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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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10 February 1984

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## GENERAL

### JOURNAL REVIEWS WORLD 'TURBULENCE' IN 1983

HK220630 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 24, 25 Dec 83 pp 16-22

[Article by BAN YUE TAN International Editorial Department: "A Year of Sharp Turbulence in the World"]

[Text] The year 1983 marked a year of sharp turbulence in the world. Negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the question of intermediate-range missiles in Europe came to a halt and the tense relations between these two superpowers became all the more aggravated. "Hot points" in various localities of the world greatly increased in number while one wave of unrest was rapidly followed by another. The Third World countries faced economic difficulties. Their national indebtedness sharply mounted. Contradictions between the North and South steadily intensified.

#### 1. Daily Worsening U.S.-Soviet Relations

Throughout 1983, negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the question of intermediate-range missiles in Europe were held in a state of great tension, with one side trying to outbid the other. Eventually, the Soviet delegates walked out of the conference and it was completely stalemated.

As everybody knows, Europe is an area of strategic importance in U.S.-Soviet confrontation. These two giant military blocs have been sharply confronting each other in this locality. Since 1976, and up to now, the Soviet Union has quietly installed in Europe some 243 SS-20 medium-range missiles. Their direct targets are countries of NATO and Western Europe. The missiles have three warheads, the detonation power of each being equivalent to seven times that of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Naturally, NATO-member countries are deeply alarmed by this Soviet military threat and, as a result, at a conference of NATO defense ministers in autumn 1979, it was decided to install, beginning from 1983, in the West European countries (West Germany, Britain, Italy, Holland, and Belgium) 572 Pershing-II missiles and cruise missiles (108 Pershing-II's and 464 cruise missiles). These two are, relatively speaking, highly powerful medium-range missiles. The former has an accurate rate of target-hitting, whereas the latter is more mobile and is capable of making flights at super-low levels, thus avoiding radar detection.

It was precisely under these conditions that the Soviet Union and the United States held in Geneva negotiations on the question of the limitation of intermediate-range missiles in Europe. The year 1983 has been called the "missile-year." At the negotiation table, the talk was on missiles and the superpower hegemonists sought to deploy more missiles, whereas the masses of people were opposed to missiles. Missiles have become the center of people's attention and the topic of their conversations.

The United States and the Soviet Union spent more than 2 years on these talks in Geneva. What was achieved? The result was that both sides parted in disagreement and no agreement was ever reached. This was because neither party was the least bit sincere in their talks, both trying to place limitations on the other side, while giving themselves a free hand. The various proposals made by the United States were aimed at making the Soviet Union demolish or remove the SS-20 missiles already installed in Europe, while the Soviet proposals were aimed at preventing the United States from installing in Europe the new intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Although new proposals in various forms were continuously tabled at the talks, they all harbored the same objective.

By the end of the year, as the talks continued to remain deadlocked, the United States began to install missiles in Britain, West Germany and Italy. On 23 November, the Soviet delegates walked out of the Geneva INF talks and announced their indefinite termination. They also announced their intention of installing strategic missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia. The two sides intensified their accusations against each other.

At present, the Reagan administration is devoting great efforts to increasing armaments. Military expenditure for fiscal year 1983 was as high as \$214.8 billion. In 1984, it will be increased to \$245.3 billion. The gross amount of the military expenses for the next 5 years will be some \$1.6 trillion, averaging over \$300 billion a year. The U.S. Government is obviously determined to vie with the Soviet Union for superiority in global confrontation. On its part, the Soviet Union is by no means compromising but is making strenuous efforts to expand and renovate its armaments.

The shooting down of the South Korean airliner by the Soviet Union added to the fire, so to speak, in the tense U.S.-Soviet relations. In the early morning on 1 September, a South Korean airliner entered the airspace over a Soviet military zone on the Sakhalin Islands. It was brought down by a missile fired from a Soviet military plane, killing 269 aboard. This tragic incident shocked the entire world. The United States took advantage of it and organized a large-scale condemnation movement, adopting various punitive measures and going so far as to deny permission for Gromyko's plane to land at an American civil airport. On the part of the Soviet authorities, they accused the United States of having premeditatedly and deftly engineered this as a spying activity and said that the incursion of the South Korean airliner into Soviet airspace was made at the direction of the United States. The truth of the matter is still under investigation, but judging from the attitude displayed by both sides, U.S.-Soviet relations have been further aggravated. This affair also shows that the confrontation and struggle between these two hegemonic powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are being intensified in northeast Asia.

## 2. Five Global 'Hot Spots'

In the disquieted world, local military conflicts and wars have flared up one after another. Under the background of the superpowers intensifying their struggles, war flames have been continuously raging in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf area, and in Africa, Asia and Latin America. During the year, five major "hot spots" prominently emerged:

The first "hot spot" is located in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area.

In June last year, Israel, with the tacit consent of the United States, sent a large invasion force into Lebanon. The purpose was to drive the PLO and the Syrian forces out of Lebanon. This invasion dealt a serious blow to the PLO forces, a portion of which were forced to evacuate Beirut to a point far away from the eight Arab countries on the battlefield. Concurrently, Syria's military forces in the southern part of Lebanon suffered heavy casualties.

The agreement reached between Israel and Lebanon in May 1983 virtually marked the basic realization of Israel's expansionist objective, following which the Israelis made a gesture of one-sided withdrawal of forces to a line along the bank of the Awali River, about 45 kilometers from Israel's border. It plans to hold this line firmly and to build a permanent frontline there, endeavoring to occupy Lebanese territory for a prolonged period. On the strength of this agreement with Lebanon, Israel meant to force a portion of the PLO forces and the whole of the Syrian forces to leave the country and thus put the latter two in a difficult predicament. After the PLO forces evacuated Beirut, they were in rather difficult straits. Internal dissension in the organization mounted. An opposition group within the organization, violently opposed to Arafat's line, actually instigated a civil war. The group had the support of Syria and Libya. In the subsequent fighting between the two camps in northern Lebanon, heavy casualties were suffered by both sides. This greatly weakened the PLO. Meanwhile, the conflicts between the two large religious sects inside Lebanon also intensified, resulting in violent fighting between them for possession of territory from which the Israelis had withdrawn.

Under a situation of violent turbulence in the Middle East, the United States and Israel further decided to form a joint political and military pact, reaching an agreement on tactical cooperation. Both the United States and Israel dispatched planes to bomb Syrian positions in Lebanon, thus further intensifying their threat to peace in the Middle East.

In the Persian Gulf area, another war has been raging on more or less even terms. The war between Iran and Iraq erupted on 2 September 1980, and has now lasted for 3 years and 3 months. Over 200,000 people have lost their lives in the war, while the economic losses amount to several tens of billions of dollars. In the export of crude oil alone, Iran's losses are about \$14 billion while Iraq's losses are about \$36 billion. At present, the war is raging inside Iraq's territory, and fighting between the two sides is rather intense. In 1983, Iran launched five big offensives but each time was held at bay by Iraq. The war situation appears to be a drawn out

Generally speaking, the situation in the Middle East can be summed up as follows: The United States supports and connives at Israel's expansion and intensification of its offensive program; Israel maintains an arrogant posture and fearless attitude because it has strong backing; the Soviet Union, unwilling to remain in a passive position, has resorted to active intervention; countries of the Arab world have become increasingly split over the solution of the Middle East problem; dissension has surfaced within the PLO due to both internal and external factors; and there is continuing strife and fighting among various Lebanese factions. The situation in the Middle East is a complex one. Hardly a peaceful day can be expected.

The second "hot spot" is in South Asia, on the battlefield in Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union's armed invasion of Afghanistan has nearly passed its 4th year. After 4 years of hard steeling in armed struggles, the Afghan resistance forces have gradually increased in number. Their equipment has been improved. The quality of their war tactics also has been greatly elevated and there has been a strengthening in unity and cooperation between its various units of resistance. Basically speaking, they control the rural villages, where they have established base areas to strengthen their guerrilla activities against the cities and towns. The Soviet Union's forces of 100,000-strong are bogged down in this hilly country, unable to eliminate the guerrilla forces, whereas the resisting forces are equally incapable of driving out the invaders. The battlefield in Afghanistan is in a deadlocked and stalled state.

On its part, the Soviet Union has felt the effects of the heavy burden and of enormous international pressure, but out of consideration for its set strategy to thrust southward, it is unwilling to call off the invasion. Since the beginning of this year, the Soviet forces have stepped up their suppression of the resistance forces, built and enlarged large air bases in Afghanistan, erected missile launching sites, and constructed new highways and underground oil reservoirs, making preparations for a prolonged stay in the country.

The third 'hot spot' is in Kampuchea

The state of the anti-Vietnam struggles staged by the Kampucheans has been increasingly improving. Despite five consecutive dry-season offensives launched by the Vietnamese forces, Kampuchea's resistance forces not only have not been weakened but have grown in strength. A stalemate has developed on the battlefield. It will be impossible for the Vietnamese to make any further large progress.

The tripartite coalition of Kampuchea's anti-Vietnam forces is gathering momentum. It has won the support of people of various countries of the world, whereas the Vietnamese authorities and their Soviet supporters are being subjected to increasing pressure from world opinion. This year, the UN General Assembly adopted, for the fifth time, a resolution demanding that Vietnamese forces withdraw from Kampuchea. The Kampuchean problem has become a heavy burden for Vietnam and the Soviet Union, both of which have found it difficult to call a halt to their aggressive venture or to score a conclusive victory.

The fourth "hot spot" is in Central America, where new developments have evolved out of the turbulence.

Central America includes the five countries of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, all of which were formerly within the sphere of influence of the United States. In recent years, national democratic struggles have erupted in this area. First of all, Nicaragua overthrew the rule of its dictator Somoza, causing strong reverberations in Central America. In its wake, guerrilla warfare again flared up in El Salvador, posing a serious threat to its existing government. Thus, in Central America, a tidal wave of anti-imperialism and of fighting for democracy has surged in many of the states, with the Soviet Union and Cuba playing a hand in the turbulence.

The emergence of a gap in Central America has caused much uneasiness for the United States. The Reagan administration has been forced to adopt a policy of open intervention, resorting to both military and diplomatic measures. On the one hand, military force was applied on Nicaragua and military drills were held near Nicaragua's territorial waters, while at the same time, military aid to El Salvador and Honduras was doubled in order to suppress guerrillas. On the other hand, Kissinger was given a new appointment, placed in charge of the newly formed "Presidential Commission on Central America" as a measure to cope with the existing situation.

United States policy toward Central America has met with internal opposition. Many people have warned against the possible eruption of another Vietnam war. On their part, the Latin American countries have demanded that they be allowed to solve their own problems, rejecting outside intervention. The contadora bloc of four countries (Colombia, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela) has done much work in easing the situation in Central America.

In the last 10 days of October, the United States sent armed forces to invade Grenada and thus aggravated the already tense situation in the Caribbean Sea area. In recent years, this small state, located in the east Caribbean Sea, had cultivated rather close relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union. Fearing that this nation, located along a strategic and important water route, might fall into the hands of the Soviet Union and Cuba, the United States, on the 7th day after a bloody military coup in Grenada and on the pretext of protecting American nationals in the country, brazenly mobilized an armed force of 5,000 (in addition to a naval force of 15,000 in nearby waters) and invaded Grenada. This outright action of hegemonism was violently condemned by people throughout the world.

The fifth "hot spot" is in Chad, Africa.

During its 23 years of independence, Chad, located in the heart of Africa, has been fighting an 18-year civil war. Since the beginning of this year, external forces have stepped up their intervention, and developments in Chad have taken on an international character.

Since its independence, this former French colony has been engaged in incessant civil war because of tribal, religious, and economic contradictions. Both its

current president, Hissein Habre, and the leader of the antigovernment insurgent group, former President Goukouni Oueddei, are backed by foreign countries. The Libyan forces, which all along have supported the insurgent leader, seized control of the northern part of Chad while France, on account of its vast economic interests in the country, sent its armed forces to support Habre, thus bringing about a situation of North-South confrontation. At the same time, the Soviet Union and the United States are behind Libya and France, respectively. At present, the two parties are, on the one hand, seeking a solution by political means but, at the same time, are replenishing their armed forces in preparation for more fighting. The situation thus continues to be grave.

From the above-mentioned five "hot spots," we can readily see that intervention by the superpowers has been the basic cause of the turbulence. However, while it is easy to start a fire, to extinguish it is not so easy. Once a war is started, it cannot easily subside and very often may become sustained and prolonged. The people's struggles may be difficult and tortuous, but resistance cannot be suppressed by force and, above all, the people cannot be exterminated. There seems to be but one way to solve problems: 'All foreign troops must be evacuated and the people in the localities must be left free to solve their own problems. If only the Third World countries could strengthen their unity and brush aside intervention by the superpowers, it would be easy for them to solve their own internal problems. They must not commit any acts which pain their friends but please their enemies.

### 3. Intensification of North-South Contradiction

Since 1979, the Western capitalist world has suffered from a serious economic depression lasting 4 years. It was only at the beginning of this year that the situation gradually alleviated and the economies of the United States and West European countries began to recover, accompanied by a rise in industrial production.

However, this crisis has dealt an extremely severe blow to the Western economy. Even at present, the United States cannot get rid of its "three highs," namely, high fiscal deficit (the financial red figures this year amount to \$200 billion), high unemployment rate (nearly 10 million people unemployed), and high interest rates. The entire Western economy is in difficult times, finding it difficult to recover, and being confronted with numerous and indefinite ups and downs, being, generally speaking, in a rather weak state.

The effects of this crisis on the Third World countries are even more serious. In the course of the crisis, the Western developed countries did their utmost to transfer the crisis to the Third World, making it the most serious victim of the economic crisis.

As a result of the Western developed countries, particularly the United States, hiking interest rates on bank loans, restricting imports, and raising the customs duties thereon, and depressing the prices of raw materials and primary products, and at the same time due to internal causes within the Third World countries, the

economies of the developing countries have greatly worsened. Foreign debts of the Third World countries have reached a staggering \$700 billion, the highest on record. Among them, the Latin American countries are the heaviest in debt, their foreign debts amounting to over \$300 billion. Brazil's share alone amounts to some \$90 billion. Many of the countries are suffering from serious currency inflation, accompanied by relative deterioration in foreign trade. Since 1980, some countries have been using nearly 80 percent of their newly contracted foreign loans for the sole purpose of repaying old loans. Over 40 countries have been unable to meet on due time the payment schedule of their foreign loans. Some 20 countries have openly indicated their inability to repay loans and are looking for remedial measures. Among them are Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Zaire and Indonesia. This serious crisis in indebtedness not only has brought great difficulties to the developing countries, causing political unrest, but also has seriously threatened the world's currency system.

Third World countries have strongly demanded a change in the old irrational and unequal world economic order and the establishment of a new international economic order. The fundamental demand of the Third World is the maintenance of its own economic interests and a change in its status in international economic relations of being the victim of control and exploitation. It seeks a greater voice in international economic organs. Its member countries demand equality, justice, and rationality. They demand direct talks between the South and the North in order to improve relations between them.

Unfortunately, the major developed countries, particularly the United States, have firmly insisted on adopting an obstinate attitude in the North-South negotiations, obstructing the establishment of a new international economic order. As a result, the North-South talks are currently in a deadlocked state.

In the turbulent world situation, the government of our country has raised the banner of "opposing hegemonism and maintaining world peace," firmly opposing the policy of hegemonism on the part of the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It has sought to strengthen the unity and cooperation among the Third World countries and to improve relations with the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. Our independent and autonomous foreign policy has strengthened our country's international standing and influence, won for us many more friends, and played an exceedingly important role in fostering the development of world peace and mankind's progressive enterprises.

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## GENERAL

### JOURNAL REVIEWS PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE PRINCIPLES

HK130709 Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI in Chinese No 24, 16 Dec 83 pp 2-5

[Article by reporters Huang Shuhai [7806 2579 3189] and Zhu Chengli [2612 2052 4539]: "Yao Zhongming Talks About the Emergence and Influence of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence"]

[Text] December of this year is the 30th anniversary of the declaration of the five principles of peaceful coexistence (referred to as the five principles). These five principles are: Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual nonaggression, mutual noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. Over the last 30 years, the five principles have and will continue to play an enormous role in the handling of international relations. Thus, we requested an exclusive interview with Comrade Yao Zhongming so that he might discuss this topic. Comrade Yao Zhongming was Chinese ambassador to Burma and to Indonesia during the 1950's and the 1960's and today is a member of the CPPCC and vice president of the Overseas Cultural Exchange Committee in the Ministry of Culture.

#### The Historical Background to the Declaration of the Five Principles

"Perhaps you could first tell us how the five principles were raised and what the historical background at that time was?"

Yao Zhongming: "The five principles are correct principles which guide relations between countries with different social systems. The principles were voiced on the basis of international developmental trends and summed up pressing demands of the oppressed peoples after eventually winning independence. I would like to discuss the following few points in more detail:

"1. At that time the international situation was divided into two major camps in opposition to one another (socialism and Western capitalism). In addition, there was a very broad intermediate zone which included countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. At that time the concepts of the Third and Second World did not exist.

"2. The birth of new China had an enormously positive effect on the very wide intermediate zone. The anti-imperialist and anticolonialist righteous struggle for national independence being carried out by people who had suffered for many

years under oppression was beginning to develop. Those countries which had already gained independence were involved in seeking equal status and their legal rights and interests in international relations so that they would never be bullied again. In addition they were waging a heroic struggle to shake off the various forms of imperialist and colonialist intervention going on at the time.

"3. The imperialists were waging a war of aggression in Korea with wanton attacks on China and the imperialists loathed us for the development of the movement to resist the United States and support Korea and protect the country. In order to try and achieve their aim of wiping out new China, they launched comprehensive blockades against China and actively tried to sow discord in relations between China and her neighbors in attempts to smash our positive role in the intermediate zone.

"In view of the above-outlined development, China worked at developing good relations with the large majority of countries within the intermediate zone, unifying countries in common opposition to the aggressive policies of imperialism and neo- and old-colonialism, and bringing forth the five principles for peaceful coexistence.

On 31 December 1953, in discussions with a visiting delegation from the Indian Government, Premier Zhao Enlai brought up the idea of the five principles for peaceful coexistence for the first time. Later on 29 April 1954, these principles were again mentioned in the "Sino-Indian agreement on trade and intercourse between the Tibet region and India" signed by both countries. In June of the same year, Premier Zhou visited India and these principles were reiterated in a joint statement issued by Premier Zhou and the prime minister of India, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, which said that both countries believed that the principles were applicable to relations between China, India, Asia, and indeed all countries of the world. Later, when Premier Zhou visited Burma a joint statement was issued between himself and Prime Minister Wu Nu which said that the five principles would guide future relations between their two countries. Thus like the rising sun in the morning, the five principles were spreading out their rays in every direction of international relations.

The Fulfillment of the Aspirations and Demands of the People of All Countries

"After the announcement of the five principles, there was a strong reaction throughout the world. Could you discuss this?"

Yao Zhongming: "The five principles were indeed of enormous significance. Because the principles closely integrated the actual international situation and corresponded with the aspirations of the people of every country, they were not only praised in India and Burma, but quickly received a great deal of attention in large areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America because they represented the aspirations and demands of these oppressed peoples. Although some of these countries had already gained independence, they were still suffering from the menaces and control of imperialism and their internal and foreign affairs frequently suffered intervention.

"As the influence of the five principles expanded, China's international prestige soared and many countries established diplomatic relations with us, such as Norway, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Egypt, Syria, and the Yemen Arab Republic.

"The imperialists were very much aware that the announcement of the five principles and its propagation was a direct and sharp attack on their plots to subvert and divide the countries of the intermediate zone so as to successfully break up each and every one of them, for their actions ran counter to the demands of the five principles. Thus they spread rumors and slander saying that the five principles were a scheme of the Communist Party and should not be believed. This kind of destructive trickery did not stop the consciousness of the long-time oppressed being raised and the large majority of African, Asian, and Latin American countries adopted the five principles as their ideal standards of international relations. This placed the imperialists and the neo- and old-imperialists in a very helpless and passive position. It was because the five principles corresponded absolutely to the fundamental interests of the countries of the intermediate zone and because the five principles embodied the strong demand for a continued anti-imperialist stand and the pressing need for a peaceful environment in which the newly independent, previous oppressed peoples could build their countries, that it had such a great life force and fighting capacity."

#### China's All Out Efforts To Propagate the Five Principles

"How did China implement and propagate the five principles?"

Yao Zhongming: "Not only was China the advocator of the five principles, it was and is their faithful protector and promoter. This is mainly manifested in several ways.

1. The great efforts made to start the successful Asian-African Bandung Conference. Although China was not one of the five countries to initiate the Bandung Conference (they being the five countries at the Colombo Conference, India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), and Pakistan), the efforts that China made toward the opening of the conference and the host country, Indonesia, were of great support and help. During preparations for the Bandung Conference, China and Indonesia exchanged ideas about the five principles through Foreign Ministry channels and proposed that the five principles form the guiding principle of the Bandung Conference. On the eve of the opening of the Bandung Conference, 11 April 1955, American and Taiwanese spies were plotting to harm Premier Zhou and the Chinese delegation to the Asian-African conference so as to disrupt the conference itself and thus arranged the explosion of the airliner "Kashmir Princess" in which three workers from the Chinese delegation, five Chinese reporters and reporters from Austria, Poland, and Vietnam died. This was a deliberate and serious case of sabotage against the Asian-African conference by the imperialists and their lackeys. The crash of the plane caused considerable confusion in some Asian and African countries at that time and many countries feared that the Bandung Conference would not open. Other countries

felt that even if the conference did open it would not necessarily be able to achieve anything. Some countries felt that if they attended the conference it was very likely that later they would also suffer imperialist plots and schemes. The leaders of some countries even wanted to persuade Premier Zhou not to attend the conference, so as to avoid any treacherous schemes. In general, there was a feeling of pessimism about the conference. Despite all this, and without regard for his own safety, Premier Zhou pressed on, making great efforts and contributions to implement and propagate the five principles.

#### The Rangoon Miniconference of the Leaders of Five Countries

"I remember one night, around 0100, I received a cable from the Foreign Ministry in Beijing (at that time I was ambassador to Burma) which said that Premier Zhou had decided to take the plane that day to Jakarta via Rangoon so as to attend the Bandung Conference, and that I should immediately meet with Burmese Prime Minister Wu Nu to discuss this. Because time was so short, I immediately hurried to Wu Nu's official residence and met with the prime minister. After I had explained why I had come to see him, Prime Minister Wu Nu looked shocked and embarrassed and he said very frankly: "I thought it was going to be very simple, to bring together the countries of Asia and Africa in a conference so that we could all discuss the common problems facing us. I never thought the imperialists would try any treachery. The situation is so grim, are you sure that Premier Zhou should attend the conference?" He went on: "Not only is Zhou Enlai's China's Zhou Enlai, he is also the world's Zhou Enlai. He is a great man of the world; if anything happens, I cannot take responsibility." In order to ensure that Premier Zhou could attend the conference on time and without any hitches, I once again explained to Prime Minister Wu Nu the reason why Premier Zhou wanted to attend the conference without fail. He finally agreed to permit Premier Zhou to travel to Indonesia via Rangoon. In order to guarantee his safety, when Premier Zhou's plane entered Burmese airspace, the Burmese airforce did its utmost to provide an escort.

