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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 January 1984

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Use of Computers in China's Third National Census Explained (Xu Luxi, et al.; RENKOU YU JINGJI, No 4, 25 Aug 82).....	1
Lessons From U.S. National Affairs Surveys (Zeng Deguo; RENKOU YU JINGJI, No 4, 25 Aug 82).....	5
RENMIN RIBAO on Mao's Letter on Advisers for SRV (Hou Hanjiang, et al.; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Dec 83).....	14
Reflections on Deng Xiaoping's 1975 Writings (Tan Deshan; LIAOWANG, No 9, 20 Sep 83).....	19
Improvement in Party Work Style in Henan's Yuxian County Reported (Dai Songcheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Oct 83).....	23
Interview With Zhang Yun on Party Consolidation (Zhang Yun Interview; RENMIN RIBAO, 1 Nov 83).....	26
Party Members Urged To Check Unhealthy Tendencies (Zhen Xing; RENMIN RIBAO, 25 Oct 83).....	29
Views of Party Members and Cadres on Party Consolidation Reported (RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Oct 83).....	30
Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Constitution (XINHUA Domestic Service, 30 Dec 83).....	34

Associate Professor Condemns Capitalist Humanism, 'Socialist Alienation' (RENMIN RIBAO, 3 Nov 83).....	43
Elimination of Spiritual Pollution From Works of Science Fiction Discussed (Shi Tong; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 83).....	45
Written Polemics Over the Movie 'When Men Reach Middle Age' (Hu Chengqei; WENYIBAO, No 4, 7 Apr 83).....	48
'Middle Age' Criticized for Serious Defects (Xu Chunqiao; WENYIBAO, No 6, 7 Jun 83).....	53
More Criticism of 'Middle Age' (Yan Gang; WENYIBAO, No 7, 7 Jul 83).....	60
Correlations, Differences Between History, Reality Discussed (Zhang Chao; RENMIN RIBAO, 31 Oct 83).....	68
More Young Cadres Being Promoted in Beijing (XINHUA, 30 Dec 83).....	71
Respect for Integrity of Young People Advocated (Li Zhiyuan; RENMIN RIBAO, 27 Oct 83).....	72
CHINA DAILY Article on Capital Punishment (Yi Chengxin; CHINA DAILY, 31 Dec 83).....	74
CHINA DAILY Commentator Reviews Past Year (CHINA DAILY, 3 Jan 84).....	77
Commentary Urges Use of Law To Stop Fleecing of State (RENMIN RIBAO, 22 Oct 83).....	79
Ways To Reduce Surplus Agricultural Labor Detailed (Yang Jingying; RENKOU YU JINGJI, No 4, 25 Aug 82).....	80
Pornographic Ring Cracked in Beijing (RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Oct 83).....	90
Briefs	
Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee Ends Plenum	92
Legal Newspapers	92
Intellectuals Represented in Trade Union Congress	93

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST REGION

- Leading Bodies in Jiangxi Set New Example in Straightening  
Out Party Style  
(RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Nov 83)..... 94
- Efforts in Eliminating Spiritual Pollution in Jiangsu  
Stressed  
(RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 83)..... 96

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

- Official in Guangdong Relieved of Duties for Involvement  
in Smuggling  
(RENMIN RIBAO, 4 Nov 83)..... 98
- Activities Reported  
Commentary on Dismissal, Editorial

NORTH REGION

- Commentary on Spiritual Pollution in Handan  
(HEBEI RIBAO, 3 Nov 83)..... 101
- Baoding Gossip Tabloid Publication Halted  
(Liu Xiaobo; HEBEI RIBAO, 4 Nov 83)..... 103
- Beijing Party Disciplinary Commission Resolutions Promulgated  
(BEIJING RIBAO, 8 Nov 83)..... 104
- Correction of Party Work Style in Hebei's Neiqiu County  
Reported  
(RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Oct 83)..... 106
- Beijing's Preparation for Party Consolidation Reported  
(RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Oct 83)..... 108

NORTHEAST REGION

- Official in Jilin Executed for Corruption  
(RENMIN RIBAO, 9 Nov 83)..... 110

NORTHWEST REGION

- CPC Committee Sets Demands To Improve Leadership  
(Gansu Provincial Service, 25 Dec 83)..... 112

Shaanxi People's Congress Meeting Opens (Shaanxi Provincial Service, 27 Dec 83).....	114
Qinghai People's Congress Meeting Ends 20 December (Qinghai Provincial Service, 21 Dec 83).....	115
Xiao Quanfu at Mao Birth Anniversary PLA Rally (Xinjiang Regional Service, 26 Dec 83).....	117
Ismail Amat Addresses Radio, TV Work Conference (Xinjiang Regional Service, 26 Dec 83).....	118
Importance of Socialist Ideology in Theoretical and Cultural Work Noted (RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 83).....	120
Forum on 'Spiritual Pollution' on Ideology Front (Shaanxi Provincial Service, 22 Dec 83).....	121
People's Congress Session Discusses 'Pollution' (Shaanxi Provincial Service, 27 Dec 83).....	123
Gansu Notice on Doing Rectification Properly (Gansu Provincial Service, 24 Dec 83).....	124
Briefs	
Xinjiang Buddhist Association Founded	126
Xiao Quanfu Attends Youth Concert	126
Role of Deputies to Congresses	126

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

Radio Spark on CPC Accommodation to Kim Il-song (Radio Spark, 20 Dec 83).....	127
October Storm Raps Deng's Anti-Mao Schemes (Radio October Storm, 28 Dec 83).....	129
October Storm Criticizes Deng's Political Line (Radio October Storm, 29 Dec 83).....	131
Ba Yi Views Rectification in PLA General Staff (Ba Yi Radio, 27 Dec 83).....	133
Radio Spark Flays Hu Yaobang for Impetuous Talk (Radio Spark, 31 Dec 83).....	135
Radio Spark on CPC Leaders' Spiritual Pollution (Radio Spark, 21 Dec 83).....	137

Proletarian Fighters Radio Raps PRC Policies (Contingent of Proletarian Fighters, 22 Dec 83) .....	140
Proletarian Fighters on Socialism, Alienation (Contingent of Proletarian Fighters, 23 Dec 83) .....	142
Proletarian Fighters on Deng's Self-Criticism (Contingent of Proletarian Fighters, 24 Dec 83) .....	144
Proletarian Fighters on Self-Criticism, Deng (Contingent of Proletarian Fighters, 25 Dec 83) .....	147
Proletarian Fighters on Deng Xiaoping Report (Contingent of Proletarian Fighters, 26 Dec 83) .....	150
Ba Yi Radio Criticizes Personality Cult (Ba Yi Radio, 23 Dec 83) .....	152
Voice of PLA on Cadres Overseas Deserting (Voice of the PLA, 15 Dec 83) .....	154
Voice of PLA on Pilot's Defections to Taiwan (Voice of the PLA, 27 Dec 83) .....	156

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

Zhao's Visit Does Not Mean Dependence on U.S. (Editorial; TA KUNG PAO, 4 Jan 84) .....	158
Views on Party Purification in China Aired (Mu Fu; CH'SHIH NIEN-TAI, No 11, 1983) .....	160

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

USE OF COMPUTERS IN CHINA'S THIRD NATIONAL CENSUS EXPLAINED

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI POPULATION AND ECONOMICS in Chinese No 4,  
25 Aug 82 pp 25-26

Article by Xu Luxi 1776 7627 3305, Jiang Junlu 5637 0971 7216,  
Feng Jinghua 7458 0079 5478, Sheng Jiping 74141 3444 1627, and  
Ji Zhongren 1213 0112 1103: "The Use of Computers in the Third  
Census"

Text Our country is the most populous country in the world. Since  
the census recently carried out had a total of 19 items for  
investigation, there were as many as 259 kinds of national, provincial  
and county collection forms on all levels and the total volume of data  
was in the billions, it was a large-scale social investigation of  
national affairs and national strength. In this connection, over 5  
million working personnel were mobilized to participate in the survey,  
and computers were used for the first time in an effort to complete the  
work of overall collation of the census data before the end of 1984.  
The progress of this kind of large-scale systematic project involving  
millions of people participating in many types and procedures of work  
in the focus of world attention.

Detailed data processing and compilation rules and many kinds of  
machine collection forms provided the basis for preparing the computer  
program, which was formulated under the unified leadership of the State  
Council's Census Office. Moreover, in the future we must also use the  
data derived from the survey to establish a data base, and we should  
use all sorts of mathematical methods in many ways to analyze existing  
data and to study the population's present conditions and future  
development trends. This will be of major significance in all work  
such as correctly formulating plans for the national economy, fairly  
distributing and effectively utilizing our country's abundant labor  
resources and doing a good job of planned parenthood.

All countries which at present use computers to collate census data  
generally concentrate on unification and centralization in order to  
obtain the population statistics for the whole country and for all  
regions. Our country has a vast territory and a large population,



and proceeding from actual conditions, we decided to separate the processing of this census data into the national and provincial (municipal, autonomous regional) levels and to use a decentralized processing system.

This is the first time computers have been used to carry out census data processing in our country. Based on the sequence used to carry out the census, it can be divided into five stages: survey registration, coding, data recording, data processing and analysis of results.

Survey registration is based on an item by item circling on the registration form of the details of each household and person, and analysis of results is mostly carried out through study by population experts. Coding work is done by compiling the contents of registration into specific substitute numbers which computers can distinguish.

Data recording is the first link using computer data processing. The job of recording is to change the codes into magnetic information stored on magnetic floppy discs and then to submit these in batches to the computer for processing. In the data processing work for this census, over 4,000 people throughout the country participated in doing the recording, and the volume of work was unusually large. Calculated for comprehensive recording of survey data for 1 billion people and a 25-percent sampling check, it would be necessary to punch keys 38.7 billion times. If the 750 recording keyboards through the country were operated 20 hours a day, it would still require 400 working days to complete.

The data processing stage is also completed by computers. The anticipated statistics still cannot be directly collected from the original data recorded on the magnetic medium by recording personnel. Since survey registration, coding and data recording all depend on manual labor for completion, all sorts of errors are unavoidable. Moreover, greater the number of the links the more serious the accumulated errors, so that the derived data can become totally meaningless. If we do not check and rectify the original data put into the computer, fantastic errors can arise such as males giving birth, 15 year olds bearing a 3d child and pilots being produced by textile mills. Thus, in order to find mistakes in the original data and to carry out rectification enabling data to be pure, we can also use statistics on all kinds of errors which arise, strictly check the quality of good data and specially prepare compilation programs for this time. They can automatically complete the above work and make good preparations for the next step in tabulation **programming**.

The final step in which computers carry out census data processing is the tabulation of collection forms at all levels. In this connection, we prepared a set of tabulation programs to complete this function. Based on the scope of collection, collection forms are divided into

four levels, i.e., national, provincial, regional and county or municipal. In this way accurate data can be obtained for all levels from communes to the whole country; for instance, for the regional distribution of population, conditions of each nationality, the educational level of the population over 6 years of age, trade and occupation conditions of the employed population and family, marriage and birth figures. The completion of all these jobs is fairly strenuous and difficult. Judging by our country's trades and occupations, in order to obtain data on the geographic distribution and age composition of each trade and occupation and on the relative distribution of trades and occupations, it is necessary to record over a billion people on a form having over 10,000 checks to classify and compile. If computers were not used for this but manpower were depended upon for collection, it would be simply unimaginable.

Of course, the volume of data processing work for each province, city and autonomous region is unequal, and there are great disparities. Some provinces have a population of nearly 100 million, and others have only some 10 million. In addition this census required division into two kinds of processing. The first was a 10-percent sample data collection, and the second a 90-percent data collection. This also created complications for data management and for the control of magnetic-medium management and processing. How to enable data processing work for each province and city to keep in step and be methodically developed is a problem which has been expressed in experimental work and is in urgent need of solution. In carrying out complex work to hit the target on such a large scale, cooperation and coordination between each part becomes the key link in determining the success of or failure of the whole process. If there are not a set of scientific organization and management methods, there will inevitably be created a situation in which each part does not dovetail and even one in which the parts obstruct each other, finally ending in failure. This situation has precedents in the history of census takings. Accordingly, there certainly were also some people who doubted whether the Chinese people had the ability to use computers efficiently during the 1982 census period. In order to solve this problem, prior to this survey we prepared overall control programming and established a set of methods suited to computer organization and management, thus enabling the management and control of each link of data processing to be carried out by the machines themselves, decreasing manual interference and guaranteeing completion of the whole data processing job according to quality and quantity.

In order to do a good job in the third national census, computer controls and computer stations in all areas from the beginning paid a lot of attention to the work of training technicians. Based on incomplete statistics, in the last 2 years, 33 training classes of all kinds have been held, and of these, 617 people participated in software study classes, 255 in hardware study classes and 4,015

in recording operation study classes. This initially formed a professional and technical contingent having both a professional division of labor and an ability to cooperate closely. During the last half-year alone, we have successively installed 19 No 4331 computers and 1 No 4341 computer in Beijing and other provinces and cities. In addition, 1 experimental No 4331 computer and 21 No 4300 series computers added throughout the country have been completely put into normal operation. Cadres of the computer centrals and each computer station and technicians and workers are confidently, conscientiously and industriously working to complete the job of data processing for the third national census in a high-quality way.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### LESSONS FROM U.S. NATIONAL AFFAIRS SURVEYS

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI POPULATION AND ECONOMICS in Chinese No 4,  
25 Aug 82 pp 27-30

Abridged article by Zeng Deguo /2582 1795 0948/: "The U.S. National  
Affairs Survey System and What Lessons Our Country Can Learn from It"

Text Based on advance planning by government-authorized organs,  
national affairs surveys carry out general investigations and calculations  
of a country's conditions at specified periods of time in order to  
provide the country with systematic data on national affairs. To know  
the state of a country's national affairs, in addition to relying on  
daily statistical data for an explanation, national affairs survey  
data are also necessary. Statistical data need survey data to ensure  
accuracy, and survey data must rely on statistical data to maintain  
continuity over time. Moreover, depending on and complementing each  
other, they jointly explain a country's national affairs. National  
affairs surveys and national affairs statistics are equally important,  
and cannot be ignored or dispensed with. Particularly, under modern  
conditions, mastering and understanding national affairs and their  
changes as accurately as possible will enable a country to manage  
its social economy well and is a prerequisite for its successful  
development. At present 208 countries and regions throughout the  
world have carried out comprehensive or partial national affairs  
surveys with the census as the central factor, all having carried  
them out in order to understand their national affairs more exactly,  
comprehensively and systematically. Of these, the U.S. has carried  
out 20 periodic national affairs surveys in 190 years with the census  
as the central factor. Its survey system has been gradually developed  
and perfected, thus providing more and more plentiful and extensive  
national affairs data, and it will be quite worth our while to study  
it thoroughly and learn certain things of benefit to us from it.

#### 1. Origin and Development of the U.S. National Affairs Survey System

The federal constitution formulated by the Constitutional Convention  
held by the U.S., in May 1787 stipulated that a census be carried out  
3 years after the first session of the U.S. Congress and every 10 years

thereafter. According to this stipulation, the first census in U.S. history was carried out in 1790, and this was the origin of the U.S. national affairs survey. The first goal of the census was to count the number of people in each state, using the data as the basis for assigning to each state the number of its members in the House of Representatives and assessing direct taxes and later also using the data as the basis for such things as distributing federal government subsidies. Along with the needs and development of the country, the census has expanded from these initial goals to providing extensive population data for the development needs of the whole society's politics, economy, scientific research and national defense. Population data only reflects a part of national affairs, and the census is also only one part of the whole national affairs survey. Society's development requires a country to master all constantly changing national affairs, and thus beginning with the census, the U.S. national affairs survey gradually developed into a comprehensive national affairs survey of each department and field of society including housing, land, industry, agriculture, communications and transportation, mining, construction, commerce, foreign trade, service trades and national organizations, with the census as the central factor.

Not only have survey items continued to develop and expand, but survey agencies have also increased and have been gradually developed and perfected. In every survey from 1790 to 1900, there were only temporary, on-the-spot survey work organizations. National permanent survey organizations had not yet been established, but on 6 March 1902, Congress formulated a bill providing for the establishment of a permanent Survey Office working under the jurisdiction of Congress and the direct leadership of the Commerce and Labor Departments. This organization is now under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Commerce Department and is a major national statistical organization of the federal government, but it isn't a substitute for the work of the U.S. Statistics Bureau and is different from the Statistics Bureau. The job of the Statistics Bureau is to be responsible for regular national affairs surveys and investigations. The U.S. Commerce Department Survey Office includes 3 national organs and 12 local survey offices.

## 2. Duties of the U.S. Survey Office

The U.S. Commerce Department Survey Office is now responsible for approximately 10 major duties:

(1) Every 10 years it carries out a national survey of population, housing and irrigation and drainage. Every 10th year (i.e., years of the Christian era with 0 as the last digit) it carries out a national survey of population and housing and in the year before carries out a national survey of irrigation and drainage.

(2) Every 5 years it carries out a survey of agriculture, manufacturing, mining, fishery, commerce, construction, transportation and government agencies. These items are not surveyed together in the same year but separately in different years.

(3) Based on weeks, months, seasons, years or other intervals of time, it carries out on-the-spot investigations of many items.

(4) It collects current statistical data for U.S. foreign trade (including import and export trade and shipping data).

(5) It carries out special investigations based on the condition of state and local governmental needs and funds.

(6) It publishes the results of the population count and forecasts.

(7) It provides current statistical data for population and housing.

(8) It publishes current reports on manufacturing, retail and wholesale trade, certain selected service trades, construction, import and export trade, state and local government finances and employment and other items.

(9) It provides statistical data service to other government agencies and under certain conditions, to private citizens and provides age and birth certificates for individuals.

(10) It acts as survey advisors to foreign governments and helps train survey experts and technicians.

### 3. Survey Contents

Along with the need to develop the social economy and the people's deepening understanding of the characteristics of the social economy reflecting the daily perfecting of the national affairs target system, survey contents have become more and more numerous.

In regard to census contents, the areas which the U.S. has surveyed and counted from 1790 to 1970 include:

Basic population: including the eight items of name, sex, address, birthplace, number of families and persons in each household, relationship to head of household, age and marital status;

Race: including the 6 items of free Caucasians, free non-whites, slaves, skin color, race and American Indians;

Immigrant status: including the 10 items of immigration year, non-naturalized aliens, those with naturalization papers, naturalization year, English speakers, non-English language speakers, birthplace, parents' native language, parents' nationality and Spanish descent;

Changes of residence: including the 3 items of residence within the last 5 years, length of stay at present residence and U.S. citizens abroad;

Occupation and income: including the 12 items of occupation and trade, occupation of 5 years ago, whether unemployed, length of unemployment, work schedule, work place, movements during the past 5 years, reason for changing job, income, value of personal property and real estate, value of house and land rent and radios;

Education: including the 5 items of school attendance, public or private school attendance, occupational training, educational level and literacy level;

Disabilities: including the 7 [sic] items of physical or mental impairment, illness or crippling condition, mental disease, idiocy or feeble-mindedness, acute or chronic disease, military disabled pensioner or veteran, pauper or criminal status and dependence on social insurance or retirement income;

Births, marriages and deaths: including the 9 items of imminent births, deaths within the year, deaths in families, marriage age, marriage date, number of times married, whether or not married once for life, number of children and number of people in family.

In addition, there are some tens of items in the survey contents concerning things such as housing, agriculture, manufacturing and mining.

#### 4. Survey Methods

The U.S. national affairs survey is carried out in a planned way under the unified guidance of the Survey Office. Before a survey, the Survey Office carries out a sample investigation in order to determine survey subjects and items, estimates national survey work volume, necessary expenses and number of employees. After formulating specific survey plans and requesting Congressional approval, the office carries out the survey on schedule. The major survey methods are by filling in forms and mailings. Good survey forms are designed beforehand and their feasibility is checked through testing. The forms are afterward mailed to the thousands upon thousands of families and households which need to be surveyed; after they are filled in and mailed back, the Survey Office sends special personnel to make house calls and investigate those forms which could not be mailed back. Survey technicians have used modern technology for a long time, have extensively used computers since the war to calculate data, have eliminated manual operating methods in the survey process and have greatly improved survey efficiency and reduced the number of temporary employees. Survey expenses are provided by the government and are used to purchase survey equipment and to pay for such things as the wages of temporary

employees and office, advertising and publicity expenses. Temporary employees are hired by the Survey Office and local survey offices and, after training and qualification in rear areas, can be officially employed.

## 5. Problems of the U.S. Survey System

Judging from the above simple introduction, the U.S. national affairs survey system is fairly complete and comprehensive in all areas such as the formulation of survey laws and regulations, organizational structure, survey office duties and survey contents and methods. Thus survey efficiency is high and the role it plays is large. But this survey system is not without problems, the basic problem being that it is essentially a bourgeois system and is a part of the whole capitalist system.

First, the basic goal of establishing this system has been to serve the interests of the U.S. bourgeoisie and its government and to do a good job of running a bourgeois country. Every survey has been carried out based on the needs of the bourgeoisie and its national political and economic interests. All data provided by every survey has been regarded as the basis for the distribution of bourgeois political power and economic benefits and has provided intelligence data for the bourgeoisie to further oppress and exploit the people of its own country and of the whole world.

Second, surveys of U.S. political, economic and social conditions conceal class relationships and the class nature of the exploiters and the exploited, the oppressors and the oppressed and the rulers and the ruled. There is not one item in the survey contents which exposes this nature. Its bourgeois character determines that it has not surveyed and cannot survey and investigate the situation of the U.S. bourgeois extortion of surplus value and the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people. For example, when surveying and counting personal income, it only roughly distinguishes several grades and does not question income sources; it lumps together exploited income and payment for labor; it puts professors, experts, scientists and other manual and intellectual workers with fairly high incomes in the same grade as capitalists, capitalist agents and government officials and puts working people with low incomes in the same grade as people with illegitimate incomes such as gangsters, pickpockets, thieves, bandits and parasites. This blurs the distinctions between the economic interests of the exploiting class and of the exploited class and blurs class alignments. It makes people unable to see clearly the exploitation of the capitalists and the exploited condition of the proletariat, thus blocking the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie and also facilitating bourgeois rule of the masses of people.



Third, U.S. national affairs surveys consume a vast amount of funds. Judging from the census alone, the 1970 census cost \$220 million, and the total cost of the 1980 census reached \$1.1 billion, or five times that of 1970. Many Americans consider it "expensive" to spend this much money for a census, and if a poor country carried out a survey like this, its national economy would collapse. Therefore, poor countries cannot spend large amounts of money in this way to carry out surveys.

Fourth, errors in U.S. survey data are still quite large. For instance, during the 1970 census the survey missed 4.9 million people throughout the country, constituting 2.5 percent of its total population, with 2 percent of the Caucasians and 7.7 percent of Black people being left out. Of course, it is unavoidable that all countries have survey errors, but due to contradictions between U.S. survey policy and other government policies (particularly immigration policy) such as the requirement by the Survey Office that all legal and illegal immigrants register, which makes illegal immigrants afraid to be surveyed, it is very difficult to survey immigrants who flow into the U.S. on a large scale. Moreover, the mobility of the U.S. population is too great, for Americans love to move, and this also increases survey difficulties. The error rate of survey data is fairly high, showing that shortcomings still exist in U.S. survey methods and that they are still not suited to changes in these special circumstances in the U.S.

#### 6. What Lessons Our Country Can Learn from It

Although the U.S. national affairs survey system has its basic shortcomings and we must not imitate them, yet this system is still quite complete and comprehensive for a capitalist country and has many things worthy of our study and use.

First, the U.S. national affairs survey system is based on legislation and protected by law. Survey agencies carry out surveys on schedule according to law, or otherwise they would be neglecting their duty. They assume a legal responsibility, citizens have the duty to be surveyed and investigated and to provide accurate information, the state keeps the information provided by the citizens confidential and the legal responsibility of violators must be investigated. All these stipulations give legal guarantees to national affairs surveys and investigations. But our country still does not have legislation in this area, and thus our country's national affairs surveys and investigations are still not legally mandated and are easily squeezed out and neglected. Survey rights and duties still do not have legal guarantees, which easily lowers the dependability and authenticity of survey and investigation data.

Second, in addition to making the Statistics Bureau responsible for keeping regular statistics on national affairs, the U.S. also has

permanent survey organs (the Survey Office) and local branch organs (survey branch offices) that are responsible for periodic national affairs surveys and investigations throughout the country and has a large group of very experienced survey experts and technicians who can efficiently carry out the work of national surveys and investigations. Our country also has permanent statistical organs, but the system is not perfect, statisticians are too few and statistical methods are not scientific enough. Our country's survey organs are only temporary census organs, and we have not established standing national affairs survey organs or formed a large contingent of experts and technicians suited to the development of our country's socialist cause to engage in long-term comprehensive national affairs surveys and investigations. Thus there are still many difficulties in carrying out comprehensive surveys of all fields and departments of our country's society and national economy.

Third, the U.S. has carried out long-term comprehensive surveys with the census as the central factor in all fields including housing, land, industry, agriculture, communications and transportation, construction, commerce, foreign trade and service trades, which provide comprehensive national affairs survey data. Our country has only carried out two censuses and an early post-liberation comprehensive national affairs investigation. Since then it has not carried out extensive and comprehensive surveys as the U.S. has and thus lacks long-term comprehensive survey data.

Fourth, all U.S. surveys in all fields have been carried out periodically in a planned way, and except for specific items suspended during the period of World War II, all have been carried out on schedule. But our country has never had this kind of periodic survey planning.

Fifth, the U.S. relies on national affairs statistical data and national affairs survey data jointly to reflect national affairs, and statistical work continues to provide national affairs statistical data in chronological order. Although there are still errors in national affairs survey data, yet since it is somewhat more accurate than statistical data, it can be used to correct the degree of accuracy of statistical data and to supplement its inadequacies, with many revisions of published U.S. statistical data based on survey figures. But problems of fairly low dependability which exist in our country's statistical data urgently demand national affairs surveys to correct and supplement the data.

Sixth, the U.S. long ago generally adopted high-level modern technology to carry out national affairs surveys and eliminated the process of manual operation. Survey efficiency is very high. Manual operations were used in the national affairs surveys which our country carried out in the past and efficiency was very low, but we are now finally beginning to use computer operations.

For the successful development of our country's socialist cause and an early realization of the four modernizations, we should summarize the past 30-some years of experience and lessons in compiling national affairs statistics and carrying out national affairs surveys, consult good foreign experience in this area and, combined with our country's specific characteristics, establish a comprehensive and perfect national affairs survey system suited to our country's conditions. Based on this principle, the following suggestions are made:

1. Our country should establish laws and regulations for national affairs surveys and national affairs statistics, stipulate the number of years between each national affairs survey and form a system which must be not arbitrarily changed. It should stipulate that survey organs have the authority according to the law to carry out surveys and investigations and that no one must obstruct or interfere, stipulate the duty of citizens to be surveyed and investigated and to provide accurate information and stipulate that all national organs, all top-level leaders and all individuals must not make false reports and conceal or forge national affairs statistical and survey data and that the legal responsibility of violators must be investigated according to the circumstances.
2. Our country should establish national standing survey organs and local ones on all levels, perfect existing statistics organs, clarify the different duties of survey and statistics organs, complete each different duty, jointly provide true and reliable national affairs data for party and government organs on all levels throughout the country and staff them well.
3. Our country should clarify our country's survey duties, and based on the target system in force internationally and on unified statistical methods, with the census as the central factor, we should separately carry out periodic comprehensive surveys and investigations of such things as our country's industry, agriculture, communications and transportation, construction industry, mining, commerce, foreign trade, service trades, land, forests, housing, environmental pollution and national organizations.
4. On the basis of revised statistics for survey data, our country should periodically publish statistics and survey data (excluding classified data which must be protected), provide them for the use of actual work departments and theoretical circles and let the people of the whole country supervise their national management.
5. On the basis of the principle of economizing, our country should tap the potentialities of our country's existing cadre force, release a large group of cadres from their jobs and organize a professional contingent to engage in long-term surveys and investigations. In this way, first, we can fully use cadres and improve the organs' work efficiency; second, we can recruit fewer temporary survey working

personnel, pay lower wages and cut down on national expenditures; third, we can train a professional contingent of genuine experts to engage in national affairs surveys and investigations; and, fourth, we can do a better job of carrying out national affairs surveys, provide the state with true and reliable national affairs data and enable national policy to be established on the basis of actual national affairs.

6. If statistical and survey work is not done well, if millions of hands, high and low and from all sides of all the country's departments and organs, all reach down to the grass roots for investigation statistics, if "report forms fall thick and heavy" and if there is no end to repeated numbers and the filling out of forms, then manpower and material and financial resources will be wasted and normal work hindered. If statistics and survey work is truly done well, and accurate and dependable national affairs data is seasonably provided to organs at all levels of all national departments, these phenomena will be greatly reduced, the cadre work style will be improved and the basic-level work will be done better.

7. We still lack experience and modern technology in carrying out national affairs surveys in all fields, and we should send people abroad to study or invite foreign experts to train qualified survey personnel, suitably introduce modern survey technology and further develop natural resource surveys which have been cooperatively carried out with foreign countries.

12267

CSO: 4005/116

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON MAO'S LETTER ON ADVISERS FOR SRV

HK290955 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by Hou Hanjiang [0186 1383 3068], Wen Zhuang [2429 83600, and Huang Qun [7806 5028]: "History Is the Best Witness--Reading Comrade Mao Zedong's Letter to Comrade Wang Jiaxiang"]

[Text] While commemorating the 90th anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's birth, a letter Comrade Mao Zedong wrote to Comrade Wang Jiaxiang on 27 May 1953 after he checked and approved the "Regulations for Advisers" of the advisory mission in aid of Vietnam was published for the first time. The full text of the letter is as follows:

Comrade Wang Jiaxiang:

In the "Regulations for Advisers" concerning the comrades working in Vietnam, /following the passage/ [passage within slantlines published in boldface] of Article 1 reading "ardently love the Vietnamese people and every tree and bush in Vietnam" should be added the following remarks "respect the national independence of Vietnam and the habits and customs of the Vietnamese people, and support the Vietnam Workers' Party and Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the party and the people."

If [document?] is not yet transmitted, please append the above-mentioned remarks to it!

Mao Zedong, 27 May

After reading this letter and reflecting on the past in the light of the present, all sorts of feelings welled up in our hearts. This urged us, comrades who worked in the advisory mission in aid of Vietnam, to write down some fragments of our reminiscences about the militant Sino-Vietnamese friendship as notes to this historical document.

I. When the PRC was founded in 1949, the war of resistance against France of the Vietnamese people had lasted for 3 years. Being isolated and cut off from help, the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against aggression was in a state of extreme difficulty. The victory of the Chinese revolution provided Vietnam

with a vast rear base. At the beginning of the 1950's, President Ho Chi Minh went to China and held talks with the CPC on the question of aiding Vietnam. The CPC Central Committee, headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, accepted President Ho Chi Minh's request and made an important decision to support Vietnam in an overall way and immediately sent Comrade Luo Guibo to the central base areas in North Vietnam to keep abreast of the situation there so as to work out the various concrete measures for aiding Vietnam. In July the same year, our party Central Committee sent Comrade Chen Geng to Vietnam to help the Vietnamese side organize battles in the border areas so as to open a communications artery from the Vietnamese border region to China. Meanwhile, it also dispatched a military advisory mission headed by Comrade Wei Guoqing to help the building and operations of the Vietnamese Army. In the few years following, the military advisory mission of our country helped the Vietnamese People's Army in organizing several major campaigns in succession until the latter won a decisive victory in the Dien Bien Phu campaign. The tremendous proletarian internationalist aid our country gave to Vietnam in the latter's army building and the total supply of equipment and logistic needs to the troops taking part in actual operations left an indelible impression on the Vietnamese Army and people.

When regaining the initiative on the battlefield and creating a new war situation, upon the request of the Vietnamese side, our party Central Committee sent a political advisory mission headed by Comrade Luo Guibo to help build base areas in Vietnam. This played a positive role in consolidating the base areas, supporting the frontline, building people's regimes, and ensuring the production and lives of the people. President Ho Chi Minh and other Vietnamese party and government leaders praised highly the work of the political advisory mission.

II. In August 1950, when the military advisory mission was formed and about to leave for Vietnam, the mission had formulated seven-item work regulations. With the overall unfolding of the work to aid Vietnam, in accordance with the instructions Comrade Mao Zedong and other comrades in the CPC Central Committee gave on many occasions, the International Liaison Department under the CPC Central Committee, having summed up the 2 years or so of experience in the advisory work to aid Vietnam, further replenished and revised it in 1953 and, after being personally corrected by Comrade Mao Zedong, it took shape as the 14 "Work Regulations Concerning the Advisory Mission." The full text of Article 1 of the regulations is as follows:

"All advisers must help the Vietnamese people's struggle for liberation with a high sense of internationalism and in an earnest and sincere, modest and prudent, responsible and patient way, ardently love the Vietnamese people and every tree and bush in Vietnam, respect the national independence of Vietnam and the habits and customs of the Vietnamese people, support the Vietnam workers' party and Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the Leader of the party and the people, and 'carry out the liberatioca cause of the Vietnamese people as our own.' This kind of internationalism is consistent with patriotism."

The "Regulations" also stipulates a series of concrete work principles and methods. For instance, "all advisers must make suggestions to the Vietnamese

side in any work or on any question or while rendering any help, they must go through the Vietnamese comrades who are mentally prepared and the organizations of the Vietnamese side rather than taking on what ought to be done by their counterparts and expecting quick results" (Article 8), "all advisers must respect the leadership of the Vietnamese side and attach importance to the latter's various experiences" (Article 9), "they must proceed in everything from the realities in Vietnam instead of applying China's experience everywhere there mechanically" [Article 10) and "must intensify their efforts to study regularly and willingly and pay attention to learning from their Vietnamese comrades" (Article 13), and so on.

After the "Work Regulations Concerning the Advisory Mission" were transmitted, studied, and discussed among the entire working personnel of the advisory mission, many advisers seriously put the "Regulations" into effect in the light of their work and practice. They considered the advisory work to aid Vietnam as glorious as the cause of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea and willingly used the "Regulations" in setting strict demands on themselves at their own advisory work posts, in all matters and at all times.

At that time, we were transferred to the advisory mission to take up the translation and other jobs. It was precisely there that we received a profound education in proletarian internationalism, an education which we can never forget all our lives. The repeated instructions given by Comrade Mao Zedong and the CPC Central Committee to the advisory mission in aid of Vietnam, in particular the 14 "Work Regulations Concerning the Advisory Mission," extremely inspired us and strengthened our confidence and resolve to work in Vietnam for a long time to struggle for the liberation cause of the Vietnamese people. With their own actual actions, the advisers who went there from different posts in the motherland had also set most lively examples for us to emulate. Among them, some were veteran cadres of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army; others were outstanding commanders who had experienced the war of resistance against Japan; and still others were young cadres who emerged in China's war of liberation. Many of them came to the vast jungle in North Vietnam before they had enough time to take off the combat uniform which they wore when they marched into South China; and there were still comrades who came to the frontline of aiding Vietnam and resisting French aggression from the frontline of resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. We cannot all the more get out of our minds the way the leading comrades of the advisory mission strictly abided by the "Regulations" and resolutely implemented the spirit of the CPC Central Committee's instructions. They were so modest and prudent in every work and deed and respected the Vietnamese party and government leaders, in particular Comrade Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese party and people. We had the opportunity to accompany the leading cadres of our advisory mission in attending the conference of the Political Bureau of the Vietnamese party Central Committee and the conference of the general military commission, and while they were exchanging views with the leading comrades of the Vietnamese party and government, we acted as interpreters. We saw that in making suggestion, our advisory comrades always based their suggestions on earnest investigation and study and repeated deliberations by proceeding from the realities in Vietnam. Whenever they had put forth their suggestions, they would invariably sincerely say that their

suggestions were for reference only and the Vietnamese side would make final decisions on all matters. Even at the critical juncture of decisive battles like the Dien Bien Phu campaign, that is, when the campaign developed to a state of the utmost hardship and difficulty, when any wavering attitude might have led to failure to achieve success by a very narrow margin, the Chinese advisory mission still separately made suggestions to President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese general military commission in the proper way. Their suggestions were adopted after being discussed by the Vietnamese supreme command and resulted in the total annihilation of the enemy troops defending Dien Bien Phu.

The advisory mission in aid of Vietnam persisted in carrying out its work in an extremely difficult war environment. Before organizing any battle, the advisers would always lie awake all night, pondering their operational plans. Once the plans were decided, they made a long, arduous journey to go to the frontline in great haste to direct the battles in coordination with the Vietnamese Army. Some advisers went down to the grassroots units to help carry out the work there and, giving no thought to their poor health conditions and sharing the weal and woe of their Vietnamese comrades in climbing mountains in spite of the rain and marching by night, they fulfilled the tasks they had undertaken. Vital communication lines were blocked by the time bombs which the enemy planes dropped in large quantities, so our country transferred in, at top speed from the Korean battlefield, specialists in removing time bombs, and they personally went to the spots to study the characteristics of the French Army's time bombs and suggested effective measures for removing them. Up to this day, we still clearly remember that in the fighting collective of the advisory mission in aid of Vietnam, all working personnel strove to show the spirit of internationalism in every concrete job. In defiance of the harassing attacks of the enemy planes, our telegraph operators, confidential personnel, mechanics, bodyguards, stockmen, secretaries, interpreters,...stood fast at their posts, each realizing that he was engaged in a mission of great significance. Their ideological level was an embodiment of internationalism and patriotism. We will forever cherish the memory of the comrades who died glorious deaths while discharging their duties in the work of the advisory mission in aid of Vietnam in those years. Some of them died martyrs' deaths under the bombardment of the enemy planes; others laid down their lives through stepping on enemy mines while performing their duties; and still others sacrificed their lives through being drowned in swift currents. Their remains were buried forever in the land of Vietnam. The pledge reading "There are green hills everywhere to bury loyal bones, why wrap the corpse in horse hide and bring it back?" has been reverberating in our ears up to now.

