in name only, and a single individual can have the final say; and some even turn the units they are in charge of into territories which they rule like a king. Some party members, including cadres, disregard our party's organizational principles and discipline, and practice anarchism, liberalism, decentralization, selfish departmentalism, or factionalism. Some leading cadres among party members continue to harbor factionalism instead of the party spirit; they classify people according to factions, employ only those who have close connections with them, discriminate against those who hold different views, and form cliques for selfish purposes. In many party organizations, regular activities are far from being conducted normally, so that criticism and self-criticism cannot be launched, and people dare not stop or correct undesirable practices, such as violations of party discipline. Some party members gravely indulge in the work style of "trying never to offend anybody"; they try to dodge all kinds of conflicts and their principle is to avoid offending anybody. Some are like a tiger whose backside no one dares to touch; they suppress criticism and are ready to retaliate. None of these phenomena are permitted by our party discipline. They must be completely ended in the current party rectification, so that our party can become highly disciplined.

Question 9: What are the requirements of organizational purification in the current party rectification?

Answer: An important task of the current party rectification is to purify our organization and to persist in expelling [qing chu 3237 7110] from our party elements who oppose and endanger our party.

The key question of organizational purification is the thorough weeding out [qing li 3237 3810] of "people of three categories," who will otherwise be a serious hidden danger in our party. Moreover, those who have obstinately resisted the line of the CPC Central Committee since the third plenary session, those who commit serious economic or criminal offenses, and those who seriously violate the law and discipline must be expelled [kai chu 7030 7110] from our party.

Some of those expelled from our party [kai chu dang ji 7030 7110 7825 5659] can continue to be cadres, and there must be appropriate arrangements for their jobs. Others cannot continue to be cadres, and there must also be a way out for them in work and livelihood. We must show concern for all of them ideologically and politically, encourage them to transform themselves, and help them make progress.

Question 10: What are the "people of three categories"? How can we identify them and how should we deal with them?

Answer: The "people of three categories" are those who followed the counter-revolutionary clique led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing to secure important positions through rebellion, those having intense factionalist thinking, and those who beat, smashed, or looted. Here, those who secured important positions through rebellion refers to those whose cases are serious and who, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," closely followed Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and company to form cliques and sects, seized power through rebellion, rose in rank, and did evil things. Those having intense factionalist thinking refers to those who, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," vigorously preached the reactionary ideology of the counterrevolutionary clique led by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and organized cliques to do evil things, and who have continued to carry out overt or covert factionalist activities after the smashing of the "gang of four." Those who beat, smashed, or robbed refers to those whose cases are serious and who, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," framed and persecuted cadres and the masses, extorted confessions by torture, and did serious bodily harm to people; those who played a major role in, or engineered behind the scenes, the smashing of government offices, the stealing of files, and the wrecking of public or private property; and those who plotted, organized, or directed fights whose consequences were serious.

Whether a person belongs to the "people of three categories" depends on the actual harm he did to our party or the people, and not on his title during the "Great Cultural Revolution" or the organization he belonged to. In determining whether someone belongs to the "people of three categories" we must be both solemn and careful. We must neither let go those really belonging to the "people of three categories" nor wrongly broaden the scope of our

campaign. A person's deeds during the "Great Cultural Revolution" must be analyzed on a historical basis. Controversial cases should be reported to higher authorities for discussion and final decision. In principle, the "people of three categories" must be expelled [kai chu 7030 7110] from our party, except those who have been proved to be penitent through protracted tests.

The guiding principle of individual treatment should be applied to those party members, including leading cadres, who committed mistakes or were not blameless during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and who do not belong to the "people of three categories." General mistakes will not be posed again as an issue in the current party rectification. In those cases where serious mistakes were made but there has not been any conclusions and the persons involved were not dealt with, conclusions must be drawn up and the persons involved must be dealt with in the current party rectification; in other cases where serious mistakes were made, conclusions have been drawn up, the persons involved have been dealt with, and no other major problems can be discovered, there must not be any further action.

Question 11: What demands are set on party members by the CPC Central Committee in the current party rectification? What are the criteria of a qualified party member?

Answer: The CPC Central Committee requires all party members, without any exceptions, to vigorously take part in the party rectification and to improve themselves in communist consciousness and party spirit, so as to become qualified party members. Moreover, they should strive to become exemplary party members.

The criteria for qualified party members comprise the most basic demands on party members, as stipulated in Article 2 of the party constitution, and the eight obligations which party members must fulfill as stipulated in Article 3 of the constitution.

Article 2 of the party constitution stipulates that CPC members must be vanguard fighters, who possess communist consciousness, among the Chinese working class. A CPC member must wholeheartedly serve the people and struggle all his life for the realization of communism, without hesitating to sacrifice anything. A CPC member is forever an ordinary member of the working people. All CPC members must not seek any private gain or privileges, aside from the personal benefits and powers of office as prescribed by the relevant systems and policies.

Article 3 of the party constitution stipulates that party members must fulfill the following eight obligations:

1. They must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, basic knowledge about our party, our party's line, guiding principles, policies, and resolutions, and science, culture, and professional knowledge.

2. They must persistently place the interests of the party and the people above everything else, subordinate personal interests to those of the party and the people, be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and refrain absolutely from robbery or undermining public interests for private benefit.
3. They must indomitably implement the party's resolutions, submit themselves to assignment by party organizations, vigorously fulfill the party's tasks, consciously abide by party discipline and state laws, strictly guard party and state secrets, and resolutely defend the interests of the party and the state.
4. They must safeguard the party's solidarity and unity, resolutely oppose factionalism, oppose all the activities of factionalist groups and cliques, oppose double-dealers' acts of feigning compliance, and oppose all schemes and intrigues.
5. They must be faithful and honest to the party and must be as good as their word; they must not hide their own political viewpoints or distort facts. They must earnestly launch criticism and self-criticism, bravely expose and correct shortcomings and mistakes in work, support good people and endorse good deeds, and oppose bad people and evil deeds.
6. They must establish close links with the masses, propagate the party's views among the people, consult the masses when any issue arises, listen with an open mind to the views and demands of the masses and opportunely report them to the party, help the masses heighten their consciousness, and safeguard the just rights and interests of the masses.
7. They must play an exemplary vanguard role in production, work, study, and social life. They must take the lead in safeguarding social order, developing new social habits, and promoting communist morality.
8. In moments of difficulty or danger, to protect the interests of the motherland and the people, they must come out boldly, fight bravely, and carry forward the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

The decision on party rectification stresses that for the vast numbers of party members, whether one satisfies the party constitution stipulations mainly depends on one's actual personal performance in various aspects since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Question 12: What rights do party members enjoy?

Answer: Article 4 of the party constitution stipulates that party members enjoy the following eight categories of rights:

1. They have the right to attend relevant meetings of the party, to read relevant party documents, and to be nurtured and trained by the party.

2. They have the right to discuss party policies at party meetings or in the party newspaper or party journal.
3. They have the right to put forth suggestions and proposals about the party's work.
4. At meetings of the party, they have the right to voice criticisms, on adequate grounds, about any party organizations or members; they have the right to responsibly disclose and report to the party any instances of violations of law or discipline by any party organizations or members; they have the right to demand punishment of party members violating law and discipline; and they have the right to demand the dismissal or replacement of any incompetent cadres.
5. They have the right to vote, to elect, and to stand for election.
6. When a party organization discusses a proposed resolution on taking disciplinary measures against a party member, or is appraising his case, he has the right to be present and to defend himself, while other party members can bear witness on his behalf and defend him.
7. If a party member disagrees with a resolution or policy of the party, under the precondition that he resolutely implements it, he can declare his reservation and can make his own views known to higher party organizations, up to the CPC Central Committee.
8. Party members have the right to submit requests, appeals, and accusations to higher party organizations, up to the CPC Central Committee, and have the right to demand the responsible reply from the organizations concerned.

Question 13: In the current party rectification, what demands has the CPC Central Committee set on the leading cadres at various levels? What demands are particularly important at present?

Answer. The decision of the CPC Central Committee states that in the political life of our party and state, and in the implementation of our party's line, guiding principles, and policies, the leading cadres of our party at various levels shoulder a particularly heavy responsibility. Therefore, they must not only comply with the above-mentioned criteria of a qualified party member, but must also satisfy the six basic requirements stipulated in Article 35 of the party constitution. A leading cadre among party members can be said to be qualified only if he satisfies the requirements stipulated in Articles 2 and 3, and the six basic requirements stipulated in Article 35 of the party constitution.

The six basic requirements which are stipulated in Article 35 of the party constitution and which the leading cadres at various levels must satisfy are:

1. They must attain a certain standard, in theory and policy aspects, in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They must be able to adhere to the socialist road and to struggle against the hostile forces which undermine socialism as well as various erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party.
2. In their own leadership work, they must conscientiously carry out investigation and study, persist in proceeding from reality, and correctly implement the party's line, guiding principles, and policies.
3. They must be highly devoted to the revolutionary cause and have a strong sense of political responsibility. Their organizing ability, education standard, and professional knowledge must be good enough to make them competent in leadership work.
4. Their work style must be democratic. They must establish close links with the masses, correctly implement the party's mass line, consciously accept the criticism and supervision of the party and the masses, and oppose bureaucracy.
5. They must use the powers of their offices correctly, follow and safeguard the party and state systems, and struggle against all acts of abusing powers of office or seeking private gain.
6. On the basis of adhering to the party's principles, they must be good at uniting with their comrades on an extensive scale, including those whose views differ from their own, for the sake of working together.

Leading cadres of our party at various levels must at present pay particular attention to the following: They must improve their standard, in theory and policy aspects, in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, strengthen their dedication to the revolutionary cause and their sense of political responsibility, bravely struggle against all hostile forces undermining socialism, bravely struggle against decadent bourgeois ideology and practices leading to spiritual pollution, bravely struggle against practices of abusing powers of office to seek private gain, set a good example to the vast numbers of party members, and guide the masses of people so that they can vigorously establish ideals, attain high moral and educational standards, and abide by discipline.

Question 14: What demands have been set by the CPC Central Committee on young communists in the current party rectification?

Answer: The CPC Central Committee shows special concern for the vast numbers of young communists. The decision points out the following characteristics of the vast numbers of young party members: they have brisk minds, they are bold in making innovations, and they are imbued with vitality. However, the majority of them know very little about basic Marxist theories and have very little basic knowledge about our party, and have not been adequately tempered by revolutionary practice or inner-party political life. During the period when their own world outlooks were being molded, their thinking was influenced by various negative phenomena, such as anarchism, in the 10 years of internal disorder. Therefore, generally speaking, they are rather

weak in correctly distinguishing right from wrong on political questions. Therefore, in the current party rectification, we must pay great attention to enhancing their ideological and political consciousness, strengthening their training in the party spirit, and promoting their ability to resist the corrosive influences of capitalist ideology, so that they can attain maturity as soon as possible and can really shoulder the heavy historical responsibility of carrying forward our party's cause.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

NANFANG RIBAO CONTINUES RECTIFICATION DISCUSSION

HK161223 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 84 p 2

["Thirty-six Questions and Answers on Studying the Documents on Party Rectification (Part 2)"]

[Text] Question 15: What is the procedure of the current party rectification?

Answer: The procedure is: rectification will proceed from organizations directly under the CPC Central Committee to grassroots organizations, from higher levels to lower levels; different groups of organizations will be rectified in different stages. The rectification of each single party organization will also go from top to bottom, that is, from the leading groups or leading cadres to the masses of party members.

The decision stipulates that the rectification will be carried out in two stages, starting from the winter of 1983 and lasting 3 years. In the first stage, starting from the winter of 1983, party organizations in leading bodies at the following levels will be rectified: the bodies directly under the CPC Central Committee; the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous region (these two levels include the departments, provincial departments, and bureaus run by various ministries and commissions); and various general departments, arms, and military regions of the PLA. In the second stage, starting from the winter of 1984, all other party organizations will be rectified.

Question 16: What are the basic methods of the current party rectification?

Answer: The basic methods are: On the basis of conscientiously studying the relevant documents and raising ideological and cognitive standards, we must launch criticism and self-criticism, distinguish right from wrong, correct mistakes, and purify our organizations. Through the entire party rectification process, we must strengthen ideological education and stress heightening the ideological consciousness of the vast numbers of party members.

Question 17: What documents must be conscientiously studied in the current party rectification? What are the signs of perfunctoriness in studying the documents?

Answer: We must conscientiously study "A Must Book for Party Members," "A Concise Edition of Important Documents Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," and "Comrade Mao Zedong on the Party's Style of Work and Party Organization." These three books and the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" are the documents for us to study in connection with the party rectification. In particular, we must satisfactorily understand several most important articles, such as the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification," the speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, "Combat Liberalism" and Articles 2, 3, 4 and 35 of the party constitution. These documents must be conscientiously studied page by page and paragraph by paragraph; their essence and gist must be thoroughly understood.

In the case of those party members who have difficulty in reading, party committees at the county level and higher levels should organize and train personnel to explain to them the main content of "A Must Book for Party Members" and the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." Through a study of the documents on party rectification, all party members must enhance their own understanding of the nature, programs, and tasks of our party, the qualifications for party members, and the line, guiding principles, and policies of our party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Whether the documents on party rectification are studied perfunctorily mainly depends on whether we can really implement the guiding principle of discussing while studying and correcting while rectifying. First, we must check whether the party members taking part in party rectification, particularly members of leading groups, conscientiously study "A Must Book for Party Members," the speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and the articles of other party rectification documents which are closely related to their own ideology and work, such as "Combat Liberalism," and so on; we must check whether they really understand and grasp the basic guiding principles, tasks, and policies of the current party rectification, which the CPC Central Committee has set forth. We must check whether the understanding of the majority of party members is basically unified through the study of the documents. Second, how well the principle of discussing while studying is implemented depends on whether some positive outcome appears in the discussion of the unit's own major problems which must be solved in party rectification. Third, we must check whether effort has been made to carry out rectification and correction of defects simultaneously.

Question 18: Why must we reread "Combat Liberalism" during the current party rectification?

Answer: "Combat Liberalism," written by Comrade Mao Zedong in 1937, advocates launching a vigorous ideological struggle, objects to unprincipled peace, and played an enormous guiding role in the Yanan rectification campaign. In this work, Comrade Mao Zedong mentioned 11 forms of liberalism of that time and analyzed their causes and harmful effects.

Today, rereading "Combat Liberalism" is of practical significance in doing a good job of the current party rectification. The various forms of liberalism mentioned by Comrade Mao Zedong still exist in our party, though they now differ in content and extent. Considering the causes of liberalism, in the past, it mainly arose from the selfishness and parochialism of the petite bourgeoisie, who placed personal interests above the interests of the revolution, whereas now we are facing the influences of bourgeois ideology. Our current party rectification and campaign of eliminating spiritual pollution are aimed at opposing the corrosive influences of the decadent ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. The existence of liberalism is disadvantageous to opposing this evil, and even more so to launching criticism and self-criticism. Therefore, rereading "Combat Liberalism" is highly advantageous to launching a vigorous ideological struggle and ensuring the smooth progress of party rectification.

Question 19: Why must we launch criticism and self-criticism in the current party rectification? How should we do so?

Answer: Correctly carrying out criticism and self-criticism is an effective method for resolving inner-party contradictions. Without it, we can achieve none of the objectives of party rectification. Being afraid to criticize and struggle against erroneous deeds is a reflection of impure party spirit. Suppressing criticism and retaliating against people who voice criticisms is an abominable act against party discipline.

In criticism and self-criticism, we must rigorously follow the principles which our party and Comrade Mao Zedong have always stressed, namely: Out of an aspiration for unity, we must aim at helping those criticized, "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the sickness to save the patient"; we must be realistic, base criticism on facts, and allow people to defend themselves; we must stress truth at the expense of saving face; and we must integrate the solemn and incisive nature of criticism and self-criticism with their scientific nature so that we cannot only clarify thinking and correct mistakes, but also unite with our comrades and advance with them together.

Question 20: Why must we eliminate spiritual pollution in order to do a good job of party rectification? What is spiritual pollution?

Answer: Party rectification includes not just spiritual pollution alone. However, to do a good job of party rectification, we must take spiritual pollution as an important task and grasp it as such on the ideological front, particularly with regard to theoretical, literary, and artistic work.

Spiritual pollution essentially means propagating various ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, or propagating sentiments of distrust of the socialist cause, the communist cause, and party leadership. To eliminate spiritual pollution, we should mainly oppose and criticize erroneous words and deeds marked by deviation from Marxism and socialism, and eliminate the bad influences of various decadent profit-before-everything ideologies, and of obscene publications, on our party itself, on various aspects of social

life, and, in particular, on youngsters. Eliminating spiritual pollution is mainly a task for the ideological front, particularly for the theoretical, literary, and artistic workers. At the grassroots level, the principal task is ideological and political education. The slogan of spiritual pollution does not apply to the countryside, to the scientific and technological field, or to economic work. We must not extend the elimination of spiritual pollution to daily life. We must not consider the way people dress and make themselves up or the improvement of livelihood as matters related to spiritual pollution; this would cause people to be at a loss as to what is correct.

Question 21: How should we implement the mass line in the current party rectification?

Answer: The resolution says that we must follow the mass line in the current party rectification. We must first heed fully the opinions of the masses of party members and the views of party organizations at lower levels; we must fully develop the positive role of the vast numbers of party members in party rectification; and we must also heed fully the opinions of the masses outside our party. All correct opinions must be vigorously accepted. If there are incorrect opinions, we must give satisfactory explanations. All questions regarding party rectification must be discussed and resolved by the party organizations concerned. We must not repeat the erroneous past practice of "rectification of our party by the masses," that is, allowing the masses outside the party to decide on the solution of inner-party problems.