"As Premier Zhou safely reached Rangoon, just by chance the Indian Prime Minister Nehru, Egyptian President al-Nasir, and the Afghan premier and foreign minister were also arriving in Rangoon. Thus that same evening a miniconference was held in the prime minister's palace between the leaders of Burma, China, India, Egypt and Indonesia. I, too, attended this conference. Quite naturally the conference first discussed the affair of the "Kashmir Princess" plane and the possibility of the Bandung Asian-African Conference. With reference to the international mood of pessimism, Premier Zhou analyzed the positive reasons for holding the conference, pointing out that the fact that the imperialists had made a destructive show of strength against the conference did not mean that they were powerful but that they were frightened of us holding the Asian-African conference. In the past the vast majority of Asian and African countries had suffered under the exploitation and suppression of imperialism and colonialism and thus we all had common suffering and experiences; thus today, for example, we were all facing the task of rebuilding our countries and it would be in our fundamental interests to ensure unity among the countries of Asia and Africa, and hence we believe that the Asian-African conference could definitely be held successfully and would without doubt achieve great things. Premier Zhou said

that the five principles of peaceful coexistence had already begun to permeate deeply into people's hearts and the principles could play a guiding role in the success of the Bandung Asian-African Conference. It was vital that we use the spirit of the five principles and Asian-African unity to counter the challenges of the imperialists and we should make use of all effective measures to smash their destructive plots and schemes. The majority of people felt that as long as we upheld the five principles then we would be able to gain the support of all the peace-loving forces in the world and the effects of this would be far-reaching. We should spare nothing in our efforts to ensure the successful opening of the Asian-African conference.

#### Premier Zhou at the Asian-African Conference

"At the Bandung Conference, the representatives of some countries had either been affected by the distorted propaganda of the imperialists, or they harbored prejudices against new China, or they simply did not fully understand the reality of the situation and thus they made very slanderous speeches against new China. In the face of this complex situation Premier Zhou did not simply counterattack them, instead with his openheartedness, and as a diplomat of the proletariat with farsightedness, he made a brilliant impromptu speech. He said: "The Chinese delegation has not come here to argue but has come to seek common ground, while reserving differences." Thereupon, he outlined new China's domestic and foreign policy since its founding as well as some of our country's greatest successes, thus answering the irrational attacks with straight forward facts.

"Premier Zhou used facts to convince his listeners. His intonation was so calm and sure and so deep and powerful that every word and sentence tugged at the heartstrings of all the delegates at the conference. Premier Zhou went on to invite all those who did not fully understand the situation or who had been incited by others to pay personal visits to new China to see for themselves. Hardly had Premier Zhou's last words left his mouth than the conference hall was filled with a rapturous and ceaseless applause and cries of agreement and the conference broke into a seething mass of excitement. The Indonesian president, the chairman of the conference, and many delegates all left their seats and jostled to shake hands with and embrace Premier Zhou. Even some of those who had previously attacked China at the conference shook his hand, some expressing deep regret and apology.

"After the Bandung Asian-African Conference, Comrade Chen Yi returned to China via Rangoon where, at the Chinese Embassy, he gave us a detailed account of the Asian-African Conference. His report was extremely moving and even today it still remains in my mind.

"At the end of the Bandung Conference a joint communique was issued, centered around 10 principles. Although these 10 principles were set out differently from the five principles, they were in essence an expansion of the five principles. When this was being discussed, some delegates felt that it would be inappropriate to accept the five principles as they stood, since they were

originally announced by China and India, even though they actually agreed with the principles. Thus Premier Zhou himself suggested that the five principles be changed to 10 principles. After a great deal of effort and hard work by everyone, the Asian-African Conference eventually saw all-round success. At the conference Premier Zhou's farsightedness and his generous and great political bearing and lofty image left everyone with deep and lasting impressions. After the conference, those countries which had had friction and arguments with China during the conference expressed a desire to establish good relations with China.

#### A Fair and Reasonable Solution to Border Problems

"2. The way China satisfactorily solved various outstanding border problems with some of its neighbors, and eradicated various disputes and issues left by imperialism. On the basis of the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty and equality and mutual benefit, China smoothly solved various border problems with Burma, Nepal, Afghanistan, and Pakistan in a very short space of time and to everyone's all-round satisfaction. The reasons the solutions were found so smoothly was mainly because both sides handled the questions involved on the basis of the demands of the five principles, and Premier Zhou had gained admiration from the opposite side in these various talks when he came up with the resounding spirit of "mutual understanding and mutual accommodation." In this way, the five principles saw further development in the solving of international problems and the handling of relations between countries. For example, the border dispute between China and Burma was originally very complex; there were some fixed borders and some unfixed borders and there were also some disputes which the imperialists had tried to force on everyone. There also were the bothersome problems of borders laying within villages, and cultivated land laying across the borders. However, because both sides used the five principles to evaluate the questions involved and carried out a comprehensive investigation on the entire border line, we were finally able to smoothly and logically sign a new border treaty. The treaty explained that both sides had solved this historical problem on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. At that time I was the chief representative of the Chinese side and was involved in all the joint investigations and discussions. The entire process was a deep and moving embodiment of China's enthusiasm and great efforts to implement the five principles.

"3. In order to implement and propagate the five principles and expand their sphere of influence, and at the same time establish friendly relations with African countries, Premier Zhou visited 14 African countries between 1963 and 1964 where he earnestly announced China's eight principles for providing economic aid and stressed that China's aid would not entail any additional conditions, nor demand any prerogatives, but was aimed at reducing as much as possible the burdens of the countries receiving aid so that those countries could gradually develop toward self-sufficiency and economic independence. This was a major constructive step toward implementing the five principles. Premier Zhou explained that without economic independence there could be no political independence and this argument had a profound effect on those countries which had suffered for so many years under imperialist domination. Two examples are cited below:

## The Sino-Ceylonese Smashing of the U.S. Embargoes

"One example was the situation in Ceylon during the time the imperialists made massive sales of surplus rubber on the international market so that international rubber prices slumped, thus leaving the Ceylonese rubber industry in a plight and unable to sell its rubber, while the low prices resulted in the rubber plantations facing the possibility of bankruptcy. The situation was worsened because Ceylon was very short of foreign currency and depended heavily on its rubber industry to produce foreign currency so that the country could import rice and solve the country's food problems. At that time, Ceylon had not established diplomatic relations with China. The Ceylonese ambassador to Burma started to initiate exploratory talks with me asking whether China could buy Ceylonese rubber and whether it could sell rice to Ceylon. If this were possible, they would ignore the American trade embargo on China and would sell rubber to China. I immediately sent a cable asking for instructions from Premier Zhou, who replied very quickly, saying that he agreed and that Ceylon should send someone directly to Beijing for talks. The result was that China bought Ceylonese rubber at prices higher than the international market price and provided Ceylon with rice at prices lower than the international market price. Ceylon was extremely grateful to China for this. Ceylon's sale of rubber to China was thus helpful in breaking the American trade embargo and developing production.

## The Example of Friendly Sino-Burmese Cooperation

"The second example was the help that China gave to Burma in the construction of a 20,000-spindle weaving factory. Burma is a cotton producing country but the weaving factories that the United States built for Burma could not use local short fiber cotton and thus the country was forced to spend massive amounts of foreign currency every year to import American cotton. This thus forced Burma to ask China to help her construct a weaving factory. First, we had Burma send some cotton samples for test weaving so that we could confirm that the cotton was suitable for weaving. Once this was confirmed, China designed weaving machinery especially for Burma and after the construction of the factory was complete, Burma was extremely happy, feeling that not only had this opened up a new future for Burma's cotton, but it also had saved the country considerable amounts of foreign currency every year. Burma was also extremely grateful to China for training technological personnel for them, and for instructing in the maintenance and repair of the machinery involved. This was unlike the situation with American machinery, where, as soon as there was a breakdown they were forced to wait for the Americans to send someone to repair it.

"4. In order to expand unity and cooperation with countries of the intermediate zone, China proposed the principle of a common anti-imperialist struggle between the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, thus expanding this anti-imperialist battle front to the countries of Latin America. The countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America held preliminary discussions on the possibility of an Asian-African-Latin American Conference, which President Sukarno called the three-a conference. The Chinese Government actively supported the proposition of the nonaligned movement to oppose imperialism and maintain peaceful coexistence.

At that time, Premier Zhou Enlai took a great interest in and played an important implementational role in ensuring that preparations for the second Asian-African conference and the commencement of the conference of nonaligned nations complemented each other and did not harm each other. He supported the idea of holding the 10th anniversary celebration activities for the Asian-African conference in Jakarta. At the celebrations Premier Zhou, President Sukarno, and delegates from other participating countries assessed the 10 years of experiences and international developmental trends in view of the spirit of the five principles and the Bandung conference and on this basis made a declaration. Naturally the implementation of the five principles was not smooth sailing because of a variety of complex reasons in the objective situation.

#### Preliminary Meeting for the Second Asian-African Conference

I remember that at the preliminary meeting for the second Asian-African conference, the then foreign minister of India proposed that the conference should permit the Soviet Union take part. There was enormous controversy and argument about this question. The then foreign minister of Pakistan referred to relevant documents from the first Asian-African conference and recalled what Prime Minister Nehru had said in answer to reporters questions in 1955. Nehru said that the Soviet Union was a European country and that its capital was in Europe and thus it was not qualified to take part in the Asian-African conference. The foreign minister of Pakistan was in total opposition to allowing the Soviet Union to take part in the conference. Philippine Foreign Minister Romulo said that as far as historical traditions were concerned, the Soviet population had always been predominantly in Europe and that Asia had never had any Soviet population. Thus, if the Soviet Union were allowed to take part in the Asian-African conference because some of its territory was in Asia, the United States too could take part because Hawaii was in Asia. Thus, the suggestion of including the Soviet Union was a confusion of the facts. Finally, Vice Premier Chen Yi spoke and he said that during the first Asian-African conference China had good relations with the Soviet Union and referred to the Soviet Union as its elder brother but that now we in no way would endorse Soviet participation in the Asian-African conference. Today, our relations with the Soviet Union were still not good and if anyone wanted to ask the Soviet Union to take part in the conference we would disagree. Our decision on this question did not depend on the state of our relations with the Soviet Union. We were in favor of a regional concept as the criterion for deciding whether they could join or not. We would never on any account barter our principles away. The question facing us all at that time was how to start the second Asian-African conference and how to make the five principles develop and flourish. China's firm position and rational stance won great praise from all attending the meeting.

"However, on the eve of the second Asian-African conference there were sudden domestic changes in the political situation of the host country, Algeria, and because of an explosion at the site of the conference, it was not held.

On 28 June 1965, Premier Zhou Enlai, President al-Nasir of Egypt, President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan issued a brief joint news bulletin in Cairo concerning the question of the forced postponement of the second Asian-African conference. They stressed that "the postponement of the conference is in no way a setback for Asian-African unity." Later changes in international development resulted in the conference not being held, but the upsets incurred during the whole process in no way damaged the glory of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.



## The Five Principles Are Now in the Ascendant

It is now 30 years since the five principles were first proposed and there have been enormous changes in the international situation. Are the five principles still applicable?"

Yao Zhongming: I do not think they are outdated in any way. Although the situation has developed from two major camps and a large intermediate zone during the early 1950's, to the present three world or multipolar situation, I think that the five principles are still applicable.

"During the 1950's, Khrushchev's appearance at the head of the Russian Government results in the anti-Stalinist movement in the Soviet Union. As far as their foreign policy was concerned, on the one hand, they praised the "spirit of Camp David," seeking to dominate the world together with the United States, while on the other hand they tried to order about other socialist countries and this finally ended with the break up of the socialist camp. In the Western capitalist alliance, with the United States at its head, all the countries had fallen prey to the domination of the unbalanced laws of capitalist development and thus after World War II, the United States, first of all, propagated "Marshall Plan" to help the countries of the Western alliance rebuild their economies. However, later on, the speed of economic development in Britain, Japan, West Germany, and other countries overtook that of the United States and gradually began to move counter to the Marshall Plan. The United States applied high pressure policies on its allies and the contradictions between control and countercontrol naturally intensified, and thus the Western alliance began to split apart. By the 1960's, a second form of the intermediate zone began to emerge in the international scene; this came to be known as the Second World. In the wake of this situation, more and more countries felt that the five principles for peaceful coexistence were the most rational criterion for international relations, and not only were they suitable for relations in the Third World countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, they also were suited to relations among countries of different social systems in both the East and the West, as well as relations between socialist countries. This was an important development in terms of the international standing of the five principles. It should be remembered that during the time when we originally announced the five principles, they were generally not mentioned in connection with relations with Western countries, instead they were cited for the establishment and development of good relations on the basis of equality. As for relations between countries in the socialist camp, internationalism was discussed a great deal at that time along with mutual aid and increased unity between socialist countries. All of these things illustrate the objective reality of the situation at that time.

"In view of these new developments, the cry from international public opinion for the implementation of the five principles was getting louder and louder and harder and harder to ignore. It was during this historical period that the majority of Asian and African countries were shaking off colonialist rule and gaining independence, and more and more countries in the second intermediate zone, especially small and medium-sized countries, were demanding that the domination and control of the strong and powerful countries be shaken off.

"Since the 1960's both the United States and the Soviet Union have been harming others to benefit themselves, shifting their troubles onto others and thus developing into superpowers. First, they collaborated, then they struggled against each other with insatiable avarice, with their struggle for hegemony becoming increasingly fierce. In addition to subversion and intervention in the internal affairs of countries everywhere, both sides became involved in a crazy arms race, in preparation for nuclear war, thus threatening the security of human life.

"On 22 February 1974, Chairman Mao Zedong met with President Kaunda of Zambia, in light of international developments, they talked of the concept of the three separate worlds and confirmed that opposition to the hegemony of the two superpowers was a historical mission for the protection of world peace and that opposition to hegemony had become the primary task of all peace-loving nations and people of the world.

"As the two superpowers have emerged and the three worlds formed, the five principles of peaceful coexistence have become even brighter. Not only do the people's of all nations in the world support and endorse the five principles, they are also struggling and actively working in their actual behavior and actions, to bring about the realization of the five principles. Thus, they firmly oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and their instigation of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. They also firmly oppose the American invasion of Grenada and the former's support of Israel and South Africa's threats to the Middle East and black South Africa.

"The countries of the Third World stand for South-South cooperation and for mutual assistance and for the establishment of a new international economic order and a new law of the sea. Many people in the First World and the Second World are coming out onto the streets against the military expansion and war preparations of the two hegemonists and are demanding world peace. This is in line with the ideal of the realization of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and it illustrates that the five principles are now in the ascendant and that the people for the world's defense and promotion of the five principles have now become a surging high tide.

CSO: 4005/336

GENERAL

WORLD LEADERS COMMENT ON STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

OW180143 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1240 GMT 16 Jan 84

[Text] Beijing, 16 Jan (XINHUA)--The conference on disarmament in Europe will open tomorrow in Stockholm, Sweden's capital. Leaders and officials of some countries have expressed their views on the conference.

The conference being held when East-West relations have become more strained after the United States began to deploy new intermediate range nuclear missiles in Western Europe on November last year and the Soviet Union subsequently walked out of the Geneva nuclear disarmament talks and the Vienna talks on reduction of conventional forces in Central Europe.

Chancellor Kohl of the Federal Republic of Germany yesterday told a Swedish newspaper that the Stockholm conference on disarmament in Europe offers a historical opportunity for the East and the West to reach an agreement on measures to build up trust and achieve stabilization of the international situation. Earlier Foreign Minister Genscher of the FRG also expressed the hope that the conference will play a positive role in promoting East-West relations.

Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Mojsov made a statement on 13 January, saying that Yugoslavia will support proposals by any side which will help resume negotiations and ease the tense situation in Europe.

Senior officials of the Swiss Foreign Ministry have indicated for the last few days that the Swiss delegation will act in coordination with a number of other delegations so that some positive results can be achieved at the meeting.

Goodby, head of the U.S. delegation to the Stockholm conference, said not long ago that the United States intends to make the Stockholm conference "a turning point in East-West relations."

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on 4 January charged that it is a deceptive "propaganda ploy" of the Western countries to ask the Soviet Union to return to the Geneva talks while beginning to deploy U.S. missiles in the FRG and other NATO countries. Soviet leaders have repeatedly stated that the Geneva talks can be resumed only when the European situation has been brought back to the way

it was before the United States began deployment of missiles in Western Europe. The MOSCOW NEWS weekly recently said that there is no basis for people to expect a "Stockholm miracle" to happen.

Some newspapers in Finland recently carried comments saying that in view of the present international tensions and U.S.-Soviet relations, it is difficult for the East and the West to achieve any concrete progress on disarmament and other issues, and that the conference will be unworthy of its name and long drawn out.

CSO: 4005/336

UNITED STATES

UNITED STATES RESPONDS TO ANDROPOV ON MISSILE TALKS

OW260140 Beijing XINHUA in English 0118 GMT 26 Jan 84

[Text] Washington, 25 January (XINHUA)--The U.S. State Department responded today to Soviet Leader Andropov's interview with PRAVDA by saying that the United States "welcomes Chairman Andropov's assertion that the Soviets also believe in dialogue."

In a written text presented as an interview with PRAVDA, Andropov said yesterday that the Soviet Union valued a dialogue with the United States but that it needed "practical deeds" from the American side to convince it that Washington was serious.

Alan D. Romberg, U.S. State Department deputy spokesman, said today in a press briefing, "we agree wholeheartedly that our common objective should be concrete agreements on the issues that divide our two countries."

"We are ready to sit down at any time to discuss solutions that deal realistically and equitably with both sides' interests and concerns," he added.

Referring to Andropov's accusation against U.S. President Reagan that he proposed to conduct dialogue from a position of strength, Romberg said, "steady American strength and purpose are essential," and "neither the Soviets nor anyone else have any reason to be afraid or to refuse to negotiate."

Referring to Andropov's allegation that the appearance of American new missiles in Europe increased not only military but also political tension, Romberg said, "regarding intermediate-range missiles, it was Soviet deployment prior to the December 1979 NATO decision which upset the military balance, not the recent NATO deployment."

Expressing regret that the Soviets chose to unilaterally walk out of the INF talks last November, Romberg said, "we are prepared to resume these negotiations, and to secure an agreement eliminating or substantially reducing U.S. and Soviet longer-range land-based INF missiles as soon as possible."

CSO: 4000/182

UNITED STATES

PENG DI REVIEWS, COMMENTS ON ZHAO TRIP

OWL70114 Beijing XINHUA in English 0037 GMT 17 Jan 84

[XINHUA Headline: "Crossing Seas to Push History Forward"; XINHUA Chinese Version published in DAILY REPORT: China, 17 January 1984]

[Text] Washington, 16 January (XINHUA correspondent Peng Di)--Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and U.S. President Ronald Reagan have concluded their serious, candid and constructive talks in a friendly atmosphere. When the two leaders said goodbye at the White House, people felt that although the path towards steady growth of Sino-U.S. relations remains to be further cleared out, hopes for improved and steadily developing relations have become brighter.

Through the meetings of the two leaders, the two governments clarified their respective stands on a number of important issues in regard to their relations and further ascertained that a durable and steady relationship between the two countries based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence is not only a good desire but also an objective necessity, and will benefit both countries and the world peace.

The two sides, while having common or similar views on some of the international issues, differ on not a few others. Especially on issues regarding the Third World countries, China often took exception to U.S. policies and conduct and criticised them. However, just as premier Zhao pointed out, the two countries have common interests on issues that concern international peace and security. President Reagan also stressed this time that the understandings reached in his talks with premier Zhao has underscored his conviction that an "economically developing and politically stable China is in the best interests of all peace-loving peoples." He more than once made it clear that his administration is determined to place relationship with China on a stable and enduring footing. The common beliefs pronounced by the two leaders will give impetus to the advance of the relationship between the two countries on a healthy road.

There are some Americans who fear that Sino-Soviet dialogues would lead to China's attachment to Soviet strategy at the expense of U.S. interests, or at least to an equidistant policy towards the United States and the Soviet Union.

With regard to this, premier Zhao made it clear that independence and self-reliance have always been the basic principle guiding China's external policy.

He said that China will not yield to any outside pressure, nor subordinate itself to others. What determines China's position is the merits of the matter in question, rather than a geometrical equidistance.

Premier Zhao also expounded China's stand for maintaining world peace, and expressed the belief that when peoples of the world take their destinies into their own hands, world peace can be safeguarded and a new world war averted. As for its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union, Premier Zhao said that China wants to improve relations with both of them on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and hopes to see a thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations which, he said, would contribute to world peace. These remarks by the Chinese premier will help remove doubts and misgivings, promote mutual understanding and stabilize relations between the two countries.

On bilateral relations, the Taiwan issue remains a point on which the two countries differ in their talks. Premier Zhao has pointed out in all seriousness that if the United States fails to strictly act on the principles reaffirmed in the joint communiques of the two countries, Sino-U.S. relations will falter, halt and even retrogress, leading to grave consequences to the detriment of both sides. What China demands of the United States is no more than that it will not stand in the way of China's peaceful reunification. The Shanghai communique, the communique on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the "17 August" communique are the common norms governing the relations between the two countries, and the United States is asked to implement them truly and take substantial actions from the very outset of 1984.

President Reagan has reaffirmed U.S. readiness to adhere to its commitments in the Sino-U.S. communiques. However, he left something open by saying the United States "will not forget its old friend Taiwan." In immediate response, Premier Zhao pointed out that such "old friend" relations must be strictly limited to non-official relations with the people of Taiwan, in no way should it be official relations with the Taiwan authorities. To this, the U.S. side voiced no dissent and how it will act on this point remains to be seen.

Such candid and serious discussions in which issues were clarified face to face will certainly help increase mutual understanding, or at least serve as a reminder of both sides' obligations under their bilateral accords and of the need to implement them more seriously and prudently, matching words with deeds and refraining from raising obstacles and creating tensions.

In bilateral relations such as economic, trade and scientific and technological cooperations, there exist no serious clashes between the interests of China and the United States. Instead, there is tremendous potential for more exchanges in these fields between the two countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and these exchanges will do both sides much good. This is a view shared by leaders of both countries. President Reagan held that mutual benefit and mutual help should form the basis of Sino-U.S. friendship. He repeatedly expressed his appreciation of China's grand modernization program and announced the U.S. willingness to contribute to China's endeavors. In his view, this is a kind of self-help by means of mutual help.

Guided by these principles, the two countries signed the U.S.-China Industrial and Technological Cooperation Accord and extended the U.S.-China Agreement on Science and Technology Cooperation. Progress has also been made in negotiations for an accord on nuclear energy cooperation.

Problems and difficulties will naturally come up as China and the United States differ from each other in their economic and trade systems and practices. Moreover, it has not been very long since China adopted the policy of opening to [the] outside world and it has not had enough experience in dealing with the United States in these aspects. So there will be a process for mutual understanding and accommodation.