During the period of Vietnam's war of resistance against France in the 1950's, President Ho Chi Minh always showed loving care for the advisory mission in aid of Vietnam. With sincere feelings, President Ho Chi Minh had great confidence in the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong. He emphatically said on many occasions: "We have absolute confidence in the CPC headed by Comrade Mao Zedong and so do we in the advisers sent by the CPC to help us in our work." He frequently urged the Vietnamese cadres to cooperate with the Chinese advisers sincerely and to take care of the well-being of the Chinese advisers. He, for his part, did



precisely this. He invariably gave serious consideration to the suggestions made by the Chinese advisers. He went, as often as not, to the place where the advisory mission was located to visit the advisers there, asking after their health with deep concern. In a number of battles, he personally went to the front command posts to visit the advisers and to heed their views on the on-going battles and solved the difficulties the advisers met with in their work. Upon the proposal of President Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam decided on 18 January every year as "Vietnam's day of diplomatic victory," because our country was the first to give diplomatic recognition to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on that day. These historical chapters full of militant friendship can only be summarized as the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Like other comrades who once worked in Vietnam, we have an extremely deep affection for the Vietnamese people. Under the teaching of the CPC, we are willing to do more work all our lives for Sino-Vietnamese friendship and ardently hope the militant friendship between the two countries will last from generation to generation. However, what is quite regretted is that after the liberation of South Vietnam, the persons in power in Vietnam are unexpectedly doing exactly the opposite of what President Ho Chi Minh did. They treat friends in adversity as the "direct and most dangerous enemy," regard the proletarian internationalist aid as a means to "restrict the victory of Vietnam" and an "attempt to weaken and annex Vietnam," and take opposition to China as their basic national policy. Nevertheless, history is the best witness. History between 1950 and 1954 has eloquently indicated that the friendship between China and Vietnam accords with the interests of the two peoples and is conducive to the Vietnamese revolution and construction. The letter Comrade Mao Zedong wrote on 27 May 1953 to Comrade Wang Jiaxiang was an important document in the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations. It will help the people of Vietnam and of the rest of the world to make a fair judgment on this section of history.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

REFLECTIONS ON DENG XIAOPING'S 1975 WRITINGS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 9, 20 Sep 83 pp 16-17

[Article by Tan Deshan [9509 1795 1472]: "The Precursor to Bringing Order out of Chaos--Reflections from Studying the 1975 Writings in the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] Nineteen seventy-five was an unforgettable year. Like the sound of spring thunder that would soon be fully heard after a severe winter, it had kindled the hopes of people.

In studying the 1975 writings in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and recalling the days and nights when Comrade Deng Xiaoping led us in a full-scale reorganization, we clearly realize that the reorganization in 1975 was the precursor to bringing order out of chaos and that the policies and guiding principles adhered to by Comrade Deng Xiaoping represented the correct leadership of the party.

By 1975, the "cultural revolution" had already been stirred up for 8 whole years. During those 8 years, the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing had fouled up the whole country and caused utter confusion. For a time, such full-scale turmoil had been taken as a symbol of the full mobilization of the masses. Subsequently Comrade Mao Zedong considered going from "disorder" to "order" and stabilizing the situation. He therefore advanced the idea that stability was for the better. But at the same time he also believed that the theory and practice he put forward on the "cultural revolution" were Marxist and so wanted to carry the "cultural revolution" to the end.

After Lin Biao exploded himself in September 1971, Comrade Zhou Enlai proceeded under extremely difficult conditions because of his criticism of the ultra-leftist trend of thought and of anarchism, reorganized industrial and agricultural production, strengthened scientific education, implemented policies, liberated cadres and spared no effort to eliminate the evil consequences of the "cultural revolution." However, in 1973 Jiang Qing and company so stirred up the countercurrent against the so-called "rightist resurgence" that the situation which had just turned for the better once again fell into serious confusion.

It was in this critical situation that Comrade Deng Xiaoping led the full-scale reorganization in 1975 with preeminent revolutionary courage and insight. At that time he knew well that the underhanded means of the "Gang of Four" could be used against him at any moment and that he was in constant danger of being overthrown for a second time. But for the sake of the party's cause and the interests of the people, he unswervingly indicated: "There are numerous problems that must be solved, and this cannot be done without vigor. We must be fearless and resolve to act." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" p 32; hereafter only page numbers will be given.) He also repeatedly taught and encouraged cadres at all levels: "We must have some spirit, not to fear criticism and not to fear making mistakes." (p 30) These writings of Comrade Deng Xiaoping reveal the awe-inspiring righteousness of a proletarian revolutionary and his faith in inevitable victory. He firmly believed that truth would defeat fallacies and that justice would prevail over evil.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only dares to struggle but is also good at struggling. Confronted with the confused situation at that time, he observed the overall situation, gave careful consideration and profoundly understood that the basis for turning the situation around was to liberate the party's work from the guiding ideology, policies and guiding principles of the "cultural revolution" and to restore comprehensively the correct line, policies and guiding principles of the party. However, how could this basic problem be solved under the current historical conditions? In light of the concrete circumstances at that time, Comrade Deng Xiaoping cited Comrade Mao Zedong's three directives and proposed "taking the three directives as the key link." Since this had substituted "taking class struggle as the key link," it followed that class struggle was no longer the emphasis of the work of the whole party. Then what was the emphasis? Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly replied: "There is an overall situation which the whole party must discuss." "We must build ours into a strong socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry and modern science and technology. The whole party and the whole country must struggle to realize this great goal. This is the overall situation." (p 4) In effect this put forward the idea of shifting the emphasis of the work of the whole party must be shifted to economic construction centered around the four modernizations.

After Comrade Mao Zedong achieved a glorious victory in the socialist transformation of China, he had put forward the development of socialist productive forces as the basic task and had called on the whole party to shift the emphasis of its work to economic construction. However, because of an incorrect understanding of the major contradictions in society, class struggle became magnified and overwhelming and developed into the prolonged, overall and serious "leftist" error of the "cultural revolution," and the emphasis of the party's work had never shifted. Therefore, in 1975 Comrade Deng Xiaoping once again put forward the idea of shifting the emphasis of the party's work to the four modernizations program, which was a basic attempt to bring order out of chaos and a guiding ideology which essentially negated the "cultural revolution," thereby providing the theoretical basis for carrying out a full-scale and systematic reorganization and for removing the chaos created by the "cultural revolution." Later, the unbridled attack of the "Gang of Four" on "taking the three directives as the key link" was precisely meant to rebut the idea of shifting the emphasis of the party's work put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who had hit their vital point and had grasped the fundamentals.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping proceeded from an emphasis on "taking the three directives as a key link" and proposed the task of the full-scale reorganization of the whole party with the four modernizations as a goal. He said: "There is a problem of reorganization in every quarter." "We must solve the problems of the countryside, of the factories, of science and technology and of all quarters through reorganization." (p 32) In reality, we had to solve all the problems caused by the "cultural revolution" and further revive the correct line, policies and guiding principles of the party. In other words, we had to reverse once more the reversal of history brought about by the "Gang of Four" during the "cultural revolution," correct once more the thinking and the theory that they had disrupted and do a good job reorganizing every quarter they had disrupted. This was precisely the substance of what our party later put forward as "bringing order out of chaos." Therefore, we say that this reorganization was the precursor of bringing order out of chaos.

Since reorganization was a full-scale attempt to bring order out of chaos, it would be necessary to eliminate completely the evil consequences of the "Gang of Four's" ultraleftist line and to correct the mistakes of the "cultural revolution" systematically.

Reorganization meant the vigorous rectification of factionalism. It meant mobilizing the masses to liquidate and destroy the factionalist setup of Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four". To a large extent, rectification of factionalism removed the ideological and organizational obstacles to reorganization.

Reorganization meant the earnest implementation of the party's policies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Only by doing a good job in implementing policies will reorganization favor the mobilization of enthusiasm." (p 2) Comrade Deng Xiaoping spent a great deal of energy in stressing the implementation of policies on cadres so that large groups of fine cadres who had suffered persecution under Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" could be liberated and could return again to leading stations at all levels. At the same time, in this reorganization particular attention was given to implementing policies and restoring the reputations of veteran workers, veteran model laborers and key personnel in all quarters so that reorganization in all quarters had the key support of the masses.

Reorganization meant doing a good job reorganizing the party and leadership groups at all levels. It meant eliminating factionalism among the party contingents; strengthening the party spirit; restoring and carrying the party's three great work styles forward; overcoming the tendencies of flabbiness, laziness and laxity of leadership groups at all levels; solving the problems of "turgidity, laxity, arrogance, wastefulness and laziness" in the armed forces; making good choices of key leaders at all levels; and building leadership groups that are fearless. In this way, leadership groups at all levels that had been paralyzed or half-paralyzed by Lin Biao and the "Gang of Four" began to be rebuilt, thereby increasing the fighting strength of the party.

Reorganization meant the restoration of the order of production that had been damaged. Comrade Deng Xiaoping dealt head-on blows against the clamor of the "Gang of Four's" criticism of "the theory of unique productive forces."

At the same time he tried hard to remove interference, convened a series of conferences and drastically reorganized railroad transportation, industry and agriculture, the war industry and other fronts. Not only did this play a major role in stabilizing the current economic situation but also enabled the broad masses of cadres and the people to begin breaking through the restraints of the series of fallacies of the "Gang of Four" which damaged production, thereby further intensifying the urgency of improving the national economy and laying the popular foundation for its recovery in the future.

From the brief description above, we can see that the reorganization in 1975 was a full-scale attempt to bring order out of chaos from politics to the economy and from organization to ideology. What it intended to eliminate was the "chaos" created by the "cultural revolution," and the order it intended to bring was the restoration of the correct line, policies and guiding principles of the party. The inevitable outcome of its development was precisely the systematic correction of the mistakes of the "cultural revolution," which was the so-called total negation of the "cultural revolution." Not only would this outcome come from the reckless counterattack of the "Gang of Four" but would not be tolerated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Consequently, the "Gang of Four" stirred once again and then came the "anti-rightist reversal" campaign. Because Comrade Deng Xiaoping wanted to restore the correct line of the party, he was overthrown for a second time for the sake of eliminating the disasters brought upon the party and the people by the "cultural revolution," and the reorganization led by him was also forced to be discontinued.

In this reorganization that lasted less than a year, the vitality shown on every front had forcefully proved to the people that the reorganization under Comrade Deng Xiaoping's leadership was in accord with the will of the party and the wishes of the people and represented the correct leadership of the party. From their work this year, people recognized Comrade Deng Xiaoping's firm stand of defending Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and the fearless revolutionary spirit of protecting the people. They also recognized his bold talent and great vision in mastering the overall situation, so they gave him even more support and love. The people had high hopes and confidence in the party and state for having such an outstanding leader. In comparison, people further saw through the counterrevolutionary features of the "Gang of Four" and clearly recognized that their set of policies which brought calamity to the country and people was the cause of all disasters, until in April 1976 at Tiananmen Square they shouted "Down with Jiang, Zhang, Wang and Yao!" and "Support Deng Xiaoping!" This was the aspiration of the people, the will of the people. The victory of October was precisely an embodiment of this will.

In this reorganization that lasted less than a year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping had put forward many proposals that were full of foresight and sagacity and had made ideological preparations for the realization of the glorious historical turning point and the enunciation of a series of policies and guiding principles. The 1975 writings in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" have become a part of the ideological achievement of the period of the great historical turning point which plays a significant role in guiding our work.

9586

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IMPROVEMENT IN PARTY WORK STYLE IN HENAN'S YUXIAN COUNTY REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 83 p 1

[Report by Dai Songcheng [2071 2646 2052]: "Rectification of Party Work Style Begins with Leading Cadres--Standing Committee Members of Yuxian County Party Committee Correct Themselves before They Correct Others--Check Unhealthy Tendencies with Confidence and Audacity, Party Work Style Noticeably Improves across the County"]

[Text] Two years since the new cadre leadership was formed in Henan's Yuxian County, the party work style has noticeably improved. The masses say that this is primarily because the standing committee members of the county party committee correct themselves before they correct others, and they correct unhealthy tendencies with confidence and audacity.

Li Zhenbua [2621 2182 5478], the "liquor-mongering secretary" who used his authority to conduct criminal activities, once served as the party committee secretary of Yuxian County. For a time, all kinds of unhealthy tendencies showed more prominently in Yuxian County. Where do we begin to correct the party work style? How do we get a firm grasp of it? The party committee organizations of Yuxian County study the Party Constitution, the "Guiding Principles" and the spirit of the second plenary session of the Disciplinary Commission of the Party Central Committee and understand that party work style can only be corrected if the cadre leadership is tough. Special attention is first paid to the leaders, with one level leading another. The county party committee agreed on a threepoint law: the standing committee of the county party committee must first be able to do what the lower levels are required to do; leading cadres at all levels must first be able to do what party members are required to do; and the party organization at all levels must first be able to do what the whole county is required to do.

Last August the standing committee of the county party committee held three consecutive meetings on democratic life to examine its own unhealthy tendencies. First, two members of the standing committee unlawfully changed the demographic status of five of their children and relatives to non-peasant. Second, two standing committee members used their authority to arrange for two of their relatives to become regular workers and three of them to become temporary workers. Third, six standing committee members (including the

original five members) occupied an extra 280 square meters of living space. Fourth, five standing committee members took an extra 5,000 yuan of collective funds for housing construction, furniture making and cash rewards. Comrades with unhealthy tendencies voluntarily exposed their selfish thoughts, examined them intensely and dealt with them solemnly in accordance with policies. The extra living space that they occupied was returned, The 5,000 yuan or so were completely compensated for and the three temporary workers were dismissed. With the approval of the prefectural party committee, the demographic standings of the five "peasants turned non-peasants" and the two recruited workers were not revoked since they were changed prior to 1978, but an in-depth written investigation was made. In accordance with the demands of the "Guiding Principles," the county party committee countered the crucial issue of using one's authority to make private gains and formulated one series of resolutions after another, including "The Five Provisions for Firmly Correcting Unhealthy Tendencies," "The Resolution on Resolutely Stopping Such Unhealthy Tendencies As Giving Commodities and Products Away As Gifts and Using Public Funds to Entertain Guests" and "The Question Concerning the Education of Children of Cadres."

The county party committee actively carries out open-door rectification of the party work style and consciously accepts supervision by the masses. In the past 2 years the standing committee of the Yuxian County party committee and members of the party organization and government have insisted on holding quarterly life meetings, and the standing committee of the county party committee consciously insists on a dual organizational life, accepting supervision by party members. They have also held annual meetings on rectifying work style by mobilizing party members, cadres and the masses of the whole county to "cure the sickness" of the county party committee. This April the county party committee convened an expanded conference to discuss impure thoughts and compare different tendencies in work style and organization. At this conference of over 300 people, county party committee secretary Comrade Jia Haiwang [6328 3189 2489] named names in disclosing details of the unhealthy work style of the standing committee since the third life meeting of the committee in August, openly showing the "ugliness" for everyone to discuss. Within several days, 256 different views were put forward to the standing committee of the county party committee and members of the county government and party organization. The standing committee of the county party committee and members of the government and party organization held another life meeting to compare their performance with the "Guiding Principles" and examine and understand each principle, actively launching criticism and self-criticism. This matter had a great impact on the whole county and everyone remarked that it was the first time this was done in the internal party life in Yuxian County. Everyone says that in the past it was always the higher level correcting the unhealthy tendencies of the lower level. Now things are made easier because the leaders first perform surgery on themselves. Because the county party committee has taken the lead, all units directly administered by the county and party committees of communes have also convened life meetings on their own initiative to check unhealthy trends.

On the basis of solving the county party committee's problem by itself, the Yuxian County party committee has dared to check several most intense and

most harmful unhealthy tendencies pointed out by the masses, removed some "snag households" and "prominent" characters who could not have been dealt with for a long time in the past, solemnly dealt with 18 party members and cadres one after another who practiced fraud and who engaged in the practice of "turning peasant to non-peasant" and in the unlawful recruitment of workers and ordered that those units and individuals who helped them falsify documents be investigated and publicized throughout the county. Over 300 persons in the county party committee organization conducted an in-depth investigation throughout the county to deal with the problem of unlawful seizure of farmland and the unlawful building of private houses, turning over to the public the real estate rights of 63 households (with 389 houses constructed). The county party committee is confident and unafraid and has inspired the confidence of the cadres and masses in struggling against unhealthy tendencies, thus initiating a new situation for rectifying party work style.

9586

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERVIEW WITH ZHANG YUN ON PARTY CONSOLIDATION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Nov 83 p 5

[Interview with Zhang Yun [4545 5686], member of the Central Advisory Committee, by reporter Li Hai'ou [2621 3189 7743]. Date and place not specified. This article abridged from one originally published in Beijing ZHIBU SHENGHUO [PARTY BRANCH LIFE] No 10, 1983: "A Visit with Zhang Yun on the Eve of Party Consolidation"]

[Text] On the eve of party consolidation, we went to the home of Comrade Zhang Yun. Comrade Zhang Yun is nearly 80, and her hair is completely white, but she has a great spirit, thinks very clearly and has a lively conversational style.

We reported to her: "As we understand it, some comrades do not have enough faith in the coming party consolidation. Do you think that party consolidation can solve problems?"

Zhang Yun sat serenely in her armchair, thought deeply for a while and then said: "It can solve problems."

[Question] "Why?"

[Answer] "This must be said by looking at our party's situation. I believe that a historical viewpoint should be used in assessing the party's condition. From the 3d Plenary Session until now, have there been any changes in the party's organization and working style? Have they been stagnant, slow or rapid? If we start from reality, then it will not be hard to make an appropriate estimate and analysis. One can say that there have already been major improvements in the condition of the party, that the prestige of the party is in the process of being restored and increased. Everyone can see this!"

Comrade Zhang Yun continued: "Of course, there are still problems and a dark side to things, but these can be solved by party consolidation." She told us that in April of this year she went to several units in Beijing, Tianjin and Shandong that were test points for party consolidation. Her overall impression was that our party was like a house with a relatively

secure foundation and frame. Despite its old age and disrepair, the fact that it had been through an earthquake and that it had suffered a lot of damage and had a lot of cracks, it has already been repaired and strengthened in earnest, and where it had undergone systematic education and comparative investigation, the party's style and appearance had a new look. In the party consolidation experiments in the rural areas of Fangshan County in Beijing, where further activities were launched to expand party member-household contract system, weren't the results good? Some formerly very shoddy party members now reflected the masses' statement that they were like two different people before and after party consolidation. Now they were like party members again!

After saying this, a smile of gratification appeared on Comrade Zhang Yun's face. She continued: "From the reactions I heard, some party members in the units with party consolidation experiments were both happy and worried in the beginning and didn't have enough faith. They were happy because most comrades had been full of pent-up anger for some time over the evil practices within the party and were longing for them to be punished, in order to consolidate the party. They were worried because, in the past, as soon as a rectification movement began, rectification turned to chaos, and they were afraid that this would happen again. Of course, some people felt that 'bad old problems die hard' and are difficult to cure. However, as soon as the directions and policies of this party consolidation were made clear, their worries disappeared and the spirit came to them. This shows that party consolidation has immense popular support. The Party Central Committee has called for party consolidation over a 3-year period and has a lot of determination. Very good experiences were gained in all areas where there was a trial consolidation of the party. I was extremely pleased to see the new atmosphere in internal party life in the experimental units. This had been so rare for many years. I feel that there is a great deal of hope for our party. I have the greatest confidence that comprehensive party consolidation is certainly able to do a good job of consolidating the party."

[Question] "There should be ideological preparations for party consolidation. What sort of work ought to be done?"

[Answer] "I feel that, for the great majority of party members, party consolidation is basically a question of education. It is a question of raising awareness, correcting one's understanding, distinguishing right from wrong, overcoming shortcomings and mistakes and restoring a revolutionary spirit. I want to raise just two points here. One is strengthening the sense of party discipline, and the other is fanning the flames of criticism and self-criticism."

[Question] "Why must party discipline be strengthened?"

[Answer] "Our party is organized on the basis of the system of democratic centralism. Full play should be given to democracy within the party, there should be a high degree of centralization on the basis of democracy and we must strengthen our feelings of duty to the organization and our sense of

discipline. Only in this way can there be consistency in all party activities. How can the party have any fighting power if party organizations and party members are lax and undisciplined, if each one does what he thinks is right or does things in his own way? Resolution of this problem requires our attention."

Discussing criticism and self-criticism, Comrade Zhang Yun said: "At present, it is very difficult earnestly to launch criticism and self-criticism within the party. Many comrades are unwilling to criticize themselves and are also unwilling to criticize others, because they are afraid of reprisals if they criticize. Thus, they 'only plant the flowers and not the thorns.' This requires attention and resolution. In the experimental party consolidation in the Beijing No 2 Chemical Plant, a wind of criticism and self-criticism went from top to bottom in internal party life. Some party members said that this time they really felt that they understood what it was like to 'be glad to have someone point out their mistakes.' I seems that mastering and using this weapon is certainly not impossible."

Comrade Zhang Yun also emphatically said: "The 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping' are an important ideological weapon in party consolidation. We must study and comprehend them well." We learned during our talk that Comrade Zhang Yun had already lost her sight in her right eye and that her left eye was very weak. Nevertheless, she still has the staunch willpower to study. Less than 2 months after the publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," she had asked the comrades around her to read more than half of it to her! Apparently pondering the contents of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," she told us: "Comrade Xiaoping is deeply concerned about and works for the party, the government and the people, and he is not the least bit selfish! We can realize from studying the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping' that if the party makes a mistake, it can rely on its own strengths to correct it. Our party has proved itself to be a very good party. Our confidence has a solid foundation."

It was difficult for us to calm down after returning from our visit. Comrade Zhang Yun was an old comrade who had joined the party in 1925. She is from Changsha in Hunan. In 1932, her husband Li Yunsheng [2621 5089 3932], who was secretary of the Nanjing City CPC committee, died a hero's death at Yuhuatai in Nanjing. He and Comrade Zhang Yun were both only 27 at the time. Having lost a comrade-in-arms and a loved one, Comrade Zhang Yun resolutely continued to struggle for the cause of the party. For decades, she took part in the women's movement and has been a party secretary of a county committee, a central county committee, a prefectural committee and a district (similar to a province) committee. She has many years of experience in a broad range of work. In the past several years, Comrade Zhang Yun paid no attention to her age and continued to concern herself with the cause of party construction. In the organizational departments of the Central Committee, she has implemented the party's policies on cadres, has corrected important injustices and misjudged cases and has taken a clear stand. In the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, she has done education on party character, style and discipline and has achieved outstanding results. Although she has now retired to the second line, she still is deeply involved in investigation and researching party consolidation experiments for the Central Advisory Committee.

12539

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY MEMBERS URGED TO CHECK UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Zhen Xing [2182 5281]: "Who Remakes Whom?"]

[Text] Do unhealthy tendencies remake Communist Party members or do Communist Party members remake unhealthy tendencies? This is a question every Communist Party member should solemnly answer.

Our party shoulders the glorious historical mission of remaking man and society. As Communists, we should become reformers who constantly strive to become stronger, who are undaunted by repeated setbacks and are fearless and who fight bravely all our life. In other words, not only should we arm ourselves with communist ideology and remake ourselves but should use communist ideology to remake the whole of mankind. We judge whether a Communist Party member is strong in party character and has his sense of responsibility to the party by seeing whether he uses the party's ideology, fine traditions and work style to influence and remake social practices, or whether he allows unhealthy tendencies in the party and society to remake himself.

No doubt, given the unhealthy practices in society that prevail for the moment, Communist Party members are surrounded by all types of unhealthy tendencies and evil practices, which include the pernicious influence of the feudal mentality, the corrosion by decadent bourgeois ideology, the advances of traditional thinking and of various backward forces and so on. Some Communist Party members who are weak in will are truly in danger of being remade. In fact, there are not just a few Communist Party members who have been "remade" in real life. Nevertheless they are a minority, whereas more and more party members dare to go against the muddy current. At all times, a qualified Communist Party member should be a staunch fighter who is "strong in vigor despite all hardships and difficulties" and should be a reformer of all unhealthy tendencies.

Comrade Zhu Boru [2612 0130 0320] put it well: we should not merely "have viewpoints but no solutions" for current unhealthy practices in society, nor should we drift with the current and stay indifferent. Moreover, we cannot go along with those who do evil deeds, "doing likewise" instead of "frowning upon it." We should start with each one of ourselves and not to engage in crooked ways and dishonest practices but dare to go against unhealthy tendencies and evil practices. It is hoped that we will all become victors in remaking society.

9586

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

VIEWS OF PARTY MEMBERS AND CADRES ON PARTY CONSOLIDATION REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Report: "Party Consolidation Reflects the Demands of the Whole Party and the Wishes of the People; Party Members and Cadres across the Country Study the Decision on Party Consolidation in Earnest, Have Full Confidence in Party Consolidation"]

[Text] The "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation" has received the enthusiastic support of the whole party and the people of the whole country after it had been announced. At present, comrades of the whole party are earnestly studying this document and making ideological preparations for launching full-scale party consolidation. Xinhua News Agency reporters have recently visited some party members and cadres across the country, who talked about their reflections from their own study and about their views and have shown full confidence in a successful party consolidation.

Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth from Facts

Li Znochang [2621 0146 7022], vice principle of the CPC Shanghai Municipal Party School said:

"The 'Resolution of the CPC Party Central Committee on Party Consolidation' reiterates the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts. The 'Resolution' puts in the forefront the idea that the task of the present party consolidation is to unify ideology, rectify work style, strengthen discipline and purify the organization. This is put forward entirely in accordance with the actual conditions of the party. Concerning the policies, guiding principles and methods of party consolidation, the 'Resolution' also embodies the spirit of seeking truth from facts."

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has followed the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and has boldly and resolutely brought order out of chaos. Proceeding from realities in China, it has formulated a series of policies and guiding principles and created a great deal of experience that is characteristic of China, winning the excellent situation of today. In order to better advance toward the four modernizations now, the Party Central Committee had decided to carry out a systematic, full-scale party consolidation in the whole of China over 3-year period, reflecting the demand of the whole party and the wish of the whole people. Only if we earnestly and solemnly integrate with reality and

implement the "Resolution," I believe that we can overcome the dark side within the party and correct the mistakes within the party so that the party work style will basically improve and so that our party will become a strong leading nucleus in the four modernizations undertaking.

#### Basic Safeguard of the Realization of the Four Modernizations Program

Su Tingke [5685 1694 4430], plant manager of Shenyang's advanced enterprise and the Shenyang Electric Cable Plant, said:

"The CPC is the central force that leads China in its modern socialist construction. By doing a good job in party consolidation, the four modernizations program will be basically safeguarded."

The Shenyang Electric Cable Plant is a backbone state enterprise with over 6,000 staff workers. Currently the plant has a total of 1,200-odd party members, many of whom are responsible for leadership at all levels and are the backbone of the enterprise's production, management and technology. However, although some party members have entered the party organization, they have not been able to play the role of Communist Party members. Judging from the development and changes of the electric cable plant in the last few years, there is progress in all tasks and development in production in units where party members, particularly party members and cadres, can play an exemplary and leading role and where party organization forms a strong leading nucleus; work lags behind in units where the party organization is lax and flabby and where there are problems in the ideology and work style of party member cadres. Now that the Party Central Committee has decided to carry out a full-scale party consolidation in a 3-year period and earnestly solve the problems of impure ideology, work style and organization in the contingents of party members, it will inevitably provide the broad masses of party members a reeducation in Marxism, and the political quality of the contingents of party members will be increased. When the political quality of party members increases, it will enhance the quality of the workers contingent and the whole enterprise. In this way, we can certainly realize the goal of quadrupling the total annual industrial and agricultural input value by the end of the 20th century, as put forward by the 12th Party Congress.

#### The "Three Types of People" Must be Removed

Liu Yongzu [0491 3057 2485], deputy secretary of the party committee and bureau chief of the Tianjin Aquatic Products Bureau, said:

"By integrating with the realities before and after our bureau's reorganization of the leadership group and by studying the 'Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation,' we further enhance our understanding of the necessity and urgency of party consolidation. In particular, we see more clearly the profound significance of completely removing the 'three types of people.'"

The leadership group of the Tianjin Aquatic Products Bureau was at first critically impure. Its chief leaders built themselves up by means of revolting during the "cultural revolution." They openly opposed the lines of the

3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, pleaded innocence for those people who stepped down during the "uncovering, criticizing and investigating," and transferred these people back to take up the duties of leadership once again. In fishery production, they resisted the instructions of the State Council and the requests of Tianjin that the Aquatic Products Bureau to catch more fish and supply more aquatic products for the city residents, made every attempt to reduce the number of fishing boats and the volume of catch, adhered to the incorrect viewpoint that "catching fish is not as good as buying fish" and "buying fish is not as good as having the central government transfer fish from elsewhere" and even openly urged the staff workers to disband and get it over with. Under their control, the ideology of the staff workers of the Aquatic Products Bureau was confused, and the rate of fishing boats putting out to sea was only 30 percent.

Early last year the Tianjin CPC party committee and the municipal people's government reorganized the leadership group of this bureau and appointed as leaders a group of cadres who resolved to maintain political consistency with the Party Central Committee. As a result, the situation of popular laxity and lagged production was quickly turned around.

Pick up the Weapon of Criticism and Self-criticism

Ma Feng [7456 3536], chairman of the Shanxi Federation of Literary and Art Circles and secretary of the leading party group, said:

"that party consolidation of the literary and art circles should stress the question of serving the people and should enable party members who are writers to understand that they are party members first and writers second. In their works, party members must be responsible to the people and must have a strong sense of responsibility."

Since the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation" was announced, some people believe that our literary and art circles are unmixed places which do not hold any authority or manage anything so that there be nothing to consolidate. I feel that this is a one-sided understanding. Party consolidation of literary and art circles is of no small significance. To be sure, a number of achievements have been made in literary and art circles in the last few years, but there are quite a few problems too. The most prominent of these is that some writers and artists who are party members have forgotten that they are party members and have divorced themselves from the party leadership and the great party goal. Some have even gone along with corrosive bourgeois ideology and written some base and vulgar stuff. They do not serve the people but struggle for the money. In the last few years unhealthy tendencies in literary and art criticism and in award activities have been quite serious, with varying degrees of vote-canvassing, deception, vulgar flattery, extravagance and waste. The most basic task of socialist literature and art is to educate the masses. Good works of literature and art can inspire and educate people while unhealthy works will corrode the soul. Therefore, writers and artists must have a sense of social responsibility. How can we carry out the ideological education of writers and artists who are party members if we allow these kinds of ideology to spread unchecked? We should pick up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism.

Our country is in the midst of a period of great reform and development. If writers do not become involved with life, do not observe new problems intimately and do not master the pulse of ideology among the masses of people, they will surely be unable to produce works that reflect real life and are welcome by the masses. Through the present party consolidation we must enable writers and artists who are party members to define literary and art ideology and their own responsibility further and offer even better spiritual sustenance to the people.

9586

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### KUOMINTANG REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE CONSTITUTION

OW040330 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1300 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 30 December (XINHUA)--The Constitution of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang (adopted by the Sixth National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang on 27 December 1983).

#### General Program

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang is a democratic party of the patriotic United Front under the leadership of the Communist Party of China; it is a component unit of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; it is a political alliance of some socialist working people and patriots who support socialism and with whom it has contacts; it is a political party serving socialism.

In the 1911 Revolution under Dr Sun Yat-sen's leadership, a feudal monarchy was overthrown and a republic was founded. Our historical mission of opposing imperialism and feudalism, however, was not accomplished then. With the Chinese Communists' assistance, Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1924 promulated three major policies: allying with the Soviet Union, allying with the communists, and assisting the peasants and the workers; developed the old Three Principles of the People into the new Three Principles of the People; reorganized the Chinese Kuomintang [KMT]; achieved the first KMT-CPC cooperation; and promoted the national and democratic movement in China. After Dr Sun Yat-sen passed away, the democratic faction and other patriotic democrats in the Kuomintang inherited his patriotism and revolutionary spirit of constant progress, gradually developed and amalgamated in the course of the Chinese people's democratic revolution and organized the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang. Under the guidance of the United Front policy of the Communist Party of China, this party contributed to the overthrow of the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-captialism and to the founding of the People's Republic of China. During the period of socialist transformation this party, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, played a positive role in the struggle to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, promote socialism and oppose internal and external enemies, and was tempered and tested in the struggle. In the days to come, this party will continue its long and firm cooperation with the Communist Party of China and advance along with it.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang supports the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, it upholds the socialist system and the people's democratic dictatorship, abides by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China as the basic norm for all its activities, and implements the Constitution of the Chinese People's Consultative Conference.

China has entered a new period in which its central task is socialist modernization. The general task in the new period is to work hard on the basis of self-reliance to modernize industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology on a step-by-step basis to turn China into a socialist country with a high level of culture and democracy. In the 1980's, the Chinese people's three major tasks are to step up the socialist modernization, to strive for the reunification of the motherland with Taiwan, and to oppose hegemony and defend world peace. The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang will continue to join the people throughout the country in striving to accomplish the general task of the new period and the three major tasks of the 1980's, quadruple the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production by the end of the century, achieve the great solidarity and the great unity of the Chinese Nation, and revitalize China.

Following the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe" pursued by the Communist Party of China in dealing with various democratic parties, this party will actively participate in the political life of the state, defend the political situation of stability and unity, develop socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system, hold political consultations on important national policies and on important questions concerning the people's well-being, and play a democratic supervisory role in the course of making suggestions and criticism. This party will work independently within the limits of its rights and duties as prescribed by the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

The central task of this party is to serve the socialist modernization. It will bring into full play the socialist initiative and creativeness of all its members and the personalities with whom it has contacts to contribute to promoting the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and to the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The emphasis of this party's work is on promoting the reunification of the motherland. It will propagate and implement the Chinese Communist Party's policies of returning Taiwan to the embrace of the motherland--to achieving a peaceful reunification. It will step up contacts with the Kuomintang military and political personnel and their relatives in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, and foreign countries and unite with the patriots who support the reunification of the motherland to strive to reunify the motherland.

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang will recruit new members primarily from among former Kuomintang personnel and from among the personalities of the middle and upper strata who have had relations with the Kuomintang

in the past. It will pay attention to recruiting representative middle-aged persons; it will establish its organizations primarily in large and medium-sized cities. Adhering to a principle of integrating consolidation with development it will develop itself in the course of its work, and it will develop itself to facilitate its work.

This party will urge and help its members and the persons with whom it has contacts to diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, raise their patriotism and socialist consciousness, and remold their subjective world while changing the objective world.

The organizations of this party at all levels should adhere to democratic centralism, exercise collective leadership, practice a division of labor with individual responsibility, display democracy, strengthen unity, persistently seek truth from facts, uphold a mass line, constantly reform themselves, have the courage to blaze new trails, and strive to create a new situation in the work of this party.

#### Chapter I: Membership

Article 1. Any citizen of the People's Republic of China who accepts this party's constitution and meets the requirements of its membership will become a member of this party after completing the induction formalities.

#### Article 2. The Duties of the Party Members

1. To uphold the four basic principles, abide by the constitution and other laws of the People's Republic of China, implement the line, principles and policies of the Communist Party of China and guard state secrets;
2. to contribute actively to building a high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and to reunifying the motherland with Taiwan;
3. to observe the constitution of this party, implement its resolutions, pay membership dues, fulfill actively any task assigned by the party, take part in party activities, and conduct criticism and self-criticism;
4. to study hard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, study the line, principles and policies of the Communist Party of China, and learn scientific, technological and general knowledge to enhance ideological and political understanding and improve the ability of serving the motherland.

#### Article 3. The Rights of the Party Members

1. To participate in pertinent meetings and activities of this party and make suggestions regarding its work;
2. to vote, elect and stand for election;
3. to criticize any organization or member of this party;

4. in case of disagreement with a party decision, to make reservations and present their views to the party's leading organ, provided that they carry out the decision before it is changed;

5. to exercise the right of self-defense at meetings held by the party organizations to decide on disciplinary measures to be taken against them; in case of disagreement with the decision, to demand a reconsideration or to appeal to higher level party organizations.

Article 4. An applicant for party membership must be recommended by two members of this party and file an application form according to prescribed procedures. The application must be accepted by a general membership meeting of the party branch concerned, approved by the next higher party organization and then be submitted through proper channels to the Central Committee for the record.

The Central Committee and the provincial, autonomous regional and municipal party committees may recruit new party members directly if they deem it necessary to do so.

Article 5. If a party member wants to withdraw from the party he should formally file a withdrawal request with the party organization to which he belongs. The party branch concerned shall approve his request at a general membership meeting, report the matter to the next higher party organization to have his name removed from the party rolls, and also report it through proper channels to the Central Committee for the record.

Article 6. When a party member is moving from one place to another, he must go through the procedures for the transfer of organizational affiliation.

Article 7. The party organizations at all levels should properly reward and commend the party members if they display good performance in their work.

Article 8. Party members that violate the PRC Constitution, the state laws and policies, or the constitution and discipline of this party should be given warnings or serious warnings, suspended or removed from party posts, placed on probation within the party, or expelled from the party according to the seriousness of their acts. The period of probation within the party should not exceed 2 years.

Article 9. In general, disciplinary measures against party members should be discussed in grassroots units and reported to the higher organizations for approval. Expulsion from the party should be approved by the organizations of the provinces, autonomous regions, or municipalities concerned. All disciplinary measures against party members should be reported to the Central Committee for the record.

Disciplinary measures against members of local committees at various levels and against advisers to organizations of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities, and cities with districts should be decided upon by the committees at the same level and reported to the Central Committee for approval.

Disciplinary measures against members and alternate members of the Central Committee, advisers at the central level, and members of the Solidarity Committee should be decided upon by the Central Committee.

## Chapter II: Organizational System

Article 10. The principle of organization of this party's democratic centralism.

1. Individuals are subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower organizations are subordinate to the higher organizations, and all local organizations are subordinate to the Central Committee;

2. leading bodies at all levels are elected;

3. committees at all levels are responsible to and report their work to the congresses or general membership meetings at the same level and the organizations at the next higher level;

4. organizations at all levels implement the principle of collective leadership combined with individual responsibilities based on division of labor.

Article 11. The party's supreme leading body is the National Congress and, when it is not in session, the Central Committee.

The leading body of a local organization is the congress or the general membership meeting at the same level. When the congress or the general membership meeting is not in session, it is the committee elected by the congress or the general membership meeting

Article 12. When necessary, the Central Committee may call representative meetings to discuss and decide on major questions that should be solved promptly. The number of representatives at such meetings and the method for selecting the representatives should be determined by the Central Committee or its Standing Committee.

When necessary, the committees of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities may call representative meetings to discuss and decide on major questions that should be solve promptly. The number of representatives to such meetings and the method for selecting the representatives should be determined by the committees calling the representative meetings.

## Chapter III: Central Organizations

Article 13. The National Congress of the party is held once every 5 years and convened by the Central Committee. It may be held before the due date or postponed if the Central Committee deems it necessary to do so. The number of delegates to the National Congress and the procedure governing their election should be determined by the Central Committee or its Standing Committee.

Article 14. The functions and powers of the National Congress are as follows:

1. To examine and discuss the reports of the Central Committee;
2. to discuss and decide on the principles, tasks, and other major questions of the party;
3. to revise the constitution of the party;
4. to elect the Central Committee.

Article 15. The Central Committee is elected for a term of 5 years. However, when the next National Congress is convened before or after its due date, the term should be shortened or extended correspondingly. The number of members and alternate members of the Central Committee should be determined by the National Congress.

When the National Congress is not in session, the Central Committee carries out the decisions of the National Congress, directs the work of the whole party, and represents the party in its external relations.

The Central Committee meets in plenary sessions once a year, and such sessions are convened by its Standing Committee. If necessary, they may be held before or after the due date.