In our party rectification, we must grasp those matters which the masses show greatest concern about and which are of most extensive educational significance. We must correct mistakes while rectifying our party, so that the masses both inside and outside our party can always see the practical achievements of party rectification.

Question 22: How should party members who have committed mistakes be dealt with according to organizational discipline?

Answer: Dealing with party members according to organizational discipline is a solemn job. In this work, we must not only resolutely maintain party discipline, but must also adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts. We must not in the first place determine proportions or figures. In general, this work must be done at a later stage of party rectification.

The principal measures against party members who committed minor mistakes should be criticism and education; they must be required to conscientiously correct their mistakes. The measures against party members who have committed serious mistakes should include not only criticism and education but also punishment according to party discipline. Party members who violate administrative discipline must be punished by administrative bodies according to administrative discipline. Party members who violate state laws must be punished by law through judicial bodies. If certain party members are not resolutely punished or expelled [qing chu 3237 7110] from the party as they should be, then the solemn nature of party discipline cannot be maintained, our party organizations cannot be purified, and our party's combat effectiveness will be affected.

In taking disciplinary measures against party members, we must follow rigorously the procedures stipulated in the party constitution; a measure should be decided upon through discussion at a general meeting of a party branch and then submitted to a grassroots party committee for approval. If the matter is more important or complicated, or if a party member is to be expelled [kai chu 7030 7110] from the party, the case should be referred to a discipline inspection committee of our party at the county level or at a higher level, depending on circumstances, for examination and approval.

Question 23: What are the policies that limit the registration of party members? How should party members be registered?

Answer: Each party organization must finally solemnly organize the registration of party members after rectifying ideology, work style, and organization, and after tackling the problems that should be tackled. The principal policies that limit the registration of party members are:

1. Party members who satisfy or basically satisfy the criteria for a qualified party member should be registered.
2. Some party members still do not basically satisfy the criteria for a qualified party member even though they have been subjected to education, but they show the determination and signs of transforming themselves and they are willing to undergo further tests set by the party. Their registration can be suspended for a maximum of 2 years. The registration of those party members put on probation within the party as a punishment should also be suspended.
3. For some party members, the revolutionary will is waning; they do not fulfill their obligations as party members, do not satisfy the criteria for a qualified party member, and do not transform themselves after having been repeatedly educated and assisted. They should be advised to withdraw from the party and should not be registered.
4. Some party members want to withdraw from the party, and some leave the party of their own accord; they refuse to take part in party rectification. Their names should be removed from party membership registers and they will not be registered.

Registration, suspended registration, or nonregistration can be passed only after discussion at a general meeting of a party branch. Suspended registration or nonregistration must also be referred to higher-level party organizations for approval. A party member whose registration is suspended does not have the right to vote, elect, or stand for election.

If one satisfies the criteria for a party member when one's term of suspension ends, one can be registered; and if by then one does not satisfy the criteria, one's name must then be removed from the party membership register.

In treating party members whose registration is being suspended, we must conscientiously and satisfactorily perform ideological and political work to help them bestir themselves and improve themselves vigorously, so that they can satisfy the criteria for a party member as soon as possible. In treating those who are not registered, we must show ideological and political concern for them, unite with them, and encourage them to be good citizens or cadres.

Question 24: What erroneous practices must be guarded against in the current party rectification?

Answer: In the current party rectification, we must guard against two categories of erroneous practices. On the one hand, we must guard against perfunctoriness; and on the other hand, we must guard against the erroneous past practices of cruel struggle and dealing relentless blows.

To prevent perfunctoriness, leading cadres at various levels in our party, particularly senior cadres, must set a good example. There must be mutual supervision between higher and lower levels. When party rectification ends, the party committees at higher levels must organize the checking of results for acceptance. If the criteria for postchecking acceptance are not met, further rectification should be resolutely carried out.

To avoid the erroneous practices of cruel struggle and dealing relentless blows, we must resolutely prohibit taking the opportunity of party rectification to instigate factionalism, or punishing people by factionalist means, or framing other people in retaliation for past grudges. Offenders will be severely punished once the offences are ascertained through investigation.

Question 25: Why and how must we guard against perfunctoriness in party rectification?

Answer: The current party rectification is a major step which our party must take to achieve a new and great success in the current historical period. It is a basic guarantee for attaining the ambitious goal, set forth at the 12th CPC National Congress, of building our country into a modern, highly civilized, and highly democratic socialist country. Our party and the whole nation have high hopes about the current party rectification. Therefore, with an intense sense of responsibility toward our party and the people, and in accordance with the requirements of the decision of the CPC Central Committee, we must do a good job of party rectification in each unit.

How can we guard against perfunctoriness?

First, leading cadres at various levels in our party, particularly senior cadres, must genuinely set a good example. Leading cadres of all party organizations must vigorously take part in party rectification in their capacity as ordinary party members. They must rigorously analyze themselves, and courageously, sincerely, profoundly, and realistically criticize their own shortcomings and mistakes. They must also courageously criticize those of other leading cadres with the same attitude. Thus, the vast numbers of party members can be brought along to do a good job of party rectification.

Second, there must be mutual supervision between higher and lower levels. Higher party organizations must strengthen leadership over, and strictly supervise, rectification in subordinate party organizations. The former must opportunely study, and help the latter solve, the latter's problems that arise in party rectification. Every party member must undertake a supervisory duty, and vigorously and responsibly report his unit's problems concerning party rectification to the party organization of his own unit or higher-level party committees. The principal leading cadre of every party organization must be responsible for the success or failure of party rectification in his organization, and his immediately superior party committee must also be responsible. The situation in rectification in higher party organizations must opportunely be made known to subordinate party organizations, so that the latter can supervise and criticize the former.

Third, when party rectification ends, superior party committees must organize acceptance of results through checking. When the checking and accepting of results is taking place, party members must be present, and the opinions of the masses of party members about checking and acceptance must be fully heeded. In checking results for acceptance, if some results do not meet the criteria stipulated by the CPC Central Committee, further rectification should be resolutely carried out.

Some units carried out party rectification on a trial basis before the transmission of the decision of the CPC Central Committee to the lower levels. The results of these units should be accepted as valid if they are proved through examination to satisfy the criteria concerning party rectification; otherwise, if the results are not satisfactory in certain aspects, further rectification in these aspects must be carried out.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

NANFANG RIBAO ENDS RECTIFICATION EXPLANATION

HK161246 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 84 p 2

["Thirty-six Questions and Answers on Studying the Documents on Party Rectification (Part 3 and last)"]

[Text] Question 26: What are the criteria for acceptance, through checking, of the results of party rectification at various units?

Answer: The CPC Central Committee stipulates five criteria for acceptance of party rectification results through checking. These criteria are for evaluating whether party rectification is satisfactorily accomplished by a unit.

First, whether the leading group can correctly implement our party's line, guiding principles, and policies, whether it is politically consistent with the CPC Central Committee, and whether a firm and united core has been formed;

Second, whether those who persistently oppose and undermine the party, particularly the "people of three categories," have been solemnly dealt with;

Third, whether those issues of great and popular concern to the masses inside and outside our party, particularly issues of using the powers of office and other facilities to seek private gains, have been conscientiously resolved;

Fourth, whether the party members' quality and disciplinary standard are improved, whether they can conscientiously abide by the party constitution, whether they vigorously play an exemplary vanguard role, whether the grass-roots party organizations' role as combat bulwarks is brought into play, and whether links with the masses are strengthened;

Fifth, whether there is a marked improvement in production work and other work that the organization concerned is in charge of.

Question 27: How can leadership over party rectification work be strengthened?

Answer: The current party rectification is rich in content, and involves many aspects and complicated questions. Therefore, strengthening leadership over party rectification work is very important.



How can this leadership be strengthened?

First, the CPC Central Committee has resolved to set up the CPC Central Committee Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification, with crack administrative agencies under it. The principal task of this commission, which works under the CPC Central Committee, is to get informed about the situation, grasp the relevant policies, exercise supervision and inspection, and provide guidance and launch propaganda.

Second, party committees at the county level or above should select a number of comrades, who show strong party spirit, whose work style is fine, and who are familiar with our party's ideological and organizational work. These may include some old comrades who have retreated from the frontline of work. After studying and receiving training in party rectification, they can be sent as liaison men or inspectors to the units where they belong and where party rectification is in progress. Their main work is to get informed about the situation, understand the trends of development, listen to opinions from various quarters, report in good time the situation to the local party organization and superior party committees, and put forth proposals.

Third, the principal leading comrades of party committees at various levels must go deep into reality, strengthen investigation and study, personally grasp one or two subunits, acquire firsthand information, and opportunely sum up and popularize typical experience in party rectification. In party rectification work, any problems encountered must be courageously grasped and tackled with a firm hand. Mistakes must be corrected in good time.

Fourth, the current party rectification work is done under the leadership of the party organizations of the locality, department, or unit concerned. Higher-level party organizations generally do not dispatch work groups to subordinate units.

Question 28: Why are work groups not dispatched in the current party rectification?

Answer: The CPC Central Committee stipulates that, in general, higher-level party organizations must not dispatch work groups to subordinate organizations. This is compatible with the current real situation of the party organizations and can help improve the results of our party rectification work. The reason is that over the past several years, after a series of work and struggles, our party organization has undergone initial rectification, healthy forces are powerfully dominating our party, the majority of the leading cadres of party organizations at various levels are good or relatively good, and they can be trusted to exercise satisfactory leadership over the party rectification work in their own units. Moreover, relying on their leadership over party rectification at their own units can help temper and try them and help raise their ideological standard and ability to solve practical problems. If work groups dispatched from higher-level party committees monopolize all kinds of work, the party organizations of the units concerned will show greater dependence and will not be tempered as they should be; now, this

shortcoming can be avoided. If work groups are dispatched, then, when they leave, the fruits of party rectification cannot be easily consolidated; this undesirable phenomenon can also be avoided.

Of course, not dispatching work groups does not mean that higher-level party organizations can slacken their leadership over party rectification. They must conscientiously understand whether serious problems concerning the leading groups of the immediate subordinate party organizations exist. In some units where the specific circumstances are complicated, where serious problems exist, or where the leading groups cannot tackle the tasks of party rectification, higher-level party organizations should, nevertheless, dispatch work groups to help them. Work groups must be led by the leading cadres of the higher-level party organizations. Their task is to rectify the leading groups, which can then exercise leadership themselves over rectification.

Question 29: How can the fruits of party rectification be consolidated and developed?

Answer: In the later stage of party rectification, various party organizations must vigorously consolidate and develop the fruits of party rectification in the aspects of ideological education, building of systems, and organizational construction, so as to promote the continuous progress of party building. Specifically, the following several tasks must be satisfactorily grasped:

First, daily ideological-political work for educating party members must be strengthened, so that ideological-political work for party members becomes a regular activity and part of our system. In light of our party organization's actual condition and the practice of socialist modernization, we must systematically educate the party members in basic Marxist theory, in knowledge about our party, and in our party's fine traditions, guiding principles, and policies. Moreover, the party members must be educated in the socialist legal system and scientific and academic knowledge necessary for modernization construction.

Second, various necessary systems of inner-party life must be vigorously established, perfected, or reformed. Regular activities of party organizations must be more perfectly organized, so that the party members, including cadres, can be tempered through rigorous regular activities and effectively supervised by party organizations. The struggle against the decadent ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes is a long term one. All party members must never slacken their efforts in this struggle.

Third, during and after the party rectification, we must pay attention to admitting into our party outstanding elements who are willing to devote themselves to the cause of socialism and communism.

Question 30: Why must the decision on party rectification be both followed resolutely and applied creatively?

Answer: The decision on party rectification states that the decision must be resolutely and creatively implemented by party organizations at all levels. We must resolutely abide by various stipulations in the decision because they result from discussions at a plenary session of the CPC Central Committee, under the precondition that the CPC Central Committee affirmed that the ranks of our party mainly comprise good party members, under the precondition of success in restoration and rectification work, and on the basis of a correct analysis of the new historical conditions facing our party, and of the current conditions of ideology, work style, discipline, and organization in our party. The decision is perfectly compatible with the current real situation. The basic guiding principles, tasks, policies, and methods of party rectification, as stipulated in the decision, reflect the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. Only by resolutely abiding by the decision can the desired objectives of the current party rectification be attained.

Resolutely abiding by various stipulations in the decision does not mean copying and transmitting them mechanically. The living soul of Marxism is that concrete conditions should be concretely analyzed. If Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought are not integrated with actual circumstances, they will be lifeless. Our leading cadres have the responsibility of integrating the decision of the CPC Central Committee with the actual conditions of their own units. Therefore, in using the decision to tackle problems inside the party, they must proceed from the actual circumstances of their own localities, departments, or units, accurately grasp the problems, and solve the problems with emphasis on some particular aspects. Proceeding from reality cannot be divorced from using one's brains, thinking about problems independently, and fully developing the initiative and creative ability of the party members, including cadres. In formulating concrete party rectification plans, all units should develop their own subjective initiative instead of doing things in a simplistic way.

Question 31. Why is it said that party rectification must not hinder the implementation of the policy of opening our country to the rest of the world while enlivening our domestic economy?

Answer: The current party rectification serves as a basic guarantee of two things. It is the basic guarantee of the attainment of the ambitious goal, set forth at the 12th CPC National Congress, of striving to quadruple the annual gross value of industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century under the precondition of constantly enhancing economic results. It is also the basic guarantee of success in building our country into a modern, highly civilized, and highly democratic socialist country. If party rectification is to be a successful basic guarantee of these two things, we must make party rectification work, economic work, and other work promote one another. Party rectification must help bring about and guarantee greater achievements in economic work and other work. The policy of opening our country to the rest of the world while enlivening our domestic economy has been proved correct by practice since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It is a correct policy for attaining our ambitious goal and quickening our modernization construction. Its advantages to our national economic development are obvious to all. Therefore, party rectification must

guarantee the implementation of this policy and must not work in the opposite direction. In particular, our province, Guangdong, should pay greater attention to this point. The special policies and flexible measures adopted by us and the setting up of special economic zones are wise policies of the CPC Central Committee. They are compatible with objective economic laws. They must be persistently implemented over the long term and must not be taken as some expedient measures. Ideologically speaking, we should not be skeptical; and in action, we should not waver.

Question 32: What should a communist's attitude be toward the current party rectification?

Answer: According to the demands of the CPC Central Committee, communists must at least satisfy the following four requirements:

1. They must conscientiously study the documents on party rectification as prescribed by the CPC Central Committee. They must completely and accurately study and understand the gist of the documents.
2. They must conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism. Every party member must sincerely criticize himself and must not passively await criticisms from others. Liberalism and the work style of "trying never to offend anybody" must be eliminated and other people's shortcomings and mistakes must be courageously criticized. Party members, including cadres, who committed various mistakes, must take the initiative to correct mistakes and must not remain inert and passive.
3. Communists must strictly abide by discipline. The following things are not permitted: refusing to take part in party rectification activities; covering up or adhering to mistakes; accommodating oneself to erroneous words or deeds; making up stories to frame others; suppressing criticism or wreaking retaliation; harboring "people of three categories;" instigating factionalism or interfering with party rectification; and retaliating against people out of old grudges and seizing opportunities to strike blows at others.
4. Communists must both vigorously take part in party rectification and do a good job in production or other work, so that neither party rectification nor production or other work suffer.

Question 33: What is the nature and ultimate goal of the CPC?

Answer: The CPC is the vanguard of the Chinese working class, the body which faithfully represents the interests of the people of various nationalities in China, and the core of leadership of China's cause of socialism. Our party's ultimate goal is to establish the communist social system.

Question 34: What is the overall task of the CPC at the present stage? What is the focus of its work?

Answer: The overall task of the CPC at the present stage is: It must unite the people of all nationalities in our country to reconstruct our country through our own efforts and to wage arduous struggles, so as to gradually achieve the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology, and to build our country into a highly civilized, highly democratic socialist country.

According to stipulations of the general program of our party constitution, the focus of our party's work consists of the following six aspects:

1. It leads the people of various nationalities in our country to carry out economic construction for the sake of socialist modernization. Social productive forces should be vigorously developed, and socialist production relations should be gradually perfected in light of the actual level of development, and requirements of development, of the productive forces. On the basis of development of production and increase in social wealth, the standard of the material life and cultural life of the people in urban and rural areas should be gradually raised.

2. Our party exercises leadership over the people in building a high degree of material civilization and also a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. Educational, scientific, and cultural undertakings should be vigorously developed; the party members and the masses of people should be educated in communist ideology; decadent capitalist ideology, remnants of the feudal ideology, and other nonproletarian ideologies, should be resisted and combatted; and, our people should be vigorously turned into a people who harbor ideals, who have good moral and education standards, and who abide by discipline.

3. Our party must exercise leadership over the people in developing socialist democracy, perfecting the socialist legal system, and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship. The people's right to manage national affairs, social affairs, economic undertakings, and cultural undertakings should be conscientiously safeguarded. Hostile elements who deliberately undermine our country's socialist system and people who gravely endanger public security should be resolutely cracked down on. The building of the PLA and our national defense must be strengthened. The nation must be ready at all times to resist and wipe out any invading enemy.

4. Our party safeguards and develops relations of equality, unity, and mutual help between various nationalities of our country. It persistently implements the policy of regional autonomy by various nationalities. It helps various minority nationality regions in their economic and cultural development. It vigorously trains and selects cadres from minority nationalities.