China is now working for the improvement of its work to adapt it to the new situation. Corresponding efforts are expected of the United States. On issues concerning trade relations and technology transfer, solutions to these problems naturally can not be found if one emphasizes onesidedly one's own laws and regulations or even tries to impose them on the other side or kick the ball to the Paris Committee (COCOM), thus leaving the issues to remain unsolved.

Premier Zhao stressed that so long as the two sides show the spirit of accommodation to each other, the economic and trade relations between the two countries will be able to develop durably and steadily.

He also pointed out that it is very difficult to separate political relations from economic relations between the two countries. These two kinds of relations can promote each other or produce adverse effects on each other. The premier hoped that the American friends who show interest in promoting Sino-U.S. economic relations also show concern about the stability of the political relations between the two countries.

During his visit, premier Zhao, apart from holding talks with senior U.S. government officials, made extensive contacts and conducted cordial conversations with American people as well as representatives from various circles. These contacts and conversations, no less important than the official talks, helped promote friendship between the Chinese and American peoples. The significant achievement in this regard is beyond all expectations and its impact is still hard to calculate.

The friendship between the Chinese and American peoples constitutes a solid foundation for the further development of relations between the two countries. This foundation has become firmer through the Chinese Premier's visit. What is needed now is the joint effort by leaders of the two countries to realize the aspirations of the Chinese and American peoples and put the state relations between the two countries on a sound and stable basis. There will be difficulties and ups and downs on the way to achieve this aim, so a lot of work remains to be done. However, the determination of the Chinese and American peoples to live in peace has never become shakable. It has stood the test of time and advanced through wind and storm. Keeping in mind this mainstream, one cannot but feel that there are bright prospects for the relationship between the two great nations across the Pacific.



## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA

### MIDDLE EAST SITUATION SINCE LEBANESE-ISRAELI AGREEMENT

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 18, 16 Sep 83 pp 2-3

[Article by Lu Xi [7120 3556]: "The Middle East Situation Since the Conclusion of the Lebanese-Israeli Agreement"]

[Text] Since the conclusion of the troop withdrawal agreement between Lebanon and Israel in May, new developments have become a focus of attention in the Middle East. The original pattern has been broken and the situation is still in a developing stage. Its main features, however, have become very apparent, namely, that the Lebanese-Israeli agreement has run aground and that the peace talks based on the Reagan formula have suffered a serious setback. Among the Arab nations, the "moderates" have found themselves in an awkward position, while the "radicals" have once again come to the fore. As for the two superpowers, while the influence of the Soviet Union has increased to a certain extent and the United States has been placed in a passive position, their ability to control events in the Middle East has been further reduced.

#### Crisis in Lebanon Has Not Ended

The problem of Lebanon is the main issue in the ongoing struggle between the Arab nations and Israel. For a certain period of time, Lebanon will remain to be carved up, while the parties concerned will enter into a new round of contention.

Syria, one of the parties central to the solution of the Lebanese problem, has up to now firmly opposed the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and has refused to withdraw its 40,000 troops. According to the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, the withdrawal of Israeli troops is to be contingent upon the simultaneous withdrawal of Syrian and Palestinian Liberation Organization troops. However, Syria contends that the Lebanese-Israeli agreement not only violated Lebanon's sovereignty and independence but also threatened the security of Syria. Syria insists that the Israeli troops are invaders and that they should therefore be withdrawn unconditionally according to United Nations Resolutions 508 and 509. Syria also contends that its troops were dispatched to Lebanon to "maintain" internal order at the "invitation" of the Arab League at the time of the Lebanese civil war in 1976 and that the withdrawal of Israeli troops should not therefore be contingent upon the

withdrawal of Syrian troops. According to the foreign press, Syria has adopted this adamant stand because, with the support of the Soviet Union, it could make use of its base in Lebanon to enlist the support of "left-wing" Lebanese and PLO forces to forestall or to sabotage efforts on the part of Lebanon to follow the example of Egypt in concluding a separate peace treaty with Israel, to bring to naught the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the Reagan peace plan and to demand the holding of an international conference to find a solution to the entire Middle East problem that would be to the advantage of Syria. Accordingly, action is being taken by Syria along the following lines: (1) Giving support to and establishing unity with the various Lebanese forces hostile to the Christian Phalangists in opposing the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. Recently, an announcement was made of the establishment of the "National Salvation Front" headed by Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Socialist Party and head of the Muslim Druze, and formed by former president and leader of the Maronite sect Suleiman Franjeh, former premier and leader of the Muslim Sunni sect Rashid Karami and certain "left-wing" Muslim organizations. Under the "National Salvation Front" are such organizations as the "State Council." According to the Western press, this is tantamount to being a government organization set up in opposition to Amin Gemayel's "central government." (2) Giving support to factions within Al Fatah to pressure Yasser Arafat into altering his "moderate" stand and adopting a strategic position in line with that of Syria. (3) Holding firmly to its position in Lebanon but exercising a certain "flexibility" to avoid a major confrontation with Israel and setting up a "joint working team" with the United States to keep the channel for dialogue open.

Israel's intention is to occupy the southern part of Lebanon indefinitely. It has used the Lebanese-Israeli agreement to pressure Lebanon into accepting many conditions. Israel has decided to effect a "partial troop withdrawal," to withdraw the 25,000 troops stationed in the vicinity of Beirut and the Chouf Mountains to the Awali River and to deploy its forces to an area 53 km deep in southern Lebanon. This action is the result of wishful thinking on the part of the Begin government and is undertaken for the following reasons: (1) Shortening the battle line, strengthening the line of defense, avoiding an increase in casualties and reducing the economic burden, befuddling world opinion and easing domestic opposition. According to the foreign press, the Israeli troops in the central part of Lebanon have suffered increasing casualties as a result of surprise attacks launched by Lebanese "left-wing" forces and PLO guerrillas. The number of deaths has increased from 368 in the early part of the invasion of Lebanon to over 500, and the number of wounded has totaled over 2,600. At the same time, the Israeli economy has further deteriorated and its financial situation has worsened. It is estimated that the deficit for this year will reach \$5.3 billion. Last year, foreign debts climbed 15 percent to \$21 billion. Antiwar sentiment is running high and there is a rising demand for the unilateral withdrawal of troops. (2) Taking advantage of its troops stationed in the Bekaa Valley to continue to pose a threat to Syria. After "redeployment," the troops can advance and attack or retreat and defend. The Israeli military posture is thus even more favorable. Israeli troops, too, can occupy southern Lebanon on a long-term basis on the pretext that Syria has failed to pull back its troops.

The United States has been placed in a difficult situation. While there is nothing it can do that would make Syria "soften" its stand, it has at the same time found no way to stop Israel's "partial withdrawal of troops." The United States, while concerned that the agreement might come to an abrupt end, thus endangering the adoption of the Reagan plan and dealing a serious blow to its "prestige," is at a loss as to what action to take. The foreign press is of the opinion that the most that the United States can do at this time is to continue to call for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon and, while using every possible means to keep the Lebanese-Israeli agreement alive, to shore up the Gemayel regime. Thus, the United States has greatly increased its military and economic aid to Lebanon so that the present 30,000 Lebanese government troops may be increased to 60,000 and that Gemayel may thus exercise a larger measure of control over the situation. At the same time, the United States has invited Lebanese and Israeli leaders to visit the United States to discuss ways and means to prevent Lebanese "left-wing" forces from occupying areas evacuated by Israeli troops. Recently, Robert McFarlane, deputy national security adviser, has been appointed special envoy to the Middle East to continue his work in Syria as a replacement for Philip Habib, who has been accused of being partial by Syria.

Although the Gemayel government is not happy about being carved up, its position is weak and its power limited. Its main hope is for the United States to pressure Israel into withdrawing all its troops and to come to an understanding with Syria. Domestically, the Gemayel government, while stepping up its efforts to build up its troops to meet the challenge of "left-wing" forces, has at the same time sent a "reconciliation committee" composed of three cabinet ministers to Tripoli in the northern part of Lebanon to talk with opposition leaders Franjieh and Karami, to listen to their views and to explore ways to achieve a reconciliation at home. However, because of the intensification of conflicts among the various factions within Lebanon and the increasing danger posed by attempts on the part of foreign powers to carve up the country, the nation is confronted with numerous difficulties in the reconciliation process and obstacles which cannot easily be removed in the near future.

#### Changes in Arab World

The radicals in the Arab world have gained ground, while the influence of the moderates has declined.

Syria has made remarkable gains in prestige and influence. Since the restoration of peace between Egypt and Israel, Syria has stood at the forefront of the Arab conflict with Israel. By raising high the banner of Arab nationalism and by opposing both the Reagan peace plan and the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, President Hafez Assad has increased his influence among the radical forces and the vast masses. With the support of the Soviet Union, Syria's arsenal has been replaced and upgraded beyond the level obtaining prior to the outbreak of war in Lebanon last year. The strengthening of Syria's military might has elevated its status as a real power and increased its bargaining power vis-a-vis the United States and Israel. It

has become increasingly clear that it is Syria that plays the "star" role in the solution of the Lebanese and Palestinian problems. To put the Lebanese-Israeli agreement into effect and to initiate Middle East peace talks, the United States has no choice but to deal with Assad. The foreign press has even stated that, to a large extent, Syria holds "veto power" over the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the Reagan peace plan and that it is neither Egypt nor Jordan but Syria that holds the key to the solution of the Middle East problem.

The radical elements within the Palestinian Liberation Organization have gained in power, while the power of the moderates has declined. In May, the radical groups within "Fatah" led by Abu Salleh and Abu Mousa and supported by forces outside Fatah, voiced their all-out opposition to Yasser Arafat's policy of placing the emphasis on political and diplomatic negotiations and demanded that the PLO leadership should be reorganized and that the PLO objective should be achieved through armed struggle. They launched a surprise attack on the armed groups loyal to Arafat in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, established a foothold and, with the support of pro-Syria "lightning" organizations--the People's Struggle Front, the headquarters of the People's Front and the Abu Nidal terrorist group--picked up additional strength. Within the PLO, the radical groups are second in strength only to the People's Struggle Front and the People's Front. Although opposed to splitting with the PLO, they are in support of the stand taken by the Abu Mousa faction.

For the time being, Arafat still enjoys the support of the majority of the Palestinians. A majority of the PLO leadership and the Fatah Central Committee are opposed to a split and in favor of maintaining Arafat's position as leader. Arafat's power, however, has suffered a decline. In order to maintain unity between the PLO and Al Fatah and to avert a split, Arafat has no choice but to revise his policies, reorganize the leadership and pay more heed to the views and demands of the radical factions.

The moderate Arab nations have been placed in a difficult position. Best represented by Saudi Arabia, they held the view that Reagan's plan was not without certain "merits." Initially, they expressed "understanding" of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement on the withdrawal of troops. They had entertained the hope that the United States would pressure Israel into making concessions so that they could recover their occupied territory and that the rights of the Palestinians could be restored. Much to their consternation, the United States sided with Israel instead. The moderate Arab nations, having to take into account the nationalistic feelings of their peoples and concerned that the development of domestic radical forces would endanger their own security, have no choice but to give support to the national aspirations of the Palestinians and raise high the banner of Arab nationalism. Under such circumstances, there was evident a lack of consistency and signs of stress in their diplomatic stance at one time or another. The drop in the price of oil during the past year has also reduced the power of the moderate Arab nations to use oil as a weapon to back up their positions. Although such moderate nations as Saudi Arabia are still trying to find a solution to the Middle East problem, they no longer have the clout they used to have.

## Soviet Influence Rises as U.S. Is Forced To Play Passive Role

Since Andropov came to power, in order to reverse its declining position resulting from the do-nothing, passive and wait-and-see attitude adopted in the latter part of the Brezhnev era, the Soviet Union has applied the "active offense" policy of using Syria as the key to bolster its military presence in the Middle East. The Soviet Union has not only replaced the entire amount of military equipment lost by Syria in the Lebanese war with more advanced armaments but also supplied to Syria a defense network consisting primarily of SA-5 antimissile missiles manned by Soviet military personnel and placed directly under the Moscow Military Command. The Soviet Union has also given Syria the assurance that "its security will be protected" according to the spirit of the Soviet-Syrian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. At present, there are 5,000 Soviet military men in Syria. The Soviet Union is also at work in the moderate Arab nations. In May, the Soviet Union appointed Arkopov, a well-known scholar on Arab problems, as ambassador to Kuwait so that he might engage in work of an important nature involving Saudi Arabia. In its propaganda and news reporting, the Soviet Union has maintained a restrained attitude in its criticism of Saudi Arabia while seeking at the same time to improve and deepen its relations with Egypt. It is expected that diplomatic relations with Egypt will be restored by the end of the year. In addition, the Soviet Union has time and again put forward proposals for the "overall and just" solution of Arab-Israeli problems and denounced the Lebanese-Israeli agreement as well as the Reagan peace program in an attempt to elbow its way into the Middle East peace process and to prevent the United States from taking control of the situation. Efforts made by the Soviet Union for more than half a year have paid off to a certain extent. With the support of the Soviet Union, Syria, resisting pressure from the United States and Israel, has insisted on the prior withdrawal from Lebanon of Israeli invading forces, thus dealing a setback to the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the Reagan peace program. Such countries as Jordan and Saudi Arabia have also increased their contacts with the Soviet Union. King Fahd has even penned a personal letter to Andropov on such problems as the price of oil and the war between Iraq and Iran. According to the foreign press, that was something which had not been done in Saudi Arabia in the last 50 years. The Soviet Union has thus improved its standing and increased its influence in the Middle East since the outbreak of the war in Lebanon.

With the rupture of the Jordanian-Palestinian talks, the impasse in the Lebanese-Israeli agreement and the imminent demise of the plan based on the Reagan peace program to initiate peace talks in the Middle East, the United States has been placed in a passive position. Now that the general elections are just around the corner, the United States will be hard put to make further concessions by exerting pressure on Israel. It is expected that prior to the general elections, the United States will not make any further moves aside from shoring up the Gemayel regime in Lebanon and enforcing the Lebanese-Israeli agreement. Recently, James R. Schlesinger, former U.S. secretary of defense, and Yitzhak Rabin, former Israeli prime minister, have both pointed out that the Reagan program is "finished," that the United States "has lost its ardor" in seeking a settlement of the Middle

East problem and that while the Reagan program will continue to be banded around prior to the general elections, the United States is not expected to initiate any course of action.

Overall, the United States continues to occupy a position of superiority over the Soviet Union. Militarily, the United States established early this year a "Central Command Headquarters" exercising control over its military forces in the Middle East. It has at different times engaged in joint military exercises with Egypt, Sudan and Somalia. The "Anti-Soviet Strategic Cooperation System" in the Middle East organized by the United States has begun to take shape. Politically, the United States is still in control of the Middle East peace talks from which the Soviet Union is excluded. In the Middle East, the United States still has more allies than the Soviet Union, allies with considerable military and financial clout such as Turkey, Israel and Saudi Arabia. In addition, through the signing of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement, the United States has left "half a door open" for the Arab nations to conclude a "separate peace" with Lebanon.

Generally speaking, the Lebanese problem will remain the focal point in the ongoing Arab-Israeli struggle. The struggle among the various political factions within Lebanon over the Lebanese-Israeli agreement is not easily resolved. While minor clashes between Israel and Syria will continue to occur, neither side seems anxious to engage in serious hostilities. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have their own problems and have shown no desire to engage in a confrontation in the Middle East. For this reason, while a stalemate in the relations between the Arabs and Israel will continue for the time being, the Middle East situation may be expected to become more and more complicated.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### IMPLEMENTATION OF CPPCC POLICY STRESSED

Beijing RENMIN ZHENG XIE BAO in Chinese 23 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Our Work in Policy Implementation Must Be Carried Out to the Very End"]

[Text] Implementing the policy of the CPPCC and, by way of this, also spur on the implementation of our various united front policies is an important task of our united front system at present. Members of the CPPCC are representative personalities in various localities; if our job in implementing their policy is well done, this will also spur on the implementation of our other united front policies. Hence, we must grasp closely and grasp well our work in implementing our policy toward the CPPCC members and carry it through to the very end.

The results of investigation of the national CPPCC investigation team indicate that, since the 3d Plenary Session of the Central Committee after the 11 CPC Congress, the various localities have, under the energetic leadership of the various local party committees and together with the efforts made by the united front departments and other concerned departments, done much work in implementing the policy toward CPPCC members and other united front policies, and their results should be fully affirmed. But, we should also point out that the CPCC members themselves still exhibit quite a few problems in "getting to be informed," "putting up the effort," and implementing relevant policies; this we must endeavor to solve. There are multifarious reasons for this; however, we cannot but point out that this has to do with the erroneous ideas that still exist in our policy implementation work. We should arouse relevant attention about this.

Erroneous ideas of one kind are due to the fact that "Leftist" ideas are still not thoroughly eliminated. Comrades in some regions, departments and units, including also some comrades engaged in united front work, think that since they have already become CPPCC members and thus enjoy a kind of arrangement in politics, it should not matter very much if some policies are not implemented. Another kind is the harboring of sentiments of relaxation. Some comrades think that, during an earlier stage, our united front work has been handled with results and most of our problems were just about solved, so they harbored the idea of experiencing a sense of relief. Comrades with these two kinds of ideas naturally would not keep in mind their work in policy implementation.

Actually, CPPCC members in various localities still exhibit quite a few problems in "getting to be informed," "putting up the effort," and implementing relevant policies; it takes much effort to solve this. Realities prove that the key to the fine work certain regions and units were able to accomplish in policy implementation lies in their having recognized the importance of such work, their grasping it closely and carrying it through to the end as well as in the fact that, even in the case of rather difficult problems, once they grasped them seriously they always achieved the needed solutions. And the reason why some regions and units have left rather numerous problems is because they have not attached sufficient importance to their work in policy implementation and when they grasped it they did so other than closely, and they sometimes grasped it, sometimes failed to do so. And in the case of rather difficult problems, they further dragged their feet without reaching any solution. In order to solve such problems, apart from attaching sufficient importance to them mentally, what needs to be done is to carry out regular inspection of the concerned departments and units, supervise them conscientiously and help them concretely. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "What the world is afraid of most is 'seriousness,' and we communists precisely stress 'seriousness.'" So long as we stress our policy implementation work "seriously," actively taking the initiative to grasp it, then we are bound to be able to handle matters well in this regard.

Still another kind is the feeling of being afraid of difficulties. This also should be overcome. From conditions reflected in the various regions, one difficulty is the comparative complexity of the problems left with us; a second is our need for money and goods; and a third is that many confiscated materials are very hard to sort out. No matter how complex these few rather difficult problems may be, so long as we spend the energy to work on them, we are bound to be able to find out clearly the inherent truth and derive the correct ways of handling them according to our policy prescriptions and thereby practically solve them. While handling the usurpation of private houses and confiscated goods, no matter who has violated our established policy, we must seriously clear them up and resolutely return them. We should rely closely on our own party leadership, seriously study and master our united front policies, deepen our investigation and study, adhere to seeking truth from facts and adopt positive measures; we are bound then to be able to do a good job in our policy implementation work.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT OF LI DAZHAO REVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Li Chenxia [2621 2182 7209]: "The Philosophical Thought of Li Dazhao"]

[Text] The 94th birthday of Li Dazhao, the great Communist forerunner, falls on 29 October 1983. Li Dazhao made great contributions to the spread of Marxism in China, to the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and to the establishment of the Chinese Communist movement. His numerous correct views on the Chinese revolution and his brilliant and realistic actions are frequently remarked upon by everybody. Li Dazhao was also a pioneer who fairly early and comprehensively spread Marxist philosophical thought in China. This article attempts a brief discussion in this regard.

#### I

Is the world material or spiritual, and which of the two is primary? This is a problem that all philosophers must answer clearly. When he first began to spread Marxism in China, Li Dazhao refuted idealism.

During the period of the spread of Marxism, a controversy between "science and metaphysics" occurred. Those who advocated metaphysics and opposed science were wrong, of course. However, capitalist scholars at the time who advocated the development of science used only the idealistic philosophies of Machism and pragmatism to oppose metaphysics. For example, Ding Wenjiang [0002 2429 3068] said: "Matter and 'ego' are equally a successful combination of the same elementary substances (or feelings)." ("Metaphysics and Science--An Answer to Zhang Junmai" [1728 0689 0535]) Wang Xinggong [3769 2502 2162] supposed that "only thoughts and feelings are real." "The cosmos cannot stand separate from ourselves." ("Introduction to Science," pp 270, 13) Hu Shi [7579 6684] also proclaimed that the cosmos is a kind of "reality" but that this "reality" is not objective but man-made. "It is really like a piece of marble that has come into our hands on which we can carve anything." "It is really a compliant girl. It allows us to decorate and dress it as we please." ("The Writings of Hu Shi," Vol 2, pp 105-106)

Li Dazhao maintained a materialist point of view. He replied tit for tat that the cosmos is an objective reality. This "reality" is not determined by man's subjective will but is an object of nature. He said: "The cosmos exists naturally with neither beginning nor end." ("Selected Works of Li Dazhao," p 79; only page numbers will be given hereafter for quotations from this book.) "The fate of the universe may be regarded as a flow of reality that has no beginning or end, goes on constantly and is constantly in motion. Whatever passes never returns again, and the future goes on forever." (p 433) He believed this movement was not subject to human will but was the inherent order of nature. "Past and future are relative states in human life that are part of the sequence in that ceaselessly flowing nature that has neither beginning nor end." (p 165) Li Dazhao also pointed out that in comparison with this great reality, every person appears extremely insignificant. Therefore, man's subjective will cannot determine the existence or development of the cosmos; on the contrary, people can develop only by moving along with changes in objective reality. Our "ego" also "eternally enlarges, continues, changes and develops with all the tides of life and the flow of reality." (p 95)

Not only did he adhere to materialist principles of the material worlds' objective reality, but he also expounded conclusions of major practical significance. He told people that they should be sure to be realistic or, to use his words, to have "an attitude of seeking truth." "Everything should be done in a down-to-earth manner with no flights into fancy and no seeking after an undeserved reputation." ("Essentials of History," Chap 6) He himself acted vigorously, doing a large amount of investigation of the real problems in China's society and proposing a plan for the "re-creation of China." He also told people that they should cherish the present and should resolutely oppose the doctrine of going back to the ancients and the back-to-the-ancients movement. He wanted people to "march ahead toward the future development of nature and toward reality with their heads held high," and to do everything in their power to create an invigorated China.

## II

In his writings, and particularly in his articles entitled "The Mission of the 'Morning Bells,'" and in "New! Old!" Li Dazhao elucidated Marxist concepts of development and made clear the laws of the dialectical development of things.