Article 16. The functions and powers of the plenary meeting of the Central Committee are as follows:

1. To examine and approve reports of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee;
2. to discuss and decide on important matters concerning the party;
3. to elect the chairman, vice chairmen and standing committee members of the Central Committee;
4. to elect the chairman, vice chairmen, and members of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee;
5. to choose the secretary general, directors of departments, and chairmen of various committees of the Central Committee;
6. to choose advisers to the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and advisers to the Central Committee.

Article 17. The Standing Committee of the Central Committee is composed of the chairman and vice chairmen of the Central Committee and members of the Standing Committee and directs the work of the whole party when the plenary meeting of the Central Committee is not in session.

The Standing Committee of the Central Committee meets once every 3 months, and such meetings are convened by the chairman of the Central Committee and may be held before or after the due date if necessary.

Article 18. The Executive Bureau of the Central Committee is composed of a chairman, vice chairmen, and members. It presides over the day-to-day leading work of the Central Committee under the leadership of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.

Article 19. Under the leadership of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee, the secretary general of the Central Committee presides over the day-to-day work of the central organs, organizes the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee and links, coordinates and expedites the work of various departments of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee has a number of deputy secretaries general to assist the secretary general in his work. The choice of deputy secretaries general is decided by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.

Article 20. The Central Committee establishes the necessary working departments. The choice of deputy directors and vice chairmen of the various departments is decided by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.

Article 21. Both the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and the Central Committee may have advisers.

Article 22. The Central Committee establishes a Unity Committee. The Unity Committee has a chairman, vice chairmen, and members. The choice of vice chairmen and members of the Unity Committee is decided by the Standing Committee of the Central Committee.

#### Chapter IV: Local Organizations

Article 23. Party congresses or general membership meetings of provinces, autonomous regions, municipalities directly under the central government or cities divided into districts are held once every 5 years. A party congress or general membership meeting of a city (county and municipal district) is held once every 3 years. All are convened by the party committees at the corresponding levels. When necessary, they may be held before or after their due dates upon approval by the next higher party organizations.

The number of delegates to the local party congresses and the procedure governing their election are determined by the party committees at the corresponding levels.

The functions and powers of local party congresses at various levels are as follows:

1. To examine and approve reports of party committees at the corresponding levels.

2. to discuss and decide on important matters concerning the party committees at the corresponding levels;

3. to elect the party committees at the corresponding levels.

Article 24. Local committees at various levels shall each elect a chairman and several vice chairmen.

The provincial, autonomous regional, and municipal committees and the committees of cities with districts under them may, according to the needs of their work, each elect a Standing Committee consisting of a number of Standing Committee members and a secretary general.

The results of the elections of chairman, vice chairmen, Standing Committee members, and secretary general should be reported to higher level organizations for the record.

Article 25. Local committees at various levels may set up working departments according to the needs of their work.

The provincial, autonomous regional, and municipal committees and the committees of cities with districts under them may have advisers, if necessary. The choice of the advisers is decided by the committees at the corresponding levels.

Article 26. The regulations governing the organization of local committees at various levels shall be formulated by the Central Committee separately.

#### Chapter V: Primary Organizations

Article 27. Party branches are the primary organizations of this party. A basic unit where there are five or more party members may form a party branch with the approval of higher level organizations. A basic unit where there are three or four party members may form a cell, or have the party members join another party branch in a nearby area, or join a party branch of a similar profession.

Article 28. The committee of a party branch is elected by a general membership meeting every other year. If necessary, the election may be held earlier or later with the approval of higher level organizations. The number of committee members is decided by the next higher level organization.

A party branch committee shall elect a chairman and, if necessary, vice chairmen.

Article 29. The main tasks of the primary organizations of this party are:

1. To propagate and implement the principles and policies of the Communist Party of China and the government; to convey to the party members and implement the resolutions of higher level organizations and the tasks assigned by them; to maintain close contacts with the masses, report on their situation, and put forward opinions and make suggestions to higher level organizations;



2. to bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the party members and the persons with whom the primary organizations maintain contacts, encourage them to make more contributions to socialist modernization and to the reunification of the motherland; and to discover talented persons, commend advanced persons, and popularize advanced experience;

3. to urge and organize the party members to study and constantly raise their ideological and political understanding and their ability to serve the socialist cause;

4. to enforce party discipline and conduct criticism and self-criticism;

5. to reflect the party members' opinions and demands;

6. to recruit new party members, collect membership dues, and discuss rewards for or punishment of party members.

#### Chapter VI: Supplementary Article

Article 30. The power to revise this constitution belongs to the National Congress; the power to interpret it rests with the Central Committee.

CSO: 4000/160

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR CONDEMNS CAPITALIST HUMANISM, 'SOCIALIST ALIENATION'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 83 p 3

[Article: "Associate Professor Jin Huiming of the Chinese People's University Says That the Policy to Eliminate Spritual Pollution Is Especially Timely and Points Out That at Present, the Major Manifestation of Spiritual Pollution in the Theoretical Sphere Is Bourgeois Humanism and So-called 'Socialist Alientation'"]

[Text] Associate Professor Jin Huiming [7246 8748 2494], deputy director of the Research Institute on the History of the Development of Marxism-Leninism at the Chinese People's University, said during an interview with a Xinhua News Agency reporter that the party Central Committee's policy on eliminating spiritual pollution is particularly timely and necessary. He said that spiritual pollution in the area of theory is at present mainly expressed in the advocacy of bourgeois humanism and the so-called theory of "socialist alienation," and that theoretical workers in the party should uphold the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to struggle against spiritual pollution.

Jin Huiming, who is 84 years old this year, is one of China's theoretical workers taking part in research on early Marxist ideology. In the past few years, some people in the theoretical field have written articles advocating the incorrect viewpoints of the bourgeoisie toward the value of man, humanism, and so-called "alientation." Jin Huiming has written several papers which are diametrically opposed to this trend and has taken a clear stand in propagandizing the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the Four Basic Principles.

Jin Huiming told the reporter that in the past few decades, so-called Marxists" in the West have asserted that Marxism must be "humanized," that the concepts of humanism and "alienation" should be used to "reinterpret" Marxism and change the "standard notion" of Marxism. This ideological current began in Germany in the 1930's and became a "high tide" in the West after World War II and in the 1950's. In the past few years, some people in the theoretical field in China have been influenced by it and have advocated this Western bourgeois "Marxist" viewpoint. They have become detached from the people's relations in society and the development of the forces of production by abstractly discussing the nature of man, the value of man, "everything for man" and other bourgeois humanistic viewpoints and are

attempting to turn Marxism into humanism. He said that, as everyone knows, Marxism and humanism are two opposite ideological systems. Bourgeois humanism's "one for all" principle has bestowed upon this type of theory a universal form which in essence is the advocacy of bourgeois individualism. Marxism has a most serious and scientific theoretical structure. By exposing the laws of historical development, it points out the way for the proletariat and the broad masses of working people to throw off all oppression and achieve personal liberation. If one wishes to discuss humanism, then Marxism can speak of humanism, but this is definitely not bourgeois humanism. It is, instead, socialist humanism. This type of humanism works for the well-being of the great majority of people and guarantees the rights of the overwhelming majority.

When speaking about certain people who had written articles criticizing Marxism for not paying attention to man, Jin Huiming said that this criticism does not fit the facts. Marxist historical materialism treats the popular masses as the creators of history and the principal subjects of history. This is the greatest affirmation of man. This, however, is not man in the abstract, but is real man, living in a collectivity and unable to leave the collectivity for a moment. Jin Huiming feels that there are some people who say that socialism is completely "alienated" and that the source of this "alienation" lies in the socialist system itself. This type of viewpoint runs counter to Marxism.

When discussing socialism, Marx discussed only the existing "vestiges" and never used the concept of "alienation". He only used alienation in criticizing capitalism and in explaining the exploitation of labor by capital and the historically temporary nature of capitalist forms of production. The alienation which reflects this special historical phenomenon is merely a historical category. Using this category in terms of socialism is extremely incorrect and can only cause people to doubt and deny the socialist system.

Jin Huiming said that we must uphold Marxism and criticize the bourgeois viewpoint on the question of "alienation" and "humanism" and must fully recognize its dangerous nature. The results will be serious if it is allowed to spread unchecked. What deserves special attention is that many young people have taken this thing, which has already been repudiated by Marx's criticisms, and are accepting it as a "new theory". Resisting this type of spiritual pollution, therefore, is a major question of principle. Party theoreticians must certainly take the forefront in the struggle to prevent and eliminate spiritual pollution and make strong contributions to the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization.

12539  
CSO: 4005/176

ELIMINATION OF SPIRITUAL POLLUTION FROM WORKS OF SCIENCE FICTION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Shi Tong [2457 0681]

[Text] Science represents reason and seriousness and is authoritative in the minds of people, while fantasy often links people with their longings for a beautiful future. Science combined with fantasy has an even more obviously pure and simple enchantment. Like explorations of the moon, journeys to the bottom of the sea or other such fantasies germinated in the soil of science, history has proved that they are capable of creating real wealth for mankind. This type of scientific fantasy is of course welcome by the people.

Outstanding science fiction novels are really capable of "using their ability as stories to fascinate people" and to "cause them to believe unconsciously, gain knowledge, destroy inherited superstitions, improve ideas and supplement civilization" (Lu Xun). Thus, they have their value. China's writers abide by the spirit proposed by Lu Xun and have written useful works of this kind. Especially in the past few years following the smashing of the "Gang of Four", the popularization of science has entered an unprecedented phase of flourishing, with no lack of outstanding science fiction stories. However, one cannot look with piety on a group of non-scientific or even anti-scientific, absurd and vulgar detective novels, ghost and monster stories, pornographic novels and even certain novels which concern social and political questions, all of them claiming to be "science fiction" and circulating through society. Moreover, they have created scientific and spiritual pollution and have ruined the name of science fiction. For this reason, they cannot but attract the attention of all people who uphold the popularization of science, who believe in Marxism and who like science fiction novels.

Some "science fiction novels" often make bizarre plots by depicting violent behavior and conspiratorial activities as their main contents. Here, advanced science and technology do not bring happiness to mankind but instead made theft, robbery, kidnapping, murder and other criminal acts even more rampant and cruel. Here are some examples:

"Mysterious clothing" which can change colors and become invisible and enable robbers to climb over walls and "give full play to their abilities";

Removing a man's brain and transplanting it into an ape to make a "monster thief" that is superior to normal people as part of a plot by a scientist to form a criminal band; and "Mad scientists" who make many destructive weapons at the bottom of the ocean, under the earth, on a remote mountain or on a deserted island and become enemies of mankind.

There are also these types of "science fiction" which have appeared: those with the unexpected appearance of supernatural beings, most with unstoppable powers. In some science fiction novels, there are superhuman and supernatural "extraterrestrials" who assume the position of gods. Man's social consciousness is no longer determined by his existence in society, but instead can be obtained, imported, remotely controlled and reproduced by technological methods. A person "imports the consciousness of a spy" and becomes a spy; by using certain devices to control the mind of a person, he manipulates the person into doing spy activities. Furthermore, asexual reproductive methods are used to "reproduce geniuses" or "reproduce bullies." Genius can also be created by taking medicines or injections; knowledge and abilities can be made into pills or injections, "one pill is the same as higher mathematics, one shot is the same as a foreign language, one pill is theoretical physics!...." They can make one understand specialized knowledge in a wink, and a 7-year-old child can reach the level of an academician!

We must not flippantly dismiss this type of "science fiction" as idiotic nonsense. It has an extremely bad influence on large numbers of young readers. Going against science and advocating idealism and feudal superstitions can only confuse the people's thinking. What deserves special attention is that a very small number of science fiction novels have already exceeded the category of discussing "science" and are displaying bad political deviations.

The appearance of this sort of thing is unfaithful both to science and to life and furthermore abandons the ideals of communism. Some "science fiction novels" even slander the reality of socialism. This is not independent of but instead is the result of the corrosive influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and the remnants of feudal ideology. It is a product of the combination of bourgeois liberalism and complete commercialization without consideration of the social results.

This question is serious in that when these incorrect trends were discovered and only slightly criticized, some people resisted and others shielded them. They censured legitimate criticism as "use of the big stick," as "a legacy of large-scale criticism," as "a failure to implement the direction of the hundred flowers," as a "manifestation of leftism" and so on. The charges piled up and the critics were besieged from all sides.

The policy formulated in the 2d Plenum of the 12th CPC Congress to eliminate spiritual pollution is completely suited to the actual situation of the creative art of science fiction in China and reflects a fond wish of the broad numbers of science fiction writers, critics and fans.

Science fiction has the special quality of combining science and literature. Some authors are failing to give full play to the best points of both by seriously conforming to the demands of both aspects. Just the opposite, if I rely on science to escape literary criticism or if I rely on literature to ward off scientific investigation, then the problem will become a zone of the "three whatevers?" and no one will deal with it. This is one of the major reasons for the difficulty in correcting certain erroneous tendencies.

We believe that under the Party's leadership, after eliminating the counterfeit goods which falsely borrow the name of science fiction for the purpose of creating spiritual pollution, then truly fine works of science fiction will have excellent conditions for a luxuriant and sturdy growth.

12539

CSO: 4005/176

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WRITTEN POLEMICS OVER THE MOVIE 'WHEN MEN REACH MIDDLE AGE'

Beijing WENYIBAO in Chinese No 4, 7 Apr 83 pp 14-16

[Article by Hu Chengqi [5170 2110 0251]: "The Charm of Realism in the Movie 'When Men Reach Middle Age'"]

[Text] On the screen, the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has set off repercussions in the audience which are absolutely no less than the impact the novel had experienced in those years. This is a heartening fact. It is thus clear that works which are based on actual life and really reflect the aspirations of the masses have vitality.

As its original novel did, the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has brought us into the life of Lu Wenting [7120 2429 1250], a middle-aged woman doctor. The scene of the movie has from beginning to end focused on the not too roomy world of hers: the ward, the household, the child care center, the food market and the way she takes to go to work everyday.... This is exactly like the lives of thousands upon thousands of average Chinese. It is in such a pedestrian world that a touching image which moves people to tears has to be created to bring tens of thousands in the audience into deep reflection. So far as the writers of the story of this movie are concerned, it is undoubtedly a difficult problem. Moreover, the original novel was a great sensation in the past, and until today it remains fresh in people's memory. Most readers themselves have already had a delineation of the image of the character Lu Wenting. Now, since the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is the same as its original novel, it does not have a very complicated or fantastic plot, nor is there a scene which is deliberately mystifying. And even the spoken language of the characters in the movie is different from the clangorous proud words. Yet, its simple and unadorned style has a very strong artistic appeal for us. From the movie, the audience can catch sight of the lives and characters they are familiar with, hear the language they have an intimate knowledge of and feel the rhythm they are accustomed to. As a result, a strong sympathy has been aroused among them toward the destiny of the character of Lu Wenting. It should be put this way, that both the movie and the novel are imbued with the same romantic charm which has won an unanimous praise among the audience: "If all our doctors were the same as Lu Wenting, what a great piece of luck!"

The art of a movie by its very nature demands that its story must be written in a lifelike way--to reflect the truth to the maximum. The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has achieved a gratifying success exactly on this point. It has raised a popular question in China today: the contradiction between the important contributions made by middle-aged intellectuals and the unsuitable remuneration they received. This contradiction holds up the pace of the progress of the four modernizations and has an important bearing on the future of the Chinese nation. Through one frame after another, we can see: whether it is Lu Wenting or Fu Jiajie [0265 1367 2638] (or other middle-aged intellectuals as mentioned by Liu Xueyao [0491 1331 1031] in his comments), they all are the "core members" or "pillars" in hospitals, research institutes, plants or schools. Operations and dissertations, one after another, are waiting for them to accomplish. At home, they have to take care of their daily lives and bring up their children (including taking care of the daily necessities of clothing, eating, housing and transportation). They work, study and look after everything (how they wish they could turn 8 hours into 16). This "overburdened workload" has always made "their abilities fall short of their wishes" and thereby results in a situation like "metal fatigue". The tragedy of Lu Wenting (she fell down at the entrance of her home owing to myocardial impaction after having undergone three operations) is an exact symbol of this contradiction.

A realistic movie must first have an undisputable truth. It must truly reveal the contradictions in society and truly present before the audience once again phenomena of one kind or another as they exist in the actual life which are worth our deep reflection. It must not evade contradictions or present a false picture of life. Although the living conditions that "When Men Reach Middle Age" presents were those of 3 years ago and since then gratifying changes in living and working conditions as well as in the political status of the middle-aged intellectuals in our country have taken place, the issues raised by the movie remain acute to this day. Therefore, this movie still has a present-day significance in pointing out the errors of the times and offering salutary advice. We can see that this movie boldly and correctly reflects and appraises life. In this movie, it does not cover up even the dark side of life itself. This artistic courage is exactly the realistic attitude.

The first impression Lu Wenting, the "resident doctor for 18 consecutive years," gives to the audience is: "The syringe needle at the end of the rubber tube is inserted into her wrist on which there are blue veins; her face looks wan and sallow; an oxygen tube is connected to her nose; and she looks up a little bit...." This is the Lu Wenting lying on a bed in a hospital. It is followed by her off-screen voice: "Am I in a perplexed dream or on the threshold of death?" Yes, the audience also wants to ask: why is she? Why is she lying on a hospital bed? Following the reminiscences of Sun Yimin [1327 6654 3046], the physician in charge of the Ophthalmic Department, people gradually get to know Lu Wenting's past and present, her family, husband and children, her work, study and life. The audience come nearer and nearer to Lu Wenting step by step. Through the creation of the image of Lu Wenting, "When Men Reach Middle Age" has realistically and vividly expressed the fine soul of the middle-aged intellectuals. She has made a



very deep and fine impression on us. And all these do not come from the words of others or the vindications of herself. (On this point, the performance of Comrade Pan Hung [3382 5725] has already won universal praise. The successes of other performers have also enriched the portrayal of Lu Wenting's image). This skill of creative work which merges both image and ideology into an organic whole (when ideology does not overshadow image) is the key to the success of "When Men Reach Middle Age."

The reason why the character of Lu Wenting can leave a deep impression on the memories of the audience lies in the fact that the writers proceed, from beginning to end, from actual life and the details of life to reveal the inner world of the character. To compare this work with those writers and directors who deviate from actual life and are in quest of fantastic plots, the writers of "When Men Reach Middle Age" are of course much better!

The scene of "eating sesame seed cake" can well explain the issue. The sesame seed cake in the minds of the audience is a very popular food. However, in "When Men Reach Middle Age," when Lu Wenting has a bite of the cake or takes a sip of tea, actions as common as that make many in the audience cry. Looking at that sesame seed cake and that cup, people themselves also feel as if they had the salty taste of tears. Yes, various recollections--from the time when Yuan Yuan [0955 0955] paints her sneakers with a piece of chalk until Lu Wenting is terribly upset and shouts "You're pressuring me! All you know is pressure!" and from the time when Yuan Yuan goes out to buy sesame seed cakes until Lu Wenting brings with her a cup of tea--make people think that Lu Wenting, living in this world, is full of difficulties and worries. But she has tenaciously overcome them and courageously endured the heavy burden of work and life. Her lofty spirit and staunch character have thus been fully reflected.

Yes, the frames presented "When Men Reach Middle Age" may from time to time make people feel sad: Two intellectuals who graduated from college nearly 20 years ago are packed into such a small room with their two children. Because of work, they are even unable to find time to visit Beihai Park, nor can they satisfy the usual requests of their children (such as tying up a plait or buying a pair of sneakers). And there are T-shirts full of holes as well as numerous baskets of honeycomb briquets which require a great effort to move.... This obvious reality of life may set off associative ideas of one kind or another in the audience. Yet this is indeed the reality of China which no one can deny.

However, under such living conditions and with people like Lu Wenting and Fu Jiajie who work diligently and conscientiously, although they may have complaints, they still serve the needs of the country and make unremitting efforts for the vitalization of our nation. This is also a reality of China which is even more obvious and which also no one can deny.

The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has truly and deeply revealed the contradictions in our society. It has also true and lively characters to live in these contradictions. As a result, the artistic feeling it has engendered is also real, deep and vivid. It should be said that from this

movie, the audience not only becomes aware of the evils in our society but may even draw courage and a sense of the vitality of life from the example of Lu Wenting. Although it seems to be a tragedy, it is stirring and heartening in the minds and hearts of the audience. People may feel confident, since we have countless individuals like Lu Wenting, and we can make progress in our society and bring about changes in the not so satisfying reality facing us. This is exactly the enlightenment which "When Men Reach Middle Age" brings us.

When the image of the character of Lu Wenting was being created in "When Men Reach Middle Age," special attention was paid to depicting her inner world by using off-screen voices, hallucination, dreams and associations and so forth to enrich the vision of the audience. While the flashbacks of the hospitalized Lu Wenting and the reminiscences of Fu Jiajie and Director Sun appear alternately and the patients' praises and the leadership's appraisals echo each other, the focus of every frame is centered on the character of Lu Wenting. Therefore, this image is real and believable, full and rich. In movies of recent years in our country, it was very rare to see such a successful image of contemporary middle-aged intellectuals.

From the successful creation of the image of Lu Wenting, we can see to it that the realistic principle of creation does not exclude the use of a variety of movie techniques. Techniques such as high-speed photography or dissolves or flashbacks and dreams are adopted. What counts is whether the form can be melted into substance, or whether it can serve in the place of substance.

The realistic principle of creation takes actual life as the source of creative work in order to reveal the most essential reality of life. Therefore, it is impossible to concoct recklessly in a purely fictitious way or to enumerate all the trivial matters in one's life. While we say that "When Men Reach Middle Age" has revealed the average life of an average Chinese, it does not mean that this movie has enumerated trivial matters in Lu Wenting's life without making a selection or that the writers of this movie do not do a lot of pruning and refining. On the contrary, "When Men Reach Middle Age" has just the right shots on some of the events of which are most representative of Lu Wenting's life and selects the characters that are most related to the creation of her image for the purpose of making a manifestation. In the relations formed by these persons and events, the image of Lu Wenting can be established.

For instance, relations between Lu Wenting and her husband Fu Jiajie, her son Yuan Yuan and her daughter Jia Jia [0163 0163] state clearly that although this woman has dedicated her life to work, she still has the happy side as a virtuous housewife. The relations between Lu Wenting and the couple of Jiang Yafen [1203 0068 5358] and Liu Xueyao also make it clear that she values friendship and believes in the fine character of her friends. As to the three other patients, including an old peasant, a child and a vice minister, here the fine moral character of Lu Wenting in treating patients without discrimination has further been fully reflected. All these are external conditions which are indispensable in making the character stand out by contrast.

These prunings, done with great ingenuity, seem to be traceless and written with facility. But in fact, while they give us much food for thought, they create the image of Lu Wenting.

Lu Wenting has many fine qualities, but she is not perfect, nor is she a sage. She has many shortcomings. She has also encountered hesitations and perplexities as she marches on and has thought about taking a rest in her struggles for a career. All these are depicted in the movie. With regard to this point, although Lu Wenting is not that "lofty and perfect," she really is one of the actual personages of this world of ours.

If it is said that the success of "When Men Reach Middle Age" lies in the fact that it has demonstrated the charm of realism, then what it is short of is that in certain parts of this movie, there are deviations from realism. The most obvious ones among them include the creation of the "Marxist old lady" and that part of the movie concerning Jiang Yafen's going abroad.

The "Marxist old lady," the wife of a vice minister, was a artistically very successful character in the original novel. Comrade Chen Rong [6186 1369] knows very well what to write and what not to write. There is no description whatsoever to uglify this character, because in the mind of Qin Bo [4440 3134] himself, a special-privilege mentality is a must which is not at all surprising, and the existence of this character is, therefore, justifiable--it conforms with reality. However, in this movie she is allowed to give herself airs and to dignify herself purposely. Her actions show that she is a "wife of a government official." They have vividly uglified this character in this movie. To show this as a "result of performance" to the audience is exactly to damage the original intention of this character and thereby to make people feel it is unbelievable. This performance violates the reality of life and disrupts the movie's unified style, thereby dampening the realism of the movie as a whole.

Jiang Yafen has been a good friend of Lu Wenting for more than 20 years. It is obvious that this movie presents much about her. Many events, from her joining the Ophthalmic Department together with Lu Wenting to her love affairs and her marriage to her being criticized during the Cultural Revolution and from the comments she made at the dining table to the letter she wrote to Lu Wenting at the airport, obviously show the patriotism of this person. Nobody would deem her departure a rebellion. Yet, just before Jiang Yafen turns around to mount the gangway ladder, she unexpectedly "waves her hands gently toward people" indicating that she will be back. Such a gentle wave of her hands unavoidably makes people feel that it is superfluous.

The successes and shortcomings of "When Men Reach Middle Age" bring about some questions which are worth probing. For instance, since the performance of Comrade Pan Hung is both deep and implicit and her feeling is accurate, it is necessary to arouse fellow movie performers to pay attention to that. Also, from novel to screen, what are the pros and cons of the movie version? And there is the question of how to give expression to the tragic personages of the socialist era and so forth. To draw some universal questions through the exploration of a movie would be meaningful.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'MIDDLE AGE' CRITICIZED FOR SERIOUS DEFECTS

Beijing WENYIBAO in Chinese No 6, 7 Jun 83, pp 57-60

[Article by Xu Chunqiao [6079 2504 2884]: "A Movie with Serious Defects-- Criticize the Movie 'When Men Reach Middle Age'"]

[Text] Since the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age," whose film script based on the novel under the same title written by Comrade Chen Rong [6186 1368], has been shown, it has won acclaim from the audiences, the Distinguished Film Prize of 1982 awarded by the Ministry of Culture, the Golden Rooster Prize awarded by the Chinese Movie Professionals Association and the Hundred Flowers Prize awarded by DAZHONG DIANYING. In Nos 4 and 5 of this publication, articles commenting on both the achievements and the shortcomings of this movie were published. We have now received an article from Comrade Xu Chunqiao which totally repudiates this film. Xu's article is published as follows and comments from our readers are solicited.

The Editor

Since the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age," a film script of the novel under the same title written by Comrade Chen Rong herself, has been shown, strong repercussions have been touched off in society and especially among intellectuals. As to the question of right or wrong, of course there are so many contradictory views that it is difficult to decide which is right.

In a sense, this movie extols the fine qualities of middle-aged intellectuals like Lu Wenting who work dilligently and industriously, loyally and resourcefully for the sake of socialism and for her own job, and it expounds the importance of middle-aged intellectuals as the hard core in the construction of the four modernizations. It has a certain practical significance.

However, because the writer has an obviously erroneous understanding of the guiding ideology in artistic creation, serious problems thus exist in many important political principles in this movie which lead to very bad social consequences.

1. In his letter to (Harkness?) [0761 0344 1143 2448] in April 1888, Engels said: "In my opinion, the meaning of practical significance is to represent typical characters realistically in typical surroundings besides a realistic description of details." These words of Engels emphatically laid stress on the representativeness and truthfulness of literature and pointed out that only typical literature is realistic literature. Then, are the characters and surroundings in "When Men Reach Middle Age" typical, or is the life reflected in this movie realistic? No! The writer of the movie unilaterally exaggerated the dark side of life. The essence of life is replaced by the subjective sentiment of the writer which makes characters and surroundings in the entire movie deviate from life in order to serve the needs of the theme. As a result, in the selection of the details of life and in the creation of the characters' images, it shows obvious falseness and untruthfulness.

Let us talk about the characters in the movie first. Although Lu Wenting is enthusiastically responsible in her job and works very hard, yet in her life, she always lands herself in a passive position. Except when doing her work, she seems unable to move a single step and is faced with one difficulty after another. She always feels that she has no way out or that she is in a dilemma. Whenever she encounters something unhappy, Lu Wenting merely wants to solve them with tears: We find her in tears when her child is ill, when Yuan Yuan can eat only the sesame seed cake instead of having a regular lunch and when she sees her husband becoming old and feeble. She does not handle difficulties in her life positively and optimistically, but instead adopts a compromising and timid attitude toward them. She gives such a voice from the bottom of her heart: "If we could then consider whether we have the right to get married or whether we have the ability to shoulder the burden of a family, perhaps we would not shoulder the heavy cross to experience such a hard life!" She attributes all indispositions and difficulties to the antithesis between social work and marriage. It seems to be that one cannot marry if he wants to work or one cannot work efficiently if he wants to get married. This is an absolutely wrong view and an absurd explanation of the realistic life that is contrary to reason. Fu Jiajie, Lu Wenting's husband, has adopted an attitude of letting things slide and of self-mockery. The dinner with the couple Jiang Yafen is the best exposure of this. Why doesn't the writer show how they make a stand against destiny or challenge difficulties rather than let them wander and worry amidst perplexities and puzzles?

Obviously, when the writer was creating the image of the couple Lu Wenting, he only enumerated the appearance of life and demonstrated the fact that they are not fairly treated in society and thereby are caught in a dilemma and are eventually led to a horrible tragedy. The writer failed to figure out the main ideological trend in the spiritual attitudes of middle-aged intellectuals of this generation from the character of Lu Wenting, and he did not reflect the attitudes and ideals of life which the middle-aged intellectuals should have. Therefore, even though Lu Wenting is enthusiastic, responsible and diligent in doing her work, people still think that the reason that Lu Wenting works that way is that she proceeds from the humanitarianism of a medical doctor and does it with the conscience of an ordinary person. In so doing, this movie has seriously weakened the image of the

middle-aged intellectuals of this generation as well as that of Lu Wenting. This is why we say that the image of Lu Wenting (including Fu Jiajie) is not typical. Just as Engels said: "Your characters, as they themselves are concerned, are adequate to be called typical. However, their surroundings and their actions are perhaps not that typical."

Turning now to the surroundings that appeared in the movie, it is easy to see that they are exceptional, untrue and not typical.

Looking from the historical point of view, since the smashing of the "Gang of Four" and especially after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, everything in our country has been marching toward the right track. Although the dark sides of one kind or another still exist in some places, gloom and darkness do not extend over the whole society. Darkness is being driven out by light. "In our country, the dark side is always illegal and temporary." "It will eventually be repudiated and overcome by our party and our people." (Hu Yaobang) And the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has, taking Lu Wenting as its core, described a situation in which intellectual is being left out in the cold, the bureaucratic work-style of the leadership is serious and the corners cannot be illuminated by the party. The writer has emphatically exaggerated such an isolated and specific surrounding to let people see the dangerous and disastrous circumstances encountered by intellectuals in this society and thereby feel suffocated.

Exaggerated and untrue depictions are also adopted by the writer to describe the living conditions of Lu Wenting. A family of four of an intellectual who has been working nearly 20 years lives in a small room in which one is almost unable to turn round. We do not say that such conditions do not exist, or perhaps it may be true in Lu Wenting's home or in the hospital where she works, but is it true in China as a whole or in the entire course of history?

Because in his creative work the writer did not proceed from actual life but fabricated a kind of life to serve the needs of the theme, the movie, in the first place, stresses only the dark side to the neglect of the brighter side so that the main trend of life has not been reflected. Second, the writer confines himself to a short period and a limited space but ignores entire historical and social conditions. Therefore, it does not conform to historical truth, nor does it reflect the essence of life.

In order to express the hard life, the heavy family burden, and the tremendous work load of intellectuals in our times, the writer does not allow Yuan Yuan to have a pair of white sneakers, so he has to paint it with a piece of chalk, nor does she allow Jia Jia to take the time to tie a bow. Looking at the surface, it seems to be very true and touching. However, after careful deliberation, this exaggeration of the details of life obviously has a trace of the sham. Because Lu Wenting has to walk through many busy streets to and from work, how much time does she need to buy a pair of sneakers? If she really does not have time, why doesn't she give money to Yuan Yuan to buy a pair himself? Again, does he need to tie a bow? Moreover, Jia Jia is put in the child care center with no one to take care of her while she is

suffering with acute pneumonia and is repeatedly calling "Ma, Ma" with a miserable voice. The scene that immediately follows shows her being sent to the hospital for medical treatment. After she is back home, she does not have time to cook and she goes to buy sesame seed cakes. All this in such a tense atmosphere! Lu Wenting's household work is so heavy and her tears are so touching! We say there is no child care center which would ignore the life of a child, nor is there any child care center which would let a child who is suffering from acute pneumonia lie in an empty room and let matters slide.

Art should reflect truth. The truth in the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is merely the truth of a kind of life but not the truth of art and some of that may even deviate from the truth of life. For instance, in the detailed story of the operations to be performed by Lu Wenting prior to her illness, the writer, to play up the tragic atmosphere, has her perform three operations in the morning. As soon as she has finished the operation on Wang Xiaoman [3769 1420 4915], she feels rather dizzy and almost falls down. Yet, under such a circumstance, she rejected Jiang Yafen's offer to lend her a helping hand and finished the third operation herself. Isn't Lu Wenting aware of the possibility that something could happen if she continues to perform the third operation? If by any chance the operation ends in failure, does she commit the crime of malfeasance and be tried? With regard to this point, Lu Wenting knows the most, but the writer does not. Moreover, Lu Wenting's sense of responsibility and the professional ethics of a doctor do not allow her to perform the third operation.

Here, the writer purposely creates a kind of tense atmosphere to lead the audience to worry for Lu Wenting and feel aggrieved by the treatment received by her under a premise that is in violation of the law.

Seeing this movie as a whole, the characters, the plot and the surroundings in it are not true, nor are they typical. It is mainly because that the writer moves toward a unilateral, isolated and static metaphysical road in understanding and recognizing actual life.

2. Maxim Gorki said, "Literature is the history of life and the feeling of the times." Then, does the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" reflect the essence and the flavor of the life of the times? We can understand this question from the departure of the couple Liu Xueyao.

The historical background of the departure of the couple Liu Xueyao was the latter part of the 1970s, which was a period when order was brought out of chaos and our country was revitalized after the "10-year calamity." It was with such a historical background when everything in our country was about to move toward the right track, when hope was at hand and when the light of an early dawn was illuminating all over the land that the couple Liu Xueyao were gone.

Then, what really did force the Liu couple to leave? What attitude should the writer adopt toward this departure?

The reason for the departure of the couple Liu Xueyao is that the old grievance of the "10-year calamity" is still entangled in their minds. Owing to "overseas connections" and to the fact that they suffered from attacks and set backs during the Cultural Revolution, therefore, even though our country is being vigorously developed, they do not believe that their motherland, which has once brought misfortunes on them, will give them happiness and a world that will make the best use of everyone. Liu Xueyao said explicitly: "When can the light shine upon the entrance of my home? When can it shine upon my children?" This is why they place their own future, their own fortunes and their own hope of extricating themselves from the unfair treatment received in their own motherland on Canada, a capitalist country. In Canada, they will be better off politically, economically and materially than in our country; otherwise, they would not desert their motherland.

If Liu Xueyao and his wife were gone during the "10-year calamity," it could be attributed to the crime of the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, they have left at a crucial moment when we are sounding a bugle call for the four modernizations in our country after the smashing of the "Gang of Four". Who is to blame? Is this the director Zhao or the hospital he works with? Or what else?

It is easy to see that Liu Xueyao and his wife are cowards in life and typical representatives of the capitalist class who seek personal fame and gain and hanker after material comfort. At the time of their departure, they suffered no political persecution, not to mention spiritual setbacks except low wages (but higher than the average person's) and an inadequate dwelling. It can be said without the slightest exaggeration: Their condition at that time was better than 80 percent of the Chinese people. It was at that time when their motherland was in need of them, when their motherland was in difficulties, they laid aside their work and abandoned their own motherland. The feeling of reluctance at the time of departure and the sentiment expressed by Liu Xueyao that "as I have lived most of my life, how many years can I stay in this world and why should I leave the ashes of my remains on the soil of a foreign land?" are but Liu Xueyao's sophistry by which the writer wants to absolve and forgive them from their ugly and despicable souls.

The farewell dinner party is a great exposure of the essence of the ideology of the Liu couple. Liu Xueyao uses satiric and ironic remarks to attack the society and mock our era. He does not cherish any hope at all in our country but rather pours out endless grievances by saying that "what we eat is grass, but we have no milk." He really does not know that in reality, there are people who are even unable to eat that kind of "grass."

Such a pitiful creature in life and such a move which betrays the motherland and the people must be held in contempt by the people. Yet the writer has shown high-sounding excuses of one kind or another to absolve them from their desertion.

When the writer was creating these two characters, he was basically wrong in his thinking. This is why both the essence and the effect bestowed upon the images appear to be in a passive mood. The crucial point here is that the



writer does not throb with the pulse of our times, nor does he understand the political flavor and the characteristics of the essence of the historical times which are being developed and pushed forward.

Both Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong said that proletarian literature must become a part of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and serve the political purpose of the proletariat. It must have an explicit ideological tendentiousness. At the present stage, the ideological tendentiousness in our literature and art is to eulogize and praise new people and new deeds in the construction of the four modernizations, and to resist and expose the ugly things in our lives. The writer of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age," however, not only fails to resist and negate the ugly things but instead expresses sympathy for them, beautifies them and gives them his support.

Under the guidance of the erroneous ideology of the writer, it is easy to see who is to blame for the desertion of Liu Xueyao and his wife.

3. Literary works must pay attention to social effect. Then, what kind of social effect should it be? Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "literature and art must reflect the spiritual sparks of our country and our people. It must, at the same time, serve as a spiritual light to enable 900 million people to have an even higher spiritual state, a loftier ideal and a still better revolutionary quality and style in order to push our history forward. This is the issue which we have to pay attention to." Has the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" attached importance to these issues or has it led the people, through the "spiritual sparks" of Lu Wenting, to an even higher spiritual state, a loftier revolutionary ideal, quality or style? Our answer is none or almost none.

First, the keynote of "When Men Reach Middle Age" is in the low spirit, which is distressed. The end of it is a tragedy. Lu Wenting's life experience and fate have painted the entire movie and the entire society with a dim and dusky tint. We do not see any future, brightness or hope from the character of Lu Wenting. What we have seen is merely Lu Wenting's repentance and her painful reminiscence of the past at her bedside in the hospital and Fu Jiajie's most sorrowful cries beside her. The only way out and the hope which people have caught sight of from the painful life and the tragic fate of Lu Wenting may perhaps be the same as that of the Liu couple--going abroad; otherwise their fate is just as miserable as Lu Wenting's is. Even if Lu Wenting does not think so, the audience thinks this way. Knowing the hopeless fate of Lu Wenting, people have associated it with their own future and their own fate. The movie makes people have a sense of fear and horror and a feeling of being ever involved in an hopeless and painful predicament. After stepping out of the hospital, Lu Wenting is still faced with the heavy burden of life and family. Nowhere does the movie give us a hint that the fate of Lu Wenting may turn for the better. Intellectuals cannot thus be inspired with enthusiasm, nor can they thus be encouraged to make active progress and overcome difficulties, instead, the character of Lu Wenting gives them the impression that the life of this generation is hopeless and their fate is far from fortunate. They, therefore, are terrified and heavy-hearted because their surroundings are too perilous.