5. Uniting with the workers, peasants, and intellectuals of various nationalities in our country, and uniting with various democratic parties and groups, nonparty democratic personages, and patriotic forces among various nationalities, our party further develops and expands the most extensive patriotic united front, which comprises all socialist workers, all patriots who support socialism, and all patriots who support our motherland's unification. The great cause of unifying our motherland must be accomplished by working with

the whole nation, including the compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and nationals residing abroad.

6. Our party also must adhere to proletarian internationalism, and adhere to its unity with the proletariat all over the world, the oppressed nations and peoples, and all peace-loving and justice-upholding organizations and personalities. With them, it must oppose imperialism, hegemonism, and colonialism; it must safeguard world peace and promote human progress. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, namely, mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, it must develop relations between China and other countries in the world. On the basis of Marxism, and according to the principles of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hands, absolute equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in each others' internal affairs, it must develop our party's relations with the communist parties and other working-class parties of other countries.

Question 35. What are the three basic demands which our party sets on building itself in the course of leading the people to achieve modernization?

Answer: The first basic demand is a high degree of ideological and political unity. The CPC takes the realization of communism as the maximum program. All communists must struggle all their lives for it. At the present stage, adhering to the socialist road, to the people's democratic dictatorship, to party leadership, and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, as well as pooling forces to carry out socialist modernization construction, constitute the political basis for the whole party's unity. Our party's ideological line includes proceeding from reality in all cases, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, and testing and developing truths in practice. Following this ideological line, the whole party must scientifically sum up historical experience, investigate and study actual conditions, solve all new problems arising from domestic and international affairs, and oppose all erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies.

Second, it must wholeheartedly serve the people. Aside from the interests of the working class and of the overwhelming majority of the masses of people, our party does not have any specific interests of its own. Our party's programs and policies precisely scientifically reflect the basic interests of the working class and of the overwhelming majority of the masses of people. Throughout the entire process of leading the masses to struggle for realizing communist ideals, our party always shares the comforts and hardships of the masses, maintains extremely close links with the masses, and does not allow any party member to divorce himself from, or place himself above, the masses. Our party persistently educates the masses in communist ideology. In its own work, it follows the mass line; everything it does is done for the masses, it relies on the masses in all cases, and it turns its correct ideas into the conscious actions of the masses.

Third, it adheres to democratic centralism. Democracy is carried forward in our party. On the basis of democracy, a high degree of centralization is maintained. Organizational coherence and discipline are strengthened. Unanimous action among the whole party is ensured. The quick and effective implementation of party resolutions is guaranteed. In its own political life, our party correctly launches criticism and self-criticism. On matters of principle, it launches ideological struggle, adheres to truths, and corrects mistakes. The principle of everyone being equal before party discipline is followed. Party members violating discipline are appropriately criticized or punished. Those who persist in opposing and endangering the party are expelled [qing chu 3237 7110] from the party.

Question 36: When and why was the document "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" drawn up? How many principles does this document contain?

Answer: The "Guiding Principles" were adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, in February 1980.

The "Guiding Principles" were drawn up by the CPC Central Committee in light of the party's current condition, to restore on a full scale and further develop our party's fine traditions and fine work style, to perfect our party's democratic life, to safeguard our party's centralization and unity, to strengthen our party's unity, to consolidate party organization and discipline, and to increase our party's combat strength. It is an important set of party regulations. All party members, particularly various leading bodies and leading cadres of our party, must follow this document and implement its stipulations.

The document contains 12 principles: 1) adhere to our party's political line and ideological line; 2) uphold collective leadership and oppose the making of arbitrary decisions by individuals; 3) safeguard the party's centralized leadership and strictly observe party discipline; 4) uphold party spirit and eradicate factionalism; 5) speak the truth and match words with deeds; 6) promote inner-party democracy, take a correct attitude toward dissenting views; 7) guarantee that party members' rights are not encroached upon; 8) give full play to voters' wishes in an election; 9) fight against erroneous tendencies, evildoers, and evil deeds; 10) adopt a correct attitude toward comrades who have made mistakes; 11) accept supervision from the party and the masses; see that privilege-seeking is not allowed; and 12) study hard and become red and expert.

CSO: 4005/319

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

GUANGDONG ISSUES 'ANTICORRUPTION' CIRCULAR

HK101132 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Cantonese 0030 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] The discipline inspection commission of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee recently issued a circular, demanding that all city, prefectural, and county discipline inspection commissions and the discipline inspection groups of the units at and above the provincial bureau level use the typical cases of serious economic crimes to conduct anticorruption education for all party members.

The provincial discipline inspection commission held: In the current struggle against serious economic crimes, which we are waging in depth, it is of special and important significance to give full paly to the role of a negative example of a typical case which may serve as a lesson and to strengthen anticorruption education and struggle.

The circular says: The provincial discipline inspection commission in the near future will select from among the big and serious cases, which were already investigated and dealt with throughout the province, some typical cases of party members and cadres taking advantage of their functions and powers to commit serious economic crimes as the key precedents for anticorruption education throughout the province. It will print and distribute them to all places throughout the province by stages and in groups as the negative examples which may serve as a lesson. It will publicize them to and conduct education for the party members, the cadres, and the masses.

The circular demands: To use the typical cases of economic crimes to conduct anticorruption education, it is necessary to make full use of all means of propaganda and to take many forms.

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUNAN CPC COMMITTEE PUBLISHES JOURNAL FOR CADRES

HK100544 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 9 Jan 84

[Text] XUEXI DAobao [A Guide to Study], sponsored by the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee for cadres to take part in political and theoretical study and to engage in self-study and sit for examinations for institutions of higher learning, is published today. This journal will be distributed in the urban and rural areas throughout the province.

The first issue of the journal carries inscriptions by Comrades Wang Shoudao and Liao Mosha. Comrade Wang Shoudao's inscription is: Study assiduously for vilitizing China. Comrade Liao Mosha's inscription is: Value knowledge and talented people.

In the current issue, the column "A Guide to Political and Theoretical Study" carries articles on eliminating spiritual pollution and a list of required reading for party members. The column "A Guide to Self-Study and Sitting for Examinations for Institutions of Higher Learning" carries the trial implementation of self-study and sitting for examinations for institutions of higher learning in Hunan and introduces the situation of self-study and examinations carried out in Beijing and Tianjin. The features page of this issue carries an article written by Professor (Yang Chunqiu), dean of the Chinese faculty of Xiangcheng University, on his experiences in self-study for the past 40 years.

In addition, this issue also publishes comments, contributions, recent developments in theoretical fields, selected examination question of other provinces, and other materials. In order to make it a vivid publication, the journal also has a collection of paintings and photographs.

CSO: 4005/319

SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING OPENS 10 JAN

HK111547 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Excerpts] The fifth meeting of the Sixth Yunnan Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened in the People's Shengli Hall this morning. The central subject under discussion at this meeting is to discuss the problems of strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization and striving for a basic improvement of the general mood of society. The meeting will examine, discuss, and adopt the draft of the resolution on certain provisions contained in the detailed rules and regulations concerning the election of the people's congresses at the county level in Yunnan Province and the draft of certain regulations concerning the direct election of the deputies of the people's congresses at the township level in Yunnan Province and will examine and discuss other motions.

Liu Minghui, chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, and Sun Yuting, Qi Shan, Zhang Zizhai, Li Hecai, Yan Yiquan, Li Guiying, Ma Wendong, and Wang Lianfang, vice chairmen, attended today's meeting.

Comrades Liu Minghui and Qi Shan presided over the morning and afternoon meetings, respectively.

At today's full meeting of the provincial people's congress, the committee members listened to the report made by (Guo Zhaohua), director of the Yunnan Provincial Culture Department, on the situation in and problems of spiritual pollution in our province's cultural and art work; to the report made by (Liu Xuanlie), deputy director of the Yunnan Provincial Public Security Department, on the situation in severely striking blows at hooligans and their gangs who make use of pornographic articles to commit crimes; to the report made by Jiang Quan, director of the Yunnan Provincial Education Department, on eliminating spiritual pollution and building schools into important spiritual civilization positions; and to the report made by (Lin Jianzhong), director of the Yunnan Provincial Broadcasting and Television Department, on resolutely eliminating spiritual pollution and striving to create a new situation in our province's broadcasting and television.

In their reports, the leading comrades of the four departments all said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the direct leadership of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress standing committee, and the provincial people's government, our province's cultural, art, education, broadcasting, and television causes have greatly developed and very great achievements have been made. However, the problems of serious spiritual pollution actually exist on the ideological front. At the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yu delivered important speeches and the CPC Central Committee formulated an important policy decision on eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological front. This was very necessary and in good time. Eliminating spiritual pollution is a major task which has a bearing on the implementation of the general task put forward by the 12th Party Congress and on speeding up the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. It is also of extremely important significance for achieving the basic improvement of the general mood of society and social order. We completely support the decision of the CPC Central Committee and the speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun. In compliance with the decision and instructions of the central authorities, we must take vigorous measures to endeavor to overcome the state of weakness and laxity, to resolutely eliminate and resist spiritual pollution, and to make necessary contributions toward building socialist spiritual civilization.

Zhu Jiabi, chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, and standing committee members who are attending the third meeting of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee attended today's full meeting as nonvoting delegates. Others attending the meeting as nonvoting delegates included He Zhiqiang, vice governor; (Sun Zhineng), president of the provincial higher people's court; (Duan Huaming), chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate; committee members of the four committees of nationality affairs, legal system, finance and economy, and science, education, culture, and public health of the provincial people's congress; responsible persons of the people's congresses of relevant departments at the provincial level, Kunming City, Dongchuan City, Dali Autonomous Prefecture, Chuxiong Autonomous Prefecture, Wenshan Autonomous Prefecture, Honghe Autonomous Prefecture, Dehong Autonomous Prefecture, Xishuangbanna Autonomous Prefecture, Deqen Autonomous Prefecture, and Nujiang Autonomous Prefecture; responsible persons of the people's congress work liaison groups of Yuxi, Baoshan, Lijiang, Lincang, Zhaotong, and Qujing; and responsible persons of some county people's congress standing committees.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Chairman Liu Minghui emphatically said: Strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization and striving for a basic improvement of the general mood of society is an extremely important problem. We have listened to the reports made by the four department directors and have seen that since the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, you have done a great deal of work and have made relatively good achievements. In our study and discussion this time, we must regard

the constitution as the criterion, must continue to take a step forward, must closely integrate with realities, must conduct criticism and self-criticism, must unify our thinking and understanding, must adhere to the four basic principles, and must do our work even better.

The meeting will conduct group discussions as from 11 January to discuss the problems of strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization and of striving for a basic improvement of the general mood of society.

CSO: 4005/315

SOUTHWEST REGION

YUNNAN PROVINCIAL PRESS ASSOCIATION ESTABLISHED

HK300934 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Dec 83

[Summary] "The first congress of Yunnan provincial press workers was held in Kunming from 27 to 29 December. The meeting elected a new leading body of the provincial reporters' association and set up the provincial press association."

Present at the meeting were 110 delegates. They discussed the major issue of opening up a new situation in journalism in our province. Zhao Tingguang, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee; Wang Jian, head of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee; and Li PU, member of the secretariat of the China Reporters' Association, attended the opening ceremony. Comrades Zhao Tingguang and Li Pu spoke at the meeting.

"Comrade Zhao Tingguang said: We have quite a large contingent of press workers in our province. In the past few years, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the broad section of press workers have worked hard and have attained remarkable achievements. The provincial CPC committee has always attached importance to and supported journalism. It is hoped that the comrades will uphold the principles of party spirit with one heart and one mind and make greater contributions in promoting the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Comrade Zhao Tingguang also hoped that the provincial reporters' association and the provincial press association will unite all press workers throughout the province and make vigorous contributions in developing the journalistic cause of the party and the people, giving full scope to the publicity role of journalism, and opening up a new situation in journalism in our province."

Comrade Li Pu expressed his congratulations to the delegates on behalf of China Reporters' Association. He also talked in detail about the ideological cultivation and work style of press workers. Comrade (Xia Yu), chairman of the provincial reporters' association, delivered a work report. After full discussions, the delegates approved in principle the constitution of the Yunnan Provincial Press Workers' Association and elected (Xia Yu) chairman of the provincial reporters' association and (Lin Jianzhong) chairman of the provincial press association.

CSO: 4005/315

SOUTHWEST REGION

KUNMING PLA MEETING ON EDUCATION, TRAINING

HK080257 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Jan 84

[Text] The Kunming PLA units recently convened a conference on education and training, which put forward specific demands on party rectification, education, and training this year. Commander Zhang Zhixiu and Political Commissar Xie Zhenhua spoke at the meeting.

Xie Zhenhua pointed out in his speech: To accomplish this year's heavy tasks, it is first necessary to correctly handle the relationship between party rectification and other work. This party rectification is a major measure for further consolidating and strengthening the party's absolute leadership over the armed forces and speeding up the revolutionization, modernization, and regularization of the units. Party rectification is the major task for the whole party and the whole army. All our work must be arranged in a unified way around party rectification, and party rectification should be the motive force for stimulating the fulfillment of all other tasks.

In party rectification, we must seriously do well in studying the documents, solve the problems properly, and ensure that the work is not done in a superficial way. During the period of rectification in the leading organs, the units must take the initiative in doing their work well [words indistinct] them are very high. All levels must base their efforts on the overall situation and establish the idea of the chessboard. They must organically integrate party rectification with all other work. This requires that the leading organs and the units arrange their work in a scientific way, to ensure that the work of the units is done in a neat and orderly way, they should be industrious without getting into confusion.

Commander Zhang Zhixiu and Political Commissar Xie Zhenhua stressed in their speeches: Good principles and policies, and plans for education and training must be formulated and implemented through practical work at the grassroots. To get a good grasp of both party rectification and education and training, the leaders at all levels must further improve their work style, get down to the grassroots to investigate and study, and grasp grassroots building. It is necessary to establish the idea of serving the grassroots and do well in solving some major problems for them.

The party committees of the second batch of units to undergo party rectification must grasp some grassroots companies in a planned and measured way. It is necessary to organize effective work groups to go deep into border defense frontline companies, companies undertaking various scattered duties, and backward companies; they should not withdraw before getting a clear idea of the problems there and solving them. They must work to produce good results in grassroots work.

CSO: 4005/315

SOUTHWEST REGION

XIZANG: HAN CADRES URGED TO LEARN TIBETAN LANGUAGE

HK310522 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] According to XIZANG RIBAO, the regional CPC committee and people's government recently issued a circular demanding that Han cadres seriously learn and use Tibetan language and script. The circular pointed out: Xizang is a minority-nationality autonomous region inhabited mainly by Tibetans; they account for over 90 percent of the population. Seriously learning and using Tibetan language and script is of important significance for exercising regional autonomy rights and thoroughly implementing the party's nationality policy.

The circular demanded that important documents and materials involving the overall situation and policies that are issued by the regional party and government leading organs and departments to units at and below county-level must be printed in both Han and Tibetan scripts. Mass rallies, party congresses, people's congress, congresses of progressives, and representative meetings of mass organizations which are organized by party, government, and mass organs at and above county-level must be conducted in both Tibetan and Han languages. Cadres, staff, and workers sent into Xizang who are under 50 years of age must work hard to learn and use Tibetan language and script. They should have an initial mastery of Tibetan within 3 to 5 years as a result of attending study courses, which may be jointly run in people's spare time by a number of units, or listening to Tibetan-language radio lessons and so on.

All secondary and primary schools should use textbooks in both Tibetan and Han, to lay a good foundation in Tibetan for the students in the primary and junior secondary schools. At the same time institutes of higher education should do well in running faculties of Tibetan, and secondary schools should organize Tibetan classes, to train in a systematic way talented people specializing in Tibetan. The regional education department should get a good grasp of compiling, editing, and distributing Tibetan-language textbooks for junior secondary schools. Culture, publishing, and other departments should do a good job in translation of films and translation and distribution of books, science popularization materials, and newspapers and publications geared to the rural and pastoral areas.



The circular also demanded that translation organs be set up and upon a sound bases and that the specialist force be strengthened and improved. All areas, departments, and units must attach importance to the study and use of Tibetan language and script, and put this work on their agenda. They should promptly solve problems when discovered. Those who study well should be commended and rewarded; those who do not study well should be criticized and educated. In the future, the standard of Tibetan language and script should be treated as an important condition for going on to higher education, labor recruitment, and becoming a cadre, and for the employment, and promotion of cadres. Other things being equal, favored treatment should be given those whose standard of Tibetan is relatively good.

The circular said in conclusion: The question of the study and use of Tibetan by the PLA units stationed in Xizang should be dealt with by the political department of Xizang Military District, which will formulate a specific scheme.

CSO: 4005/315

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### XIZANG RESPONSIBLE CADRE ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

HK111539 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] According to XIZANG RIBAO, a responsible comrade of the regional CPC committee party rectification leading group said on the afternoon of 9 January at a report-back meeting for the units engaging in the first phase of party rectification that studying party rectification documents is the first phase of the party rectification, which should be taken seriously so that perfunctoriness can be prevented. It is necessary to study the documents with the spirit of party rectification and gain a complete and accurate understanding of the spirit and essence of these documents. Leading cadres, in particular, must set an example in this study. They must study more and better than the others and resolutely implement the policy of improving while rectifying.