He believed that "man's social life was a mutually intertwined and mutually influencing activity." He said that in the study of all kinds of science, it is better to emphasize relationships rather than differences. He explained the social system that forms the foundation for all kinds of science and held that overall observation is better than analytical observation. Such methods may be applied to present realities and may likewise be applied to the past. He said that "the materialist view of history developed out of this kind of new orientation." (pp 334-335)

Li Dazhao both analyzed the principle of "the natural order of things as a ceaseless human movement and the waxing and waning that is both opposite and complementary" (p 485) and linked this to the reality of the sharp class antagonisms in Chinese society at the time. He pointed out that the life of the Chinese people today is entirely a contradictory life. A contradictory life is a life of discord between the new and the old. Such a life is extremely prone to conflicts. People, realities, ideas and discussion cannot occur at the same time in the same place. In moving back and forth, they inevitably bump into other on the same road, and a strange phenomenon occurs in which both reflect each other and oppose each other. In the course of such an inharmonious contradiction, conflicts are unavoidable. When the people of the whole country seek a livelihood in the midst of contradictions, they feel restless and unhappy. Because they feel restless and unhappy, naturally they should smash the class responsible for this contradictory life and create a new life. (See pp 97-99)

In an article entitled "Marxist Economics," Li Dazhao vividly explained socialist revolution. He said that the Marxist materialist view of history holds that the development of capitalism gives rise to a new force. This new force is "socialism." The advent of socialism is like a chicken growing inside a shell. Socialism's desire to smash capitalism is also like a chicken wanting to break the shell. Until such time as this egg shell has been broken, a period of evolution occurs. But once the chicken has developed to maturity, the shell has to be broken. Socialism is also like this. Once socialism develops all its feathers, naturally it will have to smash capitalism. Chickens breaking their shells and socialism smashing capitalism are both revolutions. Revolutions are unavoidable. (Please see pp 375-376.)

The process of evolution toward revolution does not follow a straight line. Li Dazhao said clearly that "generally speaking, the birth of a new life or the creation of a new destiny must pay a price in suffering." (p 90) Revolution is an upwardly spiraling movement. Addressing himself to issues existing in Chinese ideological circles at the time, he said that historical progress, even though it is sometimes a spiral-shape movement that waxes and wanes, also moves forward and upward in cycles; it does not stagnate in a circle, nor does it circle back on itself or regress. Thus, we are not permitted to vacillate in indecision; we must move ahead. Realization that the development of things is an upwardly spiraling process is the only progressive world view.

### III

Li Dazhao made an exposition of people's perceptions and the process of perception as well as of the role of thinking.

Li Dazhao examined the development of human society in its historical context and declared that concepts are objectively existing reflections. In an article entitled "Material Reflections of Primitive Society in Written Records," he said that when mankind exists in the cosmos and when it is unaware, he is controlled by the natural laws of the cosmos.

Li Dazhao also used the dialectical method of the cognition process to expound on the issue of the limits and limitlessness of cognition. He said the fact is that real people, though like flowing water, are but a trickle that passes in the long run of history. Within the cosmos, myriad things exist, but it is really difficult for a person to use his powers of observation to see the real substance of everything to the full. However, with the accumulation of knowledge by generation after generation of historical figures, with the heightening of mankind's historical point of view and with the renewal of the historical point of view, a new level has been reached. When one looks at the ancients in terms of what is known today, one can frequently laugh at their ignorance and suppose that they were incapable of understanding even shallow matters. Actually, knowledge is limited. It is like a mountain range, the crossing of which one looks back upon as having been an easy matter although, at the time, one did not have the knowledge to be able to prevail. (See pp 87, 290.)

Li Dazhao had a serious regard for the power of spirit, consciousness and thought, and he particularly emphasized the role of progressive thought. He believed that consciousness was a lighted candle that could lead mankind to a bright and genuine land, while ignorance was an obstacle in getting there and was an obstacle to human development as well. Moreover, progressive theories were tools to guide practice.

Nevertheless, theories had to be linked to practice. Li Dazhao reiterated this point. In an article entitled "Further Discussion of Problems and Isms," he said: "In order for a socialist's socialism to have an effect on the world, he must study how to apply his ideas to the real environment around him. Therefore, contemporary socialism contains many forms whereby the spirit can be turned into practice in keeping with the needs of contemporary endeavors." (p 230) However, in discussing the role of progressive thought, Li Dazhao also overemphasized some points. For example, he believed that "ideas have the power to transcend everything." (p 217) Naturally, we must regard in their historical context those things said by a revolutionary forerunner that are "not necessarily precise or appropriate."

#### IV

In his series of works, and particularly in his articles "My Marxist Viewpoint," "Concept of History" and "The Value of a Materialist View of History in Contemporary Historical Studies," Li Dazhao illuminated the Marxist materialist view of history.

He noted correctly that "the old historical concept held that history had been created by the gods and was heaven's will. When a sage came from heaven, the times were bright and glorious, but when heaven sent a malevolent person, misery and chaos ruled without end." (p 506) He also analyzed the social function of the materialist view of history and the essence of classes. He said that the historical events recorded by this generation of historians, regardless of whether they involved burning and killing, pillaging, treachery or usurpation, were all deemed to be a part

of heaven's will and were explained as being the will of God, so that readers supposed that no matter how arduous the circumstances they encountered, they were related to fate. The only way to assuage their present suffering was to pray to God and hope for the future. This rendered people "numb and insensitive," for "not only could they not resist, but they did not dare harbor resentments either." They could only "murmur tragically that 'I was born at the wrong time.'" (pp 506-507)

Li Dazhao made a first-rate appreciation of the materialist view of history in honor of Marx' birthday in 1924 and raised the need to give attention to the genuine application of the materialist view of history. He said that today we must carefully study how to apply the Marxist materialist view of history to China's contemporary political and economic circumstances. More concretely, that meant the use of the Marxist materialist view of history to study how China's contemporary political and economic situation came about and how we should go about making a national independence movement to save China from the oppression of big powers.

Li Dazhao focused on the idealist conception of history that dominated thinking circles at the time, emphasizing the role of productivity on productive relationships and the decisive role of the economic base on the superstructure. In an article entitled "My Marxist Point of View," he said that the sum of human society's productive relationships forms the socio-economic structure. This is the basic structure of society. The politics, laws, ethics and philosophies of society or, simply put, all the structures of civilization change as the economic structure changes. We may term this structure of civilization a surface structure. When an old social organization fettered and impeded productivity at the same time that productivity advanced, the more intense the contradictions became, and in the end this social organization inevitably collapsed. This was social revolution. After a new social organization was established, when it no longer corresponded with productivity at some future time, its collapse would take place in the same way. But this productivity could absolutely not be destroyed unless it developed to the point where it could no longer be contained in the social organization in which it operated.

Li Dazhao also explained the principles of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In his article "My Marxist Point of View," he divided Marxist theory into three parts, namely historical theory, economic theory and socialist theory, pointing out that "these three theories are inseparable and that class competition holds these three principles together fundamentally like a string of gold coins." (p 177) He emphasized that the transformation of society must go through class struggle before it can be realized. He also clearly talked about the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat, pointing out that "during a revolution, in order to suppress the resurgence of reactionaries and in order to consolidate a foundation for a new system and new ideals, a period of the dictatorship of the proletariat has to occur." (pp 397-398)

Li Dazhao pointed out clearly that we must know that all past history has been created by our own human efforts. It was not created by some great

sage, nor was it bestowed upon us by God. The same will be true of the future. He also pointed out that when socialism becomes divorced from the struggle of the masses of people, it cannot be realized. He said that only since Marx and Engels jointly authored the "Communist Manifesto," proclaimed it loudly, called upon the working class throughout the whole world and urged them to unite to overthrow capitalism, has everybody realized that the realization of socialism is absolutely impossible when separated from the people themselves. This was an outstanding contribution of Marxism.

Just as philosophy regards the proletariat as its own material weapon, so too does the proletariat regard philosophy as its own spiritual weapon. Li Dazhao placed this great spiritual weapon in the hands of the Chinese people at a fairly early time, and his contribution has been a tremendous one.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PARTY OFFICIAL EXPELLED FOR SHIELDING CRIMINAL SON

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 83 p 1

[Report: "Situation Severe in Shielding Criminal Son and Framing Victim: Linzhang County Party Committee Secretary Cai Chenggong Is Expelled from Party and Arrested According to Law"]

[Text] According to a report in HEBEI RIBAO: Cai Chenggong [5591 2052 0501], secretary of Linzhang County party committee, shields his criminal son and frames the victim; his method is vicious and his situation severe. The Handan regional party committee decides to report to the provincial party committee for approval and has already stripped Cai Chenggong of his party membership; a public security organ arrested him according to law on 18 December.

Cai Chenggong's son, Cai Jianzhong [5591 1696 1813], is today 20 years old; he was originally a worker at the foodgrain staff and workers school in the Handan region. In February and March this year, he raped young girls on several occasions; before that, he also raped and abused many women. He was detained by the public security bureau for trial on 19 June this year, and arrested according to law on 10 August.

After Cai Jianzhong was detained for trial and arrested, Cai Chenggong, as secretary of the county party committee, ignored the central resolution on the crackdown on serious criminal offenses and also ignored party discipline and the laws of the state by utilizing his office and power and his connections to drag in more than 20 cadres to plead for him; relying on his office and power, he sent his subordinate cadres to run errands for him; and even more seriously, he even personally came forward to resort to illegal investigation, compile false data, and frame the victims for the sake of exempting his son from criminal responsibilities. At the same time, he also hoodwinked reporters to sing their praise of him, to dress himself as a fine leading cadre of selfless devotion prone to rectifying party workstyle and maintaining party discipline and laws of the state; he sought thus to deceive the world and usurp other people's reputation in order to attain his base aims.

Despite Cai Changgong's exhaustive efforts and calculations, his criminal aims were never realized and instead became exposed. The Handan regional party committee and municipal party committee paid much attention to this case; they immediately organized a combined team to carry out an investigation. The

provincial commission for inspecting discipline also sent personnel to help investigate and handle the case. In order to conceal his criminal conduct, Cai Chenggong and concluded an alliance of mutual defense, telling those who were handling the machination for him: "Never tell anything!" "You must withstand the pressure!" so as to obstruct the investigation and handling of his problem. Under the guidance of the regional and municipal party committee, the investigation team soon made clear his problem.

While publishing the above report, HEBEI RIBAO at the same time published the talk given by the responsible comrade of the provincial commission for inspecting discipline to reporters. The responsible comrade of the provincial commission for inspecting discipline said the fact that Cai Chenggong's criminal conduct was quickly exposed, investigated to a conclusion, and given solemn punishment fully proves that the healthy forces within the party are powerful and are bound to overcome all devious forces. He asked party committees at all levels to take Cai Chenggong's case as negative teaching material in the process of their study of the party rectification documents and carry out a vivid education on our party rectification documents and carry out a vivid education on our party character, party workstyle, party discipline and obedience of the law so as to enable the vast ranks of our party members to heighten their perception and strengthen their party character.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DENG XIAOPING'S ROLE IN AFTERMATH OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION HAILED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Zhou Yonggang [0719 3057 0474]: "Precursor to Bringing Order out of Chaos--Exposition on Mao Zedong Thought in the Study of the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] After smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary bloc, and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, both the leaders of our party and people throughout the whole country have set about the basic task of bringing order out of chaos on all fronts and in all sectors. They diligently corrected the errors of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and of "leftism" before it, revived and developed Mao Zedong Thought, fulfilled the party's historic mission of bringing order out of chaos in its guiding ideology and carried out a historic transformation of major significance. Reflecting this great historical change was the inclusion in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" of "The 'Two Whatevers' Are Not Compatible With Marxism," "Completely and Accurately Understand Mao Zedong Thought" and "Speeches at the Political Work Conference of the Whole Armed Forces," which were statements on Mao Zedong Thought. They record that our party has given the impetus to and has led the whole party in the course of the struggle to bring order out of chaos and to revive and develop Mao Zedong Thought. They demonstrate fully that our party has made unflagging efforts to revive the purity of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. They embody Comrade Deng Xiaoping's unsurpassed leadership skill in the scientific application of Marxist-Leninist standpoints, concepts and methods under new historical conditions, and they demonstrate the prominent contribution that he has made in fulfilling the party's great historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the area of ideology.

The Communist Party of China, which was founded on Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and style, has, in the course of its long revolutionary struggle, linked together the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution to form a Sinified Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It has also applied this thought to all its activities, achieving tremendous success thereby in the process of leading the revolution and carrying out construction. However, during the 10 years of "internal turmoil," in an effort to achieve their counterrevolutionary goal of usurping the party and seizing power, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing

counterrevolutionary blocs purposely distorted, falsified and fabricated Mao Zedong Thought; they fragmented it, threw it into utter confusion and preached that it was "the supreme thesis," that it was "a short cut," that "every word is truth" and that "one sentence is worth countless sentences," thus splitting Mao Zedong Thought away from Marxism-Leninism and making it absolutist and dogmatic. They also resorted to "raising high" the banner in frenzied preaching and to fashioning a cult of the individual, distorting Mao Zedong Thought beyond all recognition. For a period following the smashing of the "gang of four," principal comrades in charge of the CPC Central Committee continued to support the leftist theories and programs of the "Great Cultural Revolution." They promoted the erroneous program of the "two whatevers" to the serious obstruction of efforts to bring order out of chaos in the whole party and to restore purity to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. These circumstances showed that the revival of Mao Zedong Thought, to which our party had adhered for a long time, and its promotion as a guide for action and for bringing order out of chaos in the leadership of the whole party would require purging the pernicious effects of Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" isolation, distortion, falsification and fabrication of Mao Zedong Thought. A thorough overhaul would be required in which the people's thoughts would be emancipated from the spiritual shackles of the "gang of four" and the original condition and deserved place in history of Mao Zedong Thought restored.

In April 1977, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote a letter to the CPC Central Committee on the damage that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had done to Mao Zedong Thought and on the erroneous concept of the "two whatevers." His letter pointed out that each generation must use Mao Zedong Thought accurately and completely to direct our party, armed forces and people throughout the whole country and to advance victoriously the cause of the party, socialism and the international communist movement. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's letter raised an important issue in bringing order out of chaos, namely, the need for complete and accurate mastery and application of Mao Zedong Thought.

What does complete and accurate mastery of Mao Zedong Thought mean? At the closing meeting of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping elaborated further. He noted that a complete (rather than a fragmented) and an accurate (rather than an arbitrary) understanding of the body of Mao Zedong Thought required adeptness in the study, mastery and application of the body of Mao Zedong Thought to guide our every task. This is the only way for Mao Zedong Thought not to become isolated, distorted and damaged.

By way of completely and accurately adhering to Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, first of all, opposed and criticized the erroneous program of the "two whatevers." In an article entitled "The 'Two Whatevers' Are Not Compatible With Marxism," he pointed out sharply that the "two whatevers" have been proposed in the wrong way. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin never talk of whatevers, nor did Chairman Mao speak of whatevers when he was alive. Were he not dead, he would certainly oppose the "two whatevers."

"If we acted on the 'two whatevers,' our problems in the political rehabilitation of people could never be straightened out, nor could the matter of the 'reasonableness' of the actions of the broad masses of people at Tiananmen in 1976 be clarified or affirmed." We may never contravene the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism or of Mao Zedong Thought. Of this there can be no doubt. However, we must link theories to realities and analyze and study actual circumstances to solve real problems. Deciding work plans on the basis of actual circumstances is a fundamental ideological and work method that all members of the Communist Party must firmly remember. Chairman Mao always adhered to the use of Marxist-Leninist standpoints, points of view and methods in posing, analyzing and solving problems. The living soul of Marxism-Leninism is the concrete analysis of concrete problems. There can be no simple mechanical copying and forwarding of Marxism-Leninism in the style of an office with incoming and outgoing mail. These remarks of Comrade Deng Xiaoping reiterated the party's ideological line of dialectical materialism and criticized the erroneous program of the "two whatevers." They provided great support for the issue of the criteria for truth that was in the process of development at that time, and they provided a tremendous impetus to bringing order out of chaos and emancipating the thinking of the whole party. They played a major role in rectifying the party's ideological line.

Discussion of the issue of the criteria of truth was muzzled, and criticism of the "two whatevers" was termed "throwing away a knife," "non-Maoist" and "cutting down banners." In September 1978, in "Raise High the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth in Facts," Comrade Deng Xiaoping brilliantly defined the issue of what constitutes holding high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, and he further criticized the "two whatevers." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Whatever document that Comrade Mao Zedong had marked as having read could not be changed, and whatever Comrade Mao Zedong did or said could not be changed. Is this what is meant by raising high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? No." Even if whatever Mao Zedong said might be done, what are we to do now? Marxism-Leninism itself must develop, and Mao Zedong Thought has to develop too. If it does not, it will become ossified. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's serious criticism of the "two whatevers" rectified the whole party's understanding on holding high the magnificent banner of Mao Zedong Thought, cleared away obstacles in bringing order out of chaos and laid a foundation for restoring the party's ideological line of seeking truth in facts.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee held in December 1978 broke the serious restraints that "leftist" errors had long imposed. It revived and established a correct ideological, political and organizational line. Following the Third Plenary Session, the lofty mission of the CPC Central Committee on the ideological front was to lead and indoctrinate the whole party and the whole people in a historical and scientific appreciation of the glorious accomplishments of Comrade Mao Zedong, to master completely and accurately the scientific body of Mao Zedong Thought, to link the general principles of Mao Zedong Thought with concrete practice in the building of the socialist modernizations and to develop it further under new historical conditions. Comrade Deng Xiaoping

proposed numerous important programs and principles for the ideological theory front in the process of this historic task, making tremendous efforts on behalf of the whole party for a correct understanding and evaluation of Mao Zedong Thought. In view of an erroneous understanding within the party and among some people in society, that is, of "only supporting correct Mao Zedong Thought but not supporting incorrect Mao Zedong Thought," Comrade Deng Xiaoping brilliantly explained the issue of whether Mao Zedong Thought included errors made during his late years both in "Adhere to the Four Basic Principles" and in "Reply to Italian Correspondent Fallaci." Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "During the period when our party was in Yan'an, every aspect of Mao Zedong's thinking was a part of Mao Zedong Thought, and it became our party's guiding ideology. Of course, Mao Zedong Thought was not the sole creation of Comrade Mao Zedong but included the ideas of the older generation of revolutionaries who participated in the establishment and development of Mao Zedong Thought. Mostly, it was the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong." Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphasized that "Mao Zedong Thought is the correct portion taken from Chairman Mao's whole life." It is the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Zedong Thought that we must uphold and use as a guide for action. In other words, it is the scientific system formed from these basic principles. This is the basic principle of Mao Zedong Thought which is unswerving and consistent without contradictions between the early and late and are basic principles that practice demonstrated to be correct. "As for individual theses, Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong alike unavoidably made some mistakes. However, these are not a part of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism or of Mao Zedong Thought that form a scientific body." Here, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a scientific analysis of the historical materialism of Mao Zedong Thought. He corrected the incorrect perception that existed within the party and within society at large at the time about the existence in Mao Zedong Thought of errors Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. This played an extremely important role in the criticism at the time of those who sought to deny the erroneous trend of thinking in Mao Zedong Thought, in adhering to the four basic principles and in unifying the thinking of the whole party and the people of the whole country.

"Decisions on Various Historical Problems in the Party Since Founding of the People's Republic," which was passed by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, signaled our party's completion of the historic task of bringing order out of chaos in its guiding ideology. In the process of leading and giving impetus to the process of bringing order out of chaos in the whole party, and on the issue of the handling of Mao Zedong Thought, both the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping adhered throughout to criticism of the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong had made in the late years of his life. They strove to refute erroneous attitudes that denied the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought or that denied the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought in China's revolution and construction. They criticized those who adopted a dogmatic attitude about the statements of Comrade Mao Zedong, those who believed that everything that Comrade Mao Zedong ever said was immutable truth and that all that was necessary was to copy it mechanically, those who were even unrealistically unwilling to

admit that Comrade Mao Zedong had made mistakes in his later years and those who persisted in these erroneous attitudes in the midst of new practices. Comrade Deng Xiaoping conducted serious criticism of and struggle against the various erroneous trends of thought that these two erroneous attitudes encompassed, and he persisted in the use of correct attitudes to handle Mao Zedong Thought. In order to complete the party's historic mission in bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology at a crucial turning point in history, he eliminated interference, swept away obstacles and showed the direction ahead. At the same time, he provided strong ideological and political assurances for spreading Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions. Since the Third Plenary Session, the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping have led the whole party and the people of the whole country. They have proceeded from realities; they have corrected the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the "leftism" that preceded it by seeking truth in facts; they have eliminated the negative consequences of 10 years of internal turmoil; and they have solved large numbers of problems bequeathed by history. Under new historical conditions, they have applied Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to specific practice in the building of modernization, and they have steadily enriched and perfected the correct ideological, political and organizational lines. These circumstances are just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Since the Third Plenary Session, we have revived the correct things of Comrade Mao Zedong, which is to say we have correctly and completely studied and applied Mao Zedong Thought. In many respects we should still do many of the things that Comrade Mao Zedong proposed but did not complete, correct those things he opposed in the wrong way and do a good job in those things he did not do well. For a long time to come, these things will have to be done. Of course, we have also progressed, and will have to continue to progress." During this period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping correctly evaluated the theory and practice of Mao Zedong Thought, played an extremely important expediting role in enriching and developing Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions and served as a model for the whole party's adherence to the standpoint, concepts and methods of applying Mao Zedong Thought and of linking the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete realities of China's revolution and construction.

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SPIRITUAL POLLUTION IN LITERATURE, ART CONDEMNED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Fang Rui: "Resist Spiritual Pollution"]

[Text] We have long noticed the refuse, sewage, waste gas and noise that pollute our natural environment, threatening human existence, and have taken positive measures to tackle them. But there is another form of pollution in society, one which comes from ideas and culture, especially literature and art, and which poisons people's minds. It is this kind of pollution we must be more vigilant against and face up to squarely.

Ever since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, especially after the 12th National Party Congress, under the guidance of the correct line and general and specific policies of the Party Central Committee, an increasing number of comrades on the literary and artistic front, faced with the complex new circumstances and new issues of the new era, have intensified their study of Marxism and held high the flag of Marxism. They have adhered to and developed the consciousness of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art; strengthened the use of socialism and communism in educating the people; and correctly developed the political consciousness of the two-line ideological struggle. They have maintained the basic dynamic and health tendency in literary and artistic creation and theoretical criticism playing a positive role in the building of the two cultures under socialism.