Second, the attitude of the movie toward difficulties is to flinch and despair, not to overcome or try to solve. Therefore, it plays the role of expediting the pessimistic disappointment which results from a cowardly shrinking back.

Third, the movie which has weakened the image of the party and that of socialism gives rise to a dissatisfaction with the reality of our society. What are the reasons to let Lu Wenting have a tragic fate? The reasons are the difficult life, the heavy load of work and the heavy family burden. This is not a matter of a particular family or a particular unit but a universal issue which remains to be solved step by step. Moreover, our party and our country are now making efforts to improve the condition of intellectuals and to pay attention to science and technology. We have achieved successes. It is under such a historical background that the writer picks Lu Wenting to reflect as a typical example. What effect will it cause? In this movie, we cannot see the party's strength nor the concern and warmth shown by the party. What we can see is only people like Qin Bo [4440 3134] who run around on sinister errands. The writer has attributed the tragedy of Lu Wenting to the party's indifference and laissez-faire attitude toward intellectuals. He has also attributed the desertion of the Liu couple to our society and our social system. The trend of the writer's attack is quite obvious, that is, our party and society have ignored the welfare of intellectuals and have always looked down on science. Socialism can only stifle real talents, not allow intellectuals to display their abilities. The hope of Liu Xueyao and his wife lies in a capitalist country. And the couple Lu Wenting who remain in our country receive their fate as it is. Even if it is not the intention of the writer to demonstrate an ideology of this kind, it has already caused such a social effect. It is very clear that it has rendered the same goal as that of "Unrequited Love" but with a different approach.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MORE CRITICISM OF 'MIDDLE AGE'

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[Article by Yan Gang [7051 4854]: "Argument in Favor of the Movie 'When Men Reach Middle Age'--A Countercriticism against 'A Movie with Serious Defects'"]

[Text] At the end of last year, the sample film of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" was shown by the Changcheng Film Corporation and DAZHONG DIANYING to solicit comments. I was very much perplexed in taking a look at this film which, before its completion, the corporation had once been ordered to stall. I really cannot understand why comments on this film have been so diametrically opposed and why the making of a film should be subject to ups and downs until a final approval could be made. What does this situation indicate? What will happen if this film is not appropriately made? Thank goodness, the film is true to the original, which has been a success. It has become an ode with a deep feeling toward the middle-aged intellectuals cultivated by the party. Since the movie was shown, praises have come from old and young, inside and outside of the party. However, it is difficult to cater to all tastes. Some of our comrades are extremely discontented because this movie "has serious problems in many important political principles which lead to very bad social consequences" and that it is "the same in nature as the movie 'unrequited love' even if different in approach." (Xu Chunqiao: "A Movie with Serious Defects," see WENYIBAO No 6 of this year.)

Two years ago, there were someone who said that the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" "had brought pressure to bear on the party" and that "it is the second 'Unrequited Love.'" Now, Comrade Xu Chunqiao has repeated such a view. Why are there so many different views on this film? According to Xu Chunqiao, it is because it involves problems of "many important political principles." This really scares us. In my opinion, differences lie in the fact that everybody has his own guide to judge literary works. There is a guide to history and also a guide to aesthetics. Of course, it involves problems of "important political principles," but it is primarily a question of how to look upon the reality of our life and how to understand the realism of literature. With regard to realism, Comrade Xu Chunqiao made many remarks in his article. He repeatedly emphasized the authenticity of surroundings and characters. It is said that his guide is also Engels' theory of

"realism." However, since his understanding of the mutual relations between both the bright and the dark sides in our real lives is a mechanical comprehension and his analysis of the them and characters of this film is oversimplified, therefore, in talking about authenticity and the representativeness of realism, he has stretched its meaning and tried every means to have an innocent person pronounced guilty, and thereby a film which is perfectly right is criticized as if it had no saving graces. As a result, it is he himself who has deviated from Engels' theory of realism.

With regard to the so-called "serious problems which exist in many important political principles" in the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" and which are raised by Xu Chunqiao, some specific aspects have been mentioned throughout his article. On these specific aspects, he has held to extreme views which deviate from the reality of life and work. Therefore, the political label which he put on the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is entirely subjective and unilateral and is imposed by force.

1. In the first place, Comrade Xu Chunqiao asserted categorically that Lu Wenting is a person who is hypocritical, untrue and not typical. In his opinion, although Lu Wenting is diligent and responsible in doing her work, yet "she proceeds from the humanitarianism of a medical doctor and does it with the conscience of an ordinary person." He believed that Lu Wenting "has adopted a compromising and timid attitude toward difficulties of one kind or another but does not make a stand against destiny nor does she challenge difficulties." Therefore, "this movie has seriously weakened the image of the middle-aged intellectuals of this generation." After taking a look at this movie, people feel that they are "hopeless" and that "they can never be extricated." All in all, in the eyes of Xu Chunqiao, Lu Wenting has become a pitiful creature who resigns herself to humiliations and adversities. Since the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has managed to pick a character like this as a positive image to be eulogized, it is not only untrue but is also not typical; not only does it distort intellectuals but it also damages the prestige of the party. Therefore, it must be negated. But I feel these views are really very arbitrary, which do not conform to the real conditions in the movie.

It is not the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" which distorts the image of intellectuals. It is Xu Chunqiao who misrepresents Lu Wenting, an intellectual.

Lu Wenting is not an ordinary woman who is mediocre and incompetent, nor is she a heroine with elegant manners, but she is a middle-aged woman specialist who is imbued with the traditional virtues of a Chinese woman, gentle and cultivated, pliable and tough. Her lofty deeds of silently dedicating herself to the country make all visible or invisible pressures around her lose their weight. Her unusual spirit of forbearance makes all unreasonable appearances around her become intolerable. Her mental state and her lot are popular among intellectuals in our country at present. However, Lu Wenting is absolutely not a popularized or a conceptualized image of intellectuals. Lu Wenting is Lu Wenting who is a doctor and a wife having a specific lot and a specific personal character. The difficulties faced by Lu Wenting are many-sided and involve a variety of aspects including ideology, love, livelihood, theory and health. Facing one difficulty after another,

Lu Wenting, a professional backbone of society holding a "low post" and receiving "poor wages", is merely a stem of thin grass. She has "a professional burden outside and a household burden inside her family." She has to "support and wait upon her parents and bring up her children" and to "endure the sufferings of life and make enormous sacrifices." What she does yearn for and make an all-out effort to achieve is to make herself a good doctor, a good wife and a good mother. She has been a good doctor, a good wife and a good mother, but what she does eat is "grass." Therefore, she cannot prop up herself but can only feel ashamed for being a wife and a mother. The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" opens up the tragedy of Lu Wenting who cures others and saves the lives of others at the miserable moment when she herself is critically ill. It is a fade-in, but it is deep in its meaning, which is exceptionally passionate and touching.

Lu Wenting collapsed. It is better not to say that she is knocked down by the merciless disease but rather by the unjust destiny. However, she has not been knocked down. She can "endure" and she is "tenacious." She has, after all, held out until after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the face of adversities, Lu Wenting does not behave herself in as "compromising and timid" a way as Comrade Xu Chunqiao has described. What should she do to qualify herself as uncompromising and untamed? Can she be allowed to argue strongly on just grounds or to report to the Party Central Committee? Can she be allowed to ignore the patients and put aside the scalpel to lie down? Or can she be allowed to make sacrifice which resulted from an accident due to negligence, as happened to the leading character in "Troubles Arises within the Family," in order to win an effective right to speak? No, if it does that way, it is not Lu Wenting. Comrade Chen Rong does not want to create an image of a heroine "who fights against destiny." Based on her discoveries in her life, she wants to create an image of intellectuals that she deems to be more rich in artistic appeal--the lofty image of endurance and tenaciousness so as to arouse the sympathy and respect of the people and make society pay close attention to the conditions of middle-aged intellectuals. This Lu Wenting we see on the screen today is just this sort of image. Under unjust treatment, Lu Wenting is poor but virtuous, hardworking and unconcerned about personal grievances, impartial and selfless, cautious and conscientious. She fulfills her duty wholeheartedly and unswervingly. Her loyalty and enthusiasm in carrying out her duty and her softness and virtuousness is getting along with her husband and children can be said to be exerted to the utmost. This is Lu Wenting and this is "Lu Wenting's character!" In the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age," because Comrade Pan Hung's successful performance is authentic, exquisite and full of artistic appeal (her two eyes are so lifelike!), "Lu Wenting's character" becomes more vivid and touching. We do not see from the image of Lu Wenting the slightest flavor of vulgarity and pettiness. It is a kind of lofty moral strength which has supported her and prevented her from complete collapse at a time when she is about to fall down. She is selfless so as to devote her own youth to the sacred cause of the people without reservation. She said: "As long as the scalpel is in my hand, I can serve a common person." The selfless sacrifice she made for work and the spirit of giving no thought to remuneration make a vivid display of the Communist style of behavior. Lu Wenting's Communist style of behavior

is the result of the long education carried out by the party. To extol the selfless Lu Wenting is to extol our party. The theme of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is to extol. It extols the generation of intellectuals, which is cultivated by the party. Although they have experienced repeated hardships, the artistic intent of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is represented by the lofty sentiments about endurance of humiliation in carrying out important missions, steadfastness tempered in difficulties and soaring aspirations which are most touching. Can all this be explained merely by applying "humanitarian duties" and "The conscience of an ordinary person"? How can the conclusion that "the image of the middle-aged intellectuals of this generation has been seriously damaged" be drawn?

The spirit of Lu Wenting's wholehearted devotion and sacrifice has almost reached a state of selflessness. Therefore, her critical illness has aroused maximum sympathy and bitterness from the audience. People deeply regret the hardships encountered in Lu Wenting's life, the sufferings of her body and the waste of talents while there is a shortage of these talents, but they do not regret the ruin of Lu Wenting's spirit. Without love there is no hate and one can love only when he can hate. Both with the contrast of the "Marxist old lady" and the sending off of the couple Liu Xueyao, the spirit of Lu Wenting undoubtedly represents the spirit of our nation. How can it be said that "from the character of Lu Wenting, we see no future, brightness or hope?" The spirit of Lu Wenting is future, brightness and hope.

2. Comrade Xu Chunqiao continued that so far as the character of Lu Wenting is concerned, even if she herself is typical, her surroundings are not true or typical. He said: "After the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, everything in our country has been marching toward the right track. Although dark sides of one kind or another still exist in some places, gloom and darkness do not spread over the whole society." Comrade Xu Chunqiao felt that the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" had tried its utmost to play up the "tragic ending" by exaggerating the "fabricated life," "paid attention only to the dark side to the neglect of the bright side" and "failed to reflect the essence of life." As a result, it makes people feel that "the surroundings are too perilous." Comrade Xu Chunqiao asked at last: Our party and our country are now making efforts to improve the conditions of intellectuals and successes have been achieved. "It is with such a historical background that the writer picks Lu Wenting to play a typical example. What effect will it cause?"

Here it involves the question of how literature reflects the essence of society, of how to treat the dark side of society and the theme of a tragedy and the social effect of literary works and so forth. In Comrade Xu Chunqiao's opinion, to write it is necessary in essence to stress brightness, and to write about brightness it is not advisable to "pay attention" to the dark side of life. Because the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" "pays attention" to the dark side, therefore it "fabricates stories" at great length. It depicts Lu Wenting as miserable and pitiful and socialism as dim and gloomy.

In my opinion, it is not only a misunderstanding but also a groundless fear, which, in the final analysis, is the reflection of social statistics and vulgar sociology in literary critiques. Xu Chunqiao does not believe that Lu Wenting does not have time to buy a pair of white sneakers for Yuan Yuan or to tie a bow for Jia Jia, he does not know that it is just a portrait of what Chen Rong, the writer, has seen and experienced. Xu Chunqiao feels that what Liu Xueyao said at the farewell dinner party is to "attack the society and mock our era" and that his leaving the country is a "betrayal of his motherland," but he does not know that this is just a symbol of Liu Xueyao's dejection and an unreserved revelation of his contradictory state of mind. He is grumbling. Only some of his remarks are excessively ironic. Of course, it is absolutely true that he can stay at home. The writer clearly knows that she will be much more on the safe side if she writes this way; however, she did not. Sighing over the drain of a large number of intellectuals at that time, she wrote outright with a bitter hatred. Liu Xueyao's and his wife's going abroad is written to awaken people and to setoff Lu Wenting. Writing in this way, the objective effect of the work proves to be more worth pondering. Xu Chunqiao felt that the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" had exaggerated Lu Wenting's fate, which is excessively tragic and perilous. As a result, it makes people feel that there is only one way out, that is, "to follow the example of the Liu couple--going abroad." However, Lu Wenting herself has no thought of going abroad, and she does not. Moreover, while she is ill, it is not that she does not want to do her work, but that she is unable to do her work. It is not the writer who "fabricated" such a tragic character and story, it exists in our lives and it happens day after day. Can the examples of Jiang Zhuying [5592 4591 5391] and Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133] serve to explain the question? Are examples like this still not enough, or is it still necessary for writers to take great pains to "play up" and to "exaggerate?" What are the "dangers" in Lu Wenting's fate? The dangers lie in the fact that the repeated injunctions of the Party Central Committee on policies with regard to intellectuals have not been effectively, quickly or evenly implemented. Is not this the hard fact, the essence of society or the typical surrounding? True, the fate of Lu Wenting is very miserable, which is enough to call attention of those who come to the rescue. In fact it has already shaken intellectual circles. Yet misery is not hopelessness. I believe that, at the end of the movie, it does not "end in an aesthetic mood." Lu Wenting, who is weak and thin, does not "lean in Fu Jiajie's arms to march toward the rising sun," but as in the original novel, it is Fu Jiajie who takes every care to support his wife with his hand as they "march towards the rising sun in the cold wind." It deserves to be called a master's manner. All in all, even if Lu Wenting dies at the final curtain I think her spirit will never die and her image and voice will remain in the flesh, and she will still be a good teacher and a helpful friend in encouraging middle-aged intellectuals of this generation to dedicate themselves to the construction of the four modernizations.

As to the question of "paying attention" to the dark side of society, it is true that the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" really "attaches importance to it." It is a work which gets to the essence of the ways of the world, which is full of misfortune and sympathy. Misfortune and sympathy, like the paean which is played behind the scenes in "When Men Reach Middle Age".

are the realities of society authentically reflected in the work. Saying that the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" "has painted the entire society with a dim and dusky tint" is a penetrating criticism and an untrue statement. However, the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" really has a "dim" and "dusky" tint which is spread over art by life rather than over life by art. The reason why the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" does not make people feel hopeless is that it is not entirely "dusky". For many times it mentions that hope is like the "rising sun," touches upon the deep affection which Lu Wenting cherishes for her career and for the laboring people and vividly describes Lu Wenting's disposition and spirit as well as the profound meaning of the tragedy of Lu Wenting. The profound meaning of the tragedy of Lu Wenting lies in the fact that middle-aged intellectuals are overloaded with labor but are underpaid, that they are the mainstay in work but are minimized in life, that they are of great importance in the construction of the four modernizations but underestimated in politics, that the policy on intellectuals is being implemented but has encountered difficulties and that the real situation of intellectuals is not quite adaptable to the honor of being the master of the country and so forth. Comrade Chen Rong knows very well that she herself has taken an "adventurous" road, but she is willing to "venture" and to take up the responsibility of authentically reflecting the present status of life and the trend of the development of life. The question does not lie in "stressing" the dark side or digging out malpractices in society (but not of socialism), but in considering how to dig out or reflect and how to grasp or distinguish and in whether, as Lu Xun said, the writer is himself a "revolutionary." In actual life, especially after the smashing of the "Gang of Four," our society has been in a period in which the new replaces the old; they alternate with each other, and therefore tragedies and comedies often emerge alternately. It is the same on the artistic stage. Vissarion Grigorievich Belinski of those years, in reminding Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol, who was then writing volume II of "Dead Souls," said: "What we worry about is that in Volume I, every thing is comic so do not let it become a real tragedy. And tragic factors should appear in the other two volumes, so do not let them become comic." A comedy might be followed by a tragedy, and vice versa. Of course, whether to write a comedy or a tragedy depends on situation and judgement. Yet, both tragedy and comedy in our life are often shown on the same stage. There is either a tragedy in a comedy or a comedy in a tragedy. This phenomenon has become a common occurrence in the literary and artistic works of recent years. It is determined by real life. It is the reality of life and also the reality of art. However, no matter what changes take place in the plot and style of a play, the director of a tragedy or a comedy has always been the history! The writer must look forward, clearly and in an all-around way from the high plane of history and then judge the hour and size up the situation in order to determine his own theme and style. The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is written in this way, which is a scene giving us much food for thought in the literary and artistic history of the new socialist era in our country.

3. Comrade Xu Chunqiao said that the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" "pays attention" to the dark side of life. That is true. However, the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has, at the same time, paid attention to the bright side of life. Since both the dark and the bright side of life exist only by comparison and develop by struggle, losing the opposite side means



negating itself. Therefore, the object of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is not to "expose" or "deplore" blindly. The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" shows not only prejudice, vulgarity or vacillation but also tenaciousness and patience, true love and self-respect. It is aimed at making a selection and its purpose is to rectify the ways of the world. Behind the curtain, what we can hear is the song of the state and of the nation. The great thinkers of the past said correctly: "To know evil is not to do evil but to understand the reverse of evil. The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age is written exactly in this way. It exposes for singing the praises and hates for love. It is a trinity of the sense of reality, the sense of righteousness and the sense of propriety which has nothing of the hypocritical. If it exposes for the purpose of exposing or if it is without the burning of love, the only result will be the exposure of the indifferent attitude of the writer himself toward society and life.

We attach importance to praising the bright side of life and also to exposing the dark side of life. I do not agree to drawing a hard and fast line between the two. Today, I feel that what the writers are especially required to stress is to acknowledge but not to evade (still less to whitewash) the contradictions and conflicts that actually existed in our life even though they are very sharp and very acute or give us a very bad headache. In talking about "writing on essence," here is where the key lies for reflecting and revealing the essence of society and life. Essence lies hidden in the appearances of social life which is revealed only in the contradictions of social relations which are also called social life. This kind of manifestation has to be a perceptual one because the object under discussion is art. Without contradiction there would be no essence and essence is not a chemical purification. That is why Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevski said: "Theine is not tea and alcohol is not spirits." He also gave examples in daily life as proof: "I hope to drink clean water but not absolutely clean, because water which is absolutely clean (distilled water) is not even tasty." Comrade Li Zhun [2621 0402], author of the novel "The Huanghe River Runs East" also said in the "Foreword" of his book: "It is easy to make alcohol, but it is not easy to make 'Maotai'." This is an experienced remark after "some explorations in creative works" from the movie "The Big River Runs" to the novel "The Huanghe River Runs East" which is significant and worth pondering. All these have explained a truth: "Writing on essence" cannot sacrifice contradictions of one kind or another inherent in essence and let it become lifeless bones, haggard appearances, undisguised preachings or non-artistic abstractions. Art is the human body of life and life can be created only through the unity of body and soul.

Judging from this, the only way to develop literary and artistic creations is to face life outright and look on social contradictions squarely. Of course, this is a way which is not very safe. Yet, only because it is not very safe, can brave warriors be ready to take up the cudgels for a just cause. Comrade Chen Rong has come that way. The movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" was written in 1979. At that time, there was still a prejudice in society against intellectuals. How venturesome and courageous was Comrade Chen Rong to recount specifically the loftiness and misfortune of female intellectuals before the whole country and the whole party in accordance with the old concept that "everything is hopeless when men reach middle age!"

What a pity there are still not many writers who advance bravely on the way which is not very safe. Some writers who fear dangers look for safe ways and they have found them. No uniformity should be imposed because ideals vary from person to person, but it is hoped that their works would not deviate too far from social contradictions. In view of this, I especially value the historical factor and the sincere picture of the times which the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is conscious of and the sharpness, wisdom and courage of the scenarist, director and performers of this movie, but I especially disagree with the rude criticism made by Comrade Xu Chunqiao against the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age."

As to the question of the social effect of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age," I do not want to say much about it. I want only to refer to a few matters at present. Two years after the publication of the novel "When Men Reach Middle Age," the middle-aged Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu died. What a pity they died. Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] wrote in the "Wishes After Deep Regret" an appeal: "Ah! You people and members of the Communist Party, you do not have the right to be unconcerned and perfunctory toward people and things around you" and "let us do our best not to wait until after their deaths to think about learning from them and to express our regret for failing to give them appropriate treatment!" After feeling deep regret, people are surprised at the fact that they did not do their best for intellectuals. They began to pay attention to improving the condition of middle-aged intellectuals. However, cases of despising, squeezing and puncturing the middle-aged intellectuals still happen from time to time. On 16 April, the Party Central Committee approved and distributed the "Report on the Health Condition of the Middle-aged Intellectuals." On 18 May, RENMIN RIBAO reported that a chief engineer in Fushun was dismissed without any justification. A few days later, the same newspaper again reported that an expert who had made the earthquake forecast of the Tangshan earthquake was being oppressed. A few days ago, a meeting on intellectuals was convened by the Beijing Municipality to eliminate ultraleft ideology on the question of intellectuals. Like many other important social questions, the question of intellectuals is accompanied by both hope and struggle, brightness and of course darkness. This is reality and this is life! Nowadays, people like Lu Wenting and the "Marxist old lady" still exist, Therefore, the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is not out of date.

The presentation of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" has been warmly received by the masses of intellectuals and the masses from all strata other than intellectuals. People are reviewing the scene and the them of the novel with special interest through this film. Some old comrades said with a heavy heart after going to the movie: "We have gone too far in treating these intellectuals in the past!" Some leading comrades with a sense of responsibility expressed appreciation after going to the movie. They felt that this film has a practical significance and reminded the departments concerned to pay attention to resolving the difficulties encountered in the actual lives of middle-aged intellectuals. Lu Wenting enjoys immense popular support and the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age" is very helpful in speeding up the implementation of policies with regard to intellectuals. This is the social effect of the movie "When Men Reach Middle Age." This is a good effect which is very rare in literary and artistic creations! So long as Comrade Hu Chungqiao can study realism without deviating from reality, I think he will eventually understand how a work of genuine realism can help our society march forward without a feeling of "dispair."

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CORRELATIONS, DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HISTORY, REALITY DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Zhang Chao [4545 6389]]

[Text] The relationship between history and reality is a most important question for research on the theory of historiography and is of extreme significance in adhering to the correct direction in historical research work and in giving play to the role of history in socialist modernization and construction. In the past few years, historiographical circles in China have launched discussions on the correlations and differences between history and reality.

I will now give a brief introduction to the status of these discussions:

1. Historical research is closely correlated with reality. Research on "history for history's sake" without concern for reality does not exist.

In his article on "Historical Research and the Four Basic Principles" (JINDAI SHI YANJIU [RESEARCH ON MODERN HISTORY] No 4, 1981) Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342] pointed out that the object of historical research is the historical process of the development of human society. Such research concerns history and the facts of the past. It seems to have no relation to reality. It cannot, however, be detached from reality but is instead closely correlated with reality. Reality is the development of history and is a certain stage in the long process of history. If one wishes to understand reality, to grasp reality or even to predict the future, then one must study history and the laws of historical development. Therefore, historical research is always done in order to meet the requirements of reality. Such things as "using the knowledge of the past to foresee the future," "making the past serve the present," "the revelations of history," "summarizing the experiences of history" and so on all have this meaning. The study of history cannot be detached from reality. All historians are restricted by their times, and the historical works they write will always display the special characteristics of their era and class in different aspects and to different degrees. Yin Da [1438 6671]; in his article on "Upholding the Use of Marxism in Guiding Social Science Research" (ZHONGZHOU XUEKAN [HENAN ACADEMIC JOURNAL] No 3, 1983), considers the discipline of history, especially the study of ancient history, to be incapable of detaching itself in temporal terms and

cannot but reflect the requirements of an era. Since time immemorial, what accomplished historian or historiographer has not kept reality in mind? In his article "History and Reality" (JINDAIN SHI JANJIU No 4, 1981), Liu Danian [0491 1129 1628] pointed out that there is no research on history for the sake of history without relation to reality and that the only difference lies in how to correlate history with reality.

2. The correlations between history and reality must be clarified, and the differences between history and reality must be clearly understood.

Sun Sibai [1327 1835 4101] in his article "Preliminary Theories on the Correlations and Differences between History and Reality" (LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] No 6, 1982), feels that historical research should uphold the original features of history and should be integrated with the requirements of reality. It should not only clarify the correlation between history and reality but furthermore should clearly distinguish the differences between history and reality. "History is the reality of the past, and reality is the history of the future." This involves both correlation and difference. It can be said further that history is a stable condensation of reality, while reality is a flowing and changing history. Clarifying the correlations between history and reality is for "use," and making clear the differences between the two is also for "use." Because the summary of the relationship between history and reality originally embodied the two aspects of "correlation" and "difference," it cannot be concluded that the correlation is equal to the use while difference is not. In historical work, the actual situation is that at the same time one discovers that history is related to real life, one is also clarifying the differences between the two. It can be said, therefore, that the utility of history for real life lies not only in clarifying the correlation between the two but also in discriminating among their differences.

3. The present question is not how to word slogans but instead how to clarify the core and fundamental goals of historical research and how to make clear the central tasks that time has bestowed upon historians.

Liu Danian feels that the present problem is certainly not to invent slogans. The main thing is that historical research must have a core and a basic goal. Today, this core and basic goal is to stress integration with the upholding of socialism and the other Four Basic Principles proposed by the party, to set forth the objective laws of historical development, to eliminate the distortion of China's history by idealism, to use scientific historical knowledge to arm the minds of the people, to strengthen our consciousness in taking the socialist road and to promote the cause of proletarian liberation. Hu Ruxue [5170 1172 7185] feels that in each historical epoch, because of the restrictions of political and economic systems and the role of the objective developmental laws of historiography, the objective necessity is to point out the core tasks of developing the science of history for historians. The historians of each era should have a strategic perspective of great foresight, be cognizant of the objective needs of the society of their era and do all they can to fulfill the core mission bestowed upon them by their era. In his view, the central task of

historiography since the May 4th Movement is the application of the basic Marxist theories of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to the study of history and that today's historiographers must first of all strive to accomplish something in this area (see "The Central Tasks Entrusted to Historians by Their Era," GUANGMING RIBAO 1 Feb 82).

Bai Shouyi [4101 1108 1744] said during the symposium on "Launching Research on Marxist Historiographical Theory" that there is an urgent question in the theory of historiography that requires our earnest research. It is how to explain the relationship between history and reality and how to explain the role of historiography in the revolution, construction and extension of social life. This is a fundamental theoretical question in historiographical work as well as a question of practice for historians. We are now in the era of socialist construction and the new historical epoch of struggling to accomplish the four modernizations. Real life has presented us with several major pressing questions. Do we have answers for these questions? Not yet. For example, two questions require reflection, study and answers. One question is "Marxist historiography and socialist construction." The other question is "Marxist historiography and socialist education." He feels that historians can only stand at the forefront of the course of history and continually study and answer the problems that are presented by reality, so that our work in historiography, whether in the construction of theories or research into the concrete realm, can have a broad future and great vitality (see SHIJIE LISHI [WORLD HISTORY] No 3, 1983).

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

MORE YOUNG CADRES BEING PROMOTED IN BEIJING

OW302137 Beijing XINHUA in English 1143 GMT 30 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 30 December (XINHUA)--Over 500 young and middle-aged executives were promoted to leading posts in Beijing's industrial bureaus and enterprises in 1983, an official of the Beijing Economic Commission said today.

Wang Daming, director of the commission, said 525 new leaders were appointed bureau directors, managers or deputy managers, general engineers or general accountants. One-third of them were under 40 years old, he added.

This was part of the nationwide drive to make leading bodies at all levels more revolutionized, younger, more knowledgeable and more proficient professionally.

The average age of executives in the city's 17 industrial bureaus dropped from 56.5 to 48.3, and from 49.6 to 45.9 in its 190 large or medium-sized industrial enterprises. University-educated executives made up 64.3 percent of the bureaus' leadership, up from 35.5 percent a year ago, and 37.8 percent of enterprise management, compared with 21.6 percent in 1982.

Some older leaders retired, while others became advisers to new executives or were transferred to lower posts, Wang said.

The leadership of all Beijing's 17 industrial bureaus and half of its scientific and technological research institutions has been restructured, while 54 of the capital's 55 main industrial enterprises have also finished leadership reshuffles.

These included the Yanshan General Petrochemical Works, China's largest petrochemical complex, and the Beijing Automobile Plant, Wang added.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESPECT FOR INTEGRITY OF YOUNG PEOPLE ADVOCATED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Li Zhiyuan [2621 1807 6678]: "They Are Not Necessarily Immature"]

[Text] There is a cartoon in which a young bamboo says to a bamboo shoot that has just broken the soil in front of it: "You are young." The young bamboo becomes fully grown and says to the young bamboo that had developed from a shoot: "You are too young." The fully grown bamboo, now old with grey hair, says to the fully grown bamboo that had developed from a young bamboo: "You are still too young." In the view of an older person, a younger person is always "young."

The bamboo uses human speech and obviously what it says depicts a phenomenon in human society. For example, when some units select and promote "young and middle-aged" cadres into the leadership, they say that those who are in their thirties are "too immature," those who are in their forties are also "too immature" and those who are in their fifties are still "too immature." In this way, they continue to be "immature" until they are "immature" in their old age.

The old saying goes: "To a father, the son is always a child." Normally this does not matter, but come to think of it now, I feel that this is both correct and incorrect. It is correct in terms of physiology and ethics because however old the son becomes he will never surpass the age of the father and will always remain the father's son. But in terms of conduct and the way one handles matters, the saying is incorrect because when the son has an independent life and the ability to work, it would be rather absurd to call him a "child" or even regard him as "immature," worry about him left and right and forbid him to do this and that.

Confucious said: "One becomes independent at age 30." However, at age 16 his grandson Zi Si won a debate with Yue Shuo, a senior official in the State of Song. Yue Shuo was enraged and went as far as to send troops to attack Zi Si. In terms of talents and learning alone, age 16 could not be regarded as immature. Fostered by the party, the minds of many of today's young and middle-aged people have been liberated, they have knowledge, culture and original ideas, and normally they should mature even faster. In the past year or two, after some young and middle-aged cadres took up leading posts, they quickly initiated new situations, which is an eloquent illustration. In fact, the correct criterion

for distinguishing whether a cadre is "mature" or "immature" is whether he has the ideological level and actual ability to do a job competently. Those who have this ability cannot be regarded as "immature" even if they are young in age, and those who do not have this ability cannot be regarded as "mature" even if they are old in age.

No doubt it is difficult to overcome people's habits of thinking in a short time and the selection and promotion of young and middle-aged cadres primarily depend on veteran comrades. Other than having those who are responsible for selection and promotion depart from old habits, broaden their vision and stop sticking to one pattern, the way to correct it is to listen extensively to the views of those who are in the same generation and those who are in the younger generation of the ones selected in order to reduce prejudice. I think this will be of some benefit to the liberation of some cadres who are "immature."

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA DAILY ARTICLE ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

HK310628 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 31 Dec 83 p 4

[Special to CHINA DAILY by Yi Chengxin: "Why Capital Punishment Remains in China"]

[Text] Foreign lawyers and judges coming to China are often curious about capital punishment in the country. Is China going to abolish it, and if not, why?

According to the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China promulgated on 1 July 1979, there are five major categories of punishment, they are: surveillance, detention, fixed term imprisonment, life imprisonment and the death penalty.

The death penalty is imposed only for the worst offences. If immediate execution of the death penalty is not mandatory, a 2-year reprieve may be pronounced. Correction through labour will be carried out to see if the offender shows repentance.

If an offender does show signs of reform, his punishment will be commuted to life imprisonment. If he shows definite signs of repentance and performs meritorious service, his sentence will be commuted to fixed term imprisonment.

So it is clear the death penalty is not the only punishment. It is the most severe punishment to be meted out, but it comes at the end of the list of punishments as a last resort.

This shows the Chinese Criminal Law adheres to the principle of combining punishment with leniency laid down by Mao Zedong.

Mao's concept of penology was first made known early in the 1940's during the rectification campaign when he introduced the policy of "arresting few and killing none" with respect to the elimination of counterrevolutionaries in party and government organs, schools and army units.

In 1956, when China should have gone all out on a modernization programme instead of launching one political campaign after another, Mao said in what was later known as "On the Ten Major Relationships" that the people's government

does not have counterrevolutionaries executed, not because their crimes do not deserve capital punishment but because such executions would yield no advantage. If one such criminal is executed, a second and a third will be compared with him, and then many heads will begin to roll.

This is his first point.

He then went on to the second point which is the most important: he feared people might be wrongly executed.

"Once a head is chopped off" Mao said, "history shows it can't be restored, nor can it grow again as chives do, after being cut. If you cut off a head by mistake, there is no way to rectify the mistake, even if you want to."

The third point is that the government will have destroyed a source of evidence. Often one counterrevolutionary serves as a living witness against another, and if the government gets rid of him, it will get no more evidence.

The fourth point is that killing the counterrevolutionaries will only earn one the reputation of killing prisoners, and killing prisoners, has always given one a bad name.

"What harm is there in killing none of them" Mao demanded.

It is true that the Chinese never killed their prisoners of war.

Veteran Chinese Red Cross officials knew only too well the revolutionary humanitarian policy adopted by the people's government.

Hundreds of Japanese war criminals taken to Siberia during World War II were later handed over to the Chinese authorities. Almost of them thought they would be executed once they got back to the Chinese soil. But that never happened. Instead, they were given a chance to study in order to discredit Japanese militarism. When they were released, most of them had become friends of China.

But was Mao never in favour of execution?--No. He said: "We cannot announce that there will be no more executions and we must not abolish the death penalty."

Except during the "cultural revolution," Mao was always much concerned with the maintenance of revolutionary order, and pressed for rigid revolutionary discipline.

In January 1948, when the land reform programme was being carried out, and the People's Liberation War about emerging victorious nationwide, Mao justified the execution of a handful of arch-criminals guilty of the most heinous crimes.

Mao said that those who owed blood debts had to be executed and those [who] had caused serious harm to the national interest must be sentenced to death and executed without delay.

On the whole, Mao affirmed that the suppression of counterrevolutionaries in 1951-52 was necessary.

But since 1956, Mao said, a radical change in the situation took place as the bulk of counterrevolutionaries had [been?] cleared out.

The basic task of the people's government, Mao pointed out, had changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production.

#### Function

Well then, what is the people's democratic dictatorship for?

Mao put it this way. The function of the people's democratic dictatorship is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters who resist the socialist system and construction.

Mao said, to maintain public order and safeguard the interests of the people, it is necessary to exercise this dictatorship over murderers, thieves, swindlers, arsonists, criminal gangs and others who seriously disrupt public order.

What Mao said in this regard has been taken as a guide in formulating the Chinese Criminal Law.

Contemporary Chinese penology aims at reformation of offenders and protection of society. It also contains something in the nature of deterrence. But it is known that a Chinese prison is not just a place of punishment. As an enclosed factory, it is a place for reformation.

Now comes the answer to the question why does China still keep capital punishment.

The reason is there may be cases of high treason, murder, rape followed by death, burglary, corruption, arson, elements that resist the socialist system and construction, and gang of hooligans who seriously endanger public security.

History proves executions were more frequent under extraordinary circumstances, such as in the land reform during the People's Liberation War (1946-49) and in the post liberation days when the Kuomintang agents still ran amok. The recent crime crack-down was considered imperative in the wake of the "cultural revolution," if the people, society, and the modernization programme in particular, are to be protected.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA DAILY COMMENTATOR REVIEWS PAST YEAR

HK030307 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 3 Jan 84 p 4

["Opinion" Column by CHINA DAILY commentator: "On the Right Track"]

[Text] China enters the New Year amid heartening reports of having reached production goals 2 years ahead of the time set in the sixth 5-Year Plan (1981-85).

The official year-end estimates show that in 1983 the gross value of both industrial and agricultural production reached the target set for 1985 in the state plan.

The plan fixes the growth rate of 4 to 5 percent a year, but agricultural production has actually grown at an annual rate of 7.1 percent, and industry 7.2 percent.

People are now even more confident that ever of attaining the ambitious goal of quadrupling annual gross industrial and agricultural output by the year 2000 as undertaken by the 12th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1982.

Readjustment

The year 1983 was a year of continued economic readjustment, which yielded better-than-expected results: a bumper harvest, a rapid and more balanced industrial growth and, above all, a start on reversing the low economic efficiency in enterprises.

After successive good harvests, the year saw new records for all major crops despite unfavourable climatic conditions in China--the worst flooding since 1954, and prolonged drought, wind and hailstorms.

Grain output is expected to have increased 4.7 percent and cotton 11.16 percent. Production of sugar, meat, poultry, dairy and aquatic products was above the highest previous levels. As a result, the average income of rural households in 1983 is believed to have increased by 10 percent.

The excellent rural situation in China has been brought about by the general introduction of the household contract system of responsibility, which links peasants' income with their production. The system is working well and what it has achieved shows how institutional reforms can stimulate productivity.

In industry, the year saw a relatively fast growth rate. The increase in industrial output value is estimated at 10 percent. A more reasonable balance has been reached between light and heavy industries, which was certainly not the case when the year began. The growth rate of light industry rose from 2.5 percent in the first quarter to 8.4 percent by the end of November, while that of heavy industry rose slightly from 11.7 percent to 13 percent.

Capital investment, which grew out of control in the first half of the year, has been reduced in order to guarantee funds, energy and materials for key projects, particularly the two weak links of the economy, energy and transportation.

But a tougher and more significant battle throughout the year was the demand for all industrial and commercial enterprises to raise their economic rate of return--to increase profits and taxes and reduce costs.

China had long had a hard nut to crack--the low economic efficiency in most enterprises in terms of profits and taxes handed over to the state, even when production was increasing rapidly. From 1979 to 1982, the total output value of agriculture and industry grew at an annual rate of 7.3 percent, but the average national revenue decreased by 1.9 percent each year.

#### Efficiency

In 1983, for the first time in many years, this was checked, and the gap between high growth rate and low economic rate of return was narrowed, especially in the latter part of the year. By October, almost half of the provinces and autonomous regions saw the growth of profits and taxes surpass the rate of increase in industrial output value.

The year 1983 has demonstrated that it is a correct policy to maintain a moderate growth rate but make all-out efforts to improve economic efficiency. Continued economic readjustment is the key if a solid foundation is to be laid for a real economic boom in the last decade of the century.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY URGES USE OF LAW TO STOP FLEECING OF STATE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 83 p 4

[Commentary: "Use Legal Weapon to Stop the Evil Trend of Fleecing the State"]

[Text] The people's court in Tianjin's Hexi Ward held public trials of cases involving the fleecing of the state by Tianjin's No 4 Paper Mill and the Shuanglin Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Farm, thereby cracking down on unhealthy trends and evil practices, protecting the legal rights of the plaintiffs, keeping the state's construction funds from being seized and enabling capital construction projects to be carried out smoothly. Such rulings were entirely necessary and correct.