On the afternoons of 7 and 9 January, some 14 units taking part in the first phase of party rectification exchanged experiences and gave an account of the situation in the regional party rectification office. On this basis, the responsible comrade of the regional CPC committee party rectification guiding group delivered a speech on grasping well the study on party rectification documents and implementing the policy of improving while rectifying. He said that judging from the present situation as was reported at this meeting, there are actually some units which have done a good job in the study of party rectification documents and have achieved good results. Although the time is short, neither production nor the study has been affected. However, most units have done an ordinary job in this field, and some have done worse. Therefore, at present, it is necessary to make an examination of our study in the past stage in line with the No 6 circular of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification and Comrade Bo Yibo's speech at the inaugural meeting on 10 fields to see whether it was carried out perfunctorily.

The central task for the first phase is to study the documents for party rectification. In view of the present situation and in order to do well in this study, it is necessary to do a good job in the following fields: 1) To concentrate our strength on the study. Since the time is short and there are many documents to study, we must work hard to ensure the fulfillment of three tasks. In some units, the study is being carried out on the afternoons of every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturdays. [Words indistinct] It is necessary

to concentrate the time. 2) To grasp the key points in studying the documents and solving main problems. While studying the documents, it is necessary to combine intensive reading with extensive reading and to discuss them while reading. 3) To carry out the study by stages and groups in light of the different cultural levels of party members and offer guidance separately according to their cultural level so as to prevent imposing uniformity on those who take part in the study. 4) To prevent overhastiness in the study. Attention should be paid to obtaining good quality and gaining a good understanding of the spirit and essence. It is necessary to do well in discussion, giving guidance, and summing up experiences. 5) Leading cadres must set an example in study. They must study more and better than the others and apply them in practice. They must find out about the trends of ideological development and carry out frequent ideological education among party members so as to raise their consciousness and solve problems in good time.

The responsible comrade of the regional CPC committee party rectification guiding group said that making improvement while carrying out rectification is an important work in this party rectification, which directly affects the confidence of party members and non-party masses. Therefore, it must be given importance throughout the party rectification. He also said that it is necessary to realize that it is a complicated job to weed out [qing li] people of three categories. It is important that investigation and study be made in the phase of study and examination so that the leaders can know fairly well about the whole situation. To judge whether a person belongs to the people of three categories, we must see what harm he or she has brought to the party and the people, rather than judging from the position he or she was in during the cultural revolution or the factional organization he or she joined at that time. It is necessary to implement the party's policies in an earnest manner so as to prevent muddling things up.

CSO: 4005/315

SOUTHWEST REGION

XIZANG: PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE HEARS REPORTS

HK120307 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Summary] The fourth meeting of the sixth regional people's congress standing committee held a full session on 10 January to listen to reports on eliminating spiritual pollution in education, radio and television. Vice Chairmen Shengqin Luosangjianzan and Xukang Tudengnima presided at the meeting.

(Liu Rui), deputy director of the provincial education department, reported on eliminating spiritual pollution in education. He said: "We must soberly realize that young students and juveniles have been affected by serious spiritual pollution. We must rely on the forces of all sectors to get a good grasp on eliminating and resisting spiritual pollution on the region's education front, and strive to cultivate our posterity into a generation of new people with ideals, morality, culture, and discipline.

(Luosang Xinba), director of the regional radio and television bureau, also reported on this topic. He said: "Eliminating spiritual pollution is even more urgent and necessary in the radio and television departments than in other media and propaganda departments. Hence, through studying the central documents, we must first clearly understand the seriousness and harmfulness of spiritual pollution." He said: "We must resolutely stop and prevent political errors in propaganda, and ensure secure transmission, and also guard against phenomena of making programs dull and crude on account of eliminating spiritual pollution. We must make the programs of all types still healthier and more lively and vigorous. Thus, our radio and television will truly become an effective helping-hand of the party and government and a close friend of the masses."

CSO: 4005/315

## SOUTHWEST REGION

### BRIEFS

GUIZHOU PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CONCLUDES--The fourth meeting of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee concluded in Guiyang on 29 December. The meeting approved a decision on the timing of the election of deputies to county and township people's congresses and regulations on these elections, and passed a resolution on strengthening physical culture work. Committee Chairman Wu Shi presided at the meeting on 29 December and made a speech. Also present were vice chairmen Wu Su, Luo Dengyi, Zheng Xianhui, Ye Gulin, Bai Lin, Hou Guoxiang, Ren Ying, Wu Tongming, Ran Yannong, Wang Bingyun, and Wang Zhenjiang. Vice Governor Xu Caidong and others attended as observers. The meeting decided that the election of deputies to people's congresses of counties, autonomous counties, cities without districts, districts subordinate to cities, special districts [te qu], townships, nationality townships, and towns [zhen] can be postponed, to be completed by the end of 1984. [Summary] [HK300353 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 29 Dec 83]

YUNNAN CPPCC COMMITTEE MEETING OPENS--The third meeting of the fifth provincial CPPCC committee standing committee opened in Kunming this morning. The main agenda of this meeting is to convey the spirit of the Third Meeting of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee Standing Committee, Chairman Deng Yingchao's speech at the new year tea party, and the spirit of the forum of the CPPCC National Committee and the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee on implementing policies, and to adopt appointments and removals. All committee members who attended today's meeting attended the fifth meeting of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee as nonvoting delegates and listened to the reports on strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization and on striving for a basic improvement of the general mood of society. [Text] [HK111525 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Jan 84]

XIZANG PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE MEETS--The fourth meeting of the fourth regional people's congress standing committee opened in Lhasa on 9 January. The meeting will implement the spirit of the third meeting of the sixth NPC Standing Committee, and study and discuss how to eliminate spiritual pollution and build socialist spiritual civilization in Xizang. The opening session was presided over by vice chairmen Pagbalha Geleg Namgya, Cao Xu, Shengqin Luosangjiangzan, and Lang Jie. Vice Chairman Peng Zhe conveyed the spirit of the NPC Standing Committee meeting. (Qiangba Pingcuo), deputy director of the regional cultural bureau, and (Baima Duoji), director of the regional public security department, made reports on eliminating spiritual pollution. [Summary] [HK100323 Lhasa Xizang Regional Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 9 Jan 84]

CSO: 4005/315

NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL: CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING HELD 10 JAN

SK110205 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Jan 84

[Text] The fifth standing committee meeting of the fifth Nei Monggol Regional CPPCC Committee opened in Hohhot on the morning of 10 January. Shi Shengrong, chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, attended the meeting and relayed guidelines of the CPC Central Committee, relevant documents, the 13th enlarged plenary session of the 3d Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee, and the regional meeting of banner and county CPC committee secretaries. He expressed the hope that all committee members present at the meeting will earnestly study and understand guidelines of the relevant documents of the CPC Central Committee, implement the guidelines of the regional meeting of banner and county CPC committee secretaries in a better manner, concentrate energies on making the meeting successful, and make unremitting efforts to create a new situation in the work of the regional CPPCC committees this year.

The meeting will relay guidelines of the third standing committee meeting of the Sixth National CPPCC Committee, and of the meeting on implementing policies which was jointly held by the National CPPCC Committee and the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee, listen to reports on policy implementation and suggestions on future work submitted by members of the regional CPPCC committees at all levels, and a report submitted by the fifth regional CPPCC committee on the work done in the fourth quarter of 1983 and on the work emphasis of the first half of 1984.

Baoyan Baut, vice chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, presided over this morning's plenary session. Chen Bingyu, Han Ming, Na-qin-shung-he-er, (Li Shuyuan), (Liu Zhenyu), and (Su-luo-ba-gen), deputy director of the propaganda department of the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee, attended the meeting. Responsible comrades of the propaganda departments and the CPPCC committees of various leagues and cities attended the meeting as observers. The meeting conducted group studies and discussions in the afternoon.

CSO: 4005/318

NORTHWEST REGION

NINGXIA CHAIRMAN HEI BOLI ADDRESSES RALLY ON SOLIDARITY

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 83 p 2

["Text" of Report by Hei Boli [7815 0130 3810], chairman of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, to a mass rally commending the solidarity among the nationalities in Ningxia, place not specified, on 23 October 1983: "Let Us Further Strengthen the Great Solidarity Among Our Nationalities and Build a New Ningxia of Culture and Prosperity"]

[Text] Delegates and Comrades:

On the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, the mass rally of commendation of advanced groups and individuals for their work of solidarity among our nationalities has been solemnly inaugurated. This is the first grand meeting of its kind in the history of our Ningxia. It commends the summation and exchange of our advanced experiences in nationalities work, serves as a great review of the solidarity among Ningxia's nationalities, and creates comprehensive new prospects for that solidarity. This rally will constitute a new chapter in the history of solidarity among Ningxia's nationalities. Thus I represent Ningxia's broad masses of party members, cadres and peoples of each nationality in coming forward to take part in the activities of "Nationality Solidarity Month," as well as in attending this rally, which is also attended by a delegation from the CPC Central Committee, by cadres in charge of relevant central departments and by representatives of our brother provinces and autonomous regions. To those comrades who have contributed to Ningxia's revolution and construction and have been invited to attend this rally, I offer a warm welcome and heartfelt thanks!

Since Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region was established in 1958, it has followed a course of 25 years of struggle. During that time the peoples of all of Ningxia's nationalities have benefited from the correct leadership and kind attention of the Central Committee and the State Council and from the support of our brother provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. Thus our people have earnestly carried out the party's line, general principles and specific policies; they have practiced harmony and solidarity; they have obtained tremendous results in socialist revolution and construction. Agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishing have expanded fairly rapidly, while grain output has increased year after

year. In 1982 it was 1.1 times what it was in 1957, while during that period the value of gross agricultural output increased 3.6 fold. Ningxia has more than 1,100 industrial enterprises with fixed assets of 3 billion yuan. It has built a tentative foundation of modern industry, including coal, electric power, chemicals, metallurgy, machines, light industry and textiles. In 1982, gross industrial output value was 32.7 times greater than in 1957. The Baotou-Lanzhou railroad, which opened to traffic in 1958, runs through Ningxia from north to south. Highways radiate in all directions, with more than 8,800 kilometers open to traffic. Airplane routes have been opened between Yinchuan and Beijing, Lanzhou and Xian, closely linking Ningxia with the entire motherland and powerfully promoting the growth of every enterprise. Commercial, supply and marketing enterprises are spread throughout the cities and the countryside. Most townships and villages have established supply and marketing cooperatives or retail shops and purchasing and marketing agencies. Cities and towns have set up collective and individual commercial network outlets, where buying and selling is brisk. The total value of retail sales was 7.4 times greater in 1982 than in 1957. From primary school to university, from sparetime school to full-time school, a fairly complete educational system has tentatively taken shape. Now we have 5 universities and colleges, 22 middle-level vocational schools, 444 ordinary middle schools and 4,519 primary schools. The total number of all types of schools in 1982 was three times greater than in 1957, while the total number of students increased four fold. Instead of 1 scientific research institute, we now have 28, whose specialists number more than 25,000. At the county level or above, Ningxia has 60 hospitals, while 90 percent of its production brigades have established medical and health clinics. In 1982 medical and health personnel numbered more than 14,000, 4.2 times more than in 1957; the number of hospital beds exceeded 7,600, 4.6 times more than in 1957. There has been great development in culture, sports, news broadcasting and publishing.

I should especially point out that since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee (a plenum of great historic significance), Ningxia has followed the party's line and general principles and specific policies in further strengthening solidarity among its nationalities and in vigorously developing their economy and enterprises. We have made an unprecedented breakthrough. During this period, party organs and the people's government at all levels, with the support of the broad masses of the cadres and the Hui and Han peoples, have accomplished a great deal of arduous and meticulous work. The main aspects of this are as follows:

1. We have followed the principles of bringing order out of chaos, checking up on and correcting "leftist" errors and earnestly implementing every party policy. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have brought order out of chaos, checked up on and corrected "leftist" errors long present in nationalities work, rectified the intellectual line, restored party traditions, and caused nationalities work to develop anew. Based on the principle of "seeking truth from facts and correcting all errors we have resolutely redressed the unjust, false and misjudged cases that arose during the period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running wild. We have reexamined and dealt with the problems handed down from all previous political



campaigns, as well as the misjudged cases of "shuangfan" [7175 0646], "fandi" [0646 0966] and "pingpan" [1627 0651]. We have solved the problems of some 90,000 persons. Thus we have further mobilized the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses of each nationality and further strengthened solidarity among Ningxia's nationalities.

2. Proceeding realistically, we have achieved the transfer of work emphasis and promoted the development of the nationalities' economics. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, every level of party organ and people's government has decisively shifted work emphasis to economic construction; established economic development as the primary idea in nationalities work; resolutely implemented the general policy of adjustment, reform reorganization and enhancement; liberated thinking; relaxed policy; and invigorated the economy. Industrial and agricultural production has recovered and grown fairly rapidly. The autonomous region's party committee and people's government have set forth a series of stipulations and measures to relax economic policy and to rest and build up strength. Starting in 1980, we began a 5-year program of no taxation and no procurement in the mountainous areas in south Ningxia, while in the Ningxia plain the fixed 5-year program of state purchases beyond the quotas remains unchanged. We have carried out a set of reforms in agricultural policy, the agricultural system and agricultural management and administration; gradually popularized a family contract responsibility system that links remuneration to output and centers around the assignment of tasks to individual households; corrects the "leftist" idea that "grain is the key"; formulated and implemented an agricultural policy suited to both the mountainous areas in the south and the area irrigated by water from the Huang He; and adjusted agricultural distribution and the agricultural production structure. Economic diversification has developed rapidly, and production in forestry and animal husbandry presents a new picture. For 5 consecutive years there have been good grain harvests. In 1982, grain output was up 20.6 percent from 1977 for an average annual increase of 5.8 percent [as published]. The value of output from economic diversification and from commune and brigade enterprises rose from 28 percent of agricultural output value to 43 percent. Peasant families' sideline occupations have greatly expanded, and the percentage of marketable products for agricultural byproducts has risen markedly. After the adjustment of industry, the light, textile and consumer goods industries have grown a good deal. Heavy industrial production has gradually picked up. In 1982, the value of Ningxia's gross industrial output was up 17.5 percent from 1977, while that of light and textile industrial production increased 33.7 percent. The scale of capital construction has been reduced, the direction of investment adjusted, key projects guaranteed, and further results achieved. Commerce has opened up channels for many kinds of commodity circulation, and the market is flourishing. A number of collectively and individually managed commercial and service network outlets have developed. Some state-run commercial enterprises have adopted a managerial contract responsibility system, improved their attitude toward service, and improved the quality of their service. The total value of retail sales of commodities in 1982 was up 65 percent from 1977. Ningxia's economy is improving year by year.

3. Through the development of socialist spirit and culture, our educational, scientific and cultural undertakings have recovered and grown. Education in communist thought has spread throughout urban and rural Ningxia. The "movement of the five stresses, four points of beauty and three loves" has been launched. Crime has been attacked. The social order has clearly taken a turn for the better, while the people's mental attitude has changed profoundly. On every front, groups of advanced collectives and individuals have come to the fore with communist ideology and morality. In order to develop nationality education and train more of Ningxia's national minority talent, beginning in 1980 the autonomous region people's government has spent 10 million yuan in special funds to help improve the conditions for operating schools. When our colleges and universities recruit students, they give priority to the admission of national minority candidates (other things being equal) and suitably lower the minimum marks necessary for their admission. These methods have increased the proportion of students from minority nationalities. At the same time, Ningxia University provides preparatory classes for members of national minorities and is preparing to change the Ningxia Nationality School to the Ningxia Nationality College. Ningxia has more than 70 middle and primary boarding schools for people of Hui nationality. The quality of education at every level and kind of school is further improving. Free movies are shown in mountain villages. In areas of compact communities of Hui, we have established special theatrical companies and facilities for cultural activities, and thus have enriched cultural life in national minority areas.

4. We have trained a large number of national minority cadres who have played important roles in all undertakings. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have based ourselves on the Central Committee's set of directives on building cadre ranks and on Ningxia's realities while training and selecting a large number of national minority cadres to enter leading groups at all levels. Hence the proportion of these cadres in such groups has increased somewhat at all levels. In particular, a large number of middle-aged and young national minority cadres have assumed leading posts in the current restructuring of party and government organs at the autonomous region, prefectural and city levels. As of now, national minority cadres make up 33 percent of the Standing Committee of the autonomous region party committee, 44.4 percent of the chairmen and vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the autonomous region People's Congress, 71.1 percent of the chairmen and vice chairmen of the autonomous region, 46.1 percent of the chairmen and vice chairmen of the autonomous region Political Consultative Congress, 27.1 percent of the leading cadres in the autonomous region party committee and government work departments and 33.3 percent of the membership of the leading groups in the two prefectures' and two cities' party and government. The broad masses of national minority cadres have contributed to Ningxia's revolution and construction on every front.

5. On a foundation of expanded production, the lives of the peoples of each nationality have improved markedly. Adjusted for inflation, in 1982 the per capita income in the households of workers and staff members was up 29.7 percent from 1978. Peasants' per capita income doubled between 1978 and 1982, for an increase equivalent to 11 times that between 1964 and 1978.

In the past 4 years, the cities have arranged employment for more than 100,000 persons. Between 1978 and 1982, the sums remaining in the savings deposits of Ningxia residents nearly tripled. People's housing conditions in both urban and rural areas have improved somewhat, as per capita living space in workers' and staff members' households rose from 4.5 square meters in 1978 to 5.86 square meters in 1982.

In sum, the 5 years since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee have been years of bringing order out of chaos, marching forward triumphantly, and achieving historic transformation; of destroying the old and creating the new through reform and constantly recovering and growing economic and cultural undertakings; and of markedly improving people's lives and daily strengthening solidarity among our nationalities. During this short period similarly great changes have occurred in Ningxia's political and economic life and in the people's mental outlook, mainly because of the party's correct line and the exertion and hard work by the peoples of all nationalities. I speak for Ningxia's party committee and people's government in extending cordial greetings to and expressing great respect for our autonomous region's 3.9 million people of all nationalities, the delegates of each nationality that are attending this rally, and the comrades from the groups in the mountains and plains that exchanged visits.