Our literary and artistic undertakings have outstanding achievements. This is the main trend and must be further affirmed. However, while we continue to make progress in our literary and artistic cause, some notable issues and unhealthy tendencies have also emerged. In particular, in the new situation of opening to the outside world, a handful of comrades lack steadfastness in ideological theories and Marxist clear-headedness. Corroded by the trends of thought from the West on society and literature and art, they have produced a few works with undesirable ideological leanings, some even clearly diverging from socialism. Some works abstract human nature and humanism; advocate the ascendancy of human nature above classes; even obscure the boundaries between what is right and what is wrong, confuse friend and foe, distort revolutionary history, and propagate abstract love as a way to 'bridge man-made political gaps.' Other works show a wavering of faith in socialism and Marxism, and reveal, in varying degrees, tendencies towards nihilism, pessimism, anarchism, and

ultra-individualism. Some works expound the bourgeois notions of "love supremacy and promiscuity, and herald the Western bourgeois idea of sexual liberation, depicting explicitly the pornographic and erotic. In literary and artistic theories and criticism, there has also appeared rather serious confusion in thinking and theories. Some praise and transplant, without any analysis, Western existentialist philosophy and modernistic literature and art, and even suggest using these ideological weapons to observe and explain our social life and literary and artistic phenomena; promote the ultra-individualistic ideas of absolute freedom and self-creation; and advocate that Chinese literature and art should follow the path of Western modernism. In addition, there has developed recently the tendencies of 'considering money as everything' and of commercializing literature and art. These harmful trends and unhealthy tendencies have also been reflected to various extents in the literary and artistic circles of our province. Although they do not make up the mainstream on the literary and artistic front but are an issue which has arisen in our advance, they fully demonstrate that in the new situation, it cannot but have a major significance in our maintaining a Marxist clearheadedness, persisting in the correct direction of socialism, and resisting bourgeois spiritual contamination.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, our positive and negative experience over the past 30 years tells us that in order to develop our nation's socialist scientific and cultural undertakings and make them flourish, we must break free from our ideological confinement, from our isolation from international intercourse, and from a situation in which a hundred flowers withered and 10,000 horses all muted. We must practice the policies and principles of ideological liberation, opening to the foreign world, and letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. We can attribute the present brand-new flourishing state on the literary and artistic front to the proper enforcement of those Party policies and principles. However, our ideological liberation must be one of adhering to the path laid down by the Four Basic Principles, and not one which follows the bourgeois direction to the abandonment of the Four Principles. Our opening to the foreign world aims at absorbing whatever is good for us in order to develop our socialist economy and culture. Consequently, we cannot but be analytical and selective, keeping up our necessary ideological defenses to prevent the erosion by corrupt bourgeois ideas. But what some comrades are really advocating is that kind of ideological liberation which does away with ideological defenses and which means 'total Westernization.' Our policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend has been put forward under the firm premise that the people and socialism be served. The idea is to expand the ideological front of Marxism and to eliminate bourgeois and other erroneous ideologies through 'blooming' and 'contending.' Therefore, the 'two hundreds' policy includes in itself an active ideological struggle and should not allow the bourgeois ideology to run rampant. However, some comrades advocate the kind of 'blooming' and 'contending' which abolishes the necessary ideological struggle and denies Marxism its leading position. In reality, this would only let erroneous ideas, not Marxism, blossom and contend. In ideological content and artistic expression, the socialist literature and art of our nation should seek to innovate and, in accordance with the principles of 'make the past serve the present, and foreign things serve China,' and 'weed through the old to bring forth the new,' critically carry forward, draw upon, and absorb all experiences which can

benefit the country. We can use for reference and assimilate even some of the artistic experiences and aesthetic methods relating to Western modernism. But we must not let modernism be the direction that the development of our socialist literature and art follows. We must not reduce innovations in socialist literature and art to innovations in artistic expressions only. And we certainly must not exclude revolutionary realism from the modernization of literature and art. Literature and art belong to the realm of spiritual production and ideology; they include certain universal human sentiments and certain artistic techniques and methods of expression. Nevertheless, at the present stage, the most central matters in literature and art such as ideological content and theoretical systems are still fraught with intense class undertones and political leanings. And, a given kind of ideological content determines the kind of artistic form and method of expression. Therefore, we can only critically use for reference the spiritual products of Western bourgeois such as literature and art, but must not borrow them as we do material products.

As with pollution in the natural environment, which is being controlled and monitored by various scientific devices, spiritual pollution in society can also be resisted with the most powerful ideological weapons. In the new era, as we face complex new circumstances and new issues on the ideological and cultural front, only if we firmly uphold the world and literary and artistic outlooks of Marxism and use it to guide our artistic creation and theoretical criticism can we persist in the correct direction of socialism. Only thus can we remain free from the control of a variety of erroneous ideas and unhealthy practices. Only thus can we clear-headedly and scientifically analyse the flood of Western learning and culture that enters the country upon our opening to the foreign world, assimilating whatever is useful and discarding whatever is negative. And only by adhering to the teachings of Marxism could we correctly understand life, and analyze it; penetrate through the appearance of things to grasp their essence; demonstrate the requirements for the advance of the times and the trend of historical development; and inspire the masses to forge ahead vigorously and go all out to make the country strong.

As engineers of human spirits and builders of a spiritual civilization, we contemporary workers in literature and art should make our souls purer, our spirits nobler, our vision clearer, and our feelings keener. And the ideological system of Marxism is precisely mankind's most lofty, most magnificent spiritual world. It is also our ideological and political telescope and magnifying glass. Through serious studies and thorough practices, let us accurately and fully grasp the ideological system of Marxism, uphold the flag of socialism even higher, firmly resist bourgeois spiritual pollution, ceaselessly elevate the level of our ideological and artistic qualities, and try hard to scale new literary and artistic heights.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### MARX, ENGELS CRITICIZED BOURGEOIS HUMANISM

Shanghai SHEHUI KEXUE [SOCIAL SCIENCES] in Chinese No 7, 15 Jul 83 pp 64-66

[Article by Li Chengxi [2621 2052 6459], Philosophy Department, Fudan University: "Marx's View of Humanity and His Criticism of Humanism"]

[Text] This article will conduct an analysis using Marxism's own view on humanity.

#### I. Marx and Engels Criticized Humanism

The completion of Marx's "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844" marked the beginning of the foundation of an integrated system that comprised political economy, philosophy, and scientific socialism. This work strove to expound on and prove communism from an economic angle, and it criticized the various doctrines of utopian socialism. However, this work was not as mature as "The German Ideology," and in expounding on and proving communist economics it was still laced with the remnants of Feuerbach's humanism [renbenzhuyi [0086 0609 0031 5030]]. Marx believed that capitalism was antihumanist, and that only by achieving communism could humanism [rendaozhuyi [0086 6670 0031] unless noted otherwise] be spoken of. So in his "Manuscripts," he equated communism with humanism, saying that "as a fulfilled naturalism, this communism is equivalent to humanism [renbenzhuyi]" (p 73). He also stated that "communism is the self-expressed humanism [renbenzhuyi] brought about by discarding the medium of private property" (p 127). Marx's basic concept during this period was that he believed that man's nature was lost under the capitalist system, and that only the achievement of communism would cause the "restoration of man's own true nature" (p 73). Therefore, Marx's early works indeed revealed a positive attitude toward humanism. However, in the wake of Marx's and Engels' thorough study of philosophy and economics, the publication of the "Critical Introduction to the Philosophy of the Hegelian Dialectic," "The German Ideology," the "Communist Manifesto," and other works, and the foundation of the science of historical materialism and communist theory, Marx and Engels shifted from a positive to a negative attitude toward humanism, and from then on they no longer equated communism with humanism. On the contrary, they regarded humanism as the antithesis of communism.

In 1844, Marx and Engels were influenced by Feuerbach's philosophy. Marx went so far as to praise Feuerbach as the only person who had anything to do with Hegel's dialectics and who was a true conqueror of the old philosophy. However, in a letter to Engels dated 24 April 1867 in which Marx recalled the

circumstances of their adoration of Feuerbach 20 years earlier, he stated that that period's "blind faith in Feuerbach would now be quite comical." In 1886, Engels wrote a book entitled "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy" in which he strongly criticized the humanism [renbenzhuyi] and the theory of human nature of the supraclass advocated by Feuerbach. Engels believed that "for Feuerbach, love is at all times and places a miracle-working God that can help him to overcome all the difficulties of real life--this in a class society of diametrically opposed interests. In this way, the last bit of revolutionary character has faded from his philosophy, and all that is left is the old cant of love one another! Embrace each other without regard to sex or social strata! With goodwill toward all, everyone can indulge to their hearts' content!" Marx's review of Feuerbach's knowledge and Engels' criticism of Feuerbach's preaching of love, bore out that the influence of the humanist [renbenzhuyi] ideology had long been eliminated. Marx and Engels had always adopted an analytical attitude toward humanism in history. On the one hand, they approved of humanism's role in modern European history, particularly in the Renaissance of 16th century Europe. This movement took humanism as its banner, calling on people to return from paradise to the natural world, the world of man. The rights of man were seized back from the religious authorities. People were called on to oppose the feudal lords, abolish feudal privileges, oppose religious rule, and abolish the theocracy. The humanist ideology undoubtedly played an active, progressive role in the modern history of mankind. Nevertheless, on the other hand, it has been put forth that humanism was the ideological system of the bourgeoisie in its ascending stage. Some of the fine-sounding slogans that they put forth could not possibly have become reality under the capitalist system. In fact, in the capitalist society that had at its core the ownership of private property, man's liberty, equality and rights were only fine-sounding words. As Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto," "the bourgeoisie heartlessly broke the many feudal bonds that bound people to their natural superiors. There was no relationship between man and man other than that of naked self-interest or coldblooded 'cash transactions.' The sacred emotions of religious piety, chivalrous zeal, and petty bourgeois sentimentalism were drowned in the icy water of egotistical calculation. Man's dignity became an exchange value, and heartless free trade replaced the countless self-attained, chartered freedoms." After the bourgeoisie had control of political power, it occasionally shouted humanism, but this was only to deceive the laboring people and to conceal class contradictions; in words it was humanism, but in deeds it was fascism. Therefore, essentially speaking, humanism was the ideology and the ideological system of the bourgeoisie.

Once Marx and Engels established the science of historical materialism, they never abated in their criticism of bourgeois humanism. This was revealed in the book entitled "The German Ideology," which criticized Feuerbach's humanism [renbenzhuyi] and the so-called true socialism that was fostered in the humanist theory. This so-called true socialism from 1844 to 1847 preached love and proclaimed that the self was impartially above any class struggle. Its proponents stated that "in humanism all debates have been resolved, so why must we distinguish between a communist and a socialist? We are all people." Marx refuted this, saying: "Why must we distinguish between man, animal, plant and mineral? We are all objects." Marx refuted the humanists of the past, and his words likewise can be used to refute the humanists of the

present. They do not assert that we are all people or that everything is for the sake of man, so must the "distinction between a communist and a socialist" still be made? As a matter of fact, in all of the capitalist societies in today's so-called civilized nations, supraclass man certainly does not exist, people's social (class) standardings are different, and their outlooks on life also are different. Regarding humanism as a category of ethics, there are different understandings of the distinct classes and outlooks on life. In a class society, no class exists that is suitable to humanism. So Engels criticized those people who blindly believed in humanism, saying: "In a capitalist society, even if 'justice,' 'humanity,' 'liberty,' and so on could issue this or that demand time and again, it actually could not happen if there was no way for the situation to be brought about." "Of course, these are fine-sounding words, but they can never be borne out by history or political questions."

In view of the history of the spread of humanism, whether it be the humanism of the past, such as the positivistic humanism represented by Confucian ethics, or utopian humanism and the Marxist humanism of the modern West, such as existentialist humanism, etc., all of them came into being to suit the needs of the bourgeoisie and to serve its interests. They aimed the spearhead of the struggle at attacking and distorting Marxism, they fabricated two myths about Marx, or they tried to play down Marxism's influence on working people throughout the world.

When western Marxists attack communists, some of them do not analyze or criticize, but they do say that communism is humanism; namely, that communism is summed up as humanism. Engels criticized them as those who "try to compromise the interests of the two struggling classes in a socialism of a much higher humanity."

## 2. Marxism and Humanism Are Two Diametrically Opposed Systems

Humanism emerged in the period of the Renaissance in 16th century Europe, and once it came into being, it began to suit the needs of the bourgeoisie. It is the spiritual weapon for capitalism's finding new roads to advancement. Marxism emerged in the period of the rise of the workers' movement in 19th century Europe, and it came into being to suit the needs of the proletariat. It is the theoretical weapon for building a socialist and communist society. Humanism and Marxism are two diametrically opposed systems, which is manifested in:

- 1) The starting points and highest principles of humanism and Marxism are fundamentally different. The starting point of humanism is the individual--the abstract, isolated individual. Its highest principle is individualism, where the worth, dignity, and well-being of the individual come first. The individual is the scale for measuring the advancement of society. Marxism's starting point is the collective masses of people composed of realistic individuals. Marxism's highest principle is the realization of communism, and the level of development of the productive forces is the scale for measuring the advancement of society.

So, humanism and Marxism are opposed on all fundamental points. Thus there can be no mention of a critical inheritance.

2) Humanism and Marxism contain different principles for resolving social problems and have different standards for measuring social morality. Humanism takes as its ideological core the abstract bourgeois theory of human nature. It considers the advancement of society together with the view of whether people "are treated like humans," whereas communist society is said to cause the "restoration" of the ideal human nature in man's social system. Emphasis is placed on the theory of common human nature, the advocacy of the supraclass, and the love of mankind that transcends history. "Justice" and "humanity" are the highest standards for measuring social morality. Marxism takes as its ideological core the realization of communism. It recognizes both common human nature and the class character of human nature in a class society, and its criteria for measuring the advancement of society are whether the development of production and the growth of society conform to the laws of history. Beginning with the resolution of social and economic antagonisms, it thus resolves individual antagonisms. Marxism's highest standard for measuring social morality is conformity to socialist and communist ethics.

From this it can be seen that Marxism and humanism are two completely antithetical ideological systems. Marxism is the world view of communism, and its philosophical foundation is historical idealism. So between them the relationship of a critical inheritance does not exist. Therefore, Marxist humanism does not exist.

Marxism was built on the foundation of a summary of all of the fine cultural legacies inherited by mankind. Marxism had earlier used as a category of ethics some of humanism's rational principles and essences, such as acknowledging the worth, dignity, and well-being of the individual, as well as individual liberty, equality and rights, which thus entrusted it with the substance and standards for keeping with the interests of the proletariat. Just as Engels pointed out in "Anti-Duhring," the "proletariat took the bourgeoisie at its word. Equality should not merely be apparent, should not only be practiced in the realm of the state, but it should be real and should be practiced in the social and economic realms. In particular, when the great French bourgeois revolution began to give priority to the equality of citizens, the French proletariat answered by issuing demands for social and economic equality. This equality became the characteristic call to battle of the French proletariat." Obviously, Marxism assimilated some of humanism's rational propositions, and they underwent transformation and restriction in service to proletarian politics. For example, in the revolutionary civil war and national war periods, we used humanism to oppose fascism. Under conditions wherein the reactionary class regime had been overthrown and the enemy had already thrown down its weapons, the revolutionary humanist policy of healing the wounded and giving special treatment to prisoners of war was implemented. For hostile elements, even war criminals, who satisfactorily demonstrated that they had reformed, the magnanimous policy of "providing a way out" and restoring civil rights was implemented. This cannot be equated with the bourgeois humanism, however, and it certainly cannot be said that the revolutionary humanist policy implemented under the leadership of the CPC was the critical inheritance of bourgeois humanism.

### 3. Marx's View of Humanity Is Communism

Although Marx was still influenced by Feuerbach's humanist [renbenzhuyi] ideology, his own view on humanity had already been presented in his early work, "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844." Marx applied the viewpoint of alienated labor in exposing the nature of the capitalist system, and by using economic facts he denounced the inhumanity of capitalist society, where "the more goods the worker produces, the more he becomes cheap goods. As the value of the material world increases, the value of the world of man decreases proportionally" (p 44). "Labor makes treasures for the wealthy, but the laborer lives in abject poverty. Labor builds palaces, but slums are built for the laborer" (p 46). Marx thus used language of such striking contrasts to denounce the unfairness and irrationality of capitalist society. Those people affected by private property, such as "petty thieves, swindlers, beggars, the unemployed, those starving to death, the poor, criminals and workers do not exist in the theory of the national economy." "They are some of the specters who wander outside the realm of the theory of the national economy" (p 59). Marx summarized these phenomena as the source of the inhumanity brought about by private property's having "alienated labor, alienated life, and alienated man" (p 54).

In "Das Kapital," Marx's monumental work, he used highly precise scientific measurements to expound on the capitalist economic system, and he used a host of facts to expose the unfairness and inhumanity of the exploitation of the workers by the bourgeoisie. He also used highly indignant language to denounce scathingly the exploitative behavior of the capitalists. "Capital is labor. It is like a vampire that lives only by sucking labor. The more labor it sucks, the more vital its life will be." He also stated that a capitalist bloodsucker "will never give up as long as there is a chunk of flesh or a drop of blood for him to squeeze." How profound, how exciting is Marx's exposure of the phenomena of unfairness, irrationality, and inhumanity in capitalist society!

Marx's view on humanity is the liberation of all mankind and the realization of communism. Very early on, Marx opposed Bauer's lumping together the liberation of politics with the liberation of mankind. In Marx's view, the liberation of politics was merely for the sake of enabling the citizenry to obtain the rights of equality and liberty, but in reality could not have been obtained. Marx drew an important conclusion from the history of the French revolution, namely that "the liberation of politics by itself is still not the liberation of mankind." True liberty and equality can be achieved only by the liberation of the worker, which has as a prerequisite the elimination of the private ownership of the means of production. In Marx' view, the "liberation of the worker encompasses the liberation of all mankind." Only by liberating all of mankind will the worker himself ultimately be liberated, and only then will all of society bring about the "organizations" in the communist society of which Marx spoke. "Here, the unrestrained growth of each individual is a condition for the unrestrained growth of all people." I believe that this is the concentrated summary of Marxism's view on humanity with regard to communist society.

Since a communist society is the "social form that takes as its basic principle the overall, unrestrained growth of each individual," it has to this end brought about material prerequisites. Boundless liberty will be obtained only "after all sources of collective wealth are flowing fully." Only when labor becomes the first need in life can the worker no longer be regarded as a tool of production. Only then will the worker not be forever limited in the narrow division of labor, but will be free from the one-sidedness brought about by that division of labor for each individual in modern society. The worker can then change his type of work, based on society's needs and his own interests, and he can shift from one production sector to another. Therefore, the talent of individuals in each area can be brought fully into play, thus bringing about the individual's highest value to society. In a communist society, people can embody the dignity and nobility of the individual much more than was ever seen in societies of the past. Dante, the great poet of the Renaissance era, stated: "Of man's many achievements, his nobility surpasses that of the angels" ("Selected Views of Bourgeois Writers and Artists From the Renaissance to the 19th Century on the Humanist Theory of Human Nature," p 3). Only in a communist society can this ode produce much richer fruits for the spiritual and material civilizations, which is that in a socialist society, where the exploitive system has been eliminated and the reactionary class has been overthrown, the creative value of man will surpass that of any age. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Of all things in the world, people are the most precious. Under the leadership of the CPC, as long as there are people, every kind of miracle can be performed." Since communism is the doctrine for bringing about the overall growth of man and of those things that will cause each individual and all of society to grow freely, it is thus not just an ideological system, but it is the most progressive social system. Communism has as its goal the liberation of all mankind and the realization of the people's overall growth. It contains the most progressive, most revolutionary, and most rational humane principles. It is the concentrated expression of the interests of the proletariat, and it is the great banner of Marxism's view of humanity. Therefore, we can only take communism as the banner that will guide us in the building of the material and spiritual civilizations, but we cannot take humanism as the banner to guide us in the building of the two civilizations.

9926

CSO: 4005/184

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INCREASED EMPHASIS ON MILITARY TRAINING REPORTED

Lanzhou GANSU RIBAO in Chinese 15 Aug 83 p 4

[Article by Li Jun [2621 6511]: "A Major Assurance for Building Modern National Defense--Study of Deng Xiaoping's 'The Armed Forces Should Elevate Education and Training to a Strategic Position'"]

[Text] A section of the speech that Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave at the 23 August 1977 Military Affairs Commission Symposium, entitled "The Armed Forces Should Elevate Education and Training to a Strategic Position," is a glorious record for our armed forces' smooth completion of a historic turn in events. It is also a program document for the revolutionizing and modernizing of China's armed forces. Earnest study of this speech and further implementation of the speech's basic spirit can produce extremely far-reaching effects for the strengthening of modern national defense.

According to the doctrine of Marxist countries, for a country or a people to be independent and free, it must have its own powerful national defense. This is the only way to prevent another people from bullying and trampling it. The armed forces are the main body of modern national defense, and the quality of the armed forces and their strength or weakness in combat directly determines the strength or weakness of national defense. During the past 30 years, generally speaking, our armed forces have proceeded on the basis of the needs of modern warfare and the realities of our armed forces. They have steadily strengthened and improved the education and training of military units and have been thorough in carrying out military scientific research. During the early 1960's, in particular, there was an upsurge in education and training. At that time, education was on a solid foundation, and military training was filled with vim and vigor. A very great upgrading of our military units' combat capabilities took place for the effective maintenance of the integrity and safety of the territory of the motherland. Later on, however, as a result of the disturbance caused by the Lin Biao gang, within a very short period of time education and training in the armed forces sustained extreme damage. Military training became a "forbidden zone" that no one dared touch. At that time, the views that "politics might be directed against the military" and that "devoting oneself to politics was safe while devoting oneself to military matters was dangerous" were in vogue for a while. Anyone who wanted to do military training might be labeled and beaten as a consequence. As a result,

military training was not strict, or at times even no training at all was given. Some soldiers had been in the armed forces for several years without ever touching a rifle, and some cadres could not lead troops. The combat capabilities of the whole armed forces declined markedly. After the toppling of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" continued to pursue an extremely "leftist" line, and military training personnel continued to dare not make inquiries. After taking responsibility for the work of the Military Affairs Commission in 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping faced up to the "gang of four's" abuse of power, placing himself in the position of possibly being struck down again and put beyond the pale. Unconcerned at being vilified for "staging a comeback" or for "resurgence," he applied dauntless revolutionary boldness of vision in a deep analysis of the current state of the armed forces and clearly noted that "the armed forces require 'consolidation' and that education and training should be placed in the position of a strategic problem." This important decision struck a sensitive nerve in the "gang of four," and he was subjected to their attacks and vilification. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping further analyzed the position in which the armed forces found themselves and the new problems that had arisen in the armed forces, incisively pointing out that "considerable problems currently exist in the armed forces. Numerous comrades worry whether the armed forces will be able to modernize smoothly or whether they will be able to fight in event of an enemy attack. Such fears are not without foundation." In view of the existing problems, he reiterated the need to raise education and training to a strategic position. In addition he put forward a series of concrete actions for giving attention to the education and training of the armed forces.

He raised the training and education of the armed forces to a strategic position and took a firm grip of the essentials of building the armed forces. Our military forces are an armed group for carrying out revolutionary political missions. In order to fulfill the mission of protecting the motherland given to them by the people, it is necessary to maintain fairly good military quality and fairly strong combat capabilities. But achieving fairly good military quality and fairly strong combat capabilities does not take place of its own accord. In the past, our armed forces went from small to large and from weak to strong. The fairly strong combat capabilities they possessed derived from tempering in actual warfare. Today, when there are no wars to fight, how can the military quality of commanders be improved? Through education and training, and through arduous peacetime study and exercises. Only through much training and much sweating in peacetime will it be possible to suffer less and spill less blood in wartime. This principle is very obvious. Naturally, whether commanders have a spirit of self-sacrifice is a major element in winning a complete victory in war. However, victory or defeat in warfare is not only decided by this point but also by the military quality and combat capabilities of the commanders. Only when there is a spirit of not fearing sacrifices, plus superb military skills and an ability to fight, can victory be won in warfare.