Because certain units in some capital construction projects intend to take the opportunity to "reap some profits" and fleece the state wantonly, they create numerous difficulties for capital construction and disperse and waste state construction funds. Because some construction units want to complete their work speedily, they do not breathe a word to anyone even though they are fleeced. Although some construction units make one concession after another, it does not satisfy certain people and keep them for carrying out blackmail. Tianjin's asphalt felt plant was fleeced for more than 1 million yuan, and railway construction was not possible. This was solved only after an appeal was made to the people's court. Facts have shown everyone that in the face of unhealthy tendencies "compromise" cannot "serve the general purpose" and we must firmly resist and struggle against them. When administrative means cannot solve problems, we will have to use legal means by appealing to the people's court.

The people's court must actively accept and hear this type of case, punish those who violate the law, crack down on unhealthy trends, support construction units in opposing extortion and blackmail, protect the legal rights and interests of construction units and the smooth progress of construction projects and safeguard planned and centralized use of limited state construction funds. Typical cases must be tried publicly in order to popularize the legal system, extend its influence and give play to the active role of economic trials in the "four modernizations" program.

9586

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

WAYS TO REDUCE SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL LABOR DETAILED

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI [POPULATION AND ECONOMICS] in Chinese No 4,  
25 Aug 82 pp 13-16

/Article by Yang Jingying /2799 0079 5391/: "What is the Way out for  
Surplus Agricultural Labor?"

/Text/ The large amount of surplus agricultural labor in our country  
at present is a big problem in urgent need of solution. The key to  
solving this problem lies in how to find a way to reduce surplus  
agricultural labor.

In that case, what finally is the way out? Would it be possible to  
transfer a lot of agricultural labor to large- and medium-size cities  
as countries such as Japan, the US and European countries have done?  
It would not do! First, this is because a prerequisite for the  
transfer of agricultural labor is to improve agricultural labor  
productivity and to increase the percentage of marketable products  
enabling agricultural production to satisfy the development needs of  
the national economy. At present our country's agricultural labor  
productivity and the percentage of marketable products in proportion  
to agricultural products are still very low, and the products supplied  
by agriculture still cannot guarantee the needs of all departments  
and all areas of the national economy. With today's agriculture  
still fairly backward, and the need for a comprehensive and rapid  
development in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production  
and fishery, it would be inappropriate to transfer a large amount of  
agricultural labor. Second, judging from the actual situation in our  
country at present, not only does agriculture have a work force of  
over 300 million people, but the industrial work force in the cities  
is also very large. Moreover, there is still quite a lot of unemployed  
labor in the cities which needs to be deployed, and if surplus  
agricultural labor poured into the cities, not only would there be  
no way to absorb it, but even more complicated problems would arise.  
Thus, most of our country's surplus agricultural labor must be deployed  
in the rural areas, and we cannot adopt a policy that would allow a  
lot of it to flow into the cities.

Based on our country's national conditions, I believe that the way to  
reduce surplus agricultural labor may be found in the following several  
areas:

## 1. Develop a Diversified Economy

In order to develop a diversified economy, it will be necessary to develop production in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery in line with local conditions, and this will enable agricultural production to develop comprehensively on a broader and larger scale, thus enabling it to absorb a larger amount of the agricultural labor force.

Our country has abundant natural resources and animal and plant resources, and has a good basis for developing a diversified economy. Based on preliminary statistics, there are now approximately 1.5 billion mu of cultivated land, 1.8 billion mu of forest land and 5.3 billion mu of grasslands and prairies of which over 4 billion mu are usable, 1.03 million square li of maritime area of which 818,000 square li are maritime fishing grounds, 7.4 million mu of cultivable seawater and a total of 250 million mu of fresh water of which 75.4 million mu is cultivable. Moreover, based on incomplete statistics, there are also over 2,000 kinds of edible plants throughout the country; over 200 kinds of spice plants; over 5,000 kinds of trees; over 2,800 kinds of medicinal plants and animals; many kinds of livestock and poultry such as horses, cows, donkeys, mules, camels, sheep, pigs, chickens, ducks, geese and rabbits; over 1,200 kinds of birds; over 1,500 kinds of fish; and over 600 kinds of wild animals. In addition, natural conditions throughout the country are complex, discrepancies between natural conditions and economic development levels are very great in all areas and such things as an area's topography, soil and climate are also varied. In order to utilize the favorable conditions of all areas fully and rationally, it will be necessary to develop a diversified economy in line with local conditions. Even in planning for such basics as commodity grains, cash crops, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery in our country's agricultural divisions, we cannot "have one-track minds," but taking one or two industries as the dominant factor, we should simultaneously engage in other industries. In this way not only can we fully utilize our country's abundant natural resources and animal and plant resources, publicize strong points and avoid weak ones and enhance profits and avoid losses. Moreover, we can also tap new sources of production, absorb a large amount of the surplus agricultural labor force, fully develop people's intelligence, wisdom and work capacity and develop the range and quality of production, enabling a new situation of comprehensive development to arise in agriculture and better economic results to be achieved.

Since the end of 1978, through carrying out the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the party, all areas throughout the country have liberated their ideology, developed a diversified economy in line with local conditions and rationally used the labor force. As a result, changes have begun to occur in the agricultural labor structure and evident results have been achieved. For instance, Tiantong Commune in Zhejiang Province's Yin County has a total labor force of over 4,000. In the past, most of the labor force was



concentrated in working on an average of less than 0.6 mu of cultivated land per person, and as a result one third of the labor force was idle and wasted due to the poor organization of work. Later, in the light of local conditions, they tapped new sources of production and energetically developed mountain forest specialties and commune and brigade industry. In the two areas of the processing of mountain forest specialties and of commune and brigade industry alone, they accommodated over 1,400 members, or 35 percent of the total labor force, and fully utilized labor resources, thus enabling the labor force to change from having a surplus to having an insufficient number. Since the strengths of the labor force were developed, grain production and a diversified economy have developed comprehensively, and there has been a large-scale increase in income. In 1979 Tiantong Commune's grain yield had reached 1,836 jin per mu, an increase of 226 jin over 1978's record, and income from forestry specialties and commune and brigade enterprises had reached 4.55 million yuan, more than twice as much as agricultural (crop cultivation) income. The average distribution of income throughout the commune had reached 213 yuan. Practice has shown that developing a diversified economy in line with local conditions not only enables natural resources to be better developed and utilized but also enables labor resources to be gradually used more rationally and effectively, the special skills of the labor force to be fully developed and the best possible use to be made of land, men and material, thus creating more wealth and enabling both the communes and brigades collectively and the commune members individually to increase their incomes.

In our country there is at present a great potential for developing a diversified economy. In agriculture, there are still several hundred million mu of cultivable wasteland waiting to be brought under cultivation. Existing cultivated land still needs intensive cultivation and scientific farming so as to improve the per-mu yield and total yield of agricultural crops further. For instance, based on calculations for cultivated area, the average grain yield throughout the country in 1979 was only 566 jin per mu, but in a group of well-run communes and brigades it surpassed 1,000 jin and even reached more than 1 ton, the disparity being very great. If through great efforts, all communes and brigades improve to advanced levels, the increased yield would be fairly impressive. If we also did a good job of bringing all farmland under irrigation, extensively using chemical fertilizers and other farm chemicals and using improved varieties, there could also be a greater increase in total grain yield. Moreover, cash crops also need further development. In forestry, our country's reforestation rate is only 12.7 percent, much lower than the average world level of 22 percent. There is still over 1.1 billion mu of barren hills and wasteland suitable for forests which have not been afforested and over 10 million mu of cutover land which have not been reforested, and the planting of trees besides the fields is not very widespread. In animal husbandry, our country has good conditions for developing animal husbandry but has not fully utilized them; the area of our country's grasslands and prairies constitutes 36.8 percent of the whole

country's total area, but the output value of animal husbandry makes up only 14 percent of total agricultural output value.

On over 4 billion mu of grasslands, our country raises only some 10 million head of cattle, but on over 3.9 billion mu, the U.S. raises 110 million head; our country's grassland area is larger than that of the U.S., but our meat production rate is only one forty-fifth of theirs. In addition, 1 billion mu of grass mountains and hillsides in the south have still not been fully utilized. In fishery, our country's aquatic resources are abundant, but the advantages of the aquatic products industry have still not been fully developed. Up to the present, the maritime and fresh-water cultivable area which has been used makes up only 1/7.5 of the potentially usable area. Moreover, there are great disparities in the amount of yield per unit of area, the average yield throughout the country being only 40 jin per mu, with the well-run yield having reached a high of 400-500 jin and even surpassing 1,000 jin per mu. Most of the shallow seas and deep shoals have still not been utilized. All this work still waiting to be developed, utilized and perfected shows that our country's diversified economy is in need of further development. Thus, under the guidance of nationally unified planning, all rural areas should carry out the policy of overall development with farming as the dominant factor and, based on local natural conditions and specific situations, integrate present production with long-range planning, publicize their strong points and avoid their weak ones and, suited to local conditions, do a good job of production in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery, thus creating the conditions to absorb a large portion of the agricultural labor force.

Development of a diversified economy is the major way out at present for our country's surplus agricultural labor.

## 2. Establish Joint Agricultural-industrial-commercial Enterprises

Joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises are a form of organized management in the modern agricultural economy. They have emerged as the basis of modern agricultural production and have developed along with its development. Their emergence is an objective requirement for the development of agricultural productive forces, and their development can also promote further development in the modernization of agricultural production.

Based on agricultural development, joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises correspondingly develop industry and commerce and organize agricultural production and the processing, storage, transportation and sale of agricultural products as well as the supply of the means of agricultural production into an organically whole agricultural enterprise. In joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises, agricultural production is the starting point and also the terminal point, with agriculture as the core of it all. The various products

supplied by agricultural production are the basis of processing and sales, and the processing and sale of agricultural products are also an extension and continuation of agricultural production, creating the conditions for agricultural reproduction on an extended scale. In the development of the rural areas, on one hand, the processing industry, with agricultural products as its raw materials, and commerce for the sale of agricultural products and processed manufactured goods can promote a quicker development of agricultural production, decrease intermediate links and reduce spoilage, transportation expenses and costs. Based on their benefits to consumption, they can better satisfy the needs for agricultural products of national construction and the people's livelihood and moreover, can also increase agricultural income, expand agricultural accumulation and supply more funds for realizing the modernization of agriculture. On the other hand, they are also beneficial in absorbing surplus agricultural labor, enabling all able-bodied people in rural areas to be able to develop their enthusiasm and creativity and thus improving agricultural labor productivity and increasing the wealth of and achieving the greatest economic results for the whole society. Thus, establishing joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises and taking the road of comprehensive development of agriculture, industry, and commerce are the trends in agricultural development.

At present carrying out joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises has become a world trend, and our country has experimented with them. In state-run farms in certain areas and on people's communes in some rural areas. Practice has proved that the prospects for the development of joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises are broad. Since they can rationally redistribute surplus agricultural labor power into sectors such as processing, sales, service and construction, they therefore have an enormous impact on the area of the deployment of surplus agricultural labor. For example, since the Changcheng joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprise was established in Beijing Municipality, it has transferred over 1,000 members of the surplus labor force from agricultural production and developed a joint enterprise construction company. Of the labor force in Jiangsu Province's commune and brigade enterprises, 3.08 million people have come from production teams, constituting 13.7 percent of its total rural labor force. At present, commune and brigade enterprises throughout the country have deployed 29 million people from the surplus agricultural labor force. It can be predicted that if joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises are generally promoted and carried out throughout the country, they will accommodate a sizeable portion of the surplus agricultural labor force.

The establishment of joint agricultural-industrial-commercial enterprises will be a major way for our country to absorb surplus agricultural labor in the next several decades.

### 3. Build Small Cities and Towns in a Planned Way

The size of our rural areas is large, and the agricultural population constitutes over 80 percent of the population of the whole country. Thus in order to improve the material and cultural living standards of all the people, we cannot neglect construction in the vast rural areas and the efforts to improve the material and cultural living standards of the agricultural population, which constitutes the largest proportion of the population of the whole country. This will require us to build over 56,000 county and rural market towns linked to the town and country economy and culture in a planned and decentralized way throughout the vast rural areas, gradually building them into small cities and towns of specified dimensions. The planning and construction of small cities and towns are not only related to the continued improvement of the material and cultural living standards of the people in the vast rural areas, and to the coordinated development of the town and country politics, economy, culture and education, but is also of benefit to the rational deployment of the productive forces and to a large-scale absorption of the surplus agricultural labor force.

Building small cities and towns accommodating a large part of the labor force transferred from agriculture has achieved fairly remarkable results in Romania. Romania has built nearly 100 new small cities and towns in the last 30 years, has built an average of 5 new cities a year in the last 10 years particularly and has over 6 million peasants who have become residents of small cities and towns. In our country, along with the further development of the causes of agriculture, local industry, communications and transportation, culture, education and hygiene, it will also be necessary to build and develop small cities and towns in a planned way. In building small cities and towns, it will be necessary to develop their commerce and catering and service trades correspondingly and to increase departments and organs such as culture, education, hygiene, welfare facilities, municipal government management and public utilities; this not only will improve the material and cultural living standards of people in rural areas but will also give employment opportunities to the surplus agricultural labor force. The town of Huazhuang in Jiangsu Province's Wuxi County, spurred by commune and city enterprises, has built multistoried department stores, hotels, restaurants, teahouses, drugstores, barbershops, photo studios, hospitals, complete high schools, bookstores and a movie theater with a seating capacity of over 1,600, and the town's population has rapidly developed from the early post-liberation 400-plus people to the present 8,000-plus. In the next 20 years, if each county town and rural market town could absorb 2,000 members of the agricultural labor force, then 56,000 of them could accommodate over 100 million.

It can be seen that building small cities and towns in a planned way will be a major way in the future to absorb surplus agricultural labor.

#### 4. Suitably Develop More Labor-intensive Trades

Labor-intensive trades are ones which can accommodate a fairly large amount of labor with a fairly small amount of investment. Trades such as industrial arts, household hardware and ceramics, clothing processing and knitting and embroidery all belong to labor-intensive type trades. Their technical standards generally belong to the intermediate and fairly backward skill levels, and some are even those of handicraft labor. Their characteristics are that they do things simply and inexpensively those of use local materials and have low energy consumption, low unit cost, a broad product market, fast fund turnover and the ability to use varied natural resources, recycle waste material and create wealth for society.

In our country, based on the natural resources of each area and the availability of labor, adapting to the needs of foreign and domestic markets and suitably developing more labor-intensive trades will be of benefit in satisfying the various needs of the people's lives, expanding exports and raising foreign exchange funds for the country and will also be of benefit in increasing social employment, absorbing a large amount of surplus agricultural labor, mobilizing various technical forces and developing the roles of intermediate and backward skills, thereby enabling a vast amount of labor resources to be fully utilized and making a due contribution to the realization of the four modernizations. For instance, the grass-weaving craft factory in Zhejiang Province's Linhai County uses natural raw materials such as bamboo shoot shells, wheat straw, corn husks, mountain cogongrass, Chinese alpine rush and salt grass to develop over 2,000 kinds of grass products such as straw handbags, candy boxes and flowerpot covers and exports then to over 30 countries and regions. In the 9 years from the construction of the factory in 1971 to 1979, it collected \$12.42 million in exchange from exports and realized 2.04 million yuan in profits. By 1979, this factory's output value reached 5.52 million yuan, the number of its staff members and workers also increased from 10 at the time of construction to 156 and the factory had over 25,000 processing personnel outside the factory.

Judging from our country's present conditions of manpower and material and financial resources, suitably developing more labor-intensive trades in our country and using an increased number of workers to increase production will be in the long run an indispensable way of developing production and absorbing surplus agricultural labor.

#### 5. Open up an International Labor Arena

Along with the socialization of production and the large-scale development of a commercial economy, not only can exchange of material equipment, technology and funds be broadened internationally, but a labor arena of international scope can also be opened up to carry out an international exchange of labor. Our country's labor resources are abundant, and we

could sign agreements with certain countries which have abundant natural resources and high levels of material technology but which are relatively short of labor power. For instance, in such things as joining forces to cut timber, carrying out construction projects and building tunnels, we can organize personnel to go abroad and use international connections to arrange for the greater employment of labor.

The business of exporting labor abroad is now gradually being developed. It is reported that since the China Construction Company, which has 10,000 engineering technicians, designers and workers, was established at the beginning of 1979, it has signed over 110 contracts with foreign companies. In addition to supplying labor, the company also contracts for work such as building residences, office buildings, hotels, restaurants and hospitals. It has now signed certain long-range contracts with contractors from Kuwait, Sudan, Italy and Japan. It is also reported that recently our country has suddenly increased its labor export volume with civil engineers as the central factor. Shaanxi Province began exporting labor last year and up to the present has exported 789 laborers to 37 engineering projects; Guangdong Province has sent over 400 people to Hong Kong and Macao; and the city of Wuhan, which began to engage in the business this May, up to the present has also sent 112 people to countries such as Iraq. This work will continue to be carried out on an expanded scale in the future.

Our country's organization of this type of company, the development of the business of supplying labor abroad and the opening of an international labor arena will also be ways to reduce the surplus agricultural labor force.

#### 6. Other Ways

Strengthening the work in such areas as education and technical training of the agricultural labor force in order to improve educational and technical standards; agricultural experiments and scientific research so as to continue to improve the variety and conditions of agricultural production; and systematic education in production technology, natural science and management science for administrative personnel so as to improve the organization of agricultural production and management and administrative standards will equally absorb part of the agricultural labor force.

In addition, we can also gradually adjust regional economic distribution, develop border areas in a planned way, use methods which the masses are accustomed to and are willing to accept and have people migrate to border areas which need labor. This is an important measure of strategic significance favorable both to the prosperity of border regions and the strengthening of national defense and to the accommodation and full utilization of the labor force.

In summary, there are many ways to reduce the surplus agricultural labor force, there are a lot of sources for their employment and they can be fully and rationally utilized.

While fully using our country's abundant labor resources, broadening employment sources and searching for ways to reduce our surplus agricultural labor, it will also be necessary to pay attention to the following problems:

First, it will be necessary to continue to do a good job of stressing planned parenthood work, advocate and carry out the policy of a pair of parents having only 1 child, lower the rate of population increase and keep the population under 1.2 billion by the end of this century, thus avoiding a large-scale excessive increase in the labor force, gradually reducing conditions created by employment pressure for the future and enabling the increase of the population and the development of the labor force to adapt to the development needs of the national economy.

Second, in developing a diversified economy we cannot neglect grain production, and it is necessary to support giving priority to grain production and, through aspects such as deployment of the labor force, to ensure a steady increase in total grain yield.

Third, in establishing commune and brigade enterprises we cannot build factories without natural resources or build duplicate factories, and we must prevent blind development and firmly resolve to prevent the use of incorrect methods such as vying for resources and struggling for raw materials between large, advanced industries, destroying national resources, pushing big things with small forces and pushing the advanced with the backward. In the production work of commune and brigade enterprises, based on the principle of cooperation between specializations, it will also be necessary to do a good job of rational distribution and overall planning.

Fourth, the agricultural labor force should have unified management and planning by communes and brigades, and concerned departments must formulate essential management systems, do a good job of labor management, improve education of commune members and make them conscientiously observe labor discipline and management systems. We cannot let things slide in the planning and utilization of the agricultural labor force.

Fifth, we must carry out the policy of distribution according to work and fairly determine labor rewards for personnel in all industries. In distribution, it is necessary to overcome the tendency to equalitarianism and both to recognize differences and to prevent great disparities between high and low so as to arouse the enthusiasm of personnel in all industries.

To sum up, as to the problem of the surplus agricultural labor force, provided we attach great importance to it and conscientiously solve it step by step in a planned and organized way, it will be possible to make appropriate arrangements for finding a way out. If we can do a good job of solving this problem, we will be able to arouse the enthusiasm of over 300 million agricultural workers and over 800 million peasants, fully develop the advantages of our country's abundant labor resources and enable our country's agricultural modernization and the four modernizations to be successfully realized.

12267

CSO: 4005/116



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PORNOGRAPHIC RING CRACKED IN BEIJING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Oct 83 p 4

[Report: "Pornographic Ring Uncovered in Beijing; Chief Offender Yang Zhanyun [2799 0594 0061] Sentenced to 10 Years' Imprisonment"]

[Text] A criminal ring which aims at making a profit and which produces and sells pornography has recently been uncovered in Beijing. The chief offender, Yang Zhanyun, has been sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for charges of being a hoodlum and of producing and selling pornography.

Yang Zhanyun was a paper department sales worker of an arts and crafts service department in Beijing. The Xuan paper sold by the paper department is a commodity in great demand. In February of this year, when Zhang Jianying [1728 1696 5391], a staff worker of the Jianhui Construction Corporation in Hong Kong, returned to Beijing to visit relatives, he went to the paper department to purchase sets of Xuan paper. At first Yang Zhanyun declared it was out of stock, but later a middleman indicated to Zhang Jianying that Yang needed pornographic magazines from abroad. Zhang Jianying successively gave Yang two pornographic magazines, and Yang immediately violated the system by selling Zhang Jianying 1,000 to 2,000 sheets of Xuan paper on each occasion.

After Yang obtained the magazines, he became acquainted with an amateur calligrapher and an amateur painter: one was Lu Huiqiang [0712 1979 1730], a singer for a certain opera troupe in Beijing, and the other was Liu Shengchun [0491 0524 2504], a purchase worker in Baicheng City in Jilin. They both needed to go through Yang Zhanyun in order to buy Xuan paper, and at the same time they were weak in will and pursued the bourgeois way of life. Recognizing this weakness in them, Yang Zhanyun wanted Lu to help reprint the magazines and indeed Lu agreed. Together Yang and Lu produced a set of 20 negatives from 1 of the magazines, and Yang let Liu Shengchun take the photographs to sell in Baicheng City in Jilin. At the same time, Yang and Lu drew Su Shaogen [5685 4801 2704], a worker at the Tianjin Tractor Plant, into their ring. It only took them 1 time to develop and print more than 700 pornographic pictures, which Su brought to Tianjin to sell at high prices, but was Su arrested on the spot by the branch public security bureau of Tianjing's Heping Ward, and Yang, Lu and Liu were arrested one after another.

Yang Zhanyun is an immoral hoodlum. On numerous occasions he wanted young people around him to read and circulate pornography, thereby corroding and poisoning them. It was particularly despicable that he used this as a means to seduce women on many occasions.

It was the height of a severely hot summer in Beijing when the Yang Zhanyun case was investigated and solved. The people's police of the Dongcheng branch of the Beijing public security bureau traveled long distances and investigated over 100 people. Not a single offender connected with the case went uncaught. Wherever public security officers went, they actively publicized socialist morality among the young men and women who were victimized and mobilized the broad masses of people to struggle against the decadent tendencies that corrupt public morals. Their actions have received the support of the broad masses of the people.

Some of the other offenders connected with the case have been sentenced in accordance with law while some have been dealt with separately.

9586

CSO: 4005/89

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

KUOMINTANG REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE ENDS PLENUM--Beijing, 30 December (XINHUA)--The 10-day sixth National Congress of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang, one of China's eight democratic parties, ended here today. A resolution approved at today's closing session said that the group's vital task was to promote the reunification of the country. The resolution supported the stand of the Chinese Communist Party for Kuomintang-Communist talks and a third round of cooperation between the two parties. The Revolutionary Committee hopes that Mr Chiang Ching-kuo and the Taiwan authorities contribute to peaceful reunification. A work report of the fifth Central Committee and a revised constitution were adopted and new leadership for the sixth Central Committee was elected during the congress. The revised constitution calls for enlarging the membership from former Kuomintang personnel and those with historical relations with the Kuomintang to Kuomintang members who crossed over and returned from Taiwan to the mainland, relatives of Kuomintang officials now residing in Taiwan and Kuomintang war criminals who have been granted special amnesty or leniency and people who can play a certain role in Taiwan's return to the motherland. [Text] [OW301309 Beijing XINHUA in English 1148 GMT 30 Dec 83]

LEGAL NEWSPAPERS--Beijing, 4 January (XINHUA)--Twenty provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China now have their own legal newspapers with a total circulation of more than 24 million copies each year, according to the Ministry of Justice here. The first local legal newspapers were published in Xinjiang and Qinghai in 1980, in the Han, Uygur and Tibetan languages. Guizhou, Tibet, Jiangsu and other areas are now making arrangements to publish similar papers. Legal newspapers will also be available this year in Heilongjiang Province in northeast China and Sichuan Province in the southwest, the ministry said. The papers have played an important role in spreading knowledge of the government's legal principles and policies, and in aiding popular legal education, according to a recent national conference of law newspapers editors. The papers should be made more interesting and vivid in writing technique and language, the editors also agreed. [Text] [OW041236 Beijing XINHUA in English 0854 GMT 4 Jan 84]

INTELLECTUALS REPRESENTED IN TRADE UNION CONGRESS--A total of 301 intellectual deputies had the honor of attending the 10th National Congress of Chinese Trade Congress convened in Beijing on the 18th. They make up 15.1 percent of the total number of deputies. The quota assignment plan of the 10th National Congress of Chinese Trade Unions clearly stipulates that intellectual deputies in science, technology, culture and education are one of the five groups of deputies forming the congress and will make up about 15 percent of the total number of deputies. Among the 301 intellectual deputies there are 121 engineers, 9 agricultural technicians, 32 scientific researchers, 33 medical workers, 82 education workers and 24 workers in literature, art and other areas. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 83 p 1] 9586

CSO: 4005/88

EAST REGION

LEADING BODIES IN JIANGXI SET NEW EXAMPLE IN STRAIGHTENING OUT PARTY STYLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 83 p 4

[Article: "Correct Party policies to Bring on a New Style, Strive to Create a New Situation--After Readjustment of Some Departments, Bureaus, Prefectures and Cities in Jiangxi Province, the New Leading Bodies Have Strengthened Personal Revolutionization and Construction"]

[Text] Following the readjustment of leading bodies in the departments, bureaus, prefectures and cities of Jiangxi Province, by remembering well the important responsibilities they themselves bear and by striving to strengthen their personal revolutionization and construction, a new atmosphere has appeared in the new bodies.

During the reforms of the departmental and bureau units and of the prefectural and city organizations from March to June of this year, Jiangxi Province has carried out a readjustment of the leading bodies of these units according to the requirements of the "four modernizations" of cadres. Based on a recent investigation of departments organized by the provincial committee, the members of these new bodies have shown themselves to be quite good. This was especially true during the July flooding emergency, when the new leading bodies in Jiujiang City, Nanchang City, Shangrao Prefecture and other areas damaged in the flooding fought on the front lines with the cadres and masses from beginning to end, achieved victory in the battle against the flood emergency and received praise from the masses.

These new leadership bodies paid very close attention to following political discipline and conscientiously preserved complete unanimity with the Party Central Committee. During the first conference of the new bodies, the great majority of units formulated joint pledges or stipulations to make preservation of political unanimity with the Party Central Committee the foremost requirement for themselves and to adhere resolutely to the lines, directions and policies of the party Central Committee. After the Central Committee issued its notice on studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," all of the new bodies set up small central study groups, concluded agreements on study systems, linked up with the realities of their units and earnestly studied, guided and promoted work in all areas.

One obvious characteristic of the new leading bodies is the launching of criticism and self-criticism, the adherence to the system of democratic centralism and the practice of listening to the opinions of the masses and specialists. After organizing the new bodies in the provincial health and sanitation department, they summarized the experiences of the past, set a data for calling a conference on democratic life, earnestly listened to the opinions of the masses and specialists, strengthened group unity and made rapid improvements in their work. Some time before, medical specialists had proposed that the Jiangxi No 2 People's Hospital be turned into a tumor hospital to reduce the number of people who had to leave Jiangxi for treatment. The departmental party organization accepted this opinion and even took quick action to prepare for the change.

After assuming their duties, the members of the new bodies in each unit set strict requirements for themselves in leading the way to correct party practices. Some of the members of the Yuzhou Prefecture committee had been selected from basic-level mines, factories or county departments. They did not change houses or live in hostels when they took over their positions. Residential space in the organization was in short supply, so they lived in their offices and ate in the organization's cafeteria. Recently, when the Shangrao Prefecture committee organization completed a new dormitory, all the prefecture committee members indicated that they would not participate in the distribution of the new residences and arranged for older comrades to get the new houses. The members of the new bodies did not ride to and from work in automobiles. They cleaned their own offices and got in line with the masses to eat. They didn't ask others to write drafts or speeches for them. These sorts of things are becoming more and more common.

Many of the new leading bodies paid a lot of attention to reforming work styles and improving their working methods. They frequently went out to investigate and study actual conditions, grasped new situations and did research on new problems. The party organization of the provincial people's government issued basic-level regulations according to the characteristics of their own work. In the past year and longer, department head Shi Quanbao [4258 0356 0202] has gone down to the countryside 11 times for a total of 74 days to make investigations in 15 counties and cities and in over 30 communes. He visited 150 "five guarantee", poor and distressed families. He took the warmth of the party and government into the hearts of the masses and promoted the work of the people's government. There were fairly major changes in the Nanchang City party committee and government this time, but the work was carried out quite well. Based on the actual conditions in the city, the city party committee decided to resolve three problems: public security, market supplies and the building of spiritual civilization. The leading members of the city party committee and government divided up the responsibility for this work and further stipulated that anyone who did not do the work well would be investigated. The two responsible comrades of the city government who were put in charge of market supply went out to suburban communes and brigades on several occasions, sought out the main reasons for shortages in vegetable supplies and solved the major old problem of vegetable supply shortages.

EAST REGION

EFFORTS IN ELIMINATING SPIRITUAL POLLUTION IN JIANGSU STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 83 p 5

[Article: "Jiangsu Provincial Committee Secretary Han Peixin Says that Elimination of Spritual Pollution Must Be Made a Major Order of the Day"]

[Text] Jiangsu provincial CPC committee secretary Han Peixin [7281 1014 0207] said this morning at a conference of leading cadres from province-level organizations that while they are studying policies for party consolidation, party members and cadres should use the spirit of the 2d Plenum of the 12th CPC Congress to unify everyone's knowledge, to guarantee the smooth carrying out of party consolidation work in their organizations and to guarantee the implementation of the important policy of resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution.

Han Peixin said that the Party Central Committee's analysis of the current situation and existing problems on the ideological front hit the nail on the head and is completely suited to the real situation in Jiangsu. Although a great deal of work has been done on the ideological and theoretical fronts in Jiangsu in recent years, there are still definitely a few problems, especially the problem of spiritual pollution. The provincial propaganda department recently looked into over 1,000 theoretical articles in provincial publications and over 8 million characters of literary and artistic works in four literary and artistic periodicals that were published in the province since August 1981. There were definitely some bad articles and works among them. In theoretical articles, some people departed from the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to discuss abstract human nature and the value of man or put forth the concept of "socialist alienation" and similar mistaken ideas. There were some novels, folk art, plays, music and other literary and artistic works of a depressing or low style, and some even had a sexual, superstitious or terrifying content. There were some works of science fiction or scientific popularization which spread superstitious or absurd things. Some smaller periodicals published vulgar "social news," creating very bad social results. Some people indiscriminantly and blindly praised Western ideology and culture. Some periodicals were as busy as beehives translating works which are considered vulgar in Western countries. Counterrevolutionary, pornographic and obscene video tapes, audio tapes, pictures and manuscripts are still

spreading throughout many areas, causing serious corrosion and poisoning of the spirit of many young people. For this reason, resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution must become a major order of the day.

Han Peixin said that leading cadres must first of all lead the way in resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution and should strengthen their leadership on the ideological and theoretical fronts. All departments should dare to arrest and discipline anyone who is spreading spiritual pollution, and there definitely must not be any new spiritual pollution from this point on.

12539

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

OFFICIAL IN GUANGDONG RELIEVED OF DUTIES FOR INVOLVEMENT IN SMUGGLING

Activities Reported

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 83 p 4

[Article: "Ma Zhenxing is Dismissed from All Party and Non-party Duties-- The Case of Conniving in Smuggling and Illegal Trading Exposed by Zhuang Xiying Is Dealt with"]

[Text] According to a report in NANFANG RIBAO, the case of Ma Zhenxing [7456 2182 2502], head of the Guangdong Chaoyang County post and telecommunications office, who was exposed and denounced by Zhuang Xiying [8369 1917 5391] 1 year ago when the struggle to oppose smuggling began to intensify, has been dealt with. The criminal Ma Zhenxing had retaliated against Zhuang Xiying, had assisted and taken part in smuggling and illegal trading and had made other mistakes. He has been dismissed from all his party and non-party duties. Director Yu Baihui [0061 4102 1920] and deputy director Dong Weijian [5516 4850 0313] of the Shantou Prefecture post and telecommunications office, who had assisted Ma Zhenxing in his erroneous methods, made a thorough criticism of their mistakes and were exempted from punishment.

Because Zhuang Xiying, an employee of the post and telecommunications office in Chaoyang County and a member of the Communist Party had denounced and exposed the erroneous activities of Ma Zhenxing's support and connivance in smuggling and illegal trading to higher authorities on several occasions. Ma Zhenxing had retaliated against her. After the newspaper reported Zhuang Xiying's lack of fear of retaliation and here upholding of the struggle against smuggling, the Guangdong provincial CPC committee gave this case its close attention. A joint investigatory group was organized by the Shantou Prefecture committee and the Chaoyang County committee. The investigation confirmed that the criminal Ma Zhenxing had made three kinds of serious errors.

The first was that he made retaliatory statements and actions against Zhuang Xiying for denouncing him. After Zhuang Xiying exposed Ma Zhenxing to the higher authorities, Ma Zhenxing basically did not investigate his own errors but instead charged that Zhuang Xiying had "simply fabricated and made false accusations." He called for Zhuang Xiying's "severe punishment" and wanted to charge her with "making false accusations."

The second was that he supported and participated in smuggling activities. Ma Zhenxing was a department head. However, he took the initiative in giving several mail bags to "under-the-counter connections." Some of these mail bags were used for mailing smuggled goods, thereby aiding in profiteering and illegal sales activities. In violation of decisions by higher authorities, Ma Zhenxing did not deal with the smuggled packages when they were discovered, and even approved the mailing of smuggled goods. Even more serious was that Ma Zhenxing connived with his son Ma Zhenjian [7456 6966 1017]; with Chen Xinyuan [7115 2450 3293], the head of the Simapu post and telecommunitions branch office; with Li Wu [2621 3527], a shop assistant; with Lin Song [2651 2646], an inspector; and others in illegally receiving packages of smuggled goods.

The third was his use of his position to engage in improper activities. When building his private house in his home village, Ma Zhenxing used public coal quotas and used public vehicles for transporting materials without paying for them. In addition, he used public lumber to make a coffin for his mother and engaged in other illegal activities.

#### Commentary on Dismissal

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 83 p 4

[Editorial: "Sound the Alarm"]

[Text] From the lodging of a complaint by Zhuang Xiying [8369 1917 5391] in November 1980 until the dismissal of Ma Zhenxing [7456 2182 2502] this September, this "complicated case," which has been so difficult to settle, has dragged on for 3 years.

Bringing action against an "immediate superior" for violating the law and discipline is certainly not easy! It was quite difficult from the beginning for Zhuang Xiying to file her complaint. The 100-plus letters with conclusive evidence that she wrote to higher authorities were smeared as "false accusations." She still felt uneasy after the prefectural and county committees had ordered the suspension of Ma Zhenxing after their investigation and the newspaper had spread the news. This simply was a true case of turning the relationship between accuser and accused upside down! If it can be said that the heavy resistance to Zhuang Xiying's charges from the beginning is abnormal, then the difficulties that continued everywhere after the matter came to light are even harder to tolerate. The people have reason to call those to account who at first resisted the handling of this case and then dragged it on afterward. To those who "put the tight show" on Zhuang Xiying and "expressed outrage over the injustice" done to Ma Zhenxing--what really was your goal? Isn't there a boundary between right and wrong anymore? Where do the unfounded rumors that spread through society start? Are there questions of weakness and delaying among those responsible for trying this case?

In this consolidation of the party, the Party Central Committee decided to proceed from top to bottom. Each unit should also move from top to bottom, first from leading organs and cadres and then to party members and the masses.

The lessons from dragging out the resolution of Zhuang Xiying's problems in filing charges make us understand how extremely correct is the Party Central Committee's decision to consolidate the party in stages from top to bottom. We can confirm that there is no shortage of "immediate superiors" like Ma Zhenxing in several units, and that there will be more party members and cadres like Zhuang Xiying who will display a great fearless spirit and heroically struggle against "immediate superiors" who violate the law and discipline. If we don't first of all rectify this type of leading body and don't clearly distinguish between right and wrong, then we will face acute problems: who actually holds leadership power in consolidating the part in such units? Who will actually consolidate whom? Have the higher authorities investigated and studied this type of group? The alarm should be sounded in advance here to make party consolidation work even better.

12539

CSO: 4005/175

NORTH REGION

COMMENTARY ON SPIRITUAL POLLUTION IN HANDAN

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by HEBEI RIBAO Commentator: "Decisively and Clearly Oppose Spiritual Pollution"]

[Text] The Handan Prefectural Party Committee and the Zhangjiakou Municipal Committee in studying and implementing the spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee, and at the same time studying the documents of Party consolidation, and in close contact with the actual situation in their own areas, stressed studying and discussing the problems of resisting the influence of bourgeois thinking and clearing out spiritual pollution, as well as immediately adopting measures for strengthening ideological and political work, and justly and forcefully, decisively and clearly doing battle with spiritual pollution of every shade and hue. The attitude of learning and the decisive behavior of the Handan Prefectural Party Committee and the Zhangjiakou Municipal Committee is worth commendation.

Opposing spiritual pollution is in reality using the advanced thinking of the working class to get rid of the reactionary, decadent thinking of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and also to use socialist spiritual culture to sweep away the moral trash of all exploiting classes and thereby strengthening people's consciousness and resolution to hold to the four basic principles. We of the Communist Party are the vanguards of the working class, leading the broad masses in their undertaking of socialist revolution and socialist construction, struggling for the cause of Communism. Every Party member must support unwaveringly the four basic principles, and preserve the purity of Communism. This requires that we not only cannot accept any shade or hue of the corrosive influence and contamination from bourgeois or other exploitive class thinking, but also that we must take a firm stand in Marxism, and with a resolute, serious, and conscientious attitude self-consciously resist and eliminate spiritual pollution, taking up an uncompromising struggle against all ideas and behavior opposing the four basic principles.