Delegates and comrades, we have good solidarity among our nationalities in Ningxia, as the party's nationalities policy is daily winning the people's hearts and minds. In their working and domestic lives, the peoples of Hui and Han nationalities have established profound feelings over a long time. Everyone gets along with everyone else harmoniously, just like hands and feet, and together are building fine hometowns. Even during the "decade of disorder," Hui-Han solidarity withstood the test of history. Of course, our path in nationalities work is tortuous. Because of the influence of "leftist" thinking in the early years of the autonomous region, the socialist enthusiasm of some of the cadres and masses was dampened, and this affected the correct implementation of the party's nationalities policy. The policy was damaged during the decade of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," and so solidarity among our nationalities was harmed. Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, order has been brought out of chaos, the crimes of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique have been exposed and criticized, and "leftist" errors have been checked up on. Hence all work in Ningxia has gradually been put back on the right track, all undertakings are flourishing, and solidarity among our nationalities is constantly growing stronger. The short period since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee has been Ningxia's best since the liberation in terms of implementing the party's nationalities policy and of the political and economic situation.

Practice has made us deeply realize that defense of solidarity among our nationalities is a good foundation for all work in nationality areas. Without such solidarity in our Ningxia, there would be no political situation of stability and unity, and we could not successfully carry out the four modernizations. When we consider all our problems and do all our work,

therefore, we must above all think of the whole situation, i.e., solidarity among our nationalities. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have taken Ningxia's realities into account and then often reeducated the cadres and masses about nationalities policy, formulated measures and demands to implement that policy and defend solidarity among our nationalities, conducted timely investigation and supervision, solved existing problems, and obtained marked results. At the same time, we have strengthened solidarity and educational work among religious patriots. On their own initiative, these patriots have drawn up the "patriotic pledge for Muslims," energetically begun family planning work, and played a fine role in implementing the party's nationalities policy and promoting solidarity among our nationalities. A new breakthrough in such solidarity is now taking shape in Ningxia: stirring deeds based on this solidarity are emerging in an endless stream, and large numbers of advanced units and individuals demonstrating this solidarity have appeared on every front. Some of them have earnestly studied, publicized, and carried out the party's nationalities policy and thus have done markedly well in promoting solidarity among and within nationalities. Through firm socialist orientation, arduous struggle, the planting of grass and trees and the harnessing of mountains and waters, a second group has made remarkable contributions to changing production conditions and nature in nationality areas. A third group has done similarly well in energetically developing the economy, culture, education, sports and public health in nationality areas. Basing itself on production and domestic needs in nationality areas, a fourth group has engaged in scientific research and obtained quite good results. A fifth group has long served minority nationalities, offered intelligence and wisdom, and achieved great success. For example, Comrade Jin Rongkui [6855 3310 1145], a miner of Korean nationality from the Weidong coal mine in Shizuishan, is attending this meeting. For more than 20 years he has persisted in tunnelling on the front line, wholeheartedly devoting himself to the cause of socialist coal, respecting the Hui people's customs and habits, stepping forward bravely in times of peril, sacrificing himself to save others, and receiving profound praise from fellow miners. The Hui commune members on the Huangshawo tree farm of Tuanzhuang Brigade in Wuzhong County have earnestly implemented the party's general principles and specific policies, rationally opened up and utilized natural resources, energetically planted grass and trees, providing a barrier to the wind and sand, and toiled to restore the ecological balance. They have thus achieved quite rapid growth and markedly improved the people's lives. Comrade Qu Huaili [1448 2037 4409] of the political office of Ningxia Military District has shown respect for minority nationalities' customs and habits and has strengthened unity on his own initiative. Once, when struggling against mountain torrents, he led a platoon to save more than 1,000 sheep for some herdsmen. By digging out silted wells for herdsmen, he has solved the difficult problem of potable water for humans and animals. The masses have a high opinion of him. Comrade Yang Dongji [2799 2639 6060], an engineer who is director of the Wuzhong farm machinery plant, has persisted in his experiments and has constantly brought forth new ideas for 18 years. He thus has made a contribution in the area of threshing machines. Comrade Jin Xiuchun [6855 4423 2504] is deputy director of Yinchuan's No 2 People's Hospital, as well as a doctor who is deputy director of that hospital's department of pediatrics. After graduating from college, she put down roots

in Ningxia. For more than 30 years she has been persistently on the front line, diligent, conscientious and dependable. She has made a valuable contribution to the health of the Hui and Han peoples. Comrade Ma Yumei [7456 3768 2734], of Dongxiang nationality, is the women's director of the Kangtan Brigade of Kangtan Commune in Zhongning County. Her husband's family is Hui. They respect each other, live in harmony, and their story is on the masses' lips. These advanced achievements vividly reflect the socialist relationships of equality, solidarity and mutual aid among all of Ningxia's nationalities. They fully reflect a mental outlook of struggle for Hui-Han solidarity and of common cause in building a new Ningxia. We deeply regret that through this meeting of commendation, the solidarity among Ningxia's nationalities will become even better, and the growth of modernized construction will be promoted even more rigorously.

Delegates and comrades, China has already entered a new period of historical development. In this period, the CPC's general tasks are as follows: unification of the peoples of all nationalities; regeneration through self-reliance; arduous struggle; gradual modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense, science and technology; and the building of China into a socialist nation with high degrees of culture and democracy. Nationalities work must serve socialist modernization, accelerate economic and educational growth in nationality areas, and bring about common prosperity for all nationalities. From now on, we must stress the proper execution of the following tasks:

1. Continued personal involvement in nationalities policy and in education for solidarity among our nationalities; establishment of a correct outlook on nationalities.

Ours is a place of regional autonomy for minority nationalities, where cadres and masses of all nationalities produce, work, study and live together. Hence the nationalities question will be found in all walks of life and on every front. Given the study and publicity of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we must now involve ourselves in launching education in Marxist nationalities theory, nationalities policy and solidarity among our nationalities. All cadres and masses working in Ningxia should get this type of education. The idea that "no one can proceed alone" is at the heart of strengthening solidarity among our nationalities; it must be widely publicized and inculcated in the people's minds. We must make the cadres and masses of all nationalities fully realize that between the Han and the national minorities, as well as among those minorities themselves, there have formed an interdependence and an inseparable flesh-and-blood relationship over a long period of common labor, life and revolutionary struggle. Everyone must take as the standard the idea that "no one can proceed alone," speak more about upholding solidarity among our nationalities, do more to uphold that solidarity, and establish a new socialist practice of mutual respect, emulation and aid and common progress. We must certainly involve ourselves in promoting this education in a lasting way. Starting with primary school pupils, we must make solidarity among our nationalities the important content of civilized manners and education in socialist spirit and culture. Students in secondary schools, colleges and universities must be educated in Marxist

nationalities theory and the party's nationalities policy. We must make youngsters fully realize the importance of solidarity among our nationalities. The idea that "no one can proceed alone" must be implanted in the hearts of every nationality's youngsters, so that solidarity among our nationalities can be passed on from generation to generation. At every level, party, government and military organs and village, factory, neighborhood and mass organizations must stress these tasks earnestly and make implementation of the party's nationalities policy and promotion of solidarity among our nationalities two important criteria by which to measure the quality of work done by every area, department, unit, worker and staff member.

2. Vigorous development of the economy and education; promotion of common prosperity for all nationalities.

The party and the state have always attached enormous importance to economic and educational development in national minority areas. Moreover, such development has always been our party's basic position and starting point for solving the nationalities question. In his "Report on Government Work" delivered at a session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "In the process of executing five tasks in the next 5 years, we must pay most careful attention to aiding economic and educational development in national minority areas, in which we must also promote further prosperity." The Party Central Committee and the State Council have decided to make the opening up of the great Northwest a strategic focal point in the late 1900's and early 2000's. Recently, Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang inspected the provinces and autonomous regions in the Northwest, at which time they repeatedly emphasized: "Work in the national minority areas must certainly be done well regarding both the economy and solidarity." They also pointed out that "the economic question is the key to good nationalities work." These words are extremely important. Practice proves that in nationality areas, economic construction and solidarity among the nationalities are two interrelated questions and that if the former is done well, the latter will have a firm foundation. It also proves that economic construction can take place smoothly only if there is good solidarity among the nationalities. Energetic economic development and hard work for economic construction are the basic way to consolidate and expand equality and solidarity among nationalities.

Ningxia's general task for the rest of this century is to mount a vigorous effort to increase the annual value of gross industrial and agricultural output from 2.16 billion yuan in 1980 to about 8.7 billion in the year 2000, for an average annual rise of 7.2 percent. This will basically improve the people's lives to a comfortably well-off level. In order to carry out this task, we must base ourselves on Ningxia's realities, such as the economic structure, the distribution of production forces, the ratio of agriculture to light industry to heavy industry, accumulation and consumption. Then we must scientifically formulate programs, maximize strengths and minimize weaknesses, work hard to accelerate the opening up and utilization of energy resources, expand the processing and manufacturing industries that use Ningxia's raw materials, develop superior industries and products, and enter the domestic and international markets. We must develop a great agriculture;

take the road of comprehensive development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishing; plant grass and trees on a large scale; and establish an excellent ecological balance and ecosystem. After 10 years of hard work, the grass and forest cover rate in the mountainous southern region of Ningxia, which makes up two-thirds of the autonomous region's land area, surpasses 30 percent. We must build the area irrigated by the Huang He's water into a base for commodity grain, food industry, sugar, animal husbandry and medlar. We must build the mountainous region into a base for oil crops, forestry and livestock products. We must pay the utmost attention to opening up our intellectual resources, so we can fully mobilize the enthusiasm of our current scientific and technical personnel. At the same time, we must stress scientific education and train a large number of persons in consciousness, ideals, techniques and familiarity with management and administration. We must do our work diligently and well, mobilize our forces on every front, and by every possible means ensure the rapid development of Ningxia's economy and education.

3. Continued elimination of "leftist" thinking, protection against rightist tendencies, and comprehensive and correct implementation of the party policy on nationalities and religion.

Regional autonomy for nationalities is our party's basic policy for solving the nationalities question. We must keep pace with ever-developing circumstances by further enriching and perfecting the institutions and content of the nationalities' regional autonomy and by consolidating and developing relationships of equality, solidarity and mutual aid among all nationalities. From now on and at all levels, party committees and governments must take vigorous measures, make plans, use various measures, energetically train and promote cadres of minority nationality, work hard to build a corps of nationality cadres who uphold the four basic principles, who faithfully carry out the party's nationality policy, link themselves closely with the masses of their own nationality, possess modern scientific and cultural knowledge and all kinds of specialized abilities, and so gradually bring the number of minority cadres up to a level roughly equivalent to the proportion of national minorities in the population at large. The purpose of all this is to ensure the minorities' right to be masters in their own houses and fully exercise their regional autonomy.

The religious question has an extremely great effect on the improvement of nationality relations. We must continue our comprehensive and correct implementation of the policy of freedom of religious belief. Nonreligious persons must respect the freedom of others to believe in religion. Religious persons must similarly respect the freedom of others not to believe. We must strengthen the patriotic education of the religious masses and clergy and mobilize all positive elements so as to serve socialist modernization. We must earnestly strengthen the leadership of work on religion and put religious activities on such tracks as allowed by the state constitution and laws. We must respect and protect freedom of religious belief and safeguard all normal religious activities. We must win over, unify, and educate the clergy and have patriotic religious organizations play their role fully.

We must unify, care for, and help the clergy so that they can constantly progress.

Nevertheless, it is absolutely impermissible for religion to intervene in politics, law, education or marriage or to add to the masses' economic burden. Special religious privileges and oppressive institutions that have been abolished must not be restored. We must resolutely expose and attack those who use religion to perpetrate all sorts of illegal activities, especially hostile elements that raise the banner of religion for destructive purposes.

4. Constant consolidation and development of great solidarity among the peoples of all nationalities together constitute the basic guarantee that our undertakings will triumph. After the decade of civil strife caused by the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," all of us comrades who care about the nation's destiny realize even more profoundly that solidarity is where the basic interests of the peoples of all nationalities lie. Without a political situation of stability and unity, it is impossible to perform socialist modernized construction and other tasks well. At all levels, party organizations and the people's government must regard implementation of the party's nationalities policy and strengthening solidarity among our nationalities as important elements in the building of a socialist spirit and culture as well as in the growth of activities related to the "five stresses, four points of beauty and three loves." The party and the government must stress such implementation and strengthening earnestly. We certainly want to treasure solidarity among our nationalities as we do our own lives, to say nothing unfavorable about it, to do nothing unfavorable to it, and to make conscious contributions to its protection. Every member of the party (especially its leading cadres), regardless of his or her nationality, must prepare to struggle for communism and the idea of serving the common interests of the peoples of all nationalities. Members must uphold the four basic principles and remain politically united with the Central Committee. In handling the nationalities question, members must take the stand of the party's spirit, uphold its principles, set an example, act as models, behave exemplarily, influence, promote and spur a great solidarity among the peoples of all nationalities, and resolutely struggle against words and deeds that harm solidarity among our nationalities.

5. Strengthening of party-building; full development of the party's role of central leadership.

Recently, the party passed the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Consolidating the Party Organization" at the 2d Plenum of the 12th Party Central Committee. Fully reflecting the aspirations of the entire party and the peoples of all of China's nationalities, this document makes unequivocal stipulations about the basic policy, tasks and methods of the current party consolidation. As such it is of great historical significance. The current consolidation is a major step taken by the Central Committee in its striving for great new victories in this new historical period. It is also a basic guarantee that China will achieve its magnificent goal of quadrupling the annual value of gross industrial and agricultural output by the end of the



century and that China will be built into a modern socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy. According to the Central Committee's resolution, the autonomous region's party committee will make concrete plans for Ningxia's work on consolidating the party organization. The broad masses of Ningxia's party members must now study the "Resolution" and other relevant documents, improve their understanding of the great significance of the current consolidation, actively participate therein, and turn themselves into qualified members. We must certainly follow the Central Committee's resolution by consolidating and building Ningxia's party organizations well at every level. We must further strengthen and improve the party's leadership, fully develop the party's role of central leadership, and conscientiously strengthen ideological and political work. We must oppose and resist spiritual pollution from any source or by any means. We must lead the peoples of all of Ningxia's nationalities in arduous struggle and quiet immersion in hard work and strive for even greater victories in modern socialist construction.

Our tasks are glorious but formidable. We shall encounter many difficulties in the road ahead. We have many beneficial conditions, however. First, our industry already has a firm foundation. The value of Ningxia's gross industrial output has risen more than 7 percent per year since the Liberation. We will continue to maintain this pace from now on, so that a quadrupling of economic output will be entirely possible. Second, with its rich natural resources and great potential, Ningxia has broad prospects for growth. In the north, the foothills of the Helan Mountains contain rich coal mines with huge reserves, a complete variety and a high quality of coal that is easy to mine. In central Ningxia, the Yinchuan plain, crisscrossed by irrigation canals, yields rich harvests of rice and wheat. It has always been known as the "Jiangnan of the frontier." The mountainous south has vast areas suitable for farming and livestock and produces animal products in abundance. It has broad prospects for developing economic diversification. Ningxia's export commodities now number more than 100, and some enjoy a certain reputation on the international market. For example, Taixi coal is low in ash, sulfur and phosphorus but high in calorific capacity. Selling well in Western Europe, Japan and Southeast Asia, it is well-known both in China and abroad. Ningxia's gypsum mines are among China's large-scale top-grade mines, turning out a product of good quality and high grade that is well worth extracting. Third, we have the peoples of Hui, Han and other nationalities, who are hard-working, intelligent and unified. We also have contingents of specialized personnel, workers and staff members that possess a certain educational, scientific and technical level. Fourth and most important, we have the correct leadership of the CPC Central Committee and a road to modern construction suited to China's national conditions. Our Ningxia has great accomplishments and great hopes. With stronger confidence, no feelings of inferiority, less complacency, full utilization of our favorable conditions and the conversion of unfavorable elements into favorable ones, we will certainly realize our magnificent goals.

Delegates, you have greatly contributed to protecting and strengthening solidarity among our nationalities and have achieved excellent results in

every kind of production and work. I hope that you will make persistent efforts in striving for even greater glory.

Comrades, our undertakings are great and our future bright. We are filled with confidence necessary for victory. We must rally even more closely around the CPC Central Committee and constantly strengthen solidarity among our nationalities. With one heart and one mind, firmly and indomitably, we must march forward and struggle hard for a new Ningxia of solidarity and fraternal love among the peoples of all nationalities, common prosperity, culture and affluence.

12570

CSO: 4005/191

NORTHWEST REGION

SHAANXI MEETING DISCUSSES POLLUTION ISSUE

HK300350 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 29 Dec 83

[Summary] The fourth meeting of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee held a full meeting on 27 December to hear reports from responsible comrades of various departments on the question of spiritual pollution. Afterwards the meeting held discussions on this question.

During the discussion, Vice Chairman Dong Xueyuan and members (Zhao Changhe) and (Ye Jinde) said: "At present some people are shouting a lot about so-called socialist alienation, saying that our pursuit of five stresses and four points of beauty is ideological alienation, the readjustment of the national economy is economic alienation, and party rectification is political alienation. They apply alienation--a product linked to the private ownership system--to explain various problems that have appeared in socialist society. They are thus fundamentally erasing the differences between the two different social systems of socialism and capitalism. This is completely wrong."