In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping raised not only the need for training but also raised the issue of who should be responsible for training. Because of the application of all kinds of advanced science and technology to military matters, modern warfare is more complex, more vast and more difficult to comprehend than warfare in the past. In military clashes, both sides always plan to use the newest scientific accomplishments to manufacture the most advanced weapons to fight at close quarters. Natural science's physical phenomena such as acoustics, electricity, light, magnetism and heat become methods for harassing, attacking or even defeating one's opponent. This means that members of the armed forces, particularly commanders, must possess a certain amount of knowledge of modern warfare. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that "company commanders of today differ from company commanders of the past. Company commanders of the past rushed forward waving a Mauser and shouting, 'Charge.' The knowledge requirements of company commanders today are much greater than in the past, to say nothing of the needs of cadres above company level." On the basis of this reality, he emphasized that the training of the armed forces should, first of all, consist of the diligent study of modern warfare. If one does not study but only relies on old principles from the past and mechanically applies the tactics of the past, he will certainly come to great grief. In addition, it is necessary to organize military units to "practice combined operations for all branches of service." In past wars, weapons were rudimentary, there was only one branch of the service, mobility was slight, only individual units cooperated and coordination did not seem so important. Today, with the advent of military units with large quantities of advanced weapons and equipment, coordination and cooperation appear particularly important. If coordination is poor and cooperation deficient, not only will it be impossible to fight to victory, but sometimes foes may be mistaken for friends and friends for foes. Therefore, the rapid upgrading of the skills of all branches of the services in conducting coordinated warfare is a top priority. Second, Comrade Deng Xiaoping called upon the military units themselves to study and train hard. In peacetime they should have strict requirements, strict training and strict organizational discipline. Inferior military skills and fairly high military quality are by no means unchangeable; they can be transformed. The requirement for such a transformation lies in hard study and hard training. Why did our army have a good style, a fine tradition and strong combat capabilities during the war years? It was fostered through hard study and training. Under new circumstances, when most young cadres and soldiers lack a spirit of dauntless struggle, even more attention must be devoted to hard study and training.

During the past several years, China's armed forces have diligently carried out Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction to "place education and training in a strategic position." Throughout the armed forces, military training and academic military study are geared to fighting a future war against aggression and geared to upgrading the units' quick reaction capabilities and their capabilities for coordinated combat. Training has changed from the former emphasis on training a single branch of the service to training all branches in coordinated warfare for the most part. The emphasis must shift from training single branches of the service primarily to training cadres,

particularly military commander cadres. Through strict requirements and strict training, the military quality of the armed forces will gradually rise. In north China during the autumn of 1981, China's armed forces successfully carried out a large-scale coordinated combat exercise in which the army and air force participated. This successful exercise demonstrated that after Comrade Deng Xiaoping had taken charge of the Military Affairs Commission, coordination among all services and quick reaction capabilities under modern conditions increased, and education and training in military units reached new heights.

9432

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## EAST REGION

### IMPORTANCE OF FOUR POLITICAL GUARANTEES STRESSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Staff Commentator: "Great Importance Must Be Attached to the Four Political Guarantees"]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress: "In a long period of time from now on until the end of the century which is at least 20 years, we must firmly grasp four kinds of work: To put through reforms of organizational structures and of economic systems and ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, and more knowledgeable and specialized, to build a socialist spiritual civilization, to crack down on criminal activities in the economic sphere and in other spheres which do harms to socialism, and to consolidate the party's workstyle and organizations on the basis of conscientious study of the new party constitution. This is the most important guarantee for us to concentrate our efforts to uphold the socialist road and to carry out the construction of the modernizations."

Why should these four aspects of our work be handled as the most important guarantee for us to uphold the socialist road and to carry out the construction of the modernizations? Marxism tells us that the economic foundation determines the superstructure, and the superstructure reflects the economic foundation. All these four aspects of our work belong to the superstructure. They are geared to the needs in the development of the economic foundation and serve the economic foundation. The 1980s is an important decade of the historical development of our party and our country. Speeding up the construction of socialist modernizations, striving for the realization of the unification of our motherland including Taiwan, and combating hegemony to safeguard world peace are the three primary tasks of our people in the 1980s. Of these three primary tasks, economic construction is the core which is the foundation for solving problems both at home and abroad. In order to speed up the construction of economic modernization, it is necessary to firmly grasp and do a good job in the work of the four guarantees. And reforms of both organizational structures and economic systems are the most important guarantees for achieving good results in economic construction. The reason is that the pace of economic construction in our country must keep up with the advancement of the reforms of both organizational structures and economic systems. Second, while we are engaged in the construction of a modern economy, we must insist on the socialist

direction and do whatever is beneficial to the consolidation and development of the socialist system. Moreover, besides the characteristics in both economic and political systems, another important feature of socialism is the socialist spiritual civilization of which the communist ideology is the core. Without a socialist spiritual civilization of this kind, it would be impossible to build socialism. This is an important development of scientific socialism derived from the report of the 12th CPC National Congress. Third, cracking down on criminal activities in the economic sphere and in other spheres which do harm to socialism is a protracted and constant struggle. Without waging a struggle, the construction of the four modernizations, the policy of opening to the world and reviving the domestic economy will come to nothing. Therefore, we must hold on two lines: On the one hand, we insist on opening to the outside world and on reviving the domestic economy and, on the other hand, we must crack down on serious criminal activities in the economic sphere. At the same time, we must combat various activities of criminal offense. This is a struggle between the enemy and ourselves in the political domain and a typical display of class struggle at the present stage. Fourth, the 12th CPC National Congress has decided to take 3 years to conduct a nationwide party consolidation in accordance with the stipulations of the party constitution. This is a common desire both inside and outside of our party. So long as we pay attention to and do a good job in the four political guarantees, can we help to smoothly attain the goal of the construction of socialist modernizations.

It has now been a full year since the 12th CPC National Congress. In the past year, party organizations at all levels and the masses of party members in our province have done a lot of work and have made great progress under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress. This must first be affirmed. However, we must also point out that, at present, there are still problems in the workstyle of our party, that a basic turn for the better in the general mood of society has not yet been realized and that, judged by problems exposed in criminal activities in the economic sphere and in other criminal offenses, (the bourgeois erosion is, to a certain extent, still a sharp contrast to our struggle against it.) Frankly speaking, the emergence of these problems is nothing to be afraid of. What is to be feared is that some people in the leadership do not have proper vigilance toward these problems, nor do they handle these problems vigorously. The political-ideological work is in a flabby state and the building of a socialist spiritual civilization in which communist ideology is regarded as the core has not been effectively carried out. They have even ignored erroneous ideologies and bourgeois germs of one kind or another and allowed them spread unchecked. As a result, certain ideological confusions have emerged. So long as these problems remain unsettled, there will be no guarantee for the three guarantees and there will be no way to talk about the four modernizations.

In order to resolve these problems, we must firmly grasp the four guarantees and do a good job in various aspects including carrying out vigorous political-ideological work. This will require the leadership at all levels to conscientiously study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," to integrate themselves with the reality of the present society, and to correctly understand and comprehend the existence and substantial reality of class struggle within a certain limit and a series of theoretical and practical questions associated with

it, such as that under the present condition of opening up to the outside world, bourgeois thinking is bound to penetrate into our country and that the struggle between the bourgeois erosion and our antierosion effort will exist for a long period of time, and so forth. As the way it is, we must have a clear understanding of the necessity to uphold the four basic principles, to strengthen political-ideological work, and to carry out the struggle between erosion and antierosion. As leading cadres on the ideological front, one who is flabby and soft in the face of these problems, or even turns a blind eye to them and lets them go unchecked constitutes an abandonment of the socialist position and a dereliction of political duty.

The present situation in our province is good and this is obvious to all of us. Nevertheless, all astute leaders know that the better the situation is, the more we should look at problems on the road on which we are forging ahead and make a full appraisal of twists and turns which we may encounter. In fact, no matter how good the situation is, there must be weak links. It is an art of leadership to proceed from actual conditions, to pay attention to weak links and to promote various kinds of work. If it is said that our political-ideological work has actually been weakened to some extent, of course we must undoubtedly strengthen our efforts. In order to build a socialism of the Chinese style, we have to have a general direction and a general goal to solve problems of one kind or another before us that will be advantageous to the prosperity and progress of the country and to the richness and happiness of the people. We can allow none of our work and measures to be diverted from this general direction and goal. And all these are for the realization of the magnificent ideal of communism. So long as our goal is clear and firm, or as long as we can remain soberminded, keep in mind the three tasks, pay attention to the four guarantees, uphold the four principles, and conscientiously strengthen the political-ideological work, our situation will definitely become better and better and our cause be able to advance victoriously.

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## EAST REGION

### FUJIAN PARTY MEMBERS STUDY NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Lu Aimin: "Two Million Party Members in Our Province Receive Education in New Party Constitution"]

[Text] This year our provincial party committees at all levels have organized all party members to study the new party constitution by running training classes in rotation and giving party lectures. Up to the end of September, 2 million party members in the cities and countryside generally received a systematic education.

The study of and education in the new party constitution was taken seriously by party committees at all levels and many leading party member cadres took the lead in studying, in investigating and researching, in giving lectures and in self-examination and comparing, and effectively improved the quality of education of party members.

Through this education, vast numbers of party cadres generally heightened their confidence in realizing the lofty ideal of communism. During the study, many comrades integrated their thinking, talked about their processes of understanding communism, reviewed the history of the international movements and the history of our party and confirmed that the ideal of communism was scientific, communist movements practical and the realization of communism inevitable. Many comrades stressed the need not to forget things: never to forget the goal of communism, never to forget the mission of communists, and never to forget the exemplary vanguard role of communists.

After studying the political consciousness of the vast numbers of party members in keeping with that of the party Central Committee was further heightened. Many comrades, especially leading comrades, reviewed their processes of understanding the series of general and specific policies of the party after the third congress of the party, and held that as for the issues of concentrating material and financial resources to insure the state's major constructions, of establishing responsibility for agricultural production, of carrying out and implementing the policies for intellectuals, of implementing a city-countryside system and of reforming organizational structures, they should further understand the spirit of the party Central Committee and heighten their political consciousness in keeping with the party Central Committee.

During the studies and education, vast numbers of party members used the party constitution as a mirror which they compared with and examined by, deeply understood the aim of serving the people wholeheartedly and heightened their consciousness of being qualified party members and cadres. Through the studies of the new party constitution, many comrades recognized that as party members and cadres they should not use their power to seek power and should not make demands on the party and the people; and communists should carry out the aim of the party, correctly handle the five relations between the public and the private, servants and masters, red and expert, life and death, and bitterness and happiness. Only in this way could they keep forever their vanguard nature and persist in making revolution throughout their lives. Many comrades showed that they would do credit to the image of the party and do their bit for the cause of the party.

After the education, vast numbers of party members and cadres became more confident of the realization of improving the party style as soon as possible, and increased their ability to resist and do away with unhealthy styles. Before the studies, some comrades lacked confidence in correcting the party style, blamed both higher and lower levels, and watched others. After the studies and education, they recognized that in order to establish a good party style it should be advocated and held that this should start as of now from the individual himself, from every leader and every unit, with everyone doing his bit, in order for this kind of style to be formed in the party. Some comrades who had made mistakes also corrected themselves to some degree.

After the CCP Central Committee made public its decision on consolidating the party organization, our provincial party organizations at all levels quickly organized the party members to study seriously, and combined the studies of "Decision" and "Deng Xiaoping's Selected Works" and the new party constitution closely, continued to make a better understanding of consolidating the party organization and tried to lay an ideological foundation for the overall consolidation of the party.

12564

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## EAST REGION

### DEMOCRATIC LIFE REGULARIZED IN ZHENJIANG

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "Democratic Life Within the Party Starts to Become Regularized and Systematized: Zhejiang Province's Party Committees at the County Level and Above Have Adopted the Implementation of the 'Party Constitution' and 'Standards'"]

[Text] Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and especially since this year, the democratic life of Zhejiang's party committees at the county level and above has become more perfect daily, is starting to become regularized and systematized, and is working as an ideological preparation for launching a comprehensive party consolidation.

The party committees (party organizations) of each prefecture, city, county and in each unit directly subordinate to the province, acted in accordance with the Central Committee's relevant directives, and commonly convened a democratic life meeting that had the redressing of party ways as its main topic. In the meeting, the main content centered around approaching the attitude of the party's line, plans and policies, supporting the circumstances of democratic centralism, not using political tactics for personal gain and opposing the defective bureaucracy. Integrating reality, comparing and inspecting, and carrying out criticism and self-criticism has consolidated party ways and enforced party discipline. In regard to the earlier stage of the democratic life meetings of Zhejiang's party committee at the county level and above, they all possess the following fresh characteristics: the ideological starting point is fairly high, one or two members take the lead in setting an example, speak frankly and sincerely, look upon others with absolute sincerity, do not strive for personal gain or loss, have their eyes on the overall situation of the four modernizations, and on the basis of differentiating between right and wrong, they unify while looking ahead and change while consolidating. This democratic life meeting convened with both solemn earnestness and vivid liveliness, and has achieved results in linking up thoughts, strengthening unity and redressing party ways.

We Have Further Corrected the Ideological Line and Strengthened Our Consciousness for Implementing the Party's Line, Plans and Policies.

From an inspection of the situation at each place, the majority of party members and leading members implement the party's line, plans and policies with resolute attitudes, act promptly, politically maintain views identical



to the Central Committee, and have caused every battle front to have achieved prominent success. Yet due to the influence of "leftist" thinking, individualism making trouble and ideological methods being on the wrong track, there are a few comrades whose recognition is comparatively slower, and within a period of time they have placed in a situation of not understanding and not benefiting. There was a leader of a local party committee at the democratic life meeting who criticizing himself said that because his thinking was in a backward situation, he caused the entire region to postpone 1 year the carrying out of a system of responsibility for agricultural production, dampened the enthusiasm of the masses and affected agricultural production. He normally uses this to show shame, that we should draw a lesson, enhance our consciousness to carry out the party's plans and policies, try hard to catch up and again achieve new accomplishments.

The Meeting Strengthen Democratic Centralism and Improved the Capability of the Leading Group. Zhejiang's party committees at the county level and above have looked into the problems of carrying out democratic centralism. Some towards this type of large problem discuss but do not resolve, resolve but do not implement, and some leading groups are unsatisfactory in their democratic ways and have affected unity. There are also a few party committees that are lax and weak, and do not dare to take action and to discipline unhealthy trends and evil practices. Through the meeting on democratic life, most committees perfected both democratic centralism and the division of labor with individual responsibility. There were changes in unhealthy trends and evil practices, and they improved their capability. The leading members of the Linan County Committee directly aided by the Hangzhou Municipal Party Committee had a confidential exchange of views, cast off their "colored spectacles" and supported "heart to heart exchanges." They consciously engaged in criticism and self-criticism, and competently solved the problem of unity. At the meeting they swore to say nothing that is not advantageous to unity, to do nothing that is not conducive to unity. We must cherish party unity as we cherish our most vital possession. After this, the county party committee was unified as one in their struggle, and there was new improvement in their work.

We Have Investigated and Corrected Unhealthy Tendencies, and Further Rectified Party Ways. In the democratic life meeting, the members of Zhejiang's party committees at the county level and above, according to the requirements of "Standards," the party constitution and the Central Discipline Commission's "Open letters," earnestly investigated their own unhealthy tendencies in housing, illegal conversion of farm land, recruitment of workers, promotions, transfers and other problems. Many comrades made sincere self-criticisms and corrected their actions. There are two noted members of the standing committee at the county level, one of whom returned a woman's house "taken for personal gain," and one who asked the relevant party organization to deal with the problem of his wife entering the party not in accordance with the procedures stipulated in the party constitution. Their action of changing upon becoming aware of their mistakes has changed all the adverse effects that have formed among the people. At the same time that we convened the democratic life meeting, many party committees made a check-up of the unhealthy tendencies of their own units and departments, have studied and formulated a few measures for correcting and being on the lookout, and have energetically promoted the further improvement of party ways.

12437

CSO: 4005/255

## EAST REGION

### CALLS FOR VIGOROUS EFFORTS IN BUILDING TWO CIVILIZATIONS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 7 Jul 83 p 1

[Article: "Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403] Conveys Calls To Implement the Spirit of the National People's Congress and To Exert Efforts To Push Forward the Two Civilizations in Shanghai at the Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Lijiao conveyed the spirit of the first meeting of the Sixth National People's Congress to the second meeting of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress held yesterday. He pointed out that the first meeting of the Sixth National People's Congress is very significant in developing a stable and united political situation and in reviving our nation's economy. Our city of Shanghai must conscientiously propagandize and implement the spirit of the conference to make the contributions it should in realizing the various tasks proposed by the conference.

Deputy chairman of the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Congress Shi Ping [2457 1627], and He Yixiang [0149 0110 4382], Di Yingxiang [3695 2529 5980], Wang Tao [3769 3447], Liu Jingji [0491 7231 1015], Wu Ruohan [0702 5387 1344], Li Peinan [2621 1014 0589], Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823] and Liu Nianzhi [0491 1819 2535] attended the meeting.

Shanghai's deputy mayor Zhu Zongbao [1612 1350 5508], Li Zhaoji [2621 5128 1015], Ni Tianzeng [0242 1131 1073], Ye Gongqi [0673 0361 3823], deputy chairman of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], Song Richang [1345 2480 2490], Yang Shifa [2799 1102 3127], Jing Renqiu [7231 0117 4428], Xu Yifang [1776 0110 2658], Ye Shuhua [0673 0674 5478], Tang Junyuan [0781 0689 6678], Dong Yinchu [5516 1377 0443] and members of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Political Consultative Conference attended the meeting.

Also attending the meeting were chief of the city's Superior People's Court Hua Liankui [5478 5114 1145], chief procurator of the city's People's Procuratorate Wang Xing [3769 5281], the responsible people of the commissions, offices, bureaus, wards, standing committees and the people's governments of the counties, the city committee's Propaganda Department and the news agencies.

After Hu Lijiao, chairman of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress, conveyed in detail the spirit of the first meeting of the Sixth National

People's Congress, he expressed opinions on how Shanghai should implement the spirit of the congress.

Comrade Hu Lijiao said that the opening remarks by Peng Zhen, the talks by Comrade Li Xiannian and Comrade Peng Zhen at the closing ceremony and the "Government Administrative Report" by Premier Zhao Ziyang are all very important documents. We must conscientiously study them. The study and propaganda of the report by Premier Zhao Ziyang must be joined with the study and propaganda of the spirit of the party's 12th congress and the fifth meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress and combined with the propaganda and implementation of the new constitution. We must conscientiously organize the study of "The Selected Works by Deng Xiaoping" and deepen our understanding of the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Congress and of the important meaning of realizing fundamental changes in the guiding ideology. We must tightly combine efforts with the actual situation and conscientiously organize the study and the propaganda of the documents of the congress so that the fundamental spirit of the congress will be understood by the broad masses of people.

Comrade Hu Lijiao said that we must insist on implementing the spirit of the report by Premier Zhao Ziyang and push forward our city's buildup of the "two civilizations." He said that Mayor Wang Daohan [3076 6670 3211] pointed out in his government administrative report delivered to the first meeting of the city's Eighth People's Congress that during the latter 3 years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan, Shanghai must continue to implement the principle of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading and open up rapidly the requirements of the new situation to "push forward externally, establish links internally, reform and develop." He also proposed developmental tasks for the next 3 years in production and circulation, in urban affairs and transportation, in science and technology and in education and culture so that Shanghai's total annual industrial and agricultural production value will quadruple by the end of this century and so that more contributions to the nation in realizing the quadrupling can be made. This coincides with the spirit of the report by Premier Zhao and the actual situation in Shanghai. We must complete our city's 1983 plans on an overall basis and with surpluses and exert efforts to push forward the buildup of Shanghai's "two civilizations."

Comrade Hu Lijiao said that we must strengthen the buildup of the city's People's Congress and its Standing Committee and develop the functions of the local national power organs. The city's People's Congress and its Standing Committee should grasp tightly and well the efforts to guarantee that the constitution is obeyed and implemented within this administrative region as an important task in strengthening socialist democracy and building a system of law, and we should implement the efforts at places where they are needed. In strengthening socialist democracy and building a system of law, we must also concretely strengthen local legislation. At present, we must draw up some economic laws and laws concerning urban construction to adapt to the needs of our city's economic construction and urban construction. The Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress must also strengthen its own construction, make sound the organizational agencies and better carry out the powers of the local national power agencies.

Members of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress attending the meeting enthusiastically discussed the conveyance report by Comrade Hu Lijiao.

Yesterday's meeting also passed the decision concerning the establishment of a Personnel Work Committee. The decision pointed out that the Personnel Work Committee of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress works under the leadership of the Standing Committee. The Personnel Work Committee of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress and the Delegates' Qualification Review Committee of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress will work in the same office. The members of the Delegates' Qualification Review Committee of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress are concurrently members of the Personnel Work Committee of the Standing Committee of the city's People's Congress.

The meeting also passed items concerning personnel assignments.

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CSO: 4005/1046

## EAST REGION

### EDITORIAL ON PUBLIC SECURITY WORK

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Public Security Work Must Be Grasped Very Tightly"]

[Text] The Shanghai Committee of the Communist Party of China held a citywide public security work conference yesterday in accordance with the spirit of the National Public Security Work Conference and the Telephone Conference of the Central Political and Legal Committee. This conference will serve an important promotional function in implementing the principle of comprehensive control on an overall basis, in fully developing the duties and functions of the political and legal departments, in striving to improve this city's social security further, in guaranteeing social stability in Shanghai and in guaranteeing the construction of the four modernizations and the people's benefits.

The party organizations at all levels throughout the city must actively implement the spirit of the conference, concretely strengthen comprehensive control, tightly grasp and grasp well the present work in social security. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Congress, the party and administrative organizations at each level throughout the city have strengthened their leadership, and with the joint efforts of the broad masses, the public security cadres, policemen and security personnel, Shanghai's social mood and law and order have gradually improved over the years. The number of criminal cases and major criminal cases in 1982 showed a drop of 33.5 percent and 22.2 percent from 1981. Around spring vacation this year, Shanghai's security situation was also good. But after March of this year, the city's security showed ups and downs, and the number of major criminal cases increased. Some repeat criminal offenders, those released from labor reform, people relieved from labor education and criminal rings have become rampant again. Some even harmed militiamen on duty and members of workers public order guards. Public order at coffeehouses, Western food restaurants, night food stands, bus and train stations, harbors, open markets and such public places is not good. Trouble caused by drunks, unruly conduct, distortion and bullying and gambling and stealing has frequently occurred. Sabotage activities by counterrevolutionary elements also increased. Facts show that we must have a clear estimate of the present security situation in this city. We must see to it that social security improves visibly, and we must also see to it that some new situations and new problems worth our attention emerge in social security. We must not relax our guard.

Shanghai is a large open city. Security work must be grasped very tightly at every moment and it cannot be relaxed. Problems will occur as soon as it is relaxed. We must see that after entering a new historical period, class struggle still exists within a definite realm, and, therefore, we must never be careless about the various types of sabotage by counterrevolutionary elements, criminals and the remnant forces of the "Gang of Four." We must estimate more fully the lengthy nature, the complexity and the difficulty of security problems. We must not become negligent and insensitive as soon as the public security situation improves. The Central Committee has again and again reminded us it is not a fearful thing that activities to sabotage the socialist system occur in politics, the economy, culture and social life. What is frightening is that many of our comrades do not have a clear Marxist understanding of the sabotage activities by enemy elements. They look but do not see the various activities in real life that damage the safety of the party and the state. They listen but do not hear, they are insensitive and they are disarmed ideologically. We must remember well the warning by the Central Committee to be alert at all times, heighten the combat capability of public security troops and exert efforts to continue to improve public security in society.