Although those who become involved in spiritual pollution are a minority, their threat is enormous. Among the people, spiritual pollution blurs the line between right and wrong, creating a negative and lax feeling of disunity, poisoning the social atmosphere, and eating away at people's souls. If this sort of situation is not quickly changed, and if effective policies are not adopted in

time to increase control, allowing it to go on running freely rampant, then it will lead even more people down the road of degeneration. On the basis of their full recognition of the serious danger from this problem of spiritual pollution, the Handan Prefectural and Zhangjiakou Municipal Committees opened up and sent people to investigate the important outbreaks of spiritual pollution in their own areas, and in this way can undertake the work of resistance and eradication with a good idea of what is going on and with a plan, which will strengthen the leadership of the Party in this particular struggle.

These two things, strengthening the construction of socialist spiritual culture and clearing out spiritual pollution, complement each other. At present, the movements in our province to "Build Military and Civilian Together," and "Build Industry and Agriculture Together," are being developed in depth, and each area has achieved much new experience. Only if we conscientiously sum up our experiences will these movements continue to develop more deeply and lastingly, thereby raising the level of the broad masses' ideals, morals, and culture, strengthening discipline, and thus forming a general level of great health and power throughout the province to resist and eliminate spiritual pollution.

Because spiritual pollution goes against the people's conscience and obstructs their intentions the Party's Second Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee proposed resolutions about cleaning up spiritual pollution, deeply accepting the endorsement of the masses. In the face of this struggle the Party committees of all levels must be clear headed and sober minded, conquering the attitudes full of misgivings and weakness. Wherever there is spiritual pollution it must be eradicated. Promote the deep development of our province's "Two Bursts" campaign, and promote the smooth operation of the construction of "Two Cultures" within our province.

12586

CSO: 4005/215

NORTH REGION

BAODING GOSSIP TABLOID PUBLICATION HALTED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by reporter Liu Xiaobo: "Baoding Federation of Literary and Artistic Circles Stops Publication of the Tabloid QU WEN Upon Receipt of Reader's Criticism"]

[Text] After the tabloid QU WEN, sponsored by the Baoding Federation of Literary and Artistic Circles, was criticized for disseminating unhealthy ideas and creating a spiritual pollution problem, it came under the scrutiny of the Baoding City Committee. The Committee decided to allow the Federation to carry out an investigation. The Federation has recently issued a written report of its investigations indicating acceptance of reader's criticism as published in the HEBEI RIBAO, and that it will correct its errors.

After readers had criticized the QU WEN tabloid in the newspaper the City Committee produced in total three resolutions: 1. the tabloid QU WEN would immediately cease publication; 2. they would stop distribution of the newspapers already published, sealing them all up for safekeeping; 3. the Federation would resolutely investigate its errors, and draft a written report of its investigations for the City Committee. According to indications by the City Committee the Federation had already made its investigation by 30 Oct, recognizing that the errors committed were relatively serious, namely, they neglected ideology, did not carefully maintain government standards, were influenced by a concern for commodities, and did not realize the social implications. Where the influence of some of the works published in QU WEN was detrimental, when the artistic style was not of high quality and the ideology was unhealthy, the criticism was especially thorough. The Federation indicated that with the acceptance of the criticism of the leadership, masses, and the newspaper, they would absorb this lesson and correct their errors.

The Baoding City Committee recognized that since this problem occurred in Baoding, the City Committee also has a certain responsibility. They decided to use this typical case to carry out instruction within the various levels of Party organization on clearing out spiritual pollution, and to let the occasion serve as a warning to strengthen the leadership of the whole city's thinking and political work, and to inspire the masses to give a thorough cleansing to spiritual pollution from various modes of communication and in various forms, and to take deeply to heart the activity of constructing socialist spiritual culture.

12586

CSO: 4005/215

## NORTH REGION

### BEIJING PARTY DISCIPLINARY COMMISSION RESOLUTIONS PROMULGATED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] Dispatch from this paper--After the Beijing Municipal CPC Commission for Inspecting Party Discipline had attended en masse as non-voting participants the second session of the Fifth Expanded Plenary Conference of the city committee, they held their third Plenary Committee Meeting on the sixth and seventh of November [1983]. The session continued in the spirit of the Central Disciplinary Committee's third plenary meeting in collectively discussing the questions of implementation and enforcement determined from the point of view of Party disciplinary work in guaranteeing the Central Party consolidation. The session demanded that all levels of the city disciplinary committee and disciplinary commission members as a whole conscientiously study the documents of Party consolidation, and actively participate in Party consolidation work, make Party consolidation their central mission, pay close attention and do one's best at day to day work in correct Party spirit and serious Party discipline in order to ensure the complete victory in the task of Party consolidation, and to put into practice the fundamental improvement and diligent struggle of the Party spirit.

Those participating in the conference endorsed the Central Party consolidation resolutions as well as the important speeches of Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, and completely agreed with the arrangements of the second session of the City Committee's Fifth Expanded Plenary session. The conference held that the implementation and enforcement of the CPC consolidation resolutions from the point of view of the work of inspecting discipline, and guaranteeing the conscientious implementation of the arrangements of the City Committee regarding this city's Party consolidation work, are the primary essential tasks of the Party disciplinary department. All levels of disciplinary committee members will increase their work in inspecting Party discipline under the Party committee's unified leadership, and in the work of consolidation of the Party, will especially take full part in clearing away the "three types of people," resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution, and correcting unhealthy tendencies.

The conference demanded that in the consolidation of the Party each level of the Party discipline inspection departments first organize an earnest rectification of its own thinking and way of doing things, and that they definitely could not do it superficially. To this end: 1, Party disciplinary cadre will conscientiously study Party consolidation documents like "Required Reading for

Party Members" and the important speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, immerse themselves in the spirit of the documents, grasp the weapons of ideology, in order to take the first step toward Party consolidation. 2, Increase investigatory research. Disciplinary committees at all levels are to clarify impure conditions within the disciplinary commission ranks and organization. They are to remove those cadre who are not suitable for the work of Party discipline inspection, and resolutely eliminate from the Party the "three types of people." 3, The leading cadre at all levels of the Party disciplinary departments are to take the lead in carrying out criticism and self-criticism. 4, Adopt various formats to listen broadly to the opinions of the masses both in and out of the Party.

Under the unified leadership of the Party committee, discipline inspection departments of all levels will actively participate in the work of consolidating the Party. They are to send capable cadre to join an office for the consolidation of the Party. They should be bold in undertaking Party committee assignment in the mission of Party consolidation. They are to coordinate with relevant departments, and conscientiously handle the problem of the "three types of people" and disciplinary cases.

In accordance with the deployment of the city committee, all levels of discipline inspection departments will take charge of the tasks of safeguarding the four basic principles, and resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution. They will coordinate relevant departments in timely handling of situations. Supervision and encouragement of key departments and units will be strengthened. All levels will be bold in unmasking violations of the four basic principles and cases of dissemination of bourgeois decadent thinking, and the appearance of engagement in bourgeois liberalization, and will carry out a resolute struggle. They will conscientiously strengthen work in political thought, and adopt measures of watchfulness, and will determinedly resist and eliminate the corrosive influence of bourgeois thinking.

In the process of consolidating the Party we must pay close attention to the work of accomplishing the normalization of proper Party spirit and serious Party discipline. As for the just unfolding struggle to crack down on serious economic criminal activity, and the work to put right the unhealthy trends in construction and allocation of housing, farmers turning away from farming, people from the countryside going into the city, chaotic rises in prices, confused apportionment of work responsibilities, not to mention grave bureaucratic irresponsibility which has caused enormous economic loss to the state, we cannot relax but must continue to take firm thorough control.

Strengthen the building of the Party disciplinary ranks in order to meet the requirements of party consolidation. All units that ought to set up disciplinary organizations will all do so this year. Those units that have already established organizations pay close attention to the handling of cadre in accordance with the conditions for Party disciplinary cadre as proposed by Comrade Chen Yun. While consolidating the Party we are to be adept at fostering and discovering talent, and to carefully monitor the building of "The Second Echelon" and "The Third Echelon" at all levels of Commission leadership groups.

12586

CSO: 4005/215



NORTH REGION

CORRECTION OF PARTY WORK STYLE IN HEBEI'S NEIQIU COUNTY REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 83 p 1

[Report: "County Party Committee Secretary Does His Job Impartially and Dares to Confront the Tough Problems; A New Situation Has Developed for Correcting Party Work Style in Hebei's Neiqiu County"]

[Text] According to HEIBEI RIBAO, the party committee secretary of Hebei's Neiqiu County Wang Jianming [3769 1696 2494] has adhered to the party's principles, torn up under-the-counter relationships, made a real effort, confronted the tough problems, led the county party committee "group" and opened up a new situation for correcting party work style.

Last April, after Wang Jianming took up his post as Neiqiu County's party committee secretary, through in-depth investigation he discovered the causes of the many years of incorrect party work style, serious unhealthy trends and evil practices. Chief of these faults were the county party committee's laxity and flabbiness. In particular, a deputy secretary and a standing committee member who was concurrently disciplinary committee secretary, both of whom were in charge of inspecting the county party committee's discipline, had serious unhealthy tendencies themselves and did not dare to deal with or concern themselves with other people's unhealthy tendencies. An economic case involving the county chemical fertilizer plant was a major one which leading cadres of the provincial party committee had been instructed to investigate thoroughly. The county had sent a work team on two occasions, but each time it returned without a thorough investigation because the persons concerned in the case had certain relationships with certain leaders of the county. This made Wang Jianming realize that if he was not determined to tear up such under-the-counter relationships, then realizing an improvement in party work style would become empty talk. With the support of the prefectural party committee work team, Wang Jianming and other leading comrades of the county party committee went to confront this tough stubble with increased confidence, repeatedly and patiently taught and helped them but still could not examine their mistakes in earnest. Wang Jianming did his job impartially and was in no way softhearted. By a decision of the county party committee and with the approval of the prefectural party committee, the deputy secretary and standing committee member were relieved of their duties and the obstacle to correcting party work style was removed. The work of correcting the party work style quickly improved throughout the province.

In stressing party work style, Wang Jianming adheres to handling matters according to the party's principles, dares to grasp the problem and mind anyone who has an incorrect work style and grasps it to the very end. During the state purchase of grain this summer, an incident occurred in the Xizhangma Production Brigade involving resistance to the handing over of grain and a joint attack on and beating of commune cadres. Wang Jianming understood from the investigation that the masses refused to hand over grain because they objected to the brigade cadres' incorrect work style. He therefore promptly convened a commune members' conference attended by the cadres of the commune production brigades. At the conference, Wang Jianming and the leading comrades of the commune party committee severely criticized the conduct of brigade cadres who had incorrect work styles, ordered them to make in-depth examinations in front of other cadres and the masses and to return on the spot the money and things which they greedily seized from the collective. He was also not softhearted toward those commune members who disregarded state law and who jointly attacked and beat up cadres, sending them to public security departments to be dealt with according to law. The cadres and the masses were satisfied with the way this was handled and on the next day they overfulfilled the state purchase quotas. In dealing with some cases about which the masses have expressed strong views and which have been unresolved for a long period of time, Wang Jianming removed interference and handled them personally. Those workers who were responsible for handling the economic case of the county chemical fertilizer plant had misgivings as they knew that the persons concerned in the case had relationships with certain county leaders. Wang Jianming encouraged them by saying: "You must be confident and fearless, and regardless of who might be implicated in the case, you must continue to investigate and make a thorough investigation because the county party committee supports you." With Wang Jianming taking a personal concern and giving his support, this case, which had been dragged on for a year, merely took half a month or so to investigate and to deal with. So far, 11 accumulated cases that had dragged on for years have been thoroughly investigated and concluded.

Wang Jianming tears up under-the-counter relationships, does not shield officials, performs his job impartially and dares to confront the tough problems, thereby setting a good example for the county party committee "group". Everyone follows his example, rouses their spirits, solves problems in a down-to-earth manner and puts a stop to cadres and staff workers who illegally build private houses and delay repayment of public loans and to several unhealthy tendencies among those cadres who use their authority to transfer cadres from the working force and illegally change the status of peasants to non-peasants. All this has resulted in a noticeable improvement in party work style and social practices throughout the county as well as a show of vitality and progress in all tasks.

9586

CSO: 4005/87

NORTH REGION

BEIJING'S PREPARATION FOR PARTY CONSOLIDATION REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 83 p 2

[Report: "Party Members Undergo Extensive Rotational Training with the Study of the Party Constitution as the Main Subject; Beijing Makes Full-Scale Preparation for Party Consolidation"]

[Text] According to BEIJING RIBAO, since the beginning of this year all organs, factories, mines, shops, schools and neighborhoods in Beijing Municipality have been extensively carrying out rotational training of party members with the study of the party constitution as the main subject in full-scale preparation for party consolidation.

The objectives are clear and the demands are concrete in this educational activity of party members. The absolute majority of units adopt the method of releasing workers from production to take up rotational training. The leadership at all levels pays special attention to rotational training, and many comrades in charge of units and party committees involve themselves personally by giving lectures to party members. According to incomplete figures, more than 330 leading cadres at and above the ward, county and bureau level throughout the municipality have given party lectures, and more than 6,700 leading cadres at other levels have done likewise.

In this rotational training of party members, Beijing Municipality has attached importance to educating party members and leading cadres. Quite a few units adopt the method of proceeding from higher to lower levels and stressing one level after another, making even more severe demands on leading cadres. Of the units of Xuanwu Ward's 44 neighborhoods, bureaus, offices and corporations, the party members and leading cadres of 43 units have independently held life meetings, earnestly launching criticism and self-criticism. Quite a few party members and cadres have sincerely examined and corrected unhealthy tendencies, thus gaining the forgiveness of the masses.

Through rotational training, the broad masses of party members have systematically studied the basic knowledge of the party, enhanced the consciousness to strive to become qualified party members and further strengthened their faith in communism. Party members have widely felt that they have reviewed the "old rules" and that the review has been a "reeducation in party character, work style and discipline." They say: "The vigor we had when we first joined the party has risen again." In the rotational training classes, the

party organizations of quite a few units use scientific socialist theories combined with real examples for party members to study, enabling everyone to understand clearly the objective laws of the inevitable destruction of capitalism, the inevitable victory of socialism and the inevitable realization of communism in social development. Everyone reported that the greatest gain from this study was the spiritual support for the mind and the strengthening of their faith in communism.

Through rotational training, the broad masses of party members have enhanced their consciousness in order to maintain political consistency with the Party Central Committee. Many party members have consciously removed the influence of "left" ideology and deepened their understanding of the correctness of the party's lines, policies and guiding principles since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

9586  
CSO: 4005/87

NORTHEAST REGION

OFFICIAL IN JILIN EXECUTED FOR CORRUPTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 83 p 4

[Article: "The Criminal Leader Ma Taocheng Was Executed According to Law-- Jilin Province Breaks a Major Case Involving the Embezzlement of Over 490,000 Jin of Grain"]

[Text] Jilin provincial inspection organs, with assistance from related departments, have broken a major case of corruption involving over 493,000 jin of grain. The principal culprit Ma Taocheng [7456 3447 2052] was sentenced to death according to law and was executed today.

Ma Taocheng was head of the Shulan County grain warehouse weight inspection group and was 38 years old this year. From 1980 through 1981 he made use of his position to conspire with certain people in nearby production teams to embezzle grain which should have gone into the warehouse, using such methods as altering receipts, short-packing weights, over reporting the number of sacks, etc. He continued to engage in criminal activities after the CPC Central Committee issued its "Decision on a Crackdown on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Sphere" in April of last year. In over 2 years, Ma Taocheng and the others committed 272 criminal acts and embezzled over 493,000 jin of grain, causing direct losses to the state of over 140,000 yuan. Ma Taocheng got more than 27,600 yuan in illicit funds from this amount.

Based on related articles of the criminal code, the Jilin City intermediate people's court sentenced Ma Taocheng to death for corruption and deprived him of his political rights for life. Ma Taocheng refused to accept the sentence and filed an appeal. After a hearing by the Jilin provincial supreme court, the appeal was rejected and the original sentence was upheld. This capital punishment case was reviewed and approved by the Supreme People's Court.

The other people involved in the case already been sentenced by the Jilin City intermediate people's court to prison terms ranging from 1 to 15 years.

Those responsible for the Shulan County grain warehouse, Zhang Jingxin [1728 2529 2450] and Li Zhongyi [2621 1813 5030], were seriously negligent in their duties and failed to carry out strictly various aspects of the grain warehouse management system. Not only did they turn a blind eye to the criminal activities of Ma Taocheng and the others, but they even agreed to approve

Ma Taocheng as an "advanced worker" at the warehouse, thus causing Ma Taocheng and the others to feel secure in the knowledge that they had strong backing when they committed their crimes. The activities of Zhang and Li involved criminal neglect of duty. Zhang Jingxin and Li Zhongyi were both convicted by the Shulan County people's court and sentenced to prison terms.

12539

CSO: 4005/175

## NORTHWEST REGION

### CPC COMMITTEE SETS DEMANDS TO IMPROVE LEADERSHIP

HK261421 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Dec 83

[Text] The newly elected Sixth Gansu Provincial CPC Committee resolved recently that leadership style is to be improved. In the resolution concerned, the members of the new leading body of the provincial CPC committee set 10 demands on themselves. These demands are as follows.

1. It is necessary to uphold the four basic principles and steadfastly to keep in line with the CPC Central Committee politically. It is necessary to keep a sober mind in all cases and to correctly carry out the struggle on the two fronts. It is necessary to get rid of the influence of leftist ideology as well as to rectify the rightist tendency of weakness and slackness.
2. Democratic centralism must be strictly implemented and the system of division of labor with individual responsibility under collective leadership must be upheld.
3. It is necessary to take the lead in rectifying party style and eliminating all unhealthy tendencies; oppose the practice of making use of power to seek personal interests and privileges; oppose the practice of regarding the areas and the departments of which one is in charge as one's exclusive domains; oppose the vulgar practice of buying support by promising benefits to one's followers and that of logrolling and toadyism; oppose the dilatory style of work and the bureaucratic style of shirking responsibility onto others.
4. It is necessary to go deep into reality to carry out investigation and study. In normal cases, the leading members of the provincial CPC committee are required to spend not less than 2 months every year at the grassroots level.
5. It is necessary to keep close contact with the masses, to submit oneself to the supervision of the masses, and to conscientiously help the masses to solve real problems. It is necessary to attach importance to and to conscientiously strengthen the work of handling the masses' letters and visits. The members of the standing committee of the provincial CPC committee must share out the work and conscientiously handle all important cases concerned.

6. It is necessary to carry out criticism and self-criticism and to set up the system of democratic life meetings.

7. Publicize the role of the collective instead of exaggerating the role of the individual. Do not call other people by their titles within the party, and do not regard the opinions, speeches, and reports of leading comrades as directives. Generally, the activities of party and government leading comrades, except their participation in important meetings, important festive celebrations, and important foreign affairs, should not be reported through news media. Generally, CPC committee secretaries and the governor should not deliver speeches at conferences on specialized trade.

8. It is necessary to set oneself as an example to others in leading a tough life. Do not disturb the people when going to the grassroots level and all luxurious ceremonies must be avoided.

9. It is necessary to study hard to enhance one's political theory level and understanding of policies and to endeavor to gain professional proficiency, techniques, and management knowledge.

10. It is necessary to set up a strict responsibility system and to strictly carry out the assessment system. Commend those who perform well; criticize, educate, supervise, help, or charge those who fail to fulfill their duties.

CSO: 4005/286



NORTHWEST REGION

SHAANXI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING OPENS

HK280329 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Summary] "The fourth meeting of the sixth provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened yesterday morning. The central item of agenda of the meeting is to discuss the question of eliminating spiritual pollution and strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization."

On the opening day of the meeting, Yu Ming, vice chairman of the committee, gave a report conveying the spirit of the third meeting of the NPC Standing Committee, and (Li Ruobing), director of the provincial culture and cultural relics department, reported on the elimination of spiritual pollution in culture and the arts. (Lu Jianping), director of the provincial Higher Education Bureau, reported on eliminating spiritual pollution in higher education.

Chairman Yan Kelun presided and spoke. He said: "Eliminating spiritual pollution and strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization is an urgent task on the ideological front. In recent years, in common with the whole country, Shaanxi has enjoyed a very good political, economic, and cultural situation. However, we must also realize that there is serious spiritual pollution on the province's ideological front, mainly in theoretical and literature and art circles. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, the People's Congress Standing Committee must apply various measures to eliminate spiritual pollution, strengthen the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in the social mood."

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

QINGHAI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING ENDS 20 DECEMBER

HK221522 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] The fourth meeting of the sixth provincial People's Congress Standing Committee concluded yesterday. This meeting laid stress on discussing the problems of preventing and eliminating spiritual pollution and adopted the resolution of Huzhu Tu Autonomous County on enforcing the supplementary regulations of the PRC law of marriage.

The meeting held: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the cultural, educational, broadcasting, and television causes in our province have developed relatively greatly, the main current has been good, and achievements have predominated. However, chaos now still exists on our province's ideological front. Particularly serious spiritual pollution still exists on it. We must understand that it is completely correct that Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee the problem of eliminating spiritual pollution. This also conforms to our province's actual situation. We must fully understand the harm of spiritual pollution to the party and the revolutionary cause and must understand the urgency and importance of resisting, preventing, and eliminating spiritual pollution.

The meeting held: Eliminating spiritual pollution is an urgent task which now confronts us. All departments concerned must strengthen leadership, must really overcome the state of laxity and weakness which exists among leaders, and must seriously do well the work of eliminating spiritual pollution.

The meeting demanded: While eliminating spiritual pollution, we must create more and better spiritual products which conform to the needs of the era and the people. We must provide spiritual victuals whose ideology is healthy and whose contents are rich and which encourage people to work hard and make progress. We must use patriotism, socialism and communist ideology, morality, and values to arm people's minds and to enrich people's life.

The meeting pointed out: In eliminating spiritual pollution, we must mainly solve the problems existing on the ideological front, particularly in theory, literary, and art circles. We must not extend the sphere at will. We must distinguish normal academic study from cadres' incorrect anti-Marxist viewpoints, must distinguish the study of economic reform and other reforms

from the dissemination of spiritual pollution, and must distinguish people beautifying life from going in for spiritual pollution. In our province, we must also pay attention to strictly distinguishing spiritual pollution from the customs, habits, and proper [words indistinct] activities of nationalities.

This meeting also discussed and adopted appointments and removals. The meeting appointed Sha Chundrup as the chairman of the Nationality Affairs Committee of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee; (Han Jingchun) as the chairman of the Finance and Economic Committee of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee; and (Xiu Jimin) as the chairman of the Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health Committee of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee. The meeting decided to appoint (Hou Jieding) as the chairman of the Qinghai Provincial Finance and Economic Committee.

Song Lin, chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, and Wang Wenying, (Yang Xilin), (Qiang Jianhua), Ma Wending, Yang Wenjin, Zhuojia, and (Wei Jide), vice chairmen, attended the meeting. Comrade Song Lin spoke at the conclusion of the meeting. Those attending this meeting as nonvoting delegates were Vice Governors (Jing Shengming) and Han Fucai.

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

XIAO QUANFU AT MAO BIRTH ANNIVERSARY PLA RALLY

HK261426 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 26 Dec 83

[Excerpts] Yesterday evening, over 1,000 commanders and fighters of the leading organs of the Urumqi PLA units and PLA units stationed in Urumqi City held a rally in the youth club to ceremoniously mark the 90th anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's birth. Leading comrades of the Urumqi PLA units, including Xiao Quanfu, Tan Shanhe, Wang Fuzhi, Liu Haiqing, (Ma Sen), Aizezuofu Hasifu, Caodanuofu, Kang Lize, (Ren Shuquan), (Li Xianhua), Li Changlin, and He Linzhao, attended the rally.

Director (Li Xianhua) presided over the rally. Comrade Tan Shanhe spoke. He said: We are holding the rally today to cherish the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong's great achievements and to show the deep love of all of our commanders and fighters. He recalled the brilliant achievements of Comrade Mao Zedong throughout his life at all historical stages. He said: We must seriously study Mao Zedong Thought and must link the study of Mao Zedong Thought with the study of Marxism, the study of the line, principles, and policies of the party, and the study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." At present, we must resolutely implement the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, must vigorously take part in the study of party rectification, must take a clear-cut stand, must stand in the forefront of the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution, must enhance our conscientiousness and firmness to adhere the party's four basic principles, and must guarantee that our cause will advance triumphantly along the correct path.

After the rally, literary and art fighters of the song and dance troupe and the modern drama troupe of the Urumqi PLA Units sang in chorus "Our Great Leader Chairman Mao," "Children at the Tian Shan Cherish the Memory of Chairman Mao," and "Advance Triumphantly Under the Banner of Mao Zedong," and performed literary and art programs to show the deep love of the masses of all nationalities and of the commanders and the fighters throughout Xinjiang for Comrade Mao Zedong and to show their strong will to exploit, build, and guard the border areas.

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

ISMAIL AMAT ADDRESSES RADIO, TV WORK CONFERENCE

HK280435 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 26 Dec 83

[Text] When addressing the regional conference on radio and television work, which ended this afternoon, the chairman of the autonomous region, Ismail Amat, pointed out: The government departments at various levels should be concerned with, support, and help the work of radio and television organizations, strengthen and improve management over radio and television undertakings, and learn to make use of radio and television to publicize policies, to carry out various work, to conduct propaganda among and to organize the masses, and to give scope to the proper role of radio and television.

In his speech, Ismail Amat pointed out: The building of radio and television and other work should be centered around propaganda work. Only by taking propaganda work as a central task in the overall radio and television work is it possible for the building of radio and television and other work to have a clear-cut aim and a correct orientation, to attain good results, to draw the close attention of various quarters, and to be carried on smoothly.

When talking about the building of radio and television, Ismail Amat said: In building radio and television, we should base ourselves on self-reliance and spread the idea of hard struggle. We should not merely turn to the higher authorities for help and rely on the central authorities. We should base ourselves on self-reliance, as Comrade Mao Zedong always maintained. The autonomous region should, as far as possible, increase manpower and financial resources to develop radio and television work in the region. All prefectures, autonomous prefectures, cities, and counties should also increase, as far as possible, manpower and financial resources to develop radio and television work in their localities. He called on the various localities, while developing radio broadcasting and television, to continue to consolidate, improve, and develop wire broadcasting networks in the rural areas and to manage wire broadcasting in the rural areas well.

Comrade Ismail Amat pointed out: In developing radio and television, we should have an overall plan. The people's governments at various levels should help the comrades working in the radio and television departments to formulate plans in light of the actual conditions in their localities.

It is necessary to strive to handle what should be and can be handled but we should not try to do what we cannot do for the time being. We should not rush headlong into mass action and neither should we do things in a rigid way regardless of the actual conditions.

Ismail Amat stressed: The key to developing radio and television work in the autonomous region lies in building a contingent of cadres conforming to the requirements for the four transformations. It is necessary to consolidate the leading bodies of the radio and television organizations in various prefectures and counties. It is necessary to adopt various measures to train vigorously professional personnel in radio and television work, particularly those from the minority nationalities, in order to suit the needs of the regional radio and television work in its development.

The regional conference on radio and television work lasted 8 days. The participants conscientiously studied the relevant documents of the central authorities and discussed the question of how to open up a new situation in radio and television work in our region. All comrades unanimously held that the meeting had been held at an opportune moment and had attained good results.

The conference called on the radio and television departments at various levels throughout the region to conscientiously relay and study the recent circular of the CPC Central Committee on approving and transmitting the report outlines of the leading party group of the Ministry of Radio and Television and to implement in an all-round way the instructions of the central authorities on radio and television work. It is necessary to resolutely clear away spiritual pollution in radio and television work in strict accordance with the lines of demarcation stipulated by the central authorities in applying the policy, to lose no time in studying and formulating plans for the development of radio and television work, to rectify vigorously the work style, discipline, and order of organizations, and to improve the quality of the contingent of radio and television workers. The conference stressed: It is necessary to take ideological education in patriotism and communism as a focal point, to carry out radio and television work in an all-round way, and to strive to make new contributions in building socialist radio and television work with Chinese and Xinjiang characteristics.

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

IMPORTANCE OF SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY IN THEORETICAL AND CULTURAL WORK NOTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 83 p 4

[Article: "Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region Party Secretary Li Xuezhi Says That Socialist Ideology Must Be Used to Occupy the Theoretical and Cultural Fronts"]

[Text] Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region CPC party committee secretary Li Xuezhi [2621 1331 2535] said today at the closing ceremonies of the region's Reportback Conference on Literary and Artistic Creation that the prevention and elimination of spiritual pollution are a major part of the party's ideological and political work and an urgent task facing all theoretical, literary and artistic workers.

Li Xuezhi said that in the past few years, many contributions have been made on the literary and artistic fronts in Ningxia in making socialist literature and art prosper. Although Ningxia is small in area and has a limited population, spiritual pollution is not restricted by the size of an area or the number of its people.

Li Xuezhi called on party organizations and leading cadres at all levels in Ningxia to strengthen investigation and research and to do appropriate analyses of ideological and political work conditions in their own regions, departments and units by seeking truth from facts, by looking for any manifestations of spiritual pollution and by making criticisms of any deviation. Situations of weakness and laxity or bureaucratism in leadership work should be overcome, and there should be a clear stand on the resolute struggle against bourgeois liberalism and other erroneous rightist ideologies. The socialist propaganda front should definitely not become a forum of bourgeois liberalism. Socialist ideology should be used to occupy the theoretical and cultural fronts.

12539

CSO: 4005/177

NORTHWEST REGION

FORUM ON 'SPIRITUAL POLLUTION' ON IDEOLOGY FRONT

HK240412 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 22 Dec 83

[Summary] On 19 and 20 December, the Propaganda Department and the Science and Education Department of the provincial CPC committee held a second forum to discuss the problem of how to carry out in a profound manner the work of eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological front. Present at the forum were some responsible comrades of the provincial propaganda and science and education departments. Provincial CPC committee Secretary Zeng Shenda attended the forum. Provincial Advisory Commission Chairman Zhang Ze made an important speech.

"Since the first forum, the work of eliminating spiritual pollution on the ideological front has been carried out well in our province. Leaders at various levels are paying close attention to, and taking an active part in, the work of eliminating spiritual pollution. The work is being brought forward in a healthy manner, certain successes have been achieved, and a number of good units have emerged. But some problems have arisen following the development of the work of eliminating spiritual pollution. Some people do not understand the significance of eliminating spiritual pollution and therefore have misgivings. Some units are still lax in discipline, and work efficiency is still low."

Those present at the forum maintained that these problems must be conscientiously solved. Leaders at all levels on the ideological front must be serious and must pay attention to combating the rightist tendency of being lax in discipline.

With regard to the problem of how to carry out further the work of eliminating spiritual pollution, Comrade Zhang Ze stressed the following points:

1. Eliminating spiritual pollution is an important content of party rectification. Party organizations and party members on the ideological front must do a good job in the work of eliminating spiritual pollution.
2. We must enhance our understanding through our study. This is the crux for carrying out further the work of eliminating spiritual pollution. Some comrades have muddled ideas and erroneous understanding because they have not paid enough attention to the study of the CPC Central Committee's



documents on party rectification. The study of party rectification documents can be carried out by stages and in a selective manner in light of the specific conditions on the ideological front in our province.

3. We must sort out documents and solve practical problems one by one.

4. [Passage indistinct]

5. We must draw clear demarcation lines in applying the policy for eliminating spiritual pollution. In the rural areas, practical problems should be dealt with as we see fit without applying the policy for eliminating spiritual pollution. We must differentiate [passage indistinct] in discussion and teaching from spiritual pollution. We must differentiate differences of opinion in carrying out policies and problems in practical work from spiritual pollution. In short, we must control the scope of the work of eliminating spiritual pollution.

"Strengthening leadership over the work of eliminating spiritual pollution is a serious task on the ideological front. Leading comrades of various units must take personal charge of the work. In eliminating spiritual pollution, we must be resolute and must apply appropriate methods in a down-to-earth manner. We must not expand the elimination of spiritual pollution, nor must we carry out the work in a perfunctory manner."

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS SESSION DISCUSSES 'POLLUTION'

HK280351 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Text] The Standing Committee of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress began its fourth session yesterday. The central topics for discussion of this session were the issues of eliminating spiritual pollution and of strengthening the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. At the session held yesterday morning, the committee members listened to Chairman Yu Ming's report on the spirit of the third session of the sixth NPC, a report by (Li Ruobin), director of the office in charge of culture and relics, on the situation in eliminating spiritual pollution in the work in the cultural and artistic fields and the problems entailed, and another report by (Lu Jiangping), director of the provincial Higher Education Bureau, on strengthening ideological and education work, eliminating spiritual pollution, and building the institutions of higher education into an important position for building a socialist spiritual civilization.

Chairman Yan Kelun presided over the meeting and made a speech. He said: To eliminate spiritual pollution and to strengthen the building of a socialist spiritual civilization are urgent tasks on the ideological front. In recent years, in the whole country as well as in our province, there have been excellent political, economic, and cultural situations. However, we should also see that serious spiritual pollution exists, chiefly in the theoretical and literary and art circles, on the ideological front. The Standing Committee of the People's Congress should, according to the provisions of the constitution and by various means, eliminate spiritual pollution, strengthen the building of a socialist spiritual civilization, and strive to effect a radical turn for the better in social customs.

Present at the session were Li Lianbi, Dong Xueyuan, Deng Guozhong, Chen Ming, Yu Ming, Xiong Yingdong, and Liu Li Zhen, vice chairmen of the Standing Committee of the Provincial People's Congress. Vice Governor Sun Daren, Vice President (Zhang Ziliang) of the provincial People's Higher Court, Deputy Procurator (Qian Lin) of the provincial People's Procuratorate, responsible persons of the provincial offices and bureaus concerned, some deputies to the NPC, and some responsible persons of the standing committees of the county and city people's congresses attended the session as nonvoting deputies. The chairman and members of the provincial CPPCC Standing Committee who were in Xian also attended the session as nonvoting deputies.

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

GANSU NOTICE ON DOING RECTIFICATION PROPERLY

HK250528 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Dec 83

[Text] The party rectification leadership group of the provincial CPC committee issued a circular yesterday demanding that the party committees and groups of all units strengthen leadership, clear away interference, and ensure that party rectification is not done in a perfunctory way.

The circular said: Rectification work is now underway in the first group of provincial units to carry out this work. Study of the party rectification documents is proceeding in depth, and the general momentum is good. At present the following problems are conspicuous and universal: 1) The leadership is not sound enough; 2) there is rather great interference in all units. The party rectification leadership organs in some units have not been established in good time. Although they have organized two teams, in some party committees and groups the teams handling party rectification are still busy with routine work all day long and have not devoted efforts to rectification.

The main reason why these problems exist is that the responsible comrades of certain units still lack sufficient understanding of the importance of party rectification. Unless this problem is solved in good time, it will directly affect the current study of party rectification documents, and rectification in some units will be in danger of being done in a perfunctory way.

In order to strengthen leadership, clear away interference, and ensure that party rectification is not done in a perfunctory way, the circular demanded that the party committees and groups of all units take a resolute and serious attitude and tangibly strengthen leadership over party rectification work. The circular said: Whether the responsible person of a unit attaches importance to party rectification, gets a good grasp of it, dares to tackle tough problems, and can take the lead or not is an important hallmark for judging whether his party spirit is strong and whether he is maintaining political unity with the Central Committee. One of the number one and two men of the party committees and groups must devote all his efforts to party rectification. Leading members in charge of economic and other work must also actively take part in party rectification. The party committees and groups must promptly study and solve major problems in party rectification.

They must implement the spirit of carrying out simultaneous rectification and correction of defects, so that the masses inside and outside the party can promptly see effective results of party rectification.

The circular also demanded: It is essential to do a thoroughly sound job in studying the party rectification documents, and strive to do this in a thoroughgoing way. Units where the conditions are right should hold study courses for party members. It is necessary to cut the number of meetings. Essential meetings must be well prepared, be small and brief, and produce tangible results. It is necessary to set up the necessary strict systems and disciplines to ensure that study does not suffer interference.

The circular demanded that all party committees and groups carry out ideological and political work throughout the entire process of party rectification. At present it is necessary to focus on solving erroneous ideas among a few party members in lacking sufficient confidence and passively waiting and hesitating, and the notion that party rectification is no concern of theirs. We must organize everyone to repeatedly study the Central Committee decision on party rectification, to enhance their thinking, correct their attitude, and constantly carry out party rectification in greater depth.

CSO: 4005/286

NORTHWEST REGION

BRIEFS

XINJIANG BUDDHIST ASSOCIATION FOUNDED--Urumqi, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--The Xinjiang Buddhist Association was founded here today, and the 51-year-old living Buddha of Mongolian nationality Gommaing Jiangbaqurm was elected its president. Jiangbaqurm is also vice-president of the Buddhist Association of China and vice-chairman of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. The association spokesman told XINHUA that Xinjiang had 200,000 people of Mongolian, Xibe, Manchu, Daur, Han, Tibetan nationalities who believe in Buddhism. The association is composed of religious representatives of all nationalities. [Text] [OW282123 Beijing XINHUA in English 1616 GMT 28 Dec 83]

XIAO QUANFU ATTENDS YOUTH CONCERT--Some 6,000 young people in the Urumqi area staged a singing concert today to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong. The concert was sponsored by the regional CYCL committee. Present were responsible comrades of the regional party and government and the Urumqi PLA units Xiao Quanfu, Bai Dai, Wang Zhenwen, and Fu Wen. [Summary] [HK250551 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 24 Dec 83]

ROLE OF DEPUTIES TO CONGRESSES--From 23 to 26 December, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress invited some NPC deputies and those of the provincial and Lanzhou City people's congresses to a meeting to discuss how to perform the duties of deputies and how to act as real representatives of the people. Li Dengying, chairman of the provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting and spoke. Present at the meeting were Vice Chairmen Wu Zhiguo, Wu Jian, Liu Haisheng, Liu Lanting, He Jianshan, Li Qiyang, Lan Tianmin, and Xing Anmin. At the meeting, deputies exchanged their personal experiences in making contacts with the masses of people and acting as real representatives of the people. They said that people's representatives should, above all, persist in the four basic principles, do their own jobs well, and play an exemplary role in all respects. They should publicize government decrees and policies by all means as occasion serves, wage resolute struggle against any violation of the law, and firmly defend the honor of the state constitution. Deputies also said: We are representatives of the people, so we must maintain close links with the masses, try to know what they do and think, and report to higher levels their difficulties, demands, and opinions so as to act as a link between the state and the people. [Text] [HK280359 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Dec 83]

CSO: 4005/286

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

RADIO SPARK ON CPC ACCOMMODATION TO KIM IL-SONG

OW210432 (Clandestine) Radio Spark in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Text] During the war of resistance against Japan and the early years after liberation of the country, our party, with a poor foundation to start with, badly needed Soviet assistance and support. So we sided with the Soviet Union without reservation and called Stalin our grandpa. Now we are still shamed to recall our servility in those days. Today we no longer show that much respect for the Soviet Union, However, we never expected that we would accommodate ourselves to Korea's Kim Il-song in every possible way.