Members (Lei Ping) and (Ji Dongcai) said: "In recent years certain people in literature and art circles have neglected the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and have been unwilling to go deep into life. This is a major reason for the emergence of unhealthy trends in literature and art circles. Comrades in literature and art circles [word indistinct] carry forward the revolutionary literature and art traditions of the Yana period, arm their minds with Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art, [words indistinct] life, and create more and better spiritual products suited to the needs of the age and the people."

Member (Cao Xiyong) said: "In eliminating spiritual pollution, we are not discarding good things. We are opposed to using science fiction novels to vilify the four basic principles, but this does not mean banning science fiction novels. By eliminating spiritual pollution, we should promote still greater prosperity in our theoretical work and literature and art cause."

(Gao Bulin), director of the provincial public security department, delivered a report to the meeting on cracking down on thugs and criminals using pornography for criminal purposes. He said: The province has scored major success in launching the struggle against crime in recent months. There has been a notable turn for the better in social order. Some criminals peddling pornography have been arrested and a large amount of pornographic materials has been seized. It is necessary to continue to launch this drive.

NORTHWEST REGION

SHAANXI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING CONCLUDES

HK010655 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 31 Dec 83

[Summary] The fourth meeting of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee concluded yesterday in Xian. "The meeting demanded that the cadres and workers throughout the province carry out in depth the work of eliminating spiritual pollution and strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization." During the meeting, a number of speeches were made on this topic. The meeting approved appointments and dismissals.

Committee Chairman Yan Kelun spoke at the conclusion of the meeting. He gave the following views on launching the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution:

"1. This work has only just started. We must fully understand that eliminating spiritual pollution is a long-term and complex matter.

"2. It is essential to take the constitution as the guideline in eliminating spiritual pollution, distinguish between right and wrong, unify thinking, and enhance understanding. It is necessary to use the constitution as a mirror to see which articles, theatrical works, films, and literature and art works preach socialism and which disseminate decadent and moribund things of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. In this way the issue will become clear.

"3. Strictly grasp the scope, policies, and methods of eliminating spiritual pollution. Things that are not spiritual pollution should not be described as such. We should not describe as spiritual pollution problems in work or ordinary problems of erroneous understanding or lifestyle among the cadres and masses. We must apply democratic methods in eliminating spiritual pollution, and uphold the method of criticism and self-criticism.

"4. Through eliminating spiritual pollution, we should further strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

"5. The provincial, city, and county people's congress standing committees must seriously grasp the work of eliminating spiritual pollution."

CSO: 4005/317

NORTHWEST REGION

QINGHAI: SOLDIERS EDUCATED ON POLICY TOWARD MINORITIES

HK031110 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Jan 84

[Text] Various units under the command of the provincial military district have carried out education among their commanders and fighters concerning the party's policy toward the minority nationalities, work style, and discipline, thus strengthening the unity between the army and the government and between the army and the people.

Our province is an area inhabited by many nationalities. There are masses of minority nationalities in places where various units under the provincial military district are stationed. In accordance with this practical situation, various units have attached importance to the education on the party's policy toward minority nationalities and their religion, so that the customs and habits of the minority nationalities can be respected by all with consciousness.

In the first half of last year, the Yushu Military sub-district ran three successive classes for rotational training of party members. In these classes, the policy toward the religion of national minority nationalities was set as a special topic for education, requiring all party members to become models in achieving national unity. The broad cadres and fighters are required to refrain from interfering in or discriminating against the normal religious activities of the masses. These units also conduct education among their cadres and fighters concerning the current policy of the party on economic work in rural and pastoral areas, so as to enhance the self-consciousness of the commanders and fighters in implementing the party's line, principles, and policies. The leading groups at various levels educate their personnel on errands to observe discipline toward the masses.

The comrades of the cavalry units under the Golog and Yushu Military Sub-districts have persisted in refraining from vying with herdsmen for grassland, and settled the problems of pastoral areas through negotiations with the herdsmen. Therefore, they are praised by local governments and the herdsmen.

CSO: 4005/317

NORTHWEST REGION

BRIEFS

SHAANXI REPORT ON EDUCATION--On the afternoon of 27 December, (Zhang Kejian), director of the provincial education department, made a report to the fourth meeting of the sixth provincial people's congress standing committee on strengthening ideological and political work in schools and resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution. (Zhang Kejian) said: The work of introducing universal education in Shaanxi is now developing well. There has been a gratifying exchange in the mental outlook of teachers and students as a result of implementing the party's education principles. The general current of the younger generation is good. "However, spiritual pollution has had a certain effect in the schools in recent years. We must attach sufficient importance to this issue." He said: Schools of all types must indoctrinate the students in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought according to their ability to absorb it. In conjunction with this, we should launch the drive of five stresses, four points of beauty, and three loves, and activities to learn from heroic figures. Schools should also promote criticism of books and films and so on, and thus help the students to enhance awareness and knowledge and strengthen their ability to resist spiritual pollution. [Summary] [HK300348 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 29 Dec 83]

CSO: 4005/317

NETHERLANDS-TAIWAN AIR LINK SAID TO VIOLATE CHINA'S SOVEREIGNTY

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 6, 20 Jun 83 pp 34-35

[Article by Lu Xiangjun [7120 0078 0193]: "The Background and Aftermath of Air Traffic Between the Netherlands and Taiwan"]

[Text] On the afternoon of 3 April, a Royal Dutch Airlines [KLM] Airliner landed at Taipei's airport. Eleven days later, an airliner of Taiwan's "China Airlines" arrives at Amsterdam's Schiphol International Airport, thereby inaugurating the first regular scheduled flights between Taiwan and Europe.

This air route, which was approved and inaugurated by the Netherlands government, was a serious step taken by the Dutch authorities, in disregard of the Chinese government's protest, that further worsens Netherlands-China relations.

The Taiwan press has called the Netherlands-Taiwan air traffic an "important breakthrough of a substantive nature in Taiwan's relations" with the European region. And western news agencies commented: "On Taiwan Island a foothold for taking a step in a new direction has been established."

It takes more than one cold day for the river to freeze three feet deep. There is a deep historical and international background to the air traffic between the Netherlands and Taiwan.

The Affair of Selling Submarines

In the winter of 1980, the Rhine-Schelde-Verlome group (henceforth RSV group) of the Netherlands was preparing to sell two Swordfish-class submarines to Taiwan. The question of whether the Netherlands government should issue an export license for this transaction touched off a big 3-month-long debate in the cabinet and the various political parties in the Netherlands.

The people who advocated that the export license be issued stressed that this was a "nongovernmental business deal." Two sentences were cited sarcastically by Netherlands newspapers as "famous unfortunate remarks": one sentence was that of Minister of Economic Affairs van Aardenne, "Taiwan

is not a country but a customer"; and the other was that of (Budansidan), Freedom Party member of parliament, "a bird in the hand is worth 10 Beijing ducks in flight." During the debate in parliament, the minister of economic affairs made this accounting: This order from Taiwan can give work to 1,250 workers of the RSV group for 4 years.

This mistaken advocacy was strongly opposed by people within the government, in parliament, and of various social strata in the Netherlands. According to a leak in the Netherlands newspapers, in an internal publication the minister of economic affairs pointed out: "To supply submarines to a province in opposition to China's central government is a reckless adventure." Many members of parliament pointed out that the issuance of the permit would be a "short-sighted" and "unwise" policy.

Even though the parliament held two debates and votes, and in the last one rejected the government's original decision by a vote of 77 to 70, the cabinet still insisted on issuing the export license to the RSV group.

That those in power in the Netherlands persisted in their mistaken stand is related to the current international background.

In the summer of 1980, during the U.S. presidential race, Republican Party candidate Reagan proposed that U.S.-Taiwan relations be improved. At that time some pro-Taiwan forces in Western Europe were ready to make trouble. Some countries set up trade offices in Taiwan, and it was said that Belgium, France, Britain, and Switzerland planned to sell arms to Taiwan. But in fact, according to newspapers in the Netherlands: So far, with the exception of America and the Netherlands, "no other European partner plans to supply arms to Taiwan." Therefore, a Belgian newspaper said satirically: "Reagan advocated an improvement in relations with Taiwan, but the Netherlands was way ahead of him."

Because the Netherlands authorities permitted the sale of the submarines to Taiwan, on 27 February 1981 the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs recalled China's ambassador to the Netherlands and demanded that the Netherlands recall its ambassador to China, and it reduced the relations between the two countries to the charge d'affaires level as a warning to pro-Taiwan forces.

#### Lessons Drawn From Others' Mistakes

For the Taiwan authorities, the mistaken decisions by the Netherlands government was like a shot in the arm. In March 1981, Taiwan sent a trade group to Holland, and signed with them a 235 million-guilder contract for the purchase of goods as a further enticement. According to leaks, it was on this visit that the Taiwan side sounded out the question of Taiwan-Netherlands air traffic. This question had been raised in 1976, but because the Labor Party was in the cabinet of the Netherlands government at that time no interest was shown in it. After an interval of 5 years, according to Taiwan newspaper, "the situation has completely changed," and therefore an old affair has been brought up again.



However, at that time the sounding out of air traffic between Taiwan and the Netherlands did not evoke a positive reaction. On the one hand, this was because the cabinet had been reshuffled and van Aardenne and other ministers had left office. On the other hand, the plight of the RSV group made certain other enterprises in the Netherlands fearful.

Taiwan's goods purchase order with the RSV group originally included Taiwan's purchase from the Netherlands of 2 submarines, 4 kerosene-generator electric power stations, a batch of ship engines, as well as liquified natural gas pipelines, totaling 1.3 billion guilders (about \$500 million). The RSV group drooled in anticipation at closing such a big deal. As a result of several negotiations, at the end of 1981 Taiwan gave the order for auxiliary equipment for nuclear power stations to the French; then gave the order for ship engines, worth 200 million guilders, to the Japanese; the 4 boilers became 2, and the entire order for the natural gas pipelines fell through, leaving only some natural gas tanks. The total value of the so-called equipment for civil use became only a little over \$50 million. Almost all the fat meat fell into the hands of others, and the RSV group was left with only two "hard to digest" bones--the two submarines. A hitch even developed in the two-submarine transaction. In the original negotiations, they were to be paid for in U.S. dollars, but because the dollar's exchange value with the guilder had sharply risen (over 20 percent), the Taiwan side changed its mind and wanted to pay in guilders. In the shadow of the worldwide crisis in the shipbuilding, RSV had originally thought of its Taiwan order as "sending charcoal in snowy weather--providing timely help," but now with one order after another being canceled, its entire financial state is getting worse and worse, and the enterprise is on the verge of bankruptcy. A responsible person of the company has expressed his "disappointment" to Taiwan.

As for trade between Taiwan and the Netherlands, the latter had originally expected to export more goods to Taiwan, but from 1980 to 1982 the annual export value has stagnated at a little over 200 million guilders; and its import value from Taiwan rose from a little over 500 million guilders in 1980 to 800 million guilders in 1981, greatly increasing the Netherland's trade deficit. At the same time, the volume of trade with China's interior has fallen. The "Beiking ducks in the sky" have flown away, and only a few feathers remain of "that bird in hand."

#### New Transaction

In the first half of last year, the Netherlands economy further worsened, the coalition government fell from power, and the political situation took a turn to the right. The question of air traffic between the Netherlands and Taiwan, which has been deadlocked for a year, was again brought up, and a new business transaction was initiated behind the scenes.

According to a report, in June Ch'ien Fu, a former minister of Taiwan's "Ministry of Foreign Affairs," paid a visit to the Netherlands. At that time although the Netherlands officials did not personally receive him, he privately got in touch with some members of parliament, and among the key

figures was Neelie Smit-Kroes, Freedom Party member of parliament and convener of the Bicameral Communications Committee. Her father is a powerful figure of the monopoly capitalist class in the Netherlands' communications and aviation circles. To extricate themselves from the shadow of economic recession, certain people in the Netherlands aviation circles hoped to open air routes to Asia, and thus they expressed quite a lot of interest in an air route to Taipei.

After Ch'ien Fu had explored the way, Ch'en Shu-hsi, vice minister of Taiwan's "Ministry of Communications," followed on his heels and "launched an offensive" on Smit-Kroes and other people. Smit-Kroes said that the Netherlands' general election was at hand, and afterward if the Freedom Party was again able to get into the cabinet it would do its utmost to open this new air route.

In September, the Netherlands held another general election, and the right-wing Freedom Party increased its seats in parliament from 26 to 36, and once again got into the cabinet. Taking over as vice prime minister was van Aardenne, who earlier had said "Taiwan is not a country but a customer." And Smit-Kroes, who was eager to open an air route between the Netherlands and Taiwan, was appointed member of transport and public works.

Even though in the various social strata of the Netherlands there were people of insight who wanted to safeguard the relations between the Netherlands and China, and they were relatively strong, because of the change in regime, the situation took a sudden turn and developed rapidly and there was an intense publicity campaign in preparation for this sinister transaction.

#### Playing the Same Old Trick

The Netherlands authorities have time and again claimed that the opening of a regular air route between the Netherlands and Taiwan is "purely a business affair and does not constitute any recognition of Taiwan." This statement, which is exactly the same as that made over 2 years ago regarding the sale of two submarines to Taiwan, is completely absurd.

We are not going to talk about the contacts and the paying of the way by Ch'ien Fu and Ch'en Shu-hsi, persons with official status, before the negotiations. And as for the negotiations themselves, the "representative sent by the Taiwan side was in name the deputy general director of "China Airlines," Wang Jung, and his "civil aviation adviser," Wang Ch'in-i, is an official of Taiwan's "Ministry of Communications." According to Taiwan's HSIN-WEN T'IAN-TI," in the formal talks Mr Wang had no right to speak, but with Wang Jung's tacit agreement, he "played the biggest part in the delegation." The CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO also admitted: Wang Chin-i "was responsible for transmitting firsthand information to the relevant units." The official nature of the delegation at these negotiations obviously cannot be concealed.

Everybody knows that KLM is an airline company of the Netherlands state, and according to the data of an EEC committee the state owns 78 percent of

its shares. In order to hoodwink people, the Netherland side played a trick. The air route between the Netherlands and Taiwan is registered in the name of the Martinair company, a subsidiary of KLM, and it conducted the negotiations with Taiwan.

However, it is common knowledge that 50 percent of the shares of Martinair belong to the Netherlands government and 25 percent to KLM. Thus, the government has almost 70 percent of Martinair's shares. Also, although this air route is registered in the name of Martinair, its passenger transport is managed by KLM. The explanation that the so-called Netherlands-Taiwan air route is "nongovernmental and commercial" is nothing but a case of the more one tries to hide, the more one is exposed.

And what is more important, after the two sides reached agreement, the Netherlands government immediately announced its approval of the agreement. As the FINANCIAL TIMES of Britain said: "The shady relationship between the Netherlands and Taiwan, which was vehemently denied by The Hague" is now "fully known" because of the opening of the air route. When the Netherlands authorities still deceived themselves as well as others by claiming that it was of a "nongovernmental, commercial" nature, this newspaper said: "Taipei cannot think this...the Chinese on Taiwan Island are now vigorously thinking of ways to make this new air route a step in pushing forward Taiwan's relations with the West," and some people suspect that Taiwan is using the Netherlands as a "testing ground."

A great philosopher made this famous remark: "History often repeats itself. The first time it is a tragedy, but the second time it is a joke." The first time was when the Netherlands government said that the sale of submarines was "nongovernmental trade," a sale that caused serious damage to the friendship between the peoples of China and the Netherlands and a reduction in the level of diplomatic relations. This could, perhaps, be said to be a tragedy. But to also call this Netherlands-Taiwan air route "nongovernmental trade," that really is nothing but a joke to the international community!

Flying to New York?

After the Netherlands government approved this aviation agreement, on 16 February a DC-10 cargo plane of Martinair, on the first flight of the air route and carrying goods bound for Japan and South Korea, touched down at Taipei; on 3 March, a KLM passenger plane landed in Taipei. Once the Netherlands-Taiwan air route had been opened, the Taiwan side asserted: We plan at the end of this year to extend the air route of the flights to Amsterdam by opening a "global air route" to New York. According to a Taiwan newspaper report, the Netherlands airlines are "optimistic that this will be done and that there will be tripartite assistance. And the U.S. side has also expressed its initial agreement.

This Taipei-Amsterdam New York air route will not be profitable business for Taiwan, and the Taiwan newspaper estimated that a huge sum of money would

be lost every year. Lien Chan, Taiwan's "minister of communications," has said that this air route" is a support for government policy and business profits are secondary." After the air route is in operation for a year, the amount of the subsidiary will be determined, but the policy of subsidizing the air route has already been affirmed.

What provides food for thought is that this "air route assigned by the government" of Taiwan only makes the Netherlands a stopover point with its final flight destination being America!

On 5 April, a spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with regard to the Netherlands government's violation of China's sovereignty, solemnly stated that China absolutely will not tolerate any plot to make "two China's," and that if the Netherlands side clings obstinately to its course the Chinese side will have to take further measures in response.

No matter whether for the Netherlands people, who were "the first to arrive," or for certain people who are latecomers and plan to surpass them, this statement is worthy of careful thought.

9727

CSO: 4005/1035

CNA CARRIES RADIO COMMENTARY ON NETHERLANDS SUB DEAL

OW291023 Taipei CNA in English 0938 GMT 29 Dec 83

[Text] Taipei, 29 Dec (CNA)--The Voice of Free China, on its English broadcast Thursday, aired the following commentary on "Dutch Wisdom at Test."