Several years of practice prove that implementing comprehensive control is an effective principle in striving toward fundamentally improving social security and guaranteeing the long-term control and long-term security of the nation, and it is also a new development in the good tradition of combining the special work and the mass line under the leadership of the party committee. In the implementation of the principle of comprehensive control, three aspects must be grasped at present: One is the implementation of leadership. The leadership of each ward, department and unit must include comprehensive control in the daily agenda and regard comprehensive control as one's own duty. There must be leading comrades in charge of this work. They must constantly supervise their subordinates, conduct inspections and conduct exchanges of experience. Party and administrative organizations at the basic-level units must also conscientiously grasp public security work. They must not say it is important but consider it not important when doing the work. The second is the implementation of organization. The guard units and the public security units of the masses, the mediating organizations and the workers guards of each unit must be further strengthened. This is the organizational guarantee to implement comprehensive control. In the reform of agencies, the guard organizations must not be weakened. We must pay attention to protecting the political and ideological caliber of the cadres. Those who do not perform their duties well must be transferred in time. Socialist factory enterprises should shoulder the responsibility of protecting economic construction. They must continue to support the work of the workers guards and guarantee the quantity and the quality of the rank and file. The third is the implementation of measures. Each unit must concretely implement such comprehensive control measures as striking at bad elements, exercising prevention and management, providing education, carrying out reforms and implementing the public security guard responsibility system where they are needed. It must concretely strengthen all administrative management measures and reorganize and maintain public order. It must strengthen the control of guns, ammunition and explosives and continue to recover weapons of crime. It must conscientiously do well the work of reeducating and rehabilitating those who have erred and prevent the repetition of

crimes. Factory enterprises must establish and make sound the public security protection responsibility system and implement it to the shift and the individual. They must strengthen the buildup of self-governing organizations, mediating organizations and public security and protection organizations of the masses; develop the enthusiasm of the masses in being the masters so that comprehensive control work can be truly established on a broad and solid mass foundation; fully develop the superiority of the masses; and effectively prevent and reduce crimes. At the same time, we must further strengthen propaganda of rule by law. We should emphatically point out that the building of socialist spiritual civilization is the fundamental measure to realize a fundamental improvement in social behavior and social security. The cultural, artistic, journalistic and publishing departments must insist on using the ideology of patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism to educate the people and oppose the harmful trends of "looking toward money in everything" and not caring about social results. We must grasp well the moral education of youths, protect the healthy growth of youths and be alert to the opposing forces at home and abroad which are competing against us to seize our next generation.

Firmly striking at criminal activities forcefully and in time is an important aspect in comprehensive control which cannot be neglected. The political and legal agencies at each level throughout the city must fully develop the function of exercising dictatorship over the enemy and guaranteeing democracy. The efforts to strike at serious criminal activities at present must be strict, and security and control must also be strict. We must strike in time at the counterrevolutionary activities that are scheming vicious acts and be firm in suppressing them. We must insist on the principle of severely and quickly punishing major contemporary criminals according to the law and forcefully strike down rampant crime. If strictness is not exercised when needed, we will not be able to warn the bad forcefully and protect the people. Of course, strictness must still follow the law. The political, legal and public security departments must exert all efforts, fight intensely, quickly handle all types of emergency cases in combat, grasp enemy information and various types of public security situations in time and firmly stop and strike at various types of criminal activities.

The effort to grasp social security work tightly and well must be emphasized by the whole party and carried out by the whole party. All political and legal agencies should coordinate closely and move in coordination. We must further unify the ideology and activity of the broad number of party members and cadres throughout the city, use a high sense of revolutionary responsibility to treat social security and greatly strengthen ideological and political work so that the style of party and social behavior will improve further. At present, there is a situation worth noting, that is, the deviating style of work that protects the criminals and the criminal elements that take advantage of the deviating style of work. Therefore, we must emphasize correction of the party style of work and reorganize the nation so that criminal elements will not find loopholes to enter. Comrades fighting on the political and legal front, you shoulder the glorious and direct task of maintaining social security and order, safeguarding the nation's safety and protecting the construction of the four modernizations. The people of the whole city sincerely hope you can lift up your spirits, fight courageously and make greater contributions to realize further improvements in this city's social security!

EAST REGION

FUZHOU 'COURTESY MONTH' ACTIVITIES

Launching of Program

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 83 p 1

[Article: "Fuzhou Is Ready To Launch 'Courtesy Month' Activities To Promote Patriotism and Establishment of Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] During National Day celebrations, Fuzhou will launch an intensive program of propaganda and educational activities to promote patriotism. The chief activities are:

--In conjunction with the present campaign to deal a serious blow to criminal activities, the city is to muster all its resources to initiate an extensive and intensive patriotic and law-abiding educational campaign among the cadres and the masses and launch "five stresses, four beauties and three ardent loves" activities in order to promote the establishment of a spiritual civilization.

--The city is to launch an intensive propaganda campaign to publicize the decisions made by the party Central Committee and the State Council regarding the need to devote our financial and material resources to key projects of construction; educate the cadres and the masses so that they learn to give top priority to the public interest and the welfare of the nation; deal correctly with the relationships among the state, the collectives and individuals; and direct their efforts toward the fulfillment or overfulfillment of the quota set by the state and other tasks.

--The city is to go one step further in launching reading and speaking activities to promote the "revitalization of China" and to stir up the patriotic fervor of the vast masses in general and the young in particular.

--The various universities, middle schools, primary schools and kindergartens are to launch educational propaganda activities by raising the national flag, singing the national anthem, classroom teaching, making reports on specific topics, making observation visits, organizing group activities and soliciting essays in celebration of National Day.

--The various mass organizations are to organize the progressive personages worthy of emulation on the various battle lines, democratic figures, Chinese nationals residing abroad, our compatriots in Hong Kong and Macao and on



Taiwan and returned overseas Chinese and representatives of the national minorities to hold discussion meetings in order to talk freely about the favorable situation since the establishment of the republic 34 years ago, especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and to make further contributions to the unification of our fatherland and to the four modernizations projects of construction.

--The city is to organize the masses to engage in a patriotic public health cleanup campaign and to give the city a new look in time to celebrate National Day in a joyous manner.

#### Critic Airs Views

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 83 p 1

[Article by commentator: "We Must Boldly Engage in 'Decorum and Courtesy Month' Activities To Achieve Concrete Results"]

[Text] The second "decorum and courtesy month" activities for the year have been initiated in the cities and villages throughout the province. The proper launching of these activities, which are centered around education to promote patriotism, will bring the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization in our province to new heights and add to the luster of the 34th National Day celebrations.

These "decorum and courtesy month" activities are being initiated at a propitious time when a successful blow has been dealt to criminal activities and when there is a considerable degree of stability in society. The vast masses, filled with jubilation, have voiced their urgent demand that advantage should be taken of this opportune moment to go a step further in putting the overall situation in society in better order and in improving the social climate. The present situation has created the most favorable conditions for the launching of "decorum and courtesy month" activities. Those in party and government leadership positions at various levels must strengthen their leadership, proceed from facts, do a good piece of work in planning and deployment and infuse the "decorum and courtesy month" activities with the revolutionary fervor of the vast masses.

From the organizational leadership point of view, whether favorable results will follow the launching of these activities depends on whether we have the courage to adopt a course of action and on how well we acquit ourselves in following this course of action. Having the courage to take a course of action means having the courage to do vigorously and speedily what must be done from start to finish. One major factor accounting for the great victory achieved in dealing a blow to criminals is that those in leadership positions stood their ground in adopting a resolute stand and a vigorous course of action. The congestion of the Fuzhou-Xiamen-Zhangzhou Highway had been a problem of long standing. Complaints made over a number of years had fallen on deaf ears. This time, those in leadership positions at various levels in the provincial party committee, the provincial government and various localities along the highway, after making an on-the-spot study, instituted remedial

measures which soon opened up the flow of traffic. The work of establishing a spiritual civilization calls for the reform of social habits and customs, the destruction of the old and the establishment of the new. Efforts to replace discourtesy with courtesy will be opposed by old ideas and old habits and will even be met with disruptive and destructive forces posed by the antagonistic classes. For this reason, it will be most difficult to achieve the results desired if there is a lack of courage to engage in struggles, a vigorous and resolute workstyle and the determination to pursue an objective to its conclusion. Also, we must approach our tasks according to a proper plan. There are many things that need to be done. We have arduous tasks to perform in the economic field. We must continue to deal a blow to criminal activities and must not relax in our work on family planning. In addition, such tasks as the adoption of relentless measures to counter evil trends and to improve public order in society are both pressing and arduous. Those in leadership positions at various levels are required to center their work in the economic field around this context, have a proper program for various kinds of work, motivate the positive attitude of the various departments, share the work, cooperate and wage a concerted battle so that we may approach our numerous tasks in a systematic manner.

In initiating "decorum and courtesy month" activities, it is important that we place the emphasis on actual results and on practical matters. It is necessary to use patriotism and education in communist ideology as motive forces to push forward various kinds of work, promote courtesy and good manners, improve the attitude of service, upgrade environmental sanitation and create good public order. Through ideological education and a heightening of the sense of awareness, all these can be brought about without spending of money or even a great deal of money. While it is true that certain cultural facilities require the expenditure of money, every effort should be made to reduce such expenditures to the minimum. Thrift and hard work are themselves the virtues of a civilized society. Extravagance and waste are the marks of a wastrel and not of a civilization. We should stop raising a hullabaloo in what we do, paying merely lip service and doing something just to get past inspection by higher authorities. If we immerse ourselves in hard work and complete every task we set out to do, we can count on the endorsement and support of the masses and be sure that "decorum and courtesy month" activities will flourish with vigor.

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## EAST REGION

### SYMPOSIUM CRITICIZES CAPITALIST HUMANITARIANISM

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "Uphold the Fundamental Theories of Marxism and Leninism, Resist and Eliminate Cultural Contamination: A Symposium of a Section of Fujian's Social Scientists Has Criticized the Advocation of the Mistaken Viewpoints of Capitalist Humanitarianism and 'Socialist Alienation,' and Has Indicated that It Will Play a Role in the Struggle to Eliminate Cultural Contamination."]

[Text] In the symposium on eliminating cultural contamination held by Fujian Province's Philosophy-Social Sciences Joint Conference on 9 November, a number of Fujian's social scientists, in regard to philosophy, economics, literature and other fields, criticized the advocacy of the mistaken viewpoints of capitalist humanitarianism and "socialist alienation," and analyzed the circumstances and dangers of cultural contamination. They unanimously felt that the CPC Central Committee's policy decisions concerning the elimination of cultural contamination are perfectly correct and timely. The social scientists must play an enthusiastic role in the elimination of cultural contamination.

Weng Shicheng [5040 0013 4141], an assistant professor of the Philosophy-Teaching and Research Section of the Provincial Party Committee School, says that in theoretical circles there are a few people advocating that the "alienation theory" is the basis of Marxist philosophy, and this is wrong. When Marx formed his own theories, he used the alienation theory as a "walking stick." But in the ripe systematic theory, Marx did consider alienation theory to be a major category. Conversely, he proceeded from solipsism, and made a scientific explanation for the alienation phenomenon of capitalist society. He felt that communism (including socialism) is the negation of alienation. Neither Engels nor Lenin utilized this concept of alienation. Thus, they felt that the political, economic and ideological alienation that exists in socialist society has its roots in the standpoint of the socialist system, and it violates Marxism. Advocating this type of mistaken viewpoint can only lead people to doubt and negate the socialist system.

Chen Zheng [7115 1794], head of the "Das Kapital" Study Committee at the High Level Teachers College and Chairman of the Politics and Religion Department at Fujian Teachers College, says that "Das Kapital" is an important economic work by Marx, and has major guiding significance for the four modernizations. There are a few people in theoretical circles who in studying

"Das Kapital", do not use it to guide socialist construction, but talk in length about the "historical limitations" of "Das Kapital." In fact, they say that "Das Kapital" is "out of date." What Marx clearly utilized was the law of dynamic equilibrium, but some say that it is a "static analysis," and there are also those who stubbornly insist that it has "surplus value." Fundamental Marxist theories must be upheld, and are not problems of "contention." Alienation is also discussed in "Das Kapital," but it is different from that which is discussed in "1844 Economics--A Philosophical Manuscript". In "Manuscript", Marx does not think to use the concept of alienation to study capitalism when establishing his entire theoretical system. But at that time his idealist concept of history was still in a period of being established, and his theory of scientific surplus value had not been formed. Later, in "Das Kapital," Marx used commodities, currency, capital, surplus value, profit and other categories, and established a new theoretical system of scientific surplus value, and it replaced his original exposition on alienation in "Manuscript." The alienation discussed in "Das Kapital" uses the private system of ownership and class exploitation as its premise. The targets of research were only limited to capitalism. Currently, there are people who say that "socialist alienation" runs entirely counter to Marx's viewpoints. They say that socialism still has surplus value, and this seems close to the viewpoint of "socialist alienation" that is spoken of in philosophy. If we acknowledge that socialism still has surplus value, then we must acknowledge that the labor force of socialist society is a commodity, and acknowledge private ownership and exploitation. Chen Zheng pointed out that people, when studying foreign views and experience, are not analytical but accept things as a whole. The result is that they take the ideology and viewpoint of the bourgeoisie and consider them to be correct, and they look upon them as the standard for times of peace and prosperity. This is a problem that is very much worth paying attention to.

Zheng Song [6774 2646], assistant professor in the Chinese Department at Fujian Teachers College, says that a remarkable manifestation of cultural contamination on the front of literature and art is the advocacy of the so-called "rise of the new principle of aesthetics." Its core advocates not to disdain to express the daily struggles and signal contributions of the people, advocates "expressing yourself," and its other theories mainly come from the subjective idealism of the modern western bourgeoisie, such as existentialism. The first mistaken crux of "expressing yourself" is advocating "opposition to rationality" and "irrationality." It negates the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, denying the communist ideological base of socialist literature and art, and preaching reliance on determination or latent determination to guide creative work. The second is opposing going right into the thick of life, opposing integrating with the people, advocating the expression of individual heart-felt feelings, and providing a rational foundation for erroneous ideas of every description. The third mistaken crux is denying the tradition of struggle in which revolutionary literature and art are intimately linked with the people which arose after the "May Fourth Movement" especially after the "Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," and denying the direction of our literature and art serving the people and socialism. This not only creates serious chaos in theory, but also produces an abominable effect on our written works.

Prof Tan Renmei [2905 0088 2734], head of the Education and Scientific Research Institute at Fujian University, says that Fujian is carrying out the policy of opening up to the outside world, and that at the same time that it is bringing in advanced technology, bourgeoisie decadent ideology has also seized the opportunity to enter. It has produced in some young people the ideology of worshiping and having blind faith in foreign things. Some youths see decadent videotapes, and take the road to committing immoral crimes. We cannot tolerate the poison of cultural contamination in young people. The elimination of cultural contamination is related to the growing up of the younger generation, is related to what type of successors we are nurturing, and is related to the large problem of the future and fate of the nation and the party.

He suggests that propaganda and education departments increase the carrying out of patriotic and communist education for young people, and in a planned way to launch a book reading movement.

Both Zhang Gexin [1728 2706 1800], advisor to the Provincial People's Government and chairman of the conference, and Yang Huaqi [2799 5478 1015], assistant director of the Propaganda Department of the provincial party committee, made speeches at the symposium. They pointed out that under the guidance of the correct lines and plans since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, Fujian's theoretical circles have been quite active this year, the accomplishments have been major, and the main aspects are good. However, the existence of cultural contamination cannot be ignored. The elimination of cultural contamination is related to the destiny and future of the peoples of China, and is related to the important matter of victory or defeat. We must adopt a serious and earnest attitude. Acting as a joint organized system of the mass organization of Fujian's social science circles, the conference has the responsibility to go and aid party government organizations at all levels to launch this struggle, and has the responsibility to mobilize and organize members of all learned societies and research societies to respond to the party's call and make a contribution to the elimination of cultural contamination. The elimination of cultural contamination does not work like a campaign, but adopts the methods of criticism and self-criticism, and solves the confusion in the ideological battlefield. We must differentiate between the elimination of cultural contamination within the ranks and the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, and between creating and spreading lewd videotapes and other criminal behavior. Currently, the key is to study the Central Committee's documents, and be brave in engaging in criticism and self-criticism. At the same time we must, by means of this struggle, nurture a theoretical study and propaganda contingent that is adept at countering cultural contamination.

This symposium was presided over by Ming Zufan [2495 4371 0146], vice-chairman of the provincial conference.

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CSO: 4005/255

EAST REGION

## ELIMINATION OF CULTURAL CONTAMINATION DISCUSSED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 83 p 1

[Article: "Correctly Carry Out Criticism, Bravely Engage in Self-Criticism; A discussion of the Elimination of Cultural Contamination."]

[Text] Launching an enthusiastic ideological struggle and carrying out earnest criticism and self-criticism is an important policy for both overcoming leadership's weak situation on its ideological front and for solving the problem of cultural contamination. The CPC Central Committee in a symposium on the problems with the ideological front, pointed out that the phenomenon of a few capitalist liberal tendencies and weaknesses in leadership exists in theoretical as well as literary and art circles. Yet the correct and effective method for overcoming this type of situation is to pluck up our spirit and carry out criticism and self-criticism. After that symposium, the situation was a little better, yet the problem has not been completely solved. In the process of eliminating cultural contamination, as soon as some comrades hear that they must engage in ideological struggle and carry out criticism and self-criticism, they still have doubts and fears, and worry whether they will be "punished with the stick" and whether they will be acting "leftist."

We are always opposed to "punishing with the stick." Having a "leftist" standpoint, exaggeration and ruthless struggle are not able to solve the problem of ideological struggle and cannot cause those being criticized to be convinced. In light of the lessons of history, the CPC Central Committee early on clearly said that this type of exaggeration and indiscriminate bashing "will never work, it must not work." In solving the ideological problems of party members and among the people and solving the problem of contradictions within the people, we should only depend on deep and meticulous ideological work and on earnest criticism and self-criticism. The Central Committee pointed out that in participating in discussions and criticisms we must carry out entirely reasonable and fair analyses, and should not be impartial and use force to pressure people. Also, the Central Committee especially pointed out that they must give comrades with mistakes time to earnestly ponder things over, and allow them to engage in a fair, reasonable and clear argument and factual reply. After they have carried out self-criticism, they must be encouraged and welcomed, and should not be picked on. These requirements are really to avoid such past simple and one-sided as well as excessively crude so-called criticism, and prevents "punishment with the stick."

However, the main problem of the present ideological struggle is that rightist tendencies are not properly corrected, and an effective struggle is lacking for the liberalized bourgeoisie. A few comrades are culturally contaminated, yet they do not allow other people to criticize. Once they are criticized, they take unkindly to it, resist it and oppose it. The people criticizing do not strike with a stick, yet the person being criticized hits people with a stick and is savage. Those who are culturally contaminated do not permit the party and the people to get rid of the contamination, to the point that they do not allow people to bring up different ideas; this can never be said to be a normal phenomenon! We advocate letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Yet we will never reject normal criticism and self-criticism, and we will never say regarding a few basic and highly principles problems that we can depart from the fundamental tenets of Marxist theory. Can only allowing the "capitalist" ideological viewpoint to "blossom" and not allowing Marxism to "contend" be the same as implementing the policy of the "two hundreds?" The policy of the "two hundreds" itself embodies criticism and self-criticism; without comparison and without debate there is no distinction between truth and falsehood, and there is also no true letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend.

In ideological struggle, engaging in criticism and self-criticism is normal and everyday work. Our party says: running water is never stale and a door-hinge never gets worm-eaten. Regular criticism and self-criticism really is a necessary healthy state of flourishing art and literature and liberated thought of socialism. Conversely, once the literary world is mired in stagnant water, it is most difficult to have a vivid and vigorous flourishing scene; rather, it is very possible that all types will appear that will oppose the "liberated" and "flourishing" microorganism of socialism. These arguments have been talked about for a good many years, yet it seems as if they have not gotten into the heads of a few comrades, who are usually out of touch with reality and rely on their own wisdom. As soon as a problem rouses the party's attention, and the necessary criticism is carried out, they have all kinds of misgivings, and fear another "pogrom". This type of refusing criticism and fearing criticism and is not an honest attitude. In fact, the criticism of art and literature is produced together with the art and literature itself. In ancient and modern times, when has it ceased? Life influences people's thinking, and ideology influences people's lives. If we have different lives, we have different ideology, and criticism between us will necessarily arise. It is exactly this type of criticism that makes our cause particularly young. Our party is continuously engaging in criticism and self-criticism. Our economic front also often criticizes and redresses errors from the high levels to the grass roots or from the grass roots to the high levels. Comparatively, the criticism and self-criticism in ideological and cultural struggles is definitely inferior. Comrades in their work in ideological struggle must recognize this type of backward situation, but should not nurse the slightest grievance.

The elimination of cultural contamination is not a struggle aimed at any particular person, but is a struggle aimed at bourgeoisie decadent thought and other mistaken thought. We are eliminating this pollution in order to purify the ideological field of socialism, and also to cause any comrades

with mistakes to bear in mind the experiences and lessons, and again lay bare the spiritual look of socialist ideological champions. Thus, eliminating spiritual pollution is reasonable both for the people and for any individual comrades who commit errors, and it sincerely helps and rescues them. If we do not do it this way, do not criticize upon seeing errors, do not educate, but only kowtow and tolerate, this will only harm people. In our ideological and cultural circles, there is no lack of extremely gifted young people. When they have written a fairly good work or performed a good act, we often flatter them greatly, and there is little ardent guidance. Even when a few unhealthy tendencies appear, we continue to flatter them and shield their shortcomings, until we have finally harmed them. The lesson of this type of "flattering to death" must not be forgotten. Comrades who have committed errors should not have a spiritual state of suffering from rectification. Severe criticism can cause us momentarily to be bitter. When we recognize our errors and come close to the truth, we can feel that this is the proper care.

We must do a good job of carrying out criticism and self-criticism, and from the point of view of the criticizers, we must do three things. First, we must make a clear study of the problems of criticism, and based on objective reality, make a scientific analysis. Second, this type of criticism must proceed from ardent and unified aspirations, be in the style of comrades, and be beneficial towards people. Third, criticism must convince people by force of argument and move people through the soul, and this is the so-called being both reasonable and fair. Being reasonable is suiting reason, having sufficient grounds for views and speaking in a rational and convincing way. Fair means accurately understanding the state of mind of the comrades being criticized, and using words from the bottom of the heart to totally convince the person being criticized. The comrade being criticized must genuinely accept the criticism, make definite the mission and be strict with himself. The champion of ideological and cultural struggles must be an engineer of men's souls. When writing, painting, singing and composing poetry, we should see and hear not only ourselves, but we must consider society and use these to influence people. We must consider social results and the effects produced on our socialist system and the people. Our work cannot help but be analyzed, compared and discussed by the people. Correcting an error upon becoming aware of it is a manifestation of an ideological and cultural champion being conscious of his own responsibilities.