On 5 May this year one of our civil airliners was hijacked to South Korea by Zhuo Changren and five other renegades. Both our aircraft and our personnel were in the hands of the South Korean authorities. Normally, we were supposed to make an apology to them first and ask them to return our aircraft and personnel. However, our party Central Committee dared not make further contacts with the South Korean authorities, for fear that the contact would offend Kim Il-song. Moreover, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian was hurried to Pyongyang to explain to Kim Il-song and give him all sorts of guarantees. Therefore the six hijackers are still in the hands of the South Korean authorities. Our excessive accommodation to Kim Il-song has not only prevented our further contacts with the South Korea authorities to recover the two fighter aircraft flown there by air force defectors Wu Ronggen and Sun Tianqin, it has even damaged the image of our party and our state in the international community, and made it hard for us to make representations to South Korea.

The assassination of 17 South Korean officials in Burma by assassins dispatched by the Pyongyang authorities was a very serious terrorist act. According to a recent Hong Kong report circulating in our inner circle, a letter from Kim Il-song's son Kim Chong-il was forwarded to our party Central Committee by the persons sent to Beijing by Pyongyang to greet the 34th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China on 1 October this year. In the letter, Kim Chong-il asked us to assign special persons to help them assassinate South Korean leader Chon Tu-hwan and his aides. Pyongyang knew that Chon Tu-hwan would visit Burma a week later. It is said that our party Central Committee, after receiving the letter, instructed the State Council to hold a meeting of the personnel concerned from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of State Security. In order to avoid misunderstanding and displeasure between us and Comrade Kim Il-song, the meeting decided to take the risk and promise to assist

them. Experts dispatched by the Kunming military region worked in close coordination with the Chinese Embassy in Rangoon and helped the personnel of Pyongyang's embassy in Rangoon make secret preparations. As a result, the bomb was successfully set off on the afternoon of 9 October.

Some things are independent of man's will. To the great disappointment of the Pyongyang authorities, the Rangoon bomb explosion did not kill Chon Tu-hwan. What was even worse, the Burmese authorities soon discovered that the assassination was jointly plotted by us and the Pyongyang authorities. The Burmese Government later blamed it on Pyongyang alone, solemnly announced its severance of diplomatic relations with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and expelled Pyongyang's diplomats. However, the sly Burmese Government secretly used the opportunity to demand from us an important military secret. Our party Central Committee was compelled to yield to Burma's demand and paid a very high price for the international assassination plotted by Kim Il-song and his son.

Now the whole world is strongly condemning Pyongyang and also insinuating our involvement in the case. In order to ease the pressure of international public opinion, Kim Il-song has secretly spread a news that we are actually the prime culprit of the Rangoon assassination case. Such an act is indeed unexpected of him. As an old saying goes, one can survive a natural calamity, but he cannot survive his own crime. In Kim Il-song's eyes, we are in fact not even as important as a scarecrow. Indeed, we must reexamine our relations with him. If he threatens us with his relations with the Soviet Union, we should assess whether it is worthwhile for us to pay a special price. After we called Stalin grandpa for over 10 years, is it conceivable that we also have to call Kim Il-song grandpa?

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

OCTOBER STORM RAPS DENG'S ANTI-MAO SCHEMES

OW311259 (Clandestine) Radio October Storm in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT  
28 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades and comrades-in-arms: The article on studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," which was personally masterminded by Deng Xiaoping and written by (Zhan Shushi) under the supervision of Xiaong Fu, editor-in-chief of HONGQI magazine, is an out-and-out big poisonous weed. The article flagrantly rejects Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of the Chinese revolution, and treats the counterrevolutionary ideas advocated by Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang as the correct party line, forcing the whole party and people throughout the country to implement it. This arrogant and brazen act aims at using the opportunity presented by the mass publication and distribution of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" to place Deng Xiaoping's thought above Mao Zedong Thought and to pronounce the death sentence on Mao Zedong Thought, in an attempt to achieve the ultimate goal of restoring capitalism in an all-round way.

The article contains many passages that reveal their attempt. For instance, it says: Comrade Mao Zedong's theories and policies in his later years were not the result of the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China, but deviations from Marxism-Leninism. They proved to be wrong, not correct, in practice. They were not a crystallization of collective wisdom, but the result of the disruption of the collective leadership and the violation of democratic centralism.

Thus, Deng Xiaoping categorically pointed out: Comrade Mao Zedong's words should not be regarded as correct without exception. What he meant by this was that Deng Xiaoping's words and thought alone were truth. This self-glorification is the height of shamelessness.

As everyone knows, Mao Zedong Thought is not only a strong guarantee of achieving great victories in the Chinese revolution, but also a powerful ideological weapon in preventing a capitalist restoration. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping and his partners are scared to death by, and mortally hate Mao Zedong Thought.

To usurp the leading position of Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping did pay some lip service to Chairman Mao's lifetime contributions. For example, he said: Without Chairman Mao, the Chinese people would have had spent a much longer time groping in the dark. Mao Zedong Thought, as a theory on socialist con-



struction, played a guiding role in our socialist construction. From this, it is not difficult to discover that Deng Xiaoping tried to create the impression that he recognized Chairman Mao's magnificent contributions to the Chinese revolution. However, his practice exposes his opposition to Chairman Mao in a big way. He even discounted the invincibility of Mao Zedong Thought. Under the big stick of his "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party," the brilliant achievements of Chairman Mao in creatively applying and developing Marxism-Leninism in China were completely negated. In recent years, Deng Xiaoping and his partners went all-out to launch a frenzied attack on Mao Zedong Thought on all fronts. They opposed Chairman Mao's important instructions and speeches, and his concepts concerning class and class struggle. They undermined both socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist construction in an unbridled way.

Comrades and comrades-in-arms: The publication and distribution of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" only makes Deng Xiaoping's thought the target of common hatred and attack. However, we must never underestimate the works' reactionary influence. In this excellent situation when hundreds of millions of revolutionaries throughout the country are rising up against Deng Xiaoping, we must carry through to the end the struggle to expose and repudiate the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," expose Deng Xiaoping's shameless ugly face, thoroughly criticize his scheme of opposing Mao Zedong Thought and restoring capitalism, and work hard to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary behests.

CSO: 4005/304

BA. YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

OCTOBER STORM CRITICIZES DENG'S POLITICAL LINE

OW311249 (Clandestine) Radio October Storm in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT  
29 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades and Comrades-in-arms:

On 8 October, GUANGMING RIBAO carried an article by Yue Ping entitled: "It is Imperative To Adhere to Marxist Stand on the Ideological and Theoretical Front." The article pointed out: We must not consider the learning and culture of the capitalist world as fallacies or heretically ideas and reject them.

Here, we can easily notice that Yu Ping has created a new ideological and theoretical viewpoint. This is indeed his great invention. But, regrettably, his invention cannot cover up his nature of being a lackey of Deng Xiaoping and accomplices.

It is true that the learning and culture of the capitalist world have some value, but they serve the interests of the ruling class. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out: "Each class speaks for its own class." In other words ideology and theory reflect the ruling viewpoint of each class. In class society, the Proletariat should transform the world with their own world outlook while the bourgeoisie uses their own world outlook to dominate the world. There is no possibility of compromise between the two classes.

It is quite apparent that Yue Ping's ideological viewpoint is a natural product of the political line of Deng Xiaoping and his accomplices aimed at usurping party and state power. For a long period, they have been massing all their forces to launch flagrant attacks against the Proletariat on all fronts. They opposed the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao's teaching on classes and class struggle in the period of socialism, and opposed and damaged socialist revolution and construction. In addition, they viciously attacked a large number [of] revolutionary cadres who were loyal to the party and to Chairman Mao. They have been exercised all-out fascist dictatorship over the people of the whole country in order to find an opportunity to restore capitalism. In order to realize their criminal goal, those political swindlers cannot but use all methods to deck themselves out as authorities on Marxism-Leninism. They have tried to usurp a good name to deceive the world and have acted as if only they are true believers in Marxism-Leninism.

On 18 October 1981, Hu Yaobang told his close followers in Beijing: A party must have some people to study the development of our own philosophy, culture, art and political line. He wanted to build a capitalist mountain stronghold.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" also reflect Deng Xiaoping's idealist viewpoint. The book talks about sheer nonsense. It says that Deng Xiaoping has corrected Chairman Mao's mistakes, committed in his later years, and has inherited and carried forward Mao Zedong Thought in accordance with the distinct characteristics of socialist China. Its intention is to show that the blank of summing up and developing Chairman Mao's thinking and theory after the passing away of Chairman Mao has now been filled by Deng Xiaoping.

Are they not talking loudly about carrying out an all-out party rectification campaign for a long period? The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" under Deng Xiaoping's direct control have provided some sinister examples of their so-called brand-new ideology and theory. Deng Xiaoping has formed a sinister group that has been praised as representing those who follow the correct line. They brag that it is new milestone in the history of the development of the Chinese revolution. Deng Xiaoping's close comrades-in-arms, like Hu Yaobang, have created the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" to provide a theoretical base for Deng Xiaoping thought. Their false revolutionary and true reactionary fallacies are all designed to lay a theoretical foundation for the counter-revolutionary and restorationist line pushed by Deng Xiaoping and his accomplices.

Comrades and comrades-in-arms, following the total exposure of the false Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought of Deng Xiaoping and his accomplices by the people of the whole country, Yue Ping's ideological and theoretical viewpoint has also become a standing joke of the people. However, we must not underestimate their reactionary influence. Under the excellent situation in which the people of the whole country are launching counterattacks against a capitalist restoration by Deng Xiaoping and his accomplices, we must carry through to the end the struggle to expose and criticize Deng Xiaoping and his accomplices. We must persist in continuing the proletarian revolution. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary behest, we must struggle to build a modern and powerful China of true socialism.

CSO: 4005/304

## BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

### BA YI VIEWS RECTIFICATION IN PLA GENERAL STAFF

OW311201 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Text] It is apparently a long-hatched plot that a great pressure was applied to and unreasonable attacks were directed at the PLA General Departments as soon as they began the party rectification process. Not long ago, the principal leaders of the Ministry of National Defense were attacked on the pretext that cash prizes were issued by the Ministry of Ordnance Industry. Recently a dozen newspapers and internal-use documents in the country criticized leaders of the PLA General Staff Department for committing so-called serious mistakes. All this is part of a long-hatched plot.

We are sure that some persons in the party Central Committee and its military commission have attempted to take advantage of party rectification in the armed forces to launch another purge against large numbers of PLA cadres. With the in-depth development of the current party rectification, criticisms of leaders of the PLA General Departments have become intensified and most of the charges levelled against them have been fabricated. For instance, the general staff department's subordinate units were unreasonably accused of being chicken-hearted, and thereby having failed to implement the party's line and policies: to struggle against bad persons and evil practices, to correct their poor work style, and to persist in the truth. Leaders of the general staff department's party committee were portrayed as persons with low political awareness and the regular activities of the party committee organizations were depicted as unhealthy.

Furthermore, the all-army party rectification office, acting in accordance with the Central Military Commission leaders' directives, did not convey the criticisms of the general staff department to the department first, but suddenly published these criticisms in the party's organs and allowed local newspapers to reprint them. Some of the critical articles that were published stressed, with ulterior motives, that leaders of the PLA General Staff Department have been taking a passive attitude toward the current party rectification in the armed forces and have failed to achieve unanimity with the party Central Committee in both ideology and action. It goes without saying that all the charges levelled against the general staff department are justification enough to dismiss all leaders of that department from their posts, not to mention that they have failed to carry out party rectification.

We must point out that the purpose of using the mass media to widely popularize criticism of the armed forces is obviously to prepare public opinion in favor of a purge of large numbers of PLA cadres. As a matter of fact, this is no different from the public trial 3 years ago of our army's former leaders Huang Yongshen, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo or from the use of our national newspapers to insult them.

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

RADIO SPARK FLAYS HU YAOBANG FOR IMPETUOUS TALK

OW011430 (Clandestine) Radio Spark in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT 31 Dec 83

[Text] Young comrades: Party and state leaders must be very cautious and discreet whenever and wherever they make a statement. They must not lose all bearing in a moment of joy or pride or become impetuous. Their irresponsible talk will naturally cause serious harm to our party and state, prompting the world to [word indistinct] down upon our party and state and despise the People's Republic of China as a country.

We remember that when, years ago, meeting and talking with a Japanese named (Toshio Yokota), Mao Zedong momentarily lost all his bearings in a moment of joy and talked wildly and expressed a sincere gratitude to Japanese imperialists for launching the war of aggression against China, raving that had Japan's Imperial Army not attacked China our Communist Party could not have grown in strength to eventually defeat the Kuomintang and grab the whole country. These statements of Mao, thought true to historical facts and reflecting his ostentatious style of speaking the truth, were giving a traitor's image to the Chinese communists. As a consequence, when the party later educated the young people of all nationalities that the war of resistance against Japan was led by the CPC, the young people showed doubt, the old people shook heads and nobody believed what was said.

Today, Comrade Hu Yaobang, the general secretary of our party, has also committed the error of wagging his tongue to freely and uttering nonsense. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party was making an effort to convince the world that we were promoting democracy and a legal system. Yet, Comrade Hu Yaobang kept talking nonsense, thereby slinging mud at our party and state. One outstanding example was that before the convening of the Sixth National People's Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang told foreigners in an open statement that Comrade Ye Jianying was going to resign and be replaced by Comrade Peng Zhen as chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. Such statements, shockingly void of common sense in a democratic and legal system, were fast spread all over the world. People opined that since Hu Yaobang had already decided that Peng Zhen would be the chairman of the NPPC Standing Committee, it was not necessary to convene the Sixth NPC. If it were convened, there was no need to bother with electing the chairman. What is more, many many overseas Chinese were deeply dissatisfied at our going against a democratic and legal system in deciding the choice of the chairman of the NPC Standing Committee.

As we had been saying ourselves, they said that our NPC was purely a rubber stamp. When the party wanted the head to be stamped, it had to be so. When the party wanted the buttocks to be stamped, that was where it had to be done.

Toward the end of last month, Comrade Hu Yaobang paid a visit to Japan on behalf of our party. It happened that at the time one of our foreign affairs cadres in the United States openly betrayed our party and asked the United States to give him political asylum. According to the Voice of America broadcasts, this diplomat of our country, by the name of Yang Guoqiang, was traveling with another one named He Kundeng by air from San Francisco to New York on the afternoon of 25 November, carrying with them two diplomatic pouches full of secret documents. When the plane was over Chicago, Yang Guoqiang grabbed the two pouches and dashed to the front of the plane and yelled that he wanted to hand over the two pouches to Taiwan and that he wanted the United States to grant him political asylum. This news was spread to all parts of the world after U.S. TV and broadcasting stations reported it. People echoed each other that our scientists, students studying abroad, pilots, medical doctors, athletes, engineers and performing artists all defect whenever they have a chance. Now, a cadre of the Foreign Affairs Cadres School had also betrayed us and defected. He even wanted to deliver our important documents to Taiwan. Wasn't this a stab in the back for our party?

Just at this juncture when the whole world was watching us coping with this matter in tremendous discomfort, Comrade Hu Yaobang in Japan again committed his habitual error of talking nonsense, forgetting all about the dignity of our party and the 1 billion Chinese. He shamelessly said to Japanese reporters: We have 1 billion people. It does not matter at all if 100 or 1,000 or 10,000 defect. He even said: If the United States likes, I will send 10 million Chinese to the United States. Why should our party and state leader have mouthed these statements detrimental to our state and party? We simply cannot figure out what was really going on in his mind. According to his words, he can give to a foreign country 10 billion Chinese, which means anybody may be included in that 10 million. Are we pandas or slaves or something else?

We know when the corrupt government of the Qiang dynasty ceded Taiwan to Japan, presented Hong Kong to England and let the Soviet Union have huge tracts of land in the northern part of our country, the Chinese people all rose up to overthrow it. Now Comrade Hu Yaobang has gone so far as to want to give 10 million Chinese to the United States. He was indeed more venomous and corrupt than the people of the Qing government. If he continues acting wildly like this, how can we Chinese feel at ease?

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

RADIO SPARK ON CPC LEADERS' SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

OW230007 (Clandestine) Radio Spark in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT 21 Dec 83

[Text] Young comrades: From Comrade Hua Guofeng's 10-year plan to Comrade Hu Yaobang's call for quadrupling the output value by the end of the century, plus Comrade Deng Xiaoping's policy of enlivening the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world, none has changed the state of our economy. Not only that, but many cases of economic crimes have emerged because of the bureaucracy, the assertion of privileges, and corruption and moral degeneration. On this matter, an enraged party Central Committee has denied any connection between the many cases of economic crimes and the policy of enlivening the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world. Regardless of this, no one can deny the fact that many high officials in our party, taking advantage of the policy of opening up to the outside world, are vigorously engaged in speculation and smuggling to get a lot of money for their relatives. They are racing against each other to deposit in foreign banks the dirty money obtained in this way in order that their children, who have sneaked out of the country from the back door and into foreign countries, can squander it abroad and enjoy to their heart's content the decadent capitalist life there. They have indeed reached the height of shamelessness!

There are some scums in the nation, who are ideologically corrupt and demoralized and have lost confidence in the party and socialism, and a number of counter-revolutionary revisionists, who cannot distinguish between the left and the right and between public and personal interests--who, because they are far from perfect and are therefore afraid that others may touch their sore spots, have deliberately gone on the offensive in order to cover up their own crimes. This is the way there are people everywhere in our country who are vigorously calling for the elimination of spiritual pollution.

We all know that as a result of the 3 years of famine, the decade of calamity, and the repeated struggles in the past 6 or 7 years, we masses at the grassroots level have never been able [to] escape the sufferings of poverty and balkness. What is left which could pollute us spiritually in this society in which people are shedding tears, bathing in sweat, and drinking the water of bitterness?

Perhaps some people think that after more than 30 years of practice and verification, the superiority of our party, Marxism-Leninism and communism has been shattered by successive groups of careerists and counterrevolutionaries, and



that the soldiers, cadres, and masses in our party feel the urgent need to enjoy a little freedom in their lives because they can no longer stand ideological and spiritual suppression. This, when viewed from the standpoint of human nature, should not be considered an excessive demand.

There are also others who hold that it is true there are signs of spiritual pollution in our society today; however, you can't find them among the masses of the people. Even in the case of lower-level party, government and Army organs, the extent to which they have been afflicted by spiritual pollution is also very very limited. The most serious cases are nowhere to be found except among the high officials in the superstructure. These high officials [words indistinct] lead a life of debauchery and can afford to indulge in pleasure-seeking without having to take the trouble of getting what they want themselves, because there are always people who will deliver the things they want to their doorsteps. For example, some people have seen imported wines and cigarettes, pornographic and obscene films, and all the imposing things you can think of in Comrade Hu Yaobang's home. None of these was procured from abroad by Comrade Hu Yaobang himself or at his own expense; all were presented by Xiang Nan, first secretary of Fujian Province.

Zhuo Lin, wife of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, loves the songs of Deng Lijun, a Taiwan songstress, and there are people who ensure that the delivery of Deng Lijun's tapes to the Zhongnanhai never stops. It is reported that Zhuo Lin even had no scruples about saying in front of many people: I admit I like to hear this little (?angel) of our Deng family sing her songs. If she's ever in Beijing, I will invite her to stay for a few days at the Zhongnanhai. At the time, the wife of a proletarian revolutionary of the older generation had joked with her, saying: Zhuo Lin, others may prefer Little Deng to Old Deng, but you must be the exception. Zhuo Lin laughed heartily at the remark and then, pointing at Comrade Deng Xiaoping sitting by her side, said: Speaking of Old Deng, he enjoys the company of beautiful and young nurses every day; for some time, he has had no need of my love.

Facts have shown this to be true. Our party Central Committee currently is deeply afflicted by spiritual pollution. Not only is the root of this pollution traced to the party Central Committee, but the extent of pollution is also the most serious there.

Generally speaking, the current calamity is caused entirely by the policy mistakes of the party Central Committee. As we have already mentioned, because we are following the policy of enlivening the domestic economy and opening up to the outside world, we have to deal with the pollution from such unhealthy tendencies as speculation, smuggling, corruption, moral degeneration, bureaucracy, and assertion of privileges. By the same token, had the party Central Committee not called for the emancipation of the mind and carrying forward democracy, which encouraged all of us to aspire for a life of freedom and democracy, we believe that no one would have thought about freedom and democracy today.

We must guard against playing the magic of setting a fire on the one hand and putting it out on the other. Anyone who doesn't believe this, will eventually taste the bitter fruit planted by himself. The leading comrades of our party Central Committee must take a serious look at themselves. They should see

whether they themselves have been affected by the pollution and become corrupted. Only when they are sure they are not affected can they place demands on others, and only then will it be possible for us to see some results in the work of eliminating spiritual pollution.

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PROLETARIAN FIGHTERS RADIO RAPS PRC POLICIES

OW222122 (Clandestine) Contingent of Proletarian Fighters in Mandarin to China  
0900 GMT 22 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades: The party rectification is gradually unfolding from selected units to entire areas and from the top downwards. It is said that the main targets of the current struggle are the three types of persons or the five types of persons, but the real targets are those who fail to maintain political unity with the party Central Committee.

One of the three principles of our party's democratic centralism is that party members must maintain political unity with the party Central Committee. In other words, the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. Why has this principle, which is of course correct, been undermined, and why must it be reestablished through a rectification campaign? The lessons of the past more than 10 years are too profound.

Seventeen years ago, the slogan "It is right to rebel" was put forward by the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. It was the party Central Committee that called for seizing power from the capitalist readers. The big-character poster put up by Nei Yuanzi at Beijing University was described by Comrade Mao Zedong in his own handwriting as the first Marxist-Leninist poster of the 1960's. But now Nei Yuanzi has been labeled an active counterrevolutionary, and tens of thousands of former revolutionary pathbreakers are now in prison. The charge: They answered the then party Central Committee's call to rebel and seize power. It is thus obvious that even those who follow the Central Committee's instructions and respond to the Central Committee's calls can suffer just the same. Therefore, it is worthwhile for one to think deeply about whether a party member should maintain political unity with the party Central Committee.

There are two central questions which one must know: First, are the Central Committee's decisions correct? Second, is the present Central Committee going to remain around for a long time? People remember that 8 years ago, in the winter of 1972, Comrade Mao Zedong said that long live is only a slogan, and man will eventually die. What he said became a prophecy. He was not to see the winter of 1976. The reality is that any one and any party Central Committee will eventually go to meet Marx. So, the remaining question is the most important question: Are the Central Committee's decisions correct?

Let's take a look at its rural policies. The so-called contract system is in fact dividing up the land and going it alone. In addition, it is now permissible for one household to do better than others, hire farm hands, transport farm produce to other places for sale, raise funds and make investments. Even sub-lease or selling of land, practice of usury and so forth are allowed to take place with half-closed eyes. As a result, 30 years of hard work has been wasted, and overnight, things have returned to what they were before liberation. Polarization, which all Marxist-Leninist have worried about, has already occurred and is spreading in China's rural areas. After 30 years of suppression by us, countless dregs of the old society have stood up again in the vast rural areas. Looking to the north and south of the great river, the situation in the rural areas is unbelievably confused. If such policies and line can be called socialist, then there is no more capitalist rubbish in the whole world.

Now look at the cities and towns. The workers' real wages are generally lower than before, which is an inevitable result of soaring prices. In 1979, the prices of eight major nonstaple food items, including vegetables, meats, eggs, aquatic products, poultry, milk and so forth, rose an average of 30 percent. In 1980, price control was removed on some 1,000 commodities. Water and electricity charges went up. The prices of many farm and sideline products, hardware, wooden articles, bricks and tiles and so forth doubled. In 1982, the prices of tobacco and wine increased by 16.4 percent on the average. In (?January) this year, the prices of (?cotton textiles) rose by 20 percent. By March and April, the prices of iron and steel, cement, lumber, coal and so forth shot up by 30 to 40 percent. State-operated stores have gone so far as to add water to kerosene, and people who have bought kerosene find they cannot use it for lamps. State-owned factories have also substituted rice straw ropes for inner tubes of bicycles. When there is a big profit, do it in a big way; when there is a small profit, do it in a small way; and when there is no profit, don't do it at all. It has been announced that cotton quilts and cloth are no longer rationed, but their retail prices have now increased by 45 percent.

The economic reform advocated by the party Central Committee has led people to put money above everything else. The new type of relations between people, relations we that worked on a long time to build, has now degenerated into relations governed by money. The mighty socialist construction force which we organized through many years of vigorous efforts has now split into individual economic groups opposed to one another. Cases of withholding raw materials, building construction without authorization, [words indistinct], forming independent economic organizations, and so forth are seen everywhere.

Comrades, what kind of line is this? What will be the inevitable result if you maintain political unity with such a line?

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PROLETARIAN FIGHTERS ON SOCIALISM, ALIENATION

OW270424 (Clandestine) Contingent of Proletarian Fighters in Mandarin to China  
0900 GMT 23 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades: There have been lively discussions lately in our country on the question of alienation. Some comrades remarked that alienation also exists in a socialist country. For example, we have done many stupid things in our economic construction and wasted heaven knows how much human, material and financial resources. In the end we reaped what we had sown. This is alienation in the economic field. In the absence of sound democratic and legal systems, many public servants abuse the power vested in them by the people and act as their masters. The Proletariat, instead of exercising dictatorship, has become the target of dictatorship. This is what we call alienation in the political field or alienation of power.

While discussing alienation in politics, Comrade Wang Ruoshui, former deputy editor-in-chief of RENMIN RIBAO, stressed that power should be exercised to protect the interests of all. If power is exercised to protect ones' special interests, cadres, instead of being public servants, will become the people's masters and lord it over the people. This can be compared with a toilsome mother counting on her son for support in her later years, but the son turns out to be unfilial. Isn't this alienation?

The overwhelming majority of the propaganda organs, as the mouthpieces of those in power, do not agree with the idea that alienation exists under the socialist system. Brandishing their big stick, they argued that applying alienation in a socialist society paves the way for doubting and rejecting the leadership of the Communist Party. With manners like a hatchet man, they remind the people of the 10-year catastrophe and make them tremble with fear.

After all, does alienation exist under the socialist system? Facts are the most eloquent proof. While we are cracking down on economic crimes and conducting education against the corruption and degeneration of cadres, there is a question mark in the minds of many people: Who actually has corrupted our party members and cadres? During the movement against corruption, waste and bureaucracy immediately after liberation, when a party member, tempted by the money and women offered by capitalists, was dragged into the mire and went along with them in their evil deeds, we will not take exception if you say this party member is being corrupted. But since the bourgeoisie as such were eliminated long

ago, we are unable to understand how party members and cadres who practice embezzlement, take bribes, and engage in speculation and profiteering are described as being corrupted. If we must say that they are being corrupted, then this corruption agent is none other than the system itself. This is exactly what is called alienation.

The Red Guards were the first to take off the fig leaf 17 years ago. Many self-styled revolutionaries and founders of the state turned out to be a bunch of greedy, cruel bloodsuckers. During the 3 years of economic difficulty when the overwhelming majority of the people did not have enough to eat all year round and were consuming less than 2 or 3 liang of edible oil a month, yet Marshal He Long [words indistinct] had his fish boned before it was served and threw away the meat after he drank chicken soup. Tao Zhu had (?walnuts) air-lifted from Tianjin to Guangzhou for him to eat. When he was in Beijing to attend meetings, he had dainties of every kind brought from the Hainan Dao for his enjoyment. Everyday Liu Lantao would drink the first milk of women who just underwent childbirth. He ordered that a dozen or more such women be found everyday so that he could drink their first milk. He did this on his queer doctor's instruction that drinking antibody-rich first milk would prevent him from having cancer.

As for housing, when the three generations of the average peasant and worker household had to sleep in the same room, many leaders of the central and provincial levels, with Chairman Mao taking the lead, were building villas in famous mountains and scenic stops one after another. Comrade Liu Yanbin wrote in a report that when the vast number of peasants had to allay their hunger by drinking gruel made from crushed corn cobs [words indistinct] the son of a secretary of the Anshan City CPC Committee, in Liaoning Province, fed his dogs with steamed buns stuffed with meat. The incumbent director of the Hangzhou City Cultural Department even stole and smuggled out of the country a great number of valuable cultural relics and sold them at high price. State Councillor Yu Qiuli of the State Council and his nephew Yang Yibang sold at one go 500,000 dun of Daqing crude oil to Japanese businessmen at a price \$3 lower than the international price. This cost the state \$1.5 million, but Yang Yibang's account at the Kangyo Bank of Japan increased by \$200,000.

The facts cited above are but a drop in the ocean. However, they clearly show that alienation does exist under the socialist system. No problems can be solved if we insist, with our eyes closed, that there is no alienation.

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PROLETARIAN FIGHTERS ON DENG'S SELF-CRITICISM

OW260126 (Clandestine) Contingent of Proletarian Fighters in Mandarin to China  
0900 GMT 24 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades: The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee called on the whole party to comprehensively and completely grasp Mao Zedong Thought as an ideological system and to correctly grasp Mao Zedong Thought as an ideological system and to correctly appraise Comrade Mao Zedong. By the same token, in the study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and the party rectification campaign at the present time, the whole party should also comprehensively and completely understand the essence of Deng Xiaoping's ideological line in order to see him in his true colors.

To this end, we have dug from our files a self-criticism report made by Deng Xiaoping at the 23 October 1966 working conference of the CPC Central Committee, one of his speeches that is not included in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." Now we will broadcast the first part of this self-criticism report made by Deng Xiaoping before the party Central Committee in the initial stage of the great cultural revolution.

Deng Xiaoping said: I fully support the instructions given by Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Biao at this conference and fully endorse Comrade Chen Boda's 16 October speech. This is a profound examination of the party's principles and policies for the great cultural revolution, with a view to further eliminating the influence of the erroneous bourgeois line represented by Comrade Liu Shaoqi and me, and for better implementing the decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee on the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is extremely important to implement Chairman Mao's correct line on the great proletarian cultural revolution led by him personally.

Among the leading comrades of the party Central Committee, it is only Comrade Shaoqi and I who represent the erroneous, reactionary bourgeois line in this great cultural revolution. We endorse the decision of the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th party Central Committee and Chairman Mao's correct line. To carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end, it is necessary to thoroughly criticize the mistakes committed by both of us and to eliminate the influence of the erroneous line represented by both of us.

At the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao wrote a big-character poster--"bombard Liu Shaoqi's and my headquarters." In this poster, Chairman Mao incisively pointed out that the nature of our mistakes is enforcing bourgeois dictatorship by identifying ourselves with the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, attempting to suppress the fiery great proletarian cultural revolution, standing facts on their heads or confounding black and white, encircling and suppressing the revolutionaries, clamping down on different opinions, resorting to white terror, being pleased with our own ruses, inflating the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and dampening the spirit of the Proletariat. How sinister and ruthless you are! Thus, Chairman Mao hit my vital points.

One of the more than 50 mistakes I have committed is that people have been indifferent and apathetic to the movement as a result of sending work teams to lower levels. In addition, heavy casualties have been caused among students, and the incidents of one section of the masses fighting against another have occurred in a number of places. Thus, the movement has been led astray. The confrontation between one section of the masses and another is mainly a result of sending work teams to lower levels.

Deng Xiaoping's self-criticism report says that the situation at the time was that the mass movement was taken care of by the work teams we sent down. By so doing, we regard the work teams as wise and resourceful and treated the masses as if they had been ignorant and incapable. As a result, blows were dealt to leftists, and one group of students fought against another in the mass movement. This defeated the great cultural revolution's main purpose of carrying out one struggle, two criticisms and three transformations [yi dou liang pi san gai]. In addition, the student masses took an antagonistic attitude toward the work teams. Some teachers, students and school workers supported the work teams while others criticized them. Guided by our erroneous ideas, some of them even put forward extremely erroneous slogans, such as opposing the work teams means opposing the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao.

In the mass movement over the past 2 months or so, it was Comrade Shaoqi and I, standing committee members of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, who remained in Beijing to take care of day-to-day work. At that time, Chairman Mao was not in Beijing. Shortly after the dispatch of work teams, a situation occurred in which leftists were suppressed and dealt blows, one section of the masses fought against another and the masses opposed the work teams.

As mentioned above, Comrade Chen Boda, on behalf of comrades of the party Central Committee, put forth the correct proposal to dissolve the work teams in mid-February. But instead of adopting this correct proposal, we only heeded and vigorously supported erroneous opinions that met our subjective requirements. Chen Boda and other comrades put forward the correct proposal according to the opinions of the masses and Chairman Mao's mass line. In making the proposal, they closely followed Chairman Mao's thinking and the mainstream of the mass movement. But we deviated from Chairman Mao's thinking, failed to grasp the mainstream of the mass movement, went against Chairman Mao's mass line and practiced subjectivism and bureaucracy. So I have made mistakes in following the orientation and line of the great cultural revolution. Of course, my mistakes are not limited to the dispatch of work teams, which is only one manifestation of the mistakes I have committed. My mistakes are essentially on



the question of the mass line: Instead of trusting and supporting the revolutionary masses, I sided with those opposing them.

Comrades, Deng Xiaoping made the above remarks in the first part of his self-criticism report at the 23 October 1966 working conference of the party Central Committee. Now Deng Xiaoping has again sent work teams to lower levels in the ongoing party rectification campaign. Are these work teams also working under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping's erroneous ideas? Are the work teams sent down to control party members and cadres and to treat the masses as if they were ignorant and incapable? In sending these work teams, is Deng Xiaoping aiming at inflating the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and dampening the spirit of the Proletariat? All such questions merit serious consideration by all of you.

We will broadcast to you on our next program the second part of a self-criticism report made by Deng Xiaopong in the initial stage of the great cultural revolution.

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PROLETARIAN FIGHTERS ON SELF-CRITICISM, DENG

OW280636 (Clandestine) Contingent of Proletarian Fighters in Mandarin to China  
0900 GMT 25 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades: While studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," some comrades are privately discussing another kind of selected work of Deng Xiaoping, that is, the self-criticism report made by Deng Xiaoping at the CPC Central Committee's working conference on 23 October 1966. Last time we broadcast for you the first part of this self-criticism report by Deng Xiaoping. Now we will broadcast the second part.

Deng Xiaoping said in his self-criticism that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a great revolution which touches people to the depths of their hearts. It is a deeper and broader new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country. The purpose of this great revolution is not only to carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation tasks in colleges and middle schools but, more profoundly significant, to deal head-on blows to all bourgeois challenges in the ideological sphere, transform the spiritual outlook of the entire society with the Proletariat's own new ideology, culture, style and habit, criticize the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and transform education, literature and art and all parts of the superstructure not in harmony with the socialist economic base in order to consolidate and develop the socialist system. This is a great revolutionary movement to foster proletarian ideology and eliminate bourgeois ideology, ensure that our country will never change its color, and avoid the danger of revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. It is impossible to achieve these goals if we fail to follow Chairman Mao's teachings, if we fail to [words indistinct], and if we fail to have boundless faith in the masses, fully mobilize the masses, rely on the largest number of revolutionary teachers, students and staff members, revolutionary workers and revolutionary cadres to take action themselves to carry out this revolution, and let the masses educate and emancipate themselves amid great storms.

Deng Xiaoping said in his self-criticism that after the movement was started in universities and middle schools in Beijing, the situation was at first extremely good. The masses were widely mobilized to charge against all kinds of monsters and ghosts and the bourgeois elements in power in the party. The big-character poster by Nie Yuanzi and six other comrades played the important role of the Paris Commune in Beijing. There seemed to be some disorder at that time, but

the disorder caused by rebellion against monsters and ghosts was a very good kind of disorder. However, we regarded this very good disorder as something terrible. We were so frightened by the so-called disorder that we tried to deal with it by any means available out of fear. We suggested having work teams to control the movement, which in the name of strengthening leadership actually played a destructive role in strangling the movement. As a result, the mighty and vigorous movement turned cold and dull; the masses fought against the masses and attacked the leftists; and the monsters and ghosts congratulated themselves.

Chairman Mao was not wrong at all when he said that this was an exercise of white terror, boosting the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and dampening the spirit of the Proletariat. We can see very clearly now. As soon as our mistakes were corrected by the chairman and the party Central Committee, a widespread and large-scale mass movement began to develop, and a revolutionary fighting organization with a clear-cut stand, the Red Guards, came into being. With great momentum the revolutionary teachers, students, and staff members expanded their organization from schools to society at large and from one place to another. With the force of a thunderbolt, they destroyed old ideals, old culture, old customs and old habits; fostered new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits; charged against all the monsters and ghosts; and achieved splendid results and made great contributions. That the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries are so panic-stricken by our cultural revolution is proof that the great cultural revolution led by Chairman Mao himself is absolutely correct.

In his self-criticism, Deng Xiaoping concluded: It is of course not fortuitous that I have made so serious a mistake on the question of line. It has its roots in ideology as well as in work style. Ideologically the most fundamental point is that red banner of Chairman Mao's thought, but, the fact is, I have not held it up at all.

Wan Li said: My work post is close to Chairman Mao, but I have done very poorly in studying, disseminating and applying Chairman Mao's thought. Chairman Mao's thought is the very soul of our work in all fields and the yardstick to judge how much Marxism-Leninism and proletarian ideology we have acquired. Move forward, or you'll fall behind. Since I did very poorly in studying, nonproletarian things were bound to increase, and I was bound to depart from the path of Chairman Mao's thought on one question or another and make mistakes of one kind or another, eventually leading to the mistake of right opportunist line that I have made this time. It is inevitable.

Comrades: These remarks were the second part of Deng Xiaoping's self-criticism that he made to the party Central Committee in the early period of the cultural revolution. Deng Xiaoping himself admitted that in the early period of the cultural revolution he regarded the very good disorder as something terrible, and dispatched work teams which in the name of strengthening leadership actually played a destructive role in strangling the movement. Now in the party rectification, Deng Xiaoping is again dispatching work teams to the lower levels, opposing so-called bourgeois liberalism and spiritual pollution and shouting at the top of his voice about strengthening party leadership, Judging by Deng Xiaoping's past confession, these work teams, in the name of strengthening leadership, will play a destructive role in strangling the people's democratic

movement, and it will mean a social-fascist suppression of the masses' resolute opposition to Deng Xiaoping's opportunist line.

Next time we will broadcast to you the last part of Deng Xiaoping's self-criticism report.

CSO: 4005/304

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

PROLETARIAN FIGHTERS ON DENG XIAOPING REPORT

OW300540 (Clandestine) Contingent of Proletarian Fighters in Mandarin to China  
0900 GMT 26 Dec 83

[Text] Comrades: Since Deng Xiaoping resumed work, he has advocated a three honest's working style and called on the cadres and the masses to be honest in thought, work and deed. While we are studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," let us take a look at the self-criticism report made by Deng Xiaoping in the early days of the cultural revolution and see whether or not he is honest in thought, word, and deed. The report was made by Deng Xiaoping at the CPC Central Committee's working conference on 23 October 1966. In earlier broadcasts, we broadcast for you the first two parts of his report. Now we will broadcast the last part.