The Netherlands Government tentatively decided last week to refuse permits for the export of four additional submarines to the Republic of China under Peiping's pressure. Economic Affairs Minister Gijs van Aardenne said in a memorandum to parliament that a previous government approval of licenses to export two submarines was a "one-off decision."

Van Aardenne was speaking against his own conviction because he was known in favor of the new submarine deal, which will not only bail out the financially troubled giant shipbuilding and construction combine of Rijn-Schelde-Verolme (RSV) but also lead to stepped up non-military exports to Taiwan.

The argument that Dutch reputation for political reliability would be damaged by the delivery of four additional vessels to Free China does not hold water. If doing business with Taipei has anything to do with a country's political reliability, then there would be few countries in the world that are politically reliable, because Free China has business relations with 160 countries.

Besides, the Dutch are already building two submarines for the Republic of China. What difference does it make for building four more?

The one who is against building more submarines for the Republic of China is known to be Foreign Minister Hans van Den Broek. He opposed the new deal on the grounds that it would worsen the Hague's already tense relations with Peiping. Deep down in his heart he still believes that the Chinese mainland will be a better market than that in Taiwan.

The matter will certainly be discussed at the Netherlands Parliament after the Christmas and New Year holidays. The Dutch are a practical people. Their common sense may yet prevail again regarding the submarine deal.

The order for the four submarines will be worth hundreds of millions of dollars and assure jobs for several thousand Dutch workers, not to mention increased purchases of civil products pledged by the Republic of China. Although it is small in size as compared with the Chinese mainland, Taiwan has proved to be a far better trading partner. Its trade volume this year has reached 45 billion U.S. dollars and is expected to rise to 53 billion dollars in 1984.

At a time when the Republic of China is expanding its trade ties with Western Europe to avoid overconcentration on its commercial relations with Japan and the United States, the Netherlands can expect a substantial portion of the Taiwan market if the new submarines deal goes through.

On the other hand, the mainland market is just a pipe dream. According to the Netherland's Economic Institute, trade with Red China amounted to only 100 million dollars a year and could fall to 20 million dollars by the end of the decade.

There is virtually no possibility of increased Dutch exports to the Chinese mainland. For one thing, there can be no consumer market there as long as it is ruled by the communists. For another, Peiping can afford to buy foreign technology on a very limited scale. In this area, the Dutch cannot hope to compete with the Japanese who are in the process of turning Red China into an economic colony to the exclusion of the United States and European countries.

So the Dutch will have nothing to lose except perhaps its already chilling relations with Peiping if they decide to build four more submarines for Free China. The gain would be considerable. Aside from saving the RSV and thousands of jobs for Dutch workers, such a deal would assure handsome profits for Dutch businessmen in the years ahead.

CSO: 4000/172

## BRIEFS

DEFENSE MINISTER ON DEFENSE POLICY--Current national defense policy centers on consolidating the bastion of recovery on Taiwan, inducing anti-communist insurrection on the Chinese mainland, controlling the Taiwan Straits, strengthening military combat readiness and seizing chances to recover the mainland, Defense Minister Admiral Sung Chang-chih said yesterday. Speaking at the 30th plenary session of the Planning Commission for the Recovery of Mainland China, Admiral Sung said the future direction of defense work here is to strengthen our spirit of resistance, the military buildup and the national defense industry. "In our spiritual buildup, we should continuously aim at the goal of using the Three Principles of the People to reunify China, strengthen our minds and shatter the enemy. As for the military buildup, we should stress tactical and strategic operations, and maintain our superiority over the air and the sea. In building our national defense industry, we should ascertain our goal and direction in the development of science and technology, recruit technicians and talented people, encourage investments, computerize our industrial facilities, and upgrade our industrial structure," Sung said. [Text] [OW290240 Taipei CHINA POST in English 24 Dec 83 p 11]

NEW ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SUNDAY PAPER--Taipei, 1 Jan (AFP)--A new English-language newspaper, the FREE CHINA JOURNAL, published by the Government Information Office (GIO), made its debut here today. Formally the FREE CHINA WEEKLY, the new Sunday paper will continue to focus on news about Taiwan, a GIO spokesman said. Taiwan currently has two English-language dailies, the CHINA POST in the morning and the CHINA NEWS in the afternoon. New features in the journal will be an editorial page to include commentaries written by Chinese columnists and scholars, plus a page with the latest cultural events, including reports on literature, art, theater, motion pictures, dance and music, the spokesman said. The staff has been more than doubled and a news feature photographer has been added to ensure a wider variety of photos, the spokesman further reported. [Text] [OW011401 Hong Kong AFP in English 0852 1 Jan 84]

CSO: 4000/172

HONG KONG CORRESPONDENT NOTES IMPROVED SECURITY IN GUANGZHOU

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 73, Nov 83 pp 12-13

[Article by Wu Lei [0702 4797]: "Mass Arrests in Guangzhou"]

[Text] After being absent from Guangzhou for only 3 months, I again arrived at Yangcheng. I suddenly had a feeling of "increased respect after being away 3 months." I am referring to the real transformation in Yangcheng after a mopping up campaign to eliminate criminal acts.

The railroad station, which previously had been in tumult, was now in good order. In the past, when one took a public bus one could regularly witness the occurrence of quarrels involving evil passengers, ticket sellers, and drivers on the "imperial vehicle." Because of the perverse acts of petty thieves and pickpockets on the buses, every time I boarded a public bus with my friend he repeatedly reminded me to "hold on to your wallet." In the past, had you early in the morning or toward evening walked along the river road or in the area of the long dike, you could often see some people who had long hair and used Hong Kong-style "Tu Hua Inn" hair oil, either individuals or in groups of three or four, half-openly and half-hiddenly peddling goods, mainly wristwatches, American and English cigarettes, etc. Now, the above-mentioned phenomena seem to have greatly diminished which, it may be said, is a good thing.

I also discovered that there were more people's court proclamations than in the past. From afar I could see that some had been marked off with red and black ink. Needless to say, they had been used for "target practice."

Municipality of Guangzhou Prepares To Arrest 50,000 People

Having a chat at my old friend's house, I didn't realize that it was already midnight. I began to think I should return to my hotel. "Don't be in such a hurry, it's still early. Chat a while longer. The hotel isn't far away-- only one bus stop." My friend, still in good spirits, continued to detain me.

"It's too late at night...just in case...." Not waiting for me to finish, my friend interrupted, "Take it easy! Now who would dare to do anything?"



Continuing, he told me that since the launching of the campaign to eliminate crime, public security had clearly taken a turn for the better. He said that at present the municipality of Guangzhou was preparing to arrest 50,000 people.

"Fifty thousand people? Will they be arrested indiscriminately?"

"No. This is no longer the time of the Gang of Four. There are court orders for the people who are about to be arrested. Letting bygones be bygones, at present, at the worst those sentenced to 3 years or more are all banished to military service in the frontier areas, such as Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang, Qinghai, etc. Have not even the common people treated you with respect and regarded you with fear?"

"It seems that that has had an intimidating effect."

"It has a good point. Already two trains have been sent. Each railroad car carried 108 people, and each train had at least 12 cars, so you can calculate on an electronic computer how many people the two trains carried."

"How about people who are sentenced to less than 3 years?"

"People who are sentenced to less than 3 years are locked up in this municipality, which in the past was called 'sitting in jail,' but now there are so many people that there is nowhere for them to sit, so it can only be called 'standing in jail,' standing 24 hours a day, which is enough punishment. Therefore, lawless people cannot but restrain themselves."

"But how do the common people view the current mass arrests?"

"Without doubt they support them. If they do not get rid of a large number of people who are injurious to society, but allow them to behave badly, will not the good people meet with calamity? Nor are the present mass arrests indiscriminate. All of the targets are between the ages of 18 and 35, the so-called "dangerous period."

"Is there a scientific basis for that?"

"There is a factual basis. In fact, that age group accounts for a great majority of the criminal elements. Such people fear neither heaven nor earth, and it may even be said that they don't consider the consequences."

Two "In Troubled Times, Use Severe Laws" Examples

My friend also told me about two examples of "in troubled times, using severe laws." There was an old codger, who had long ago passed through the "dangerous period," who had been arrested. His crime: stealing. That old codger, who was from another province, used to like to carry out sneak thefts. After repeatedly failing to mend his ways he was sentenced to reform labor. After he was released he continued to be difficult to

be difficult to influence. He heard that Guangzhou was a wonder world, so he "called forth a fierce dragon" and crossed the river, sneaking into Guangzhou to get a piece of the action.

One day, he foolishly wandered into a guest house in Quangzhhou and rushed to the dining room, where he happened to see a foreign businessman bending over eating. His high-quality leather briefcase was on a chair beside him. The old codger, whose sleight of hand was very polished, and who could steal things smoothly, picked up the leather briefcase and walked off. The foreign businessman, still "absorbed," didn't suspect a thing.

Fortunately, the guest house's security personnel were sufficiently "alert" and noted this poorly dressed old codger carrying a high-quality, well-made briefcase which was very unsuited to the old codger's "position," so he was immediately intercepted and questioned. The old codger didn't know what was in the briefcase. When it was opened it was found to contain a large amount of foreign currency. The old codger could not but admit that he had stolen it. As a result, he was executed by shooting. I think that stealing a few things should not be a capital offense. But that old codger should never, absolutely never, have stolen from a foreign guest! That was a major breach of etiquette "toward foreign influence," so a death sentence "served him right."

There was another example of "just desserts." It was an incident involving a youth. That youth and a female worker had a lovers' quarrel. Afterward the girl discovered that the youth no longer suited her fancy, so she "broke up" with him. The youth was displeased. One day he went to the place where the female worker worked (she was a carver). suddenly, from behind he threw a bottle of sulphuric acid toward her head. The acid dripped down. Her hair was immediately burned, her face and back were burned, and her eyes were damaged. By the time she was taken to the hospital she was deformed. Only after several attempts at resuscitation was she saved and pronounced out of danger. Every month her medical expenses were as high as 3,000 yuan, all of which were paid by the public.

The youth's father was a high-ranking cadre. They straightened out all of the "key links" and bribed the relevant unit with a considerable sum of money. As a result, the youth received a light sentence. The youth, relying on the fact that his father was a high-ranking cadre, was dissatisfied even with a light sentence and was determined to appeal to a higher court. He thought that when he appealed to a higher court he would receive a reduced sentence, but he had deservedly bad luck. As a result of his appeal, the original light sentence became a heavy sentence--execution by shooting.

On the day when the youth was dragged to the execution ground so that the sentence could be carried out, he shouted loudly, "Is this worth dying for?"

It is said that this case is not yet over, for the youth's parents and the people who received the bribe will surely find it difficult to avoid the

long arm of the law. That affair demonstrates that the view that "punishment does not reach high officials" has been changed. My friend said, "That cannot be separated from the determination of the Central Committee leaders to restore order. The six Central Committee leaders--Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Li Xiannian, Chen Yun, Ye Jianying, and Zhao Ziyang--have agreed that no criminal elements, no matter who they are--even one's own relatives--are to be shielded."

I happily observed that public security in China is gradually undergoing a change for the better. I don't know about the other places, but Guangzhou has truly achieved "instant" results.

5616

CSO: 4005/147

DENG XIAOPING CALLED CONSERVATIVE REFORMIST

Hong Kong CHENG MING /CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 73, Nov 83 pp 54-57

/Article by Xu Xing /6079 5887/: "Conservative Systems Reforms"

/Text/ The German scholar Hohmann\* who was an expert in Soviet and East German affairs classified different reforms in various East European countries into two models: the Far-reaching Model and the Conservative Model. This classification can actually be applied to China. Both the far-reaching and conservative models can be found among reformists in the CCP at present. This incident should be discussed in light of the "Gengshen Reform" in 1980.

Discussion of the "Gengshen Reform"

"Genshen Reform" of Communist China" was published overseas as early as in spring 1981. This is actually a report presented by Liao Gailong /1675 5556 7127/, research member in the Policy Research Office of the CCP Central Committee to the "Academic Forum on CCP History by the National Party School System" on 25 October 1980. In that report, Liao Gailong on many occasions has quoted Deng Xiaoping's talks at the Conference of the Politburo of the CCP Central Committee on 18 August 1980. Liao's report is on the whole based on and developed from Deng's talks. However, he gave another name to the concept of reform which was suggested by Deng at that time and called it the "Gengshen Reform." At that time, we had not yet seen the original version of Deng's talks overseas. Thus, some people, mistook the "Gengshen Reform" as being proposed by Liao Gailong. After the publication of "Selected Essays of Deng Xiaoping," this has now been clarified. The "Gengshen Reform" named by Liao Gailong actually refers to the talks made by Deng Xiaoping at the Conference of the Politburo on 18 August 1980. Liao has referred to this in the report, saying, "The program of the Gengshen Reform is based on the talks of Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the enlarged session of the Politburo Conference on 18 August."

Deng's talks were given the title of "Reform of the Party and State Leadership System" in "Selected Essays of Deng Xiaoping." It was later passed by the "Politburo on the 31st of the same month. It has become an official document

\*Hans Hermann Hoffmann: "East European Economics in the 1970's."

of the party Central Committee and has been passed down extensively to the lower levels. The report made by Liao Gailong on 25 October 1980 was mainly based on Deng's talks. However, amidst the quotations, he had inserted many personal opinions (perhaps these were common opinions shared by some reformists at that time). Consequently, some opinions and ideas in Liao's report went beyond Deng's talks.

#### The Reform of Deng Xiaoping and the Reform of Liao Gailong

We do not know whether Deng's talks, which was called "Summary of the Gengshen Reform," have undergone major revisions or not. (Changes in wording can be seen in Liao's quotations.) However, as seen from the published contents of "Selected Essays of Deng Xiaoping" today, the talks thoroughly exposed the existing shortcomings in the CCP Central Committee and in the national system, such as bureaucratism, patriarchy, lifetime tenure system and overcentralization of power. Its analysis of bureaucratism in particular, is much more skeptical than any official views of the party Central Committee published to date. However, the talks give people the impression that of beginning with tigerish energy but petering out toward the end because the five solutions (1) revision of the constitution; 2) establishment of an Advisory Committee of the party Central Committee; 3) establishment of a system of work in the central and local governments; 4) establishment of a staff representative committee; 5) establishment of a collective leadership and responsibility system in party committees at all levels) proposed in light of these serious shortcomings are all very weak. In fact, these methods cannot be called "reform programs" and do not live up to the name of "Gengshen Reform."

However, if we read Liao Gailong's report again, we can find his views much more far-reaching than Deng's. Liao clearly emphasized a high degree of democracy and civilization in his report. He said: "The goal of our struggle is to build a modernized, highly democratic and highly civilized socialist power. This stipulation is different from the general line in 1958. That general line only put forth the overall demand of building socialism; this specification also rectifies the concept of the talks at National Day Celebration (referring to the talks by Ye Jianying adopted at the 30th anniversary conference on National Day Celebration in 1979--Xu An /6079 2174/) adopted by the fourth plenary session, because the talks on National Day last year only mentioned socialist modernized power, but did not mention the two important tasks of socialist construction in building a high degree of political democracy and cultural civilization."

Following this, Liao Gailong explained this high democracy. He said, "High democracy is much higher than bourgeois democracy and can realistically guarantee that the proletariat and the broad masses of people are their own masters: that is to exercise their rights of controlling the country and managing the enterprises and also to guarantee individual freedom and democracy of all the people." He even emphasized that democracy is not only a means but an end. He considered that it was not only necessary for people to have an affluent standard of living but also broad freedom and a high degree of democracy.

## Bold and Far-reaching Ideas

Under this "far-reaching" basic spirit, Liao Gailong has put forward fairly bold ideas regarding the systems of the state, the society and the party.

Regarding the reform of the state system, Liao Gailong advocated: 1. It is necessary to divide the NPC into two councils (called the District Council and the Social Council), with control over one another, so that the erroneous decisions of one council could be rectified by the other council. 2. It is necessary to reduce the number of delegates to the NPC. We should reduce the number of more than 3,000 to 1,000, increase the number of meetings and extend the duration of the congress in which problems should be realistically discussed. The congress should not be a mere "rubber stamp" which approves of everything prepared by the party. 3. Both councils should set up standing committees with a small membership (about 60 or 70) and select young and capable people to manage affairs. 4. Both councils should set up various special committees and invite specialists to serve in advisory capacities. 5. Both councils should have judicial independence and should not be controlled by party committees. 6. The political work of the party should be divided. 7. The political authorities at the basic levels should implement direct democracy.

With respect to the social organizations, Liao Gailong advocated that the various financial and economic organizations, the various cultural, educational, scientific and technological organizations, the various community groups and the various public media should all be independent, and should not be run by the party or the government. He advocated direct democracy in the various enterprises and vocational units. He advocated the independence of unions and the establishment of independent agricultural societies. He also advocated the autonomy of youth groups, women's associations, scientific associations and cultural associations. What is more important is that he advocated extensive freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of publication, allowing the news reporters and commentators to report news independently and permitting the publication of their comments and the letters from the readers to the editor.

With respect to the party Central Committee, Liao Gailong advocated the abolition of the Politburo, the establishment of a central executive committee and a Central Supervisory Committee and the retention of the central discipline inspection commission with each organization having equal power so that they can supervise and curb one another.

### Deng Xiaoping Is a "Conservative Reformist"

The views of Liao Gailong, as seen from the above, are undoubtedly more far-reaching than those of Deng Xiaoping and only Liao Gailong can live up to the name of the "Gengshen Reform."

What is surprising is that Liao Gailong's report came out more than 2 months after Deng Xiaoping's talks. Since Deng's talks had already been formally passed by the Politburo before Liao's report and had become the document which the Party Central Committee passed down to the lower levels, why was Liao so bold as to unfurl Deng's banner of "Gengshen Reform" at the National Party School Forum on Party History and air reformist views which were more far-reaching than Deng's?

This situation illustrates two points.

First, it illustrates that a hot wave of reforms existed within the CCP and even in its higher levels at that time. Liao Gailong's views are precisely the most seething part in this hot wave. The publication of Deng Xiaoping's comments and views which vigorously exposed the shortcomings in the party at that time were also motivated and influenced by this hot wave.

Secondly, this illustrates that Deng, as a leader of the reformists was a "conservative reformist" in the circle of reformists at that time. In addition to the conservative type, there is another group of radical reformists around him. This group of elements supports Deng Xiaoping's reforms but holds more far-reaching views than Deng. With the spirit of vanguards of the enlightenment movement, people such as Guo Loji /6753 5012 1015/, Li Hunglin /2621 3163 2651/ and Xing Bensi /6717 6321 1835/ have all boldly pounded against the fortress of the new feudalism and fascism represented by the deceased Mao Zedong and brought new hopes to political democracy in China.

Liao Gailong is an outstanding member among these radical reformists. Most of these radical elements held advisory positions in theory, propaganda, counseling and planning amidst reformists such as Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang at that time. They had status but no actual power. Today, some of them have vanished and can no longer be employed. Some talk differently now and no longer voice radical views. This alone can reflect that Deng Xiaoping's reforms are relatively conservative politically.

Conservatism in Deng Xiaoping's political reforms is seen not only through a comparison of his views with those of Liao Gailong, but also clearly manifested earlier in his previous criticism of Mao's policies, his violent opposition to democratic youth movement and his stubborn adherence to the four principles. Deng Xiaoping prefers to open up economically, but tends to favor a closed policy politically and ideologically.

#### The Significance of Revision of the Constitution

Under the spirit of Deng Xiaoping's "conservative reforms," there has not been any breakthrough in political reforms to speak of in Communist China over the past 3 years. Up to the present moment, the achievements we can see are: revision of the constitution, establishment of advisory committees, streamlining of administrative organizations, rejuvenation and education of cadres and so on. It is more appropriate to call all these measures remedies instead of reforms, because the changes which they caused have not in the least touched the existing stalemated and decadent bureaucratic systems and have only given a different outer form to this system. These changes are not the manifestation of a trend toward democracy in the political system in China but are required to adapt to new changes in power.

For example, more than 2 years were spent in revising the new constitution in 1982. However the outcome is that the party is above the constitution. This point has been illustrated by the large-scale arrest and execution of criminals in society throughout the country in July and August this year.

It appears that the constitution does not belong to the party but to the country on the surface. However, in actual fact, the constitution does not exist if it is devoid of the willpower of the party. On the surface, the state organizations which are born out of the constitution show a division between the party and the government. However, the power of all the state organizations is in the hands of the party. The constitution is only an apparel of a nationwide rule of the law donned by the party to exercise political power.

The nature of the constitution of Communist China today is the same as it was in the past, only that the new constitution has once again arranged for a new distribution of power in the country according to the power structure in the party. This distribution of power is to: leave the military power of the country with Deng Xiaoping, who grasps the military power in the party; the political power of the country with Zhao Ziyang, the strong man in Deng's group; the administration and supervision of the NPC with Peng Zhen, strong man in laws of public prosecution; and give the seat of the chairman of the country, which is devoid of actual power, to Li Xiannian, backer of the petroleum group. The constitution provides a legal backup for the authority and status of leaders in the various aspects. However, it is difficult for people to struggle for their basic citizenship rights using the constitution as the basis. The constitution has been drawn up in China for the rulers to exercise the rule of the law. It is not for protecting the people, or restraining rulers from infringing upon people's basic rights. The purpose of revising the constitution and the essence of the present legal rule in China can thus be seen.

#### Advisory Committees of Respected Retirees

Take for example also the Advisory Committee, an organization within the party. It was set up not to meet the requirements of drawing up resolutions. It is an arrangement born out of the new power structure, which earnestly requires a group of old and former officials to give up their power and positions. If the Advisory Council is really born out of the demands of preparing resolutions, it must be specialized with a specialized division of labor, comprised of people with specialized skills. However, the present Advisory Committee is an "old people's home" within the party. It is of a retired nature, respecting the old.

Liao Gailong has made this presumption: he hoped that the Advisory Committee of the party Central Committee would act like Granny She in the family of General Yang, who carried a carved staff with a dragon head, and who would knock her staff and stop any erroneous policies and evil practices which she saw within the party. Unfortunately Liao has forgotten that Granny She's staff with dragon head was so powerful only because it had the foundation of seniority. Within the CCP today, somebody else has taken a senior's position with the status of Granny She and the various advisors do not have a chance at all.

In fact, not all the old people have entered the Advisory Committee. Ye Jianying who is in ill-health, still stays with the Standing Committee of the party Central Committee and refuses to serve on the Advisory Committee. Chen Yun /7115 0061/ who is 78 years old and Li Xiannian who is 74 years old, still serve on the Standing Committee of the party Central Committee as strong and healthy seniors but do not serve on advisory committees. Deng Xiaoping is on the advisory committee in order to act as chairman of the Advisory Committee and control that committee.



An advisor is in fact an empty position without any actual power. During normal times, the position can be ignored, but there are certain privileges to go with the position. For example, as stipulated in the party regulations, the advisors of the party Central Committee can attend the plenary sessions and the vice chairpersons or Standing Committee members of the Central Advisory Committee can attend meetings of the Politburo. This regulation has created for the advisors the "illusion" that although they have lost their actual power, they have not been totally excluded from the power structure. This was a subtle tactic employed by Deng Xiaoping when he planned a change of power, and this has nothing to do with political democracy or modernization.

#### The Reform of Administrative Structure Is Not Democratic

Only seniors within the party are given the positions of advisors. In government organizations, old cadres who lost their jobs because of redundancy were forced to retire. Although the old retired cadres are taken care of in terms of their livelihood, they have lost their special rights. Consequently, some leadership cadres who were forced to retire would make preparations beforehand and select their trusted subordinates to succeed them in their posts, in the hope that these trusted subordinates would reciprocate their favor and let them retain their special rights in the future.

It is necessary to streamline the administrative organizations, eliminate duplication and redundant positions. This helps improve administrative efficiency, but it is still a far cry from democracy and modernization. Today, the administrative organizations which have been streamlined are still quite huge, and may once again expand and revive, and example can be found in the establishment of a National Security Council a few months ago.

There are many causes for redundant organizations. One of the causes is related to the overcentralization of power. Owing to the overcentralization of power, the upper levels have in fact seized the functions and power of their subsidiary organizations. This does not work. As the lower levels do not have the authority, they do not want to care. The upper levels have the authority but they cannot exercise control. This phenomenon is a common weakness in all communist countries. The best solution is to delegate authority to the lower levels and thoroughly implement autonomy in the localities. However, the delegation of authority to the lower levels must be integrated with local autonomy. The delegation of authority alone without local autonomy will obviously lead to the situation of independent kingdoms with local bureaucrats exercising power in their regions. However, local autonomy is political democracy. Although it is implemented in the localities, it must take the reduction of central power as its prerequisite. Thus it requires democracy in the various departments in the entire system. Although the present rulers in China speak of reforms, they are afraid of democracy in their hearts and they are absolutely not determined to implement overall democracy. Therefore, they are hesitant on the question of delegation of authority to the lower levels and would hastily take back whatever authority they have delegated.

I recall here the experiment of direct political election at the basic levels in Communist China in 1980. Actually, direct election to political power at

the basic levels is the beginning of political democracy in the whole country. At the beginning, some university students and young workers in Beijing, Shanghai and Hunan actively took part in the election. When the election movement first started, the Chinese Communist leaders were scared to death. They immediately halted the program and the pilot project of direct election to political power at the basic levels was stopped forever.

The review of this incident alone is sufficient to illustrate that it is impossible to implement a genuine delegation of authority to the lower levels and local autonomy under the existing bureaucratic system.

#### Rejuvenation and Education of Cadres

The slogan of rejuvenation and education of cadres was put forth, on the one hand, because of the objective demands of the four modernizations, and, on the other hand, because of the national requirements of the transformation in the power structure itself.

A certain authority system has existed all along in the entire power structure in Communist China. The visible ones at present are the groups of reformists of Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang and Chen Yun; the "system of political laws" of Peng Zhen; the petroleum group and "group of economic construction" of Li Xiannian. In addition, there is some mysterious power belonging to "the system of adjusting the central government" and the "public security system" which an outsider knows nothing about. In addition to the various groups and systems described above, in the power structure in the army and localities at present, there is also the latent power which honors Mao Zedong and Hua Guofeng, not to mention the "three kinds of people" who established themselves in the cultural revolution.

The transformation of the power structure is an extremely complicated project. Foreign countries cannot easily and clearly understand the actual progress of the transformation project in a closed society like China. However, some traces are enlightening and thought-provoking. Take Wu Xuequian /0702 1331 6197/, for example, if he had not had any connection with the former youth league, could he replace Huang Hua as the Foreign Minister with his experience of the Chinese Association? Take another example, was Zheng Tianxiang /6774 1331 5046/, who had no judicial experience at all, promoted to the head of the People's Supreme Court because of his former connection with the Beijing Municipal Committee? As seen from the news of Beijing, the backbone elements of the former Communist Youth League and the Beijing Municipal Committee have all become eminent people today. "This is not groundless" and there must be a reason for it.

I attempt to make an abstract "theoretical presumption" now. In theory, the power structure is a pyramidic network, every point in the network must be tied to the network in a thousand ways. If this theory is established, the relationship between the process of the transformation of power and the power network cannot be eliminated.

However, we must come back to this point: the rejuvenation and education of cadres is objectively a social progress any way. The change in administrative

cadres in Taiwan for more than 10 years in the past is an example. It is better for educated people with modern scientific knowledge to get into the official ranks than for ignorant people to grasp power on the strength of their military achievements. If a society cannot exercise democratic rule, we can only let time carry out the process of natural elimination. In the government structure, the old and decadent will leave, following the call of Marx. The young and the strong, and graduates from overseas universities will render their services on return to the country. The society must progress. However, natural elimination cannot be considered a social reform.

In summary of the above, since the implementation of the program of "Gengshen Reform" in 1980, reforms in the political system carried out in Communist China in the past 3 years and more have been basically conservative and far less open than the economic reforms.

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REASON FOR ZHOU YANG'S 'THEORY OF SOCIALIST ALIENATION' GIVEN

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 13 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Shana Hsiang-yun [1424 3276 7189]: "Gradually Questioning Himself During the Catastrophe of the Cultural Revolution, Zhou Yang Began To Show Solicitude for the Person's Dignity"]

[Text] The Chinese communists' current "antirightist" campaign centers on the "theory of socialist alienation." In various places, the CPC's newspapers and magazines have carried many articles criticizing the "theory of socialist alienation," but they no longer use, against those who are criticized, the forms of "seizing and struggling against" or attacking their private lives, so that at last there is an "improved" form of criticism.

Of course, this kind of criticism is not an academic debate but a big exposure and political and ideological criticism.

Wang Ruoshi Was the First To Put Forward the Theory of Alienation

Because Zhou Yang made a "self-criticism" in which he "acknowledged his mistake" in advocating the "theory of socialist alienation," Western reporters thought that Zhou Yang was the first to put forward this theory.

Actually, the theory of socialist alienation is a systematic theory of Wang Ruoshui's. A deputy editor in chief of RENMIN RIBAO, he is a relatively studious philosopher, and a good many years before Zhou Yang published his article in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Marx' death, Wang had advocated the "theory of socialist alienation."

Ru Xin, former director of the Philosophy Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and some other philosophers, had given Wang Ruoshui's theory much endorsement, while some others had rebutted it in their writings.

The theory of alienation is a relatively complex academic question, and this writer will explain it some other day.

Under Authority the Self of a "Person" Has Vanished

What I want to talk about today is Zhou Yang's change.

In the past Zhou Yang always played the part of the interpreter of the CPC's brand of literature and art, and he was always the director of exposure and criticism who persecuted many people and manufactured many strange cases of a vengeful nature; therefore, people in literature and art circles on the mainland had a bad impression of him.

After the Cultural Revolution, there was a very big change in Zhou Yang. First of all, he no longer, as he had done in the past, only permitted writers to "praise virtues and achievements," and he condoned the publication of works that reflected the "dark side of socialism." In 1980 and 1981, when the ultra-leftists were ready to make trouble he shielded Bai Hua and a number of other people.

His publication of the "Theory of Socialist Alienation" was the biggest change in his life; he had finally come to endorse Wang Ruoshui's viewpoint and acknowledge the alienation phenomenon in socialism.

For a "literature and art bureaucrat," who had exposed and criticized literature for close to a quarter of a century to finally think of the "person," and to advocate showing solicitude for and raising the person's dignity and value, was without a doubt a profound self-examination of his enslavement and suppression of people in the society of the past.

Zhou Yang's experience of the catastrophe caused by the Cultural Revolution--this period of life in which there was a total absence of justice--made him conduct a self-examination. To a relatively large degree he came to realize the terror under despotism, as well as the vanishing of the self under ruthlessness, tyranny and power, and the stripping away of the "person's" rights, dignity and happiness.

But he is not "antiparty" and also not "antisocialism." He only wants to make moderate reforms and improve the plight of the "person."

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THEORY OF SOCIALIST ALIENATION AFFECTS PRC POLICYMAKING

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Shang Hsiang-yun: "The Core of the Theory of Socialist Alienation-- A Person Must Be Treated as a Person"]

[Text] A REUTERS dispatch on the 23d from Beijing said that Chinese communists have stopped their "elimination of spiritual pollution." I really don't know how this could be said. On page three of the 23 November RENMIN RIBAO, there is a speech by Minister of Culture Zhu Muzhi which calls for the "elimination of spiritual pollution." In particular he stressed: "The most important thing now is to correct the tendency toward the right and toward weakness and slackness."

The "antirightist" campaign, with criticism of the "theory of socialist alienation" as its focus, viz, "eliminate spiritual pollution," cannot be "braked" very quickly; the Chinese communists want to extract the "root" impeding the "dictatorship of the Proletariat," and this "root" is the "theory of socialist alienation."

Beijing Fears the "Young Marx" Most of All

In a short article several days ago, this writer said that what the Chinese communists most fear now is not capitalism or the Three People's Principles, but rather "Young Marxism" and the "Frankel school of thought"; the "theory of socialist alienation" has been widely disseminated among intellectual circles on the mainland, and in certain administrative levels it influences policymaking, and this is because it waves the banner of the "young Marx."

The Chinese communists' present fear of the "young Marx" is precisely like Stalin's fear of Bukharin and Trotsky. The Chinese communists both are unable to totally repudiate the concept of alienation of the "young Marx" (the moustached Marx before "Das Kapital"), and despise scholars' and experts' propagation of a concept of alienation in the name of the "young Marx."

Government Officials Change From Public Servants to Masters: Alienation

What is alienation? What was the young Marx? What is the relationship between Marx' and Hegels' theory of alienation and Feuerbach's humanism? They are both

relatively complex theories that ordinary people consider abstruse. This requires a detailed introduction and analysis in a magazine, and in this article I am unable to provide a systematic explanation for the reader.

With regard to the idea of "alienation," I have already explained it in short articles over the past several days. After the articles were published, some of my reader friends, in letters or telephone calls, have indicated their interest and exhorted me to write more of them.

So-called alienation means that the subject splits off and becomes an alien force, or that is to say, the essence of the subject becomes estranged. Last time this writer cited the example of a banknote and a religious slip of paper; now I will cite the relationship between the government and the people. The government originally is an attached organ entrusted with administering affairs, and the officials are public servants. But in a society not ruled by law, the government officials enjoy special prerogatives and become the lords of the enslaved people, and thus the people, who were the "masters," are turned into "lackeys." This is a phenomenon of alienation. Precious Horse and Six Color Combination were originally forms of "recreation" created by "people's" ideas, but some people indulge in these two things to excess, so that their material life and spiritual state is "dominated" by Precious Horse and Six Color Combination and they become the "spiritual slaves" of these two forms of recreation. This is also a phenomenon of social alienation.

In bringing up the "theory of socialist alienation," scholars on the mainland have mainly focused on the phenomenon that under the "dictatorship of the people's communalization," the "person" is not treated as a person. This is a criticism of the cadres' special privileges, the "Buddhist monk tapping his parasol" [a form of bureaucracy], and the doctrine of force.

#### What Is the Goal of Socialist Production?

The scholars have keenly discussed that fact that the "theory of socialist alienation" affects the Chinese communists' policymaking. With the clever and brave elements advocating that a person's rights, values and demands be respected, the policy-making process of the Chinese communists faces two "theoretical bases," the first being "What is the goal of socialist production?" and the second being "Can the production of the means of production dispense with the production of the means of life?" The people affected by the theory of alienation have prevailed, and they have acknowledged that the "goal of socialist production" is "to satisfy as much as possible the people's needs," and thus they must pay attention to the production of the means of life (consumer goods). Therefore, the production of cotton cloth, watches, sewing machines, bicycles and radios has increased. Dress styles have changed, and jeans and cheongsams have appeared on the market. Tasty and enjoyable things from America have entered the mainland.

Ordinary people only know about these surface phenomena in society, and they don't understand the social effects of the theory of alienation, and therefore they don't think of the relation between miniskirts and jeans and the theory of alienation.

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