In conclusion, Deng Xiaoping said in his self-criticism report: In retrospect, I have found that I have not done well in my work and I have slipped back ideologically over those past years. Because I failed to study hard, I lagged behind Chairman Mao's thought and made many mistakes. The central secretariat in my charge did very poor work, and the departments directly under it had many problems.

Ideologically I am on the right side in dealing with the questions concerning class struggle and inner-party struggle. I had a share in the 1962 right-deviationist mistakes as pointed out in the big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" displayed by Chairman Mao. In dealing with the 1964 "left in form but right in essence" mistakes, I did express some disagreement, but I did not completely conform to Chairman Mao's thought, nor did I completely stand for Chairman Mao's correct line. I also committed many mistakes before 1962.

I should take this opportunity to reexamine them seriously. For a long time, I stood high above the masses as a bureaucrat and overlord and seldom went to lower level units to contact the masses, cadres and responsible comrades there. I was not working prudently enough and failed to conduct serious investigations and studies among the masses.

The method I used to solve day-to-day problems was very simple and sometimes very inflexible. Thus I became isolated, and fostered subjectivism and bureaucracy. Therefore it was unavoidable for me to often make mistakes in work and ideology. Without knowing that I was making mistakes, I became more and more

arrogant, conceited and opinionated. As a result, sometimes I did not handle things seriously, and I seldom seek advice from my comrades and the masses. In particular, I rarely asked for Chairman Mao's instructions. The failure to ask for his instructions was not only the cause for my mistakes but it was also not permitted by our party discipline.

At the end of 1964 Chairman Mao criticized me for having an independent kingdom. His stern criticism had an impact on me. I comforted myself with the fact that I was not a power monopolizer, but I did not find out the roots of my mistakes and correct my errors in thinking and working style. The mistake I made this time of pursuing a wrong line was of course unavoidable. Even if I had not made it at this time it is certain that I would make it later. The mistake I made this time of pursuing a wrong line exposed me, proving that I am an unreformed petty bourgeois intellectual who has not yet thoroughly remolded his bourgeois world outlook nor abandoned opportunism. Now I tremble with fear when I begin to look at myself in the mirror. With my present ideological and political understanding and working style, I harm the cause of the party and the people when I hold a central leading post.

In the self-criticism report Deng Xiaoping also praised and curried favor with Lin Biao. He said: The 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Party Central Committee has appointed Comrade Lin Biao as Chairman Mao's assistant and successor and has selected a number of comrades who hold high the red banner of Chairman Mao's thought to hold principal central posts. This is a necessary and very important measure which I wholeheartedly support.

Comrade Lin Biao is an example for us to follow. It is he who holds high the red banner of Chairman Mao's thought. It is he who holds high the red banner of Chairman Mao's thought. It is he who is holding Chairman Mao's thought the highest and doing the best job in studying it, and who is the best in applying it in a living way. It is he who thoroughly knows the party's policies and the masses' aspirations and asks for the chairman's mind and intentions and the situation of the masses and lower-level units. Therefore, with good ideological understanding and leadership, he has become Chairman Mao's closest comrade-in-arms. The PLA led by him is an example for the whole country to follow.

As a person who made mistakes, I should sincerely learn from Comrade Lin Biao. I should learn from him in holding high the red banner of Chairman Mao's thought and in applying Chairman Mao's works in a living way. This is the only reliable way for me to correct my mistakes and strive to do some useful work for the party and the people.

Comrades: We will clearly find out Deng Xiaoping's political quality if we compare the self-criticism report made by Deng Xiaoping to the Central Committee in the early days of the cultural revolution with the contents of the newly published "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." Is he an honest person? Did he ever reverse the verdicts? Is he not a power monopolizer? Does he oppose a personality cult." It is not necessary for us to say more here. We believe that you comrades will reach a correct conclusion.

CSO: 4005/304

## BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

### BA YI RADIO CRITICIZES PERSONALITY CULT

OW260220 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1325 GMT 23 Dec 83

[Excerpts] It is a very ugly act to overpraise a person and crown him with untrue extollment. If such praise and extollment are given to a leader who unscrupulously craves greatness and success, the consequence will be very grave. An example was the overpraise of Comrade Mao Zedong in the past. Many wrong and harmful things that he said or did were described as being "un-matchably correct." He was extolled as a "genius who only appears every 1,000 years."

Today certain leaders at the central level have been overly praised and extolled in the same way. Facts have proved that the personality cult at the present time is even more excessive than at the time of Hua Guofeng. To create the leaders' images of wise men who never make mistakes, their previous speeches and articles have been polished and republished. As for their principles and policies that have been verified by facts to be wrong and harmful, every effort has been made to concoct reasons to prove their correctness simply because they were put forward by these leaders.

What is more, the whole party and the people throughout the country, who have just been freed from the misery of being forced to study the selected works and quotations of Mao Zedong, are now compelled to study the new selected works. Newspapers, journals and broadcasts are full of the same praising words as at the time of the previous personality cult, saying that the selected works are brilliant writings, a program for carrying on the unfinished tasks and blazing the way to the future, a beacon for building socialism, a theoretical basis for formulating policies and principles, and so on and so forth.

This phenomenon stems from the fact that some comrades in high posts, lacking principles, have degenerated morally, and have attempted to climb to even higher official posts, seeking personal gains by currying favor with these leaders at the central level. A more important reason for this phenomenon is that these leaders at the central level, with a very feudal way of thinking, like those who act as their slaves. As early [as] the 1840's Marx criticized advocates of the feudal aristocrats for defying these privileged figures in a wild attempt to have people grovel before their sacred image. Engels condemned some people for using newspapers and journals to extol themselves. He said that these kind of people always had others extol them through newspapers and journals, having their names mentioned to the readers from time to time.

Over the past years, because of the personality cult, the democratic activities in the party and country were adversely affected, the people's spiritual life was suppressed, and their minds were stiffened. This brought a grave loss to the cause of socialism. From now on, if certain leaders at the central level do not boycott the flattering praise but continue to give prominence to individualism, and give a green light to the personality cult, we are very likely to suffer the same consequence as before.

CSO: 4005/304



BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

VOICE OF PLA ON CADRES OVERSEAS DESERTING

OW162116 (Clandestine) Voice of the PLA in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Comrade soldiers, cadres and masses throughout the country! While the whole party, the whole army, and the people throughout the country are going all out to eliminate spiritual pollution at home, some senior cadres, sent to visit foreign countries or on long-term assignments overseas doing united front work, think only of their own freedom and future, giving no thought to the destiny of the party and state, and basely offer their services to the capitalist countries and the Kuomintang authorities on Taiwan. We are extremely distressed by such reports and cannot help feeling pessimistic about the future of communism.

We want to examine first of all the case of the postal and telecommunications delegation we sent to visit the United States. After the delegation arrived in the United States at the end of the last month [as heard], the leader of the delegation, Han Ciming, despite his leadership status, betrayed the party and Marxist-Leninist communism and requested political asylum from the U.S. Government. He was quickly taken away by the U.S. Government, which indicated that the matter would be handled like the case of the Chinese female tennis player Hu Na. In other words, Han Ciming's request will be granted.

According to what we heard from a relative of a senior leading member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing, but for the prompt action by a cadre sent to the United States by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was alerted in good time, possibly five or six members of the delegation might have taken actions similar to Han Ciming's. How shocking it is to hear this kind of news!

In the past, quite a number of pilots, foreign affairs cadres, scientific and technical experts, doctors and students studying abroad deserted to foreign countries and Taiwan, but they were just low-ranking party members and cadres who were of little significance. How the people deserting abroad are obviously of higher ranks and positions and higher educational levels. Even the leader of a postal and telecommunications delegation dispatched to visit the United States on behalf of the party and state deserted, openly turned his back on Marxist-Leninist communism, regarded upholding the four fundamental principles as (?false and empty talk), and surrendered to U.S. imperialism. How can we not worry about whether our ambassador to the United States Zhang Wenjin will also betray the party and socialist system and surrender to the United States?

We have learned only just now that the party Central Committee recalled former Chinese ambassador to the United States Chai Zemin because Chai Zemin had been found to have secret contacts with officials sent by Taiwan to the United States. The Chinese Embassy made a urgent report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing and thus prevented an even more serious incident of betraying the party from taking place. Who can guarantee today that Zhang Wenjin will not have evil ideas like Chai Zemin? For the interests of the party, we have to remind the party Central Committee to be on guard.

With regard to the case of former Chinese ambassador to the United States Chai Zemin's being suspected of maintaining secret contracts with Taiwan officials, since Chai Zemin has already been transferred out of the United States, naturally we can stop pursuing the matter further. However, our foreign affairs cadres stationed in Japan have also made mistakes of spiritual pollution. According to the grapevine from the united front work department, on 11 November, Ho Ying-Chin, a high-ranking Kuomintang official visiting Tokyo, was given a grand reception by five three people's principles alliances in Japan. Reactionary overseas Chinese in various parts of Japan gathered in Tokyo to today to the Kuomintang. Yet no one among the several hundred cadres in our embassy in Tokyo did anything to stop Ho Ying-Chin's activities in Japan. Some even attended the meeting without approval to meet with Ho Ying-chin, chairman of the great alliance to reunify China with the three principles of the people. When the Overseas Chinese applauded, they applauded too. It is hard to tell what their stand is and for whom they work. If the situation is allowed to develop unchecked, perhaps someday our embassy in Tokyo will be occupied by people advocating reunifying China with the three principles of the people, though the signboard at the gate may remain that of the People's Republic of China.

We have not forgotten that Zhou Lingfei, grandson of Lu Xun, the great sympathizer of the Chinese Communist Party and famous writer of the 1930's, and son of Zhou Haiying who is leading the luxurious life of the privileged class in Zhongnanhai in Beijing, openly rebelled against the party not long ago in Japan and went to Taiwan, vehemently cursing our socialist system. Encouraged by the Duomintang, he is writing articles and making motion pictures and vigorously engaged in united front activities. He has brought only shame to our party and state, and made it possible for the Kuomintang to carry out bold propaganda both internationally and toward the people of all our nationalities, getting a lot of attention.

We hold that all these are caused by the ideological impurity and bureaucratic habits of our embassy in Tokyo. We believe that unless the State Council promptly examines the thinking and moral integrity of cadres stationed abroad and raises their political consciousness, our strong points abroad will be lost one by one, and the consequences could be even graver than in the last years of the Qing Dynasty when personnel stationed in foreign countries surrendered to Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ranks.

Therefore, we hold that the movement to eliminate spiritual pollution vigorously spreading in the country should be seriously pushed into all the units stationed abroad. We must not tolerate any cadres stationed in foreign countries leading a corrupted life while the soldiers, cadres and masses at home must suffer spiritually.

BA YI RADIO, OTHER MEDIA

VOICE OF PLA ON PILOTS' DEFECTIONS TO TAIWAN

OW300645 (Clandestine) Voice of the PLA in Mandarin to China 0900 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Text] Comrade commanders and fighters: On the morning of 14 November 1983, Wang Xuecheng, a flight squadron commander of the Chinese PLA air force stationed at Daishan base on the Zhoushan Islands, flew a Jian-5 jet to Taiwan across a more than 500-kilometer stretch of the strait. He has been hailed by the Kuomintang as a freedom-seeking defector. The event is a serious lesson to us.

Although we are upset by his defection to Taiwan, we are not tremendously surprised. The party Central Committee has been hostile toward us and has distrusted us commanders and fighters for a long time. Moreover, it has repeatedly expressed its intention to rectify the army and the party organizations and carry out criticism and struggle. As many persons want to escape the calamity, they of course will try to defect. How can we blame Wang Xuecheng for forsaking communism and defecting to Taiwan while he had control of an aircraft? Besides, Wang Xuecheng was not the only person who defected to Taiwan with an aircraft. Fan Yanguan, Wu Ronggen and Sun Tianqin defected to Taiwan one after the other.

Their defections have long created a serious spiritual pollution. We don't know exactly how many persons in our air force want to take the same road as Sun Tianqin and Wang Xuecheng did. If all of them tell the truth, the number would surely be an amazing one. As for the army and the navy, they are paid much less than the air force while enduring much more suffering and hardships than the air force. Whether they, too, want to defect is, I am afraid, a question worth our pondering. As a matter of fact, the question of how many commanders and fighters want to flee our country and how many of them want to go to Taiwan is a very sensitive and annoying question.

Considering the interests of the party and the future of socialism, we always try to cover up the facts to prevent the crisis from becoming worse. Nevertheless, past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future. We should not completely ignore Wang Xuecheng's defection to Taiwan with the aircraft. At least we must seriously examine why Wang Xuecheng could break through all blockades and fly safely to Taiwan. In order to answer this question, we must thoroughly investigate our air force combatant units stationed in Fujian and Zhejiang coastal areas and find out whether all of them have been bought off by the Kuomintang, or whether they share Wang Xuecheng's sentiments.

Why didn't they intercept Wang Xuecheng? We have to believe some hearsay. On the day after Wang Xuecheng's defection, some air force commanders and fighters told us that Wang Xuecheng's successful defection was attributed to two factors. One was that the comrades in the air force combatant units in the southeast coastal areas are generally dissatisfied with the party Central Committee. When their radars picked up Wang Xuecheng's flight towards Taiwan at a maximum speed, they assumed an attitude of watching the fun because they lacked a sense of security themselves and did not want to mind other's business. Some of them even thought that they themselves would defect sooner or later and it would be safer for them to flee after someone blazed a trail for them. With such a mentality, they decided to watch Wang Xuecheng to though they could intercept him.

According to hearsay, the second factor was: After Commander Jiang Yonghui of the Fuzhou Military Region learned about Wang Xuecheng's flight towards Taiwan, he immediately called the regional air force Commander Yang Silu to intercept and get Wang Xuecheng back. However, Yang Silu hesitated to execute Jiang Yonghui's order because he could not trust the air force pilots in the Fujian region. While he was not sure that any interceptors could get Wang Xuecheng back, he was also afraid that they would join Wang in flying to Taiwan together. So, Wang Xuecheng flew safely to Taiwan amid Yang Silu's hesitation.

Recently, we have learned that Yang Silu was compelled to make a self-criticism at a closed-door work check-up meeting. He admitted that he lost the good opportunity to intercept Wang Xuecheng because of too much hesitation. He also grumbled and criticized the party Central Committee for adopting the policy of limiting fuel for air force aircraft. He complained that to prevent pilot's defection by limiting the fuel had seriously impaired the flight personnel's pride. He said that the pilots always had the opportunity to flee if they wanted to and no one could stop them. Indeed, we sympathize with Yang Silu. What is the good of criticizing him? If he did dispatch some aircraft to intercept Wang Xuecheng and the interceptor pilots did join Wang in flying to Taiwan, Yang Silu would have had a worse fate than being criticized.

CSO: 4005/304

ZHAO'S VISIT DOES NOT MEAN DEPENDENCE ON U.S.

HK041045 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 4 Jan 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Maintaining Independence and Keeping the Initiative in Our Own Hands; Visiting the United States Certainly Does Not Mean Depending on the United States"]

[Text] On the eve of his visit to the United States and Canada, Premier Zhao Ziyang talked to some U.S. and Canadian reporters, during which he clearly explained China's foreign policy and its views on some international issues, as well as the purpose of his visit. From what he said, people can gain a better understanding of his visit to North America.

As everyone knows, on the question of exchanging visits between Premier Zhao Ziyang and President Reagan at the beginning of this year, an unhappy event took place between the two countries. Regardless of the agreement made by the foreign ministers of both sides last September, the United States did two things to obstruct the exchange of visits. Although the visits will be carried out as scheduled, through the intense negotiations at the end of last year, China's stand and the results of the visits are being followed with interest by people in various parts of the world.

What Zhao Ziyang said once again proved that China attaches great importance to Sino-U.S. relations. Therefore, it has exercised great restraint on certain issues. This visit of Premier Zhao Ziyang, according to the original agreement, is a new expression of China's restraint. However, proper restraint does not mean that China will make any concession on matters of principle. The greatest obstruction to Sino-U.S. relations is the Taiwan issue. What China has requested the U.S. Government to do is not to help China realize reunification with Taiwan, but not to obstruct the realization of China's reunification. The New Year remarks of Deng Yingchao, chairman of the CPPCC, which were released on the eve of Premier Zhao Ziyang's U.S. visit, have particularly mentioned the interference by some foreigners in the great cause of China's reunification and the support for the "independent Taiwan" activity by some people in the United States who have both power and influence. In these remarks, Deng Yingchao also called on the Chinese people to solve their own problems through their own efforts. These remarks, which have been made known to the world and which are open and aboveboard, will help people gain a better understanding of Premier Zhao's U.S. visit.

Probably proceeding from China's present construction of the four modernizations, an American reporter implicitly raised the question of whether China will make certain concessions on political issues due to its economic needs. Premier Zhao made an explicit reply to this: "In Sino-U.S. relations, politics and economics are not one and the same thing. However, no hard and fast line can be drawn between the two. In order to give full play to the potentialities of Sino-U.S. economic cooperation, there must be good political conditions." In the international community, there are always some people who hold that China needs to rely on the United States in economic affairs and will, therefore, have to swallow bitter pills in political affairs. This is, in fact, an unrealistic illusion.

In international relations, China will not play either the United States card or the Soviet Union card, that is, it will not rely on the United States to balance Sino-Soviet relations, nor will it rely on the Soviet Union to balance Sino-U.S. relations. When answering the reporters' questions, Premier Zhao Ziyang said that China pursues a foreign policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands. As to what it is for and what it is against, it is necessary to make concrete analysis of concrete matters. China will not attach itself to a particular big country and will not adopt equidistant diplomacy. Nor will it draw an equal sign between other countries. China is willing to establish stable and enduring relations with the United States and is also willing to have a dialogue with it and to realize Soviet hegemonism. It also hopes that the relations between the United States and Soviet Union will be relaxed. These forceful expositions on China's policies are also helpful in gaining a good understanding of the influence of his visit to the United States on the international situation.

To sum up, Premier Zhao Ziyang's U.S. visit fully shows that China has adopted a positive attitude of looking forward in Sino-U.S. relations. However, visiting the United States does not mean relying on the United States. The U.S. leaders must have a clear understanding of this.

CSO: 4005/308

VIEWS ON PARTY PURIFICATION IN CHINA AIRED

Hong Kong CH'SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 11, 1983 pp 45-58

[Article by Mu Fu (3668 1133): "Party Purification: To Clear the Way for Successors"]

[Text] The orthodox conservative faction, the most terrible political legacy of Mao Zedong, is now a real hidden peril to the Deng-Hu group. Despite the urgent need for succession, removal of this peril is no easy task.

A year ago, the 12th National Congress of the CPC announced that it had decided on a rectification of party style and a consolidation of party organization over a period of 3 years. The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee held on 11-12 October 1983 made formal preparations for the movement and adopted the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Consolidation." It was announced that the consolidation was to make an all-out start this winter and will last 3 years. The consolidation will proceed from the top down by stages and in groups. "To ensure day-to-day leadership over party consolidation work," a Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation was established with General Secretary Hu Yaobang as the chairman.

The difference in this party consolidation from the previous ones is that the several types of people to be expelled from the party are clearly defined. Furthermore, the "registration of members" throughout the party suggests a purification. If we view this purification in the light of the movement to arrest and execute criminals, which has been given full publicity, we can feel the tense, solemn and irrevocable trend of the internal policies in Communist China.

This party consolidation document of 13,000 words serves to diagnose and prescribe cures for the various maladies of a superparty with a membership of 40 million. Before analyzing its essence and feasibility, it may be worthwhile to say something about its conception. The "Decision" said in conclusion: The Yanan rectification movement in 1942 led to the victory in the War of Resistance against Japan, and this party consolidation will lead to "great victories in the socialist modernization drive." During the Yanan rectification movement, there was the "General Study Committee" headed

by Mao Zedong with Kang Sheng [1660 3932] as his deputy to "guide the rectification movement." Now there is the "Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation." The CPC leaders and propagandists have talked about the Yanan rectification movement at great length and with great relish and used it as a model movement. Therefore, it may not be out of place to review briefly the Yanan rectification.

#### Historical Features of Yanan Rectification

Yanan rectification began in the spring of 1942 and ended with the Seventh Party Congress approximately 4 years later. How does this rectification movement figure in the CPC history after all? Was it really a decisive factor in the War of Resistance against Japan?

The Yanan rectification began as only a "study movement" for the purpose of "raising the party's ideological level and rectifying the three styles (study style, party style and literary style) and was planned to last 3-4 months. However, it "became a great intra-party debate" at the very start. The party media screamed with alarm that "a large number of party members are not of proletarian origin" and stressed that "no energy, time and money can be spared" to carry the movement through to the end. ("CPC Historical Materials" Vol 5) The incidents of Wang Shiwei's [3769 1395 0724] "Wild Lily" and Ding Ling's [0002 3781] "Thoughts on International Working Women's Day" followed. Wang Shiwei, was found to be a "Trotskyite," and it was decided that a "trial of cadres" movement should be launched. The trials of cadres in 1943 marked the third stage in the rectification movement, and the "rescue movement" was a brutal act of "extorting confessions and believing them." Wang Shoudao [3769 7445 6677], then general secretary of the Central Staff Office, recalled in 1978: "The exaggerated and mystifying action in the trial of cadres, the figures showing the proportion of class enemies ferreted out in every government office, the prevalence of 'extorting confessions and believing them'...were the cause of numerous cases of unjust, false and wrong accusations." (RENMIN RIBAO 16 Dec 78) Wang Ming said that during the rescue movement, "violent terrorist methods were used to force loyal revolutionaries to admit that they had been 'misguided.' The Social Department of the CPC Central Committee, headed by Kang Sheng, specialized in arresting, hanging, beating and killing people." (Wang Ming's "Memoirs") According to Wang Ming, more than 10,000 people were killed during the Yanan rectification movement.

Serious disorder forced Mao Zedong to lead the movement into the rehabilitation stage in 1944 and 1945, and his apology to the victims at a meeting somehow alleviated the internal contradictions. Now the CPC has shifted the blame for the Yanan rectification movement to Kang Sheng, charging that his "army of special agents" committed the excesses. In fact, the "nine articles" for the trial of cadres were drafted by Mao himself, and the first sentence read. "The large number of special agents should be no surprise."

The Yanan rectification movement was by no means motivated by the desire to set right the party style which had deteriorated to an intolerable extent (since the so-called criticism of stereotyped writing and so forth was only



a gross exaggeration.) It was only Mao Zedong's intention to take this opportunity to establish his absolute authority in the party. At that time, Mao's opponent was the "Internationalist Faction" headed by Wang Ming. However, Wang Ming's influence was already on the decline after being deprived of his military power at the Zunyi meeting in 1935. His controversy with Mao in 1938 on the strategy to resist Japan also ended in defeat. In 1942, General Secretary Chang Wentian [1728 2429 1131], Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Ren Bishi [0117 1732 2514] Gao Gang [7559 1511] and the other leading figures of the conciliatory group had already pledged allegiance to Mao, whose prestige and power continued to rise. He was the real decisionmaker to whom Wang Ming's faction could be no real threat. Yet, as a totalitarian who could not tolerate any alien element, Mao was not satisfied with normal developments. He wanted to be recognized as being always correct in theory, and at the same time had his eye on total political control. Therefore, even though a tough enemy was at the door, he did not hesitate to recall the cadres from the front to achieve "ideological unity" in Yanan. His goal was attained through rectification, and his line was extolled in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" published in the later stage of the movement. In March 1943, he became chairman in name as well as in fact--chairman of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat--while the Seventh Party Congress, originally scheduled to be held in 1938, was postponed to 1945. It became the meeting to confirm Mao's leading position and to recognize his orthodox thinking.

We can say that through the Yanan rectification movement--in which alien elements were attacked--Mao highhandedly established his own undisputed authority and inaugurated an era of ruling the country through movements. The pernicious influence of the Yanan rectification, if obliterated by the war and victory after the Seventh Party Congress, was gradually brought to light after the founding of Communist China, and its reactionary and brutal nature as fully exposed during the cultural revolution. Undoubtedly, all the political movements during the 30 years in Mainland China were carbon copies--some of them down to many minute details--of the Yanan rectification, all starting with the call for "unity-criticism" and ending with cases of "unjust, false and wrong charges."

It was ironic that Liu Shaoqi, who climbed to the second highest position by demonstrating his prowess in the Yanan rectification movement and by supporting Mao, should eventually die at Mao's hand, while Kang Sheng, the executioner in the same movement, became Mao's trusted lieutenant and had the opportunity to use his old tactics with increased severity. The cadres named by him for persecution numbered 839.

It would be superfluous to debate whether the victories in the War of Resistance against Japan and in the civil war should be attributed to the Yanan rectification movement, since many factors contributed to these victories. Given these factors, we believe the course of history would not have changed even though there was no Yanan rectification at all. Only those with blind faith in Mao's "creative" talent would exaggerate its role.

Opponents of the Deng-Hu Group

History is like a mirror. In the face of this party consolidation in Communist China, people may ask what its real goal is.

The "Decision on Party Consolidation" lists many problems in the party, ranging from tremendous political and economic losses, violations of law and discipline and bureaucratism to such unhealthy tendencies as resisting the Central Committee's line, disseminating bourgeois liberalization and seeking personal gain. All these are certainly facts. However, people must also realize that the Deng-Hu group coming to power after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has indeed adopted a series of measures to improve the style and organization of the party. Examples of these measures are: checking up on factional movements, discussion on the criterion of truth, structural reforms, reorganization of the leading bodies at various levels (particularly the personnel reshuffle in the Central Committee, the military regions and the provinces), establishment of discipline inspection commissions at various levels, passage of certain new statutes, proclamation of the Guiding Principles for intra-party Political Life, the holding of county general elections, encouragement of freedom of criticism, attacks on economic crimes, the five stresses and four points of beauty movement and so forth. It cannot be argued that these measures have not produced any desired effect.

As for the "three types of persons" pointed out in the "Decision," the situation is actually not that serious. The "expose, criticize and investigate" movement, the great trial of the "10 villains" and the reorganization of leading bodies in the past 7 years have not only negated the cultural revolution and discredited factionalism but also purged a large number of those "whose fortunes rose with the rebellion." Most of those who indulged in "beating, smashing and looting" have been imprisoned or duly punished. If "people with a serious factional mentality" refer to those still persisting in what they did during the cultural revolution, it is unlikely that they can find any more supporters. It is true that some of these "three types of persons" may have slipped through the dragnet, but the allegation that they are "of great harm to the party" can hardly be convincing.

The two sources of problems in the party pointed out by the "Decision"--namely, the pernicious influence of the cultural revolution and the corrosive capitalist ideology following the open-door policy--generally calls for educational work. If the open-door line is to continue, this type of work should also continue for a long time.

Then why should this rectification movement be carried out as though it is a "matter of life and death for the party in power," even though "the healthy forces are already preponderant in the party"?

The "Decision" points out the three categories of persons who must be expelled from the party:

1. The "three types of persons" (who, "in principle, should be expelled from the party").

2. Those who stubbornly resist the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee.

3. Those who have committed grave crimes in economic matters and other criminal offenses.

The situation of the first category has already been described, and that of the third category can be dealt with at any time. Only the second category deserves attention, and people of this category are precisely the main targets of the current party consolidation.

Essentially, people of this category are the opponents of the Deng-Hu group. This category is formed of two sections: One of them may be called the cultural revolution faction. As officially revealed in December 1980, 18 million persons, approximately 40 percent of the membership, joined the CPC during the cultural revolution. Naturally, they are not bitter against the cultural revolution, since they have benefited from it in varying degrees. Furthermore, most of them are uneducated and cannot be expected to show much enthusiasm for the new line. Hua Guofeng is their representative. They are different from the "three types of persons" and form a fairly stable foundation of the former ultraleftist line. The other can be called the orthodox conservative section. Many of these people have been victims of the cultural revolution or even of the antirightist movement. However, their misfortune has not altered their ideological outlook formed during their long allegiance to the party. When they rejoined the privileged class, their orthodox conviction became even more strengthened, and the huge military ranks of the upper-middle level became an important base of the conservatives. Ye Jangying is their symbol and Mao Zedong is their banner.

Of course, only a very small number of those in this category dare to "resist stubbornly" the Deng-Hu line. Most of them are malcontents and are covertly resisting it while feigning compliance in the open. This is a traditional way of resisting the party in power in Chinese politics, and they cannot do anything until the time is opportune. The Deng-Hu group, which has branched out from the orthodox faction, clearly recognizes the real power of and the threat from this group, which forms the foundation stone of CPC political power. This is the most terrible political legacy of Mao Zedong. This is where the hidden peril to the pragmatist line lies.

It has been rumored that some people in the country are quite familiar with this profound secrecy and worry that after Deng Xiaoping's death, the new ruling group headed by Hu Yaobang may be unable to hold on to power. Deng is now already 79, and the king of hell may summon him any time. Deng has already revealed to some members of the Hong Kong and Macao Political Consultative Congress that the country would be in turmoil after his death unless the problem of the armed forces is solved. Deng Xiaoping's death will undoubtedly be a golden opportunity for the opposing faction.

Therefore, instead of expecting people to believe that the purpose of party consolidation is to eliminate the "three types of people" who "oppose and

endanger the party," it would be better to dispense with the finesse of official pharaseology and point out the urgent and serious nature of the intra-party struggle. The Deng-Hu group apparently wants to eliminate the opponents by relying on Deng's prestige in order to pave the way for wholesale succession. The outcome of this struggle, whatever it may be, will not make any fundamental change in the CPC's domination. However, it will be a matter of "life and death" to the nascent Deng-Hu group.

#### A Backward-pulling Slogan

The first goal set by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee is "ideological unity." The "Decision" reads: "The entire history of our party shows that maintaining a high degree of ideological and political unity is a basic condition to winning victory in revolution and construction." This is to be the guiding thought in party consolidation.

The slogan "to maintain political unity with the Party Central Committee" first appeared in an article carried in BEIJING RIBAO in February 1980. This article, later reprinted by RENMIN RIBAO, advanced a great number of lame arguments. This slogan had never been used in CPC official documents (although such a demand was heard by members within the party). Yet in the "Decision" on party consolidation this time, it was treated as a principle of first importance. The idea behind it is obviously to pull all the party members over to the Deng-Hu line. However, this slogan is a complete violation of Lenin's principles of party building as well as CPC's own principle of organization, since it contains some antidemocratic elements and is a backward-pulling slogan.

The article dealing with the rights of party members in the constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress reads: "In case of disagreement with a party decision or policy, [party members enjoy the right] to make reservations and present their views to party organizations at higher levels up to and including the Central Committee and to ask the organizations concerned for a responsible reply."

According to the interpretation of the principles of organization under the system of democratic centralism, the party has never demanded that the party members should maintain political and ideological unity with the Central Committee. What it specifically demands is unity in the implementation of party decisions and in discipline. For example, in the well-known "Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention," the first requirement is to "obey orders in all your actions; you must march in step before victory can be won." Even Lin Biao said: "Carry out what you understand as well as what you do not understand." This shows that lack of unity, if not expressed in action, can be tolerated. The statement "the whole membership is subordinate to the Central Committee" conveys the same meaning. It is certainly ideal that ideological unity can be achieved on a correct basis. However, there should be no demanding on this point, since it is only through the existence of different views that a correct approach can be worked out. (Setting up a rival stage and protecting opponents

constitutes the essence of modern democracy.) Although such a slogan did not exist throughout the Mao Zedong era, any lack of political and ideological unity was opposed, and the result was only too well known.

It was because of the bitter historical lessons learned that one of the 12 articles of the Guiding Principles for Intra-party Political Life," adopted by the Plenary Session of the CPC Central Committee in March 1980, was entitled "Promote Intra-party Democracy, Take a Correct Attitude toward Dissenting Views." It reads: "It is normal that there should be different understandings and controversies over matters of ideology and theory within the party.... If some matters of right and wrong concerning ideology and theory cannot be solved for the time being, except for those of important political and immediate significance, they must be reserved for further discussion and solved through practice, and no hasty conclusion should be drawn." This means tolerance of the lack of political unity. The Guiding Principles also call for protection of those who have made mistaken statements because of their different views, according to the "three not's" principle (not seizing on another's shortcoming and blowing it up, not putting labels on people and not using the big stick).

The Deng-Hu group probably believes in the complete correctness of their Central Committee and thinks it has the right to demand that party members maintain unity with it. It is true that the Deng-Hu Central Committee is comparatively more correct than the previous central committees, but the Chinese people, who are familiar with the frequent changes, may never recognize this correctness as being absolute, total and permanent. In fact, political unity is easier said than done. The word "political" has a sweeping meaning, and insistence on political unity can only lead to a revival of blind subservience.

The stress on using this slogan as the "party's political discipline" (please note this new term!) and as the "main criterion" for evaluating the party organization and party members fully exposes the undesirable nature of the leading group on which the Deng and Hu are placing great hopes. This slogan will mean nipping democracy in the bud. In essence, there cannot be the slightest difference between their leading group and the patriarchal dictatorship which they have vigorously opposed. This slogan has become the program of party consolidation, and shows that as soon as the Deng-Hu group is in possession of supreme power, they will follow the example of the previous rulers who claimed to have a mandate from heaven and became extremely conceited. The people will not be allowed any choice in political matters.

#### Several Problems of Policy

First, the duty and function of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation. The establishment of this commission is certainly in line with the old practice of having a special leading organ for each great movement. Despite the claim that it will function under the Central Committee's leadership, will it be above the Central Committee? Will it function arbitrarily? This will be entirely possible, according to

historical experiences. At least its chairman is the party's general secretary, and the purpose of its establishment, as stipulated, is to "ensure day-to-day leadership" over the party consolidation work. According to the composition of membership in this commission, there are only three members of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline with special responsibility for party style, five members from the Secretariat and Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948], secretary of the CYL Central Committee. Therefore, this group has the unmistakable Hu brand. Although the name contains the word "work" instead of "movement," its structure nevertheless shows that it has to do with a movement.

Second, the rigorous policy in dealing with the "three types of persons." As mentioned before, the "three types of persons" have been under heavy attack time and again since the downfall of the "Gang of Four." Yet, even now, they are looked upon as a serious hidden peril to the party and are treated as the main target. This is not only contrary to facts but also unfair. The number of people who joined the factions and persecuted the cadres during the cultural revolution was very large, and the seriousness of their misdeeds as well as the situation in various localities were not the same. Furthermore, they acted in response to the call of the Central Committee many years ago, and their action should generally be forgotten. In fact, there have been many cases of retaliation for personal revenge by veteran cadres. Now, if the old scores are to be settled once again, excesses may be committed that will intensify the contradictions.

Third, is it party consolidation or a movement to attack people? This is a question of universal concern. If the attack will hurt good people or result in a melee, the "Decision" has not provided any preventive measure. It only stresses the need to "prevent the party consolidation from proceeding perfunctorily" and to produce concrete results. However, experiences have proved that as long as there is any movement, there must be targets of attack. The delivery of blows at the targets may not be always accurate, and the methods of attack may become excessive. If such attacks are inevitable, it is always possible that the targets deserving to be attacked may "slip away." For example, when Ye Qun [5509 5028], Lin Biao's wife, was exposed as a former special agent of the CC clique of the Kuomintang during the Yanan rectification, she was not only free from attack but also able to retaliate against the informer during the cultural revolution.

Fourth, the problem of leadership over party consolidation by the original party committee in every unit. It often transpired that leaders of the party committees tended to protect one another with the spearhead directed at the broad masses. Sometimes they may use coverups or act as they please, and nobody can do anything about it. This type of movement can only mean either suffering for the people or become a matter of formality. Problems with the leading bodies can never be solved without intervention from the higher authorities.

Fifth, the problem of party consolidation through the broad masses. There has been in the past open-door rectification of the party with no

distinction between party members and ordinary people. This is not proper. However, total rejection of the supervisory role of the broad masses over the party and the statement that "our party, by relying on its own strength, is fully capable of overcoming its seamy side and of correcting its mistakes" can only give people a feeling of embarrassment. The CPC leaders have more than once used such deceptive talks to protect their "great and correct" party. They seem to have forgotten that were it not for the Tiananmen incident, the "Gang of Four" would not have been toppled so quickly. Also, if the broad masses did not expose and denounce the serious illegal deeds of the privileged class inside the party, would the anti-corruption movement have been launched? In fact, if there is any real intention to rectify the party style, it would be better for the party to take the initiative to solicit the opinion of the broad masses.

#### Leaders of Rulers?

Many rectification movements have taken place since the founding of Communist China. The antirightist movement in 1957 was the outcome of such a movement. Similar movements took place in the early 1960's, during the "four cleanups" movement and in the late stage of the cultural revolution. However, the result was that instead of improving the party style, these movements served to temper a large number of notorious party swindlers and party tyrants and to increase their power of resistance. Thus the party has become a mansion for the privileged class, and those seeking personal gain would sharpen their wits to get in. Will the large-scale party consolidation, expected to last several years, follow the old rut?

The answer cannot be optimistic. The biggest difficulty, in my opinion, is that the opponents of the Deng-He group are not easy to handle. Except for the very small number of people who have violated the party discipline and state law, it would be very difficult to eliminate these opponents, no matter whether they belong to the cultural revolution faction or the orthodox conservative faction. Strictly speaking, they all have the privilege of immunity from attack, even though they hold different political views which have been proved to be incompatible with state interests. If people do not learn to get along with their opponents and, instead, insist on striking them down or putting them in an awkward position, these people are not making a wise move in consolidating their power. Furthermore, in these days of a growing tendency toward pluralism, insistence on solid unity and purity is itself a reflection of ossified thinking. Besides leading to a vicious cycle of wasting money and manpower, such insistence can accomplish nothing whatsoever.

Can it be true that a movement which is intended to consolidate a political power striving for reform deserves no sympathy? If the party is "on the whole politically pure and highly militant," as it claims; if there is normal intra-party life with strict party discipline and state laws; and if the party line is supported by the people, then there is no need for the party to be afraid of the perverse action of its opponents or the law-breakers. If, as we believe, the developments in China are not a historical

necessity but only a power struggle, there is no wonder that the party should expect miracles from the "study of movements."

In Hu Yaobang's talk on the problem of party style in December 1980, there is a sentence which gives food for thought. He said: "Rulers are different from leaders, and the transformation from the latter into the former would produce a series of problems." Thus, unwittingly, he spoke a truth. The whole set of problems in Communist China during the past 30 years, including the present party consolidation, can only be attributed to the fact that the CPC does not represent the people's interests. It has become the people's ruler. Whenever you unfold the RENMIN RIBAO, you will find articles occupying whole pages everyday extolling the virtues or voicing the grievances of secretaries and ministers who have "liberated the people," as well as long articles teaching people what to do and what not to do. The people are, after all, to be ruled and persecuted. Hu Yaobang can be considered a wise man, but he cannot get beyond the historical limits for the representatives of China's strongest ruling class.

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