When criticism and self-criticism have been launched, well, and the problem of eliminating cultural contamination is easily solved.

12437

CSO: 4005/255



## EAST REGION

### FUJIAN SUPPORTS GOVERNMENT EFFORT TO REDEEM CRIMINALS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 83 p 1

[Article by Cai Guicun [5591 3802 2625], Rao Shanghao [7437 1424 6275] and Huang Guixing [7806 2710 5281]: "Fujian Sends Criminals to Border Areas For Labor Reform"]

[Text] Recently, judicial and public security departments of Fuzhou, Xiamen, Sanming, Zhangzhou and Quanzhou Municipalities sent a number of criminal offenders who had done serious harms to social security to the northwestern border areas for labor reform. Some of these criminals' residence registrations in these municipalities have been canceled.

Most of these criminals have resisted reform, refused to mend their ways despite repeated admonition, taken to their heels, or been continuing to commit crimes since being released after serving a previous sentence.

According to responsible persons of departments concerned, sending offenders who have committed serious crimes to border areas for labor reform is an important measure to implement the "Decision on Carrying Out Severe Punishment Against Criminals Having Done Serious Damage to Social Security" adopted at the Second Session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth National People's Congress. Exercising compulsory labor for criminals is a specific action for strictly enforcing the socialist legal system and triumphing over the majority of criminals through labor reform.

Prior to their escorted journey to border areas, the judicial and security departments in these places conducted education for them to plead guilty and to obey the law. The departments told them of our policies, spoke to them about their future, and asked them to forsake darkness for light and to thoroughly remold themselves in order to strive for reforming into new people advantageous to both society and the people. Prior to their departure, judicial and public security departments in various places also specifically made arrangements to let these criminals meet separately with their family members. Their family members generally gave them well-meaning advice and urged them to uphold and support government decisions and are grateful to the government for redeeming the criminals.

A cadre of the Fuzhou Municipal CPC Committee had parting words of advice to his son who was being sent to border areas for labor reform: "Knowing the crime you have recommitted today, you must show repentance for turning a deaf ear to upbringing in the past. The government is handling this matter in an absolutely correct manner. Now you are going to the border areas so you must feel at ease to receive reform, plead guilty, obey the law and be ready to listen to instructions. It is hoped that you will become a new person in the future."

Prior to departure, labor reform organs in various places also distributed new quilts, clothing, shoes and hats that are enough to keep the cold out. Appropriate arrangements were also made to take care of the criminals' daily life and medical services for them on their way to border areas. This is a manifestation of the revolutionary humanitarian spirit of the people's government.

The broad masses have expressed their enthusiastic support of the decision made by the judicial and public security departments. They said that this matter has been handled well. It enjoys popular support and complies with the will of the people. We are resolutely in support of it!

9560

CSO: 4005/204

## EAST REGION

### ROTATIONAL TRAINING STRESSED FOR PARTY CONSOLIDATION

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Oct 83 p 1

[Text] Up to the end of September, 90 percent of the party members in the organizations subordinated to Fujian Province went through rotational training with emphasis on the new party constitution and made ideological preparation for the party consolidation.

According to statistics, the organizations subordinated to the province ran 687 party training classes which trained in rotation 19,971 party members. That so many people studied and had their consciousness raised was rare in recent years. Many old party members said that they had received a reeducation in party spirit; new party members said that this was a profound lesson learned after they had joined the party and that they strengthened their understanding of general knowledge about the party and received training in party political life.

Through rotational training, vast numbers of party members recognized that the new party constitution was the guiding principle for the consolidation of party building during the new period and was the criterion of behavior for CCP members; and they further strengthened their belief in communism, heightened their consciousness to try to become qualified party members and strengthened their confidence in the realization of improving the party style and strengthened their ability to resist unhealthy styles. The comrades all showed that, through the consolidation of styles and discipline, they must get themselves involved and they would not be critics, but men of action.

The main leading cadres in the organizations subordinate to the province took it very seriously and took the lead in participating in studies. The leading party cadres from 51 departments and bureaus attended all the rotational training, took the lead in studying seriously, measured themselves by the standards, integrated theory with practice and carried out criticism and self-criticism, thus promoting the party members' studies in these departments and bureaus and achieving good results.

12564

CSO: 4005/225

NORTH REGION

'GANG OF FOUR' REBEL EXPELLED FROM PARTY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 83 p 5

[Article: "Infamous Rebel Wang Zhuangyuan Expelled From Party"]

[Text] According to a report in the No 10 issue of ZHIBU JIANSHE [BRANCH CONSTRUCTION], the infamous rebel Wang Zhuangyuan [3768 0482 0337] has been expelled from the party and dismissed from his administrative post.

During the "Cultural Revolution," Wang Zhuangyuan took the lead in organizing the "Peasant Red Army," which engaged in a great deal of armed struggle, and was later named director of the standing committee and of the political department of the Yongji County Revolutionary Committee. In 1970 he was removed from office under a cloud of investigation. In 1976, Zhang Huaiying [1728 2037 5391], the former local party committee secretary of the city of Yuncheng, gave him an important position, and he later assumed such positions as deputy department head of the agricultural and industrial department of the local party committee, and acting secretary and secretary of the county party committee. During the investigation, he took advantage of the opportunity to seek revenge and harm old cadres. He also abused his positions by ousting and demoting cadres who upheld principles and were correct in their work-style, and by promoting and using those who beat, smashed and looted. In 1980, Wang Zhuangyuan was dismissed from his position as secretary of the Yongji County Party Committee and was made deputy bureau director of the agricultural bureau, an administrative office in Yuncheng. In November of 1981, before the opening of the Eighth People's Representative Congress in Yongji County, using the excuse of arranging for his son's wedding. He gathered some persons seriously afflicted with factional ideology to carry out illegal activities, directly sabotaging the election work for the county people's congress. In order to show the seriousness of party discipline and to purify the party organization, the Yuncheng CPC local party committee has expelled Wang Chuangyuan from the party, and the Yuncheng administrative office has dismissed him from his position as deputy bureau director of the agricultural bureau.

9705

CSO: 4005/218

NORTH REGION

COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY CRIMINALS CONVICTED, SENTENCED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by reporter Liu Juan [0491 1227]: "Qi Benyu, Chi Qun, Lin Chuangtang, and Others Convicted for Actively Joining and Following the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing Counterrevolutionary Clique in Criminal Activities"]

[Text] The Beijing Municipal Middle-Level People's Court has conducted trials, and yesterday it passed sentences: Qi Benyu [2058 2609 4416] was sentenced to 18 years and denied political rights for 4 years; Chi Qun [6688 5028] was sentenced to 18 years and denied political rights for 4 years; Liu Chuangtang [0491 1643 2768] was sentenced to 17 years and denied political rights for 4 years; Qi Jing [7871 2529] was sentenced to 17 years and denied political rights for 4 years; and Zhao Dengcheng [6392 4098 4453] was sentenced to 15 years and denied political rights for 3 years.

Qi Benyu, Chi Qun, Liu Chuangtang, and the others were brought up for prosecution by a branch of the Beijing Municipal People's Procuratorate. After the Beijing Municipal Middle-Level People's Court had tried the cases, each was assigned to a collegiate bench and was tried on appeal as an accused according to the law. Through their investigation, the courts found that the accused who were appealing were clearly guilty, and this was determined actually and fully by the evidence.

The accused Qi Benyu is a male, 52 years old, from the city of Weihai in Shandong Province. He was formerly the section chief of the history section of HONG QI [RED FLAG] publishing house. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was a member of the "Central Cultural Revolution Small Group" and deputy bureau chief of the secretarial bureau of the central office of the CPC. And also during the "Great Cultural Revolution," he actively engaged in the criminal activities of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, framing individuals on a large scale, inciting the persecution of party and state leaders and leaders of the Ministry of Coal Industry and the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, and encouraging mass "beating, smashing and looting"--actions amounting to the crimes of inciting counterrevolution, falsely accusing and persecuting others, and gathering the masses to "beat, smash and loot."

The accused Chi Qun is a male, 51 years old, from Rushan County in Shandong. He was formerly the deputy section chief of the propaganda section of the political department of a certain unit of the PLA. During the "Great Cultural

Revolution," he was secretary of the party committee of Qinghua University and director of the Qinghua University revolutionary committee. He actively engaged in the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique's overthrow of the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship and in conspiracies against the socialist system. Under the direct guidance of Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan, the accused Chi Qun incited counterrevolution in a preplanned and organized manner, and framed and persecuted party and state leaders as well as cadres and the masses--actions amounting to active commission of the crimes of participating in a counterrevolutionary clique, inciting counterrevolution, and falsely accusing and persecuting others.

The accused Liu Chuangtang is a male, 51 years old, from Gai County in Liaoning Province. He was formerly deputy troupe director of the Ballet Performers' Troupe of the Central Opera and Dance Theater. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was deputy group director and party committee secretary of the core small group of the Central Ballet Troupe and deputy department chief of the cultural department. He actively engaged in the [activities of the] Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, encouraging the overthrow of party and state leaders and leading cadres at every level, fabricating false charges, and falsely accusing and persecuting cadres and the masses, which amounted to the crimes of actively participating in a counterrevolutionary clique, inciting counterrevolution, and falsely accusing and persecuting others.

The accused Qi Jinghe is a male, 55 years old, from Pingshan County in Hebei Province. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" he was deputy group leader of the "Liu Ren [0491 0088] special case investigation group" and the "Peng Zhen [1756 4176] and Liu Ren special case investigation group" in the first office of the Central Special Case Investigation Small Group; in October 1976 he was in charge of the cadre group of the Central Organizational Department of the CPC. During the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," he actively followed the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, participated in conspiracies to overthrow the political power of the people's democratic dictatorship, and falsely accused and persecuted leaders of the party and the state as well as cadres and the masses--actions amounting to the crimes of conspiring to overthrow the government and falsely accusing and persecuting others.

The accused Zhao Dengcheng is a male, 63 years old, from Ding County in Hebei Province. He was formerly vice army commander of a certain air force unit of the PLA. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was a member of the leading small group and the core small group of the public security department and deputy director of the Third Office of the Central Special Case Investigation Small Group. Zhao Dengcheng actively followed the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, fabricating false charges, falsely accusing party and state leaders, and framing and persecuting cadres and the masses--actions amounting to the crimes of conspiring to overthrow the government and falsely accusing and persecuting others.

During the entire course of the investigation, each collegiate bench adhered rigorously to legal procedures, listening in court to the public prosecutor's remarks in support of the prosecution; questioning [each] of the accused and listening to his statement, defense and final comments; listening to the defender's arguments; and directly verifying each case with relevant evidence. During the court inquiry, the court read aloud, projected on screens, and produced a large quantity of documents, articles, appraisals, and conclusions and witness testimony, and some victims appeared in court to give direct testimony.

In the face of the large volume of conclusive evidence, the accused all confessed to the facts of their major crimes. Zhao Dengcheng fully confessed to his crimes and offered an apology in court to the victims. In order to support the socialist system, consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, and preserve the socialist system, the court, in accordance with the facts, nature, and circumstances of the crimes of the accused, individually made determinations in each case in keeping with the law.

More than 4,000 of the masses from all walks of life in the capital attended the trials.

The court had earlier announced its decision regarding Shu Longshan [5289 7893 1472]. The accused Shu Longshan was formerly a worker in Plant No 230 of the First Research Institute of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was the deputy director of the CPC core small group of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building Industry. Through the trial, the court determined that Shu Longshan had committed the crimes of conspiring to overthrow the government, encouraging state workers to carry out armed rebellion, and falsely accusing and persecuting others. In accordance with the law, the court had already sentenced Shu Longshan to 15 years and denied him political rights for 3 years.

9705

CSO: 4005/218

## NORTH REGION

### LI LIGONG TALKS WITH AUTHOR ON PUBLISHING GOOD BOOKS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 17 Nov 83 p 1

[Report by Liu Bosheng [0491 0130 3932] and Yu Dazhong [0151 1129 0022]:  
"Write and Publish More Good Books and Occupy the Ideological and Cultural Fronts"]

[Text] After 4 years of arduous effort, Liang Zhongtang [2733 0022 1016], theoretical instructor in political economy of the party school of the provincial party committee, has written the book "Demography," the first book in our country that probes the Marxist demographic structure, and has been brought to popular attention by the demographic circle in our country. Recently, this book was published by the Shanxi People's Publishing House and distributed by the Xinhua Bookstore throughout the country. On the morning of 15 November, Li Ligong, secretary of the provincial party committee, invited Liang Zhongtang and over 10 people, including the responsible comrades and concerned editors of the Shanxi People's Publishing House, to take part in a discussion. In the discussion, Liang Zhongtang introduced the path he himself had traversed, and the comrades of the publishing house recalled the achievements that had been scored in the publications cause in our province since the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee after the 11th CPC Congress, and made propositions on how to improve the publications work in our province.

Since the Thrid Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the Shanxi People's Publishing House has perservered in the four basic principles and has published many good books. From January 1979 to September this year, it has published 881 types of journals and books, which showed an increase in variety by 68 percent and an increase in printed copies by over 4 times compared to the 15 years before the great cultural revolution. Of these journals and books, 7 types have won awards throughout the country, and 138 types have been successively recommended by the newspapers, journals and radios at and above the provincial level. Some books are popularly sold abroad.

The book "Demography" is published by the Shanxi People's Publishing House and is a good book with a rich content, unique approach, clear viewpoint and powerful persuasiveness. The author of this book, Liang Zhongtang, is 35 years old this year. He graduated from high school in 1966. For many years, he educated himself, worked with a will to make the country strong, and made arduous



efforts to not only assiduously study the major Marxist-Leninist classics, but also systematically studied college courses in philosophy and political economy on his own. In 1978, after he was transferred to the party school of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee, in addition to fulfilling his task of teaching and studying "Capital," he spent a considerable amount of his effort in probing the problem of demographic theories. With the vigorous support and assistance of the concerned comrades of the party school of the provincial party committee and the Shanxi People's Publishing House, Liang Zhongtang completed his "Demography," a book nearly 300,000 words long, by the end of 1980. In his book, he devoted himself to establishing the Marxist demographic system, combined theory and practice in applying the Marxist demographic principle to criticize the bourgeois demographic viewpoints, and offered an effective conclusion in theory to the work of planned parenthood in our country. This is also a good book for eliminating the spiritual pollution in the demographic circle in our country.

At the discussion meeting, Comrade Li Ligong commended Liang Zhongtang and the comrades of the publishing house for their efforts in guarding against arrogance and rashness and in continuously scoring new achievements. He said: Although the Shanxi publishing house has published many good books in the last few years, it has not satisfied the goal of not publishing bad books and reducing pollution. It should adopt an offensive pose in writing more good books and publishing more good books. He hoped that the young people throughout the province would be like Liang Zhongtang, and would erect a dedication to the revolution, study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought assiduously, and render healthy and beneficial spiritual food to the broad masses.

Comrade Li Ligong said: An important issue in launching properly the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution is to strive to discover, foster and select outstanding writers and strive to bring forth more people like Liang Zhongtang in our province, who will write more good books, so that we will be able to use these books to occupy the ideological and cultural fronts and boycott spiritual pollution. He further said: The key to whether a book is good or bad lies in the social results. No matter what, we must not simply pursue moneymaking and must not cater to the vulgar tastes of some people. Otherwise, we will bring about spiritual pollution and will bring about a very bad influence politically.

At the discussion meeting, Comrade Li Ligong pointed out that the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution is a long-term one, and that we must raise the ideological and theoretical level of the editors and writers in order to wage this battle properly. The editors can discover talented personnel as well as bury them. They must solve their problems and at the same time assume the role of "Bole" [unknown]. They must not be afraid of publishing books and of work because they are afraid of pollution. He asked that every comrade, particularly some leading comrades, repeatedly and conscientiously study the "decision" on party rectification that was passed at the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee after the 12th CPC Congress and the important speeches by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun, and profoundly understand the spiritual essence therein, in order to guarantee the smooth launching of the struggle to boycott and eliminate spiritual pollution.

Lastly, Comrade Li Ligong pointed out: On the one hand, we must clearly and boldly wage struggle against erroneous thinking. On the other hand, we must pay attention to drawing a clear line of political demarcation and distinguish what is pollution from what is not pollution. We must not equate spiritual pollution with crime, and must not regard all the books and articles that are problematic as spiritual pollution. We must not "see every bush and tree as an enemy." We must have a good grasp of the party's policies and carry out analysis and discussion in a practical, realistic and scientific manner. In launching criticisms, we should deal with a problem as a problem, and raise it to its appropriate plane. We should not cover up problems, should not confuse the boundaries, should not scratch an itch from outside the boot and should not accentuate our criticism.

9335

CSO: 4005/233

## NORTH REGION

### ELIMINATING SPIRITUAL POLLUTION THEME OF CONFERENCE

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 83 p 1

[Report by Guo Yinxiang [6753 1377 4382] and Ren Zhenrong [0117 2181 2837]:  
"The Ideological Front Must Conscientiously Eliminate Spiritual Pollution"]

[Text] On the morning of 9 November, the propaganda department of the provincial party committee convened a conference for party members and responsible cadres on the ideological front at the 1 July Assembly Hall, at which time it implemented the spirit of the Second Plenary Session to the entire ideological front throughout the province, and made arrangements and plans concerning the problem of eliminating spiritual pollution. Wen Xin [3306 6580], deputy director of the propaganda department of the provincial party committee, gave a report at the conference on how the propaganda system of our province boycotted and eliminated spiritual pollution. Zhang Changzhen, member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee, spoke.

Comrade Wen Xin said: The elimination of spiritual pollution is an important political task on the ideological front at present, and is a major issue that is related to the future and destiny of the party and state. Our literary and art workers, educational workers, theoretical workers, news workers and ideological and political workers as well as other concerned comrades must conscientiously examine the ideological problem and the problem of spiritual pollution in their own systems, departments and units in close coordination with their own ideological reality and reality in work. They should find out if they are resolutely boycotting or allowing or even participating in the manufacture and spread of spiritual pollution. They should conduct sincere self-criticisms toward their own erroneous words and actions, sum up experiences, bear firmly in mind the lessons they have learned and raise their understanding accordingly.

In his report, he conscientiously analyzed the situation of the ideological front in our province at present. He pointed out that, in recent years, the entire ideological front in our province, including the theoretical circle, the literary and art circle, as well as the various fronts of educations, news, publications, and mass cultural, ideological and political work have all been quite lively. The comrades have done much work and have scored obvious achievements. However, the influence of bourgeois thinking and the phenomenon of spiritual pollution also exist and are still extremely serious in some units

and people. The major problem on the theoretical front is that the tendency to divorce theoretical propaganda, theoretical education and theoretical study from reality is still quite universal, and the four basic principles are not publicized in a bold and assured manner and with unremitting efforts. Some comrades have even spread some erroneous theoretical viewpoints. The problem in the literary and art circle is even more obvious. For instance, the drama "Love Is in Our Heart" is a work that displays seriously erroneous tendencies. Some literary workers have violated the party spirit and principle on literature and art, and have written works with absurd contents and poor style. In some literary and art performances, there exists the erroneous tendency of being too commercial and of going for bourgeois liberalization. On the educational front, the prominent problem is the weakness in ideological and political work. We must abide by the spirit of the speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and look at the work of eliminating spiritual pollution on this occasion with a serious and conscientious attitude.

In his report, he also stressed the necessity to have a good grasp of policy in eliminating spiritual pollution. In addition, he made specific arrangements for the propaganda and education systems on the problem of eliminating spiritual pollution.

In his speech, Comrade Zhang Changzhen mentioned that in order to do a good job of eliminating spiritual pollution we must first study well the spirit of the Second Plenary Session, study well the speech made by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the speech made by Comrade Chen Yun, unify our thinking with the spirit of the Second Plenary Session, and plunge into this struggle with full political enthusiasm. Comrade Zhang Changzhen also asked that the broad masses of communist party members of the ideological front in our province aim high at and be resolute in enhancing their abilities in the struggle, and render first-rate spiritual products to the people and create a new situation in the ideological front of our province.

9335

CSO: 4005/233

## NORTH REGION

### EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE SPIRITUAL POLLUTION SPOTLIGHTED

#### Editorial on Building Both Civilizations

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Insist on Grasping Both Civilizations Simultaneously"]

[Text] Soyun County has broadly launched its civilized-village building activities, strengthened its ideological and political work in the countryside, continued to struggle against various kinds of spiritual pollution, and has thus succeeded in increasingly enhancing the consciousness of the cadres and masses and bringing about a conspicuous turn for the better in social customs and thereby promoted the further development of its economic construction. Their experience once again tells us that, be it on the industrial front, the agricultural front, or financial and trade front, and whether in the cities or in the countryside, we must all strengthen the building of our spiritual civilization while at the same time building our material civilization.

It simply will not do if we have only an advanced material civilization while attempting to build our socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics; we must also have an advanced spiritual civilization. The building of one of these two civilizations at the same time conditions and promotes the other. The building of our material civilization is the foundation for building our spiritual civilization, whereas the building of our spiritual civilization renders a great promotive effect to the building of our material civilization and also assures it of its correct direction of development. The raising of the level of material life of a factory, a village or a peasant household is not equivalent to its ideological consciousness and cultural quality being raised proportionately. If we overlook ideological education and fail to grasp the building of our spiritual civilization, we shall be unable to resist various kinds of spiritual pollution and we would then embark upon a devious road. Only by grasping both civilizations simultaneously can we guarantee the economic construction of our modernization to healthily develop along the socialist course.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the Central Committee after the 11th CPC Congress, a thriving scene has emerged in the cities and countryside of our province; the situation is just fine. But we must see that certain uncivilized and unhealthy and other ugly phenomena, such as the corrupt ideas of the bourgeoisie and feudal superstitions, gambling, stealing and commercial marriages have begun to spread in certain places; pronographic books and pictures and filthy,

base things of this sort have begun to take place in certain quarters; among certain people there have been nurtured also the ideas of "all looking up to money," paying attention only to how to get rich personally, incurring damage to the interests of the state, the collectives and others. These unwholesome phenomena serve to hamper the stability of our social order, corrode people's thinking, and affect our economic construction. Therefore, in order to consolidate and develop our fine situation, we must adhere to the strategic policy of "grasping both civilizations simultaneously" as has been suggested by the 12th CPC Congress.

Building "civilized villages" in the countryside is a fine form and fine approach for strengthening our ideological and political work and putting into effect "grasping both civilizations simultaneously," an effective measure for carrying out comprehensive handling, resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution, as well as an effective way of fostering the new type of socialist peasants with ideals, morality, culture and discipline. Party committees at various levels must fully recognize this new thing and reinforce their leadership over this work; principal leading comrades of the county party committees, in particular, must grasp it personally. In the civilized-village building activities, we must closely grasp the central link of ideological education and, through the launching of comparative appraisal regarding the "five-good cadres," "five-good households," "five-good peasants" and sports and cultural activities that benefit people's physical and mental health, persistently and assiduously carry out among the vast ranks of our basic-level cadres and peasant masses an ideological education on patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism. We must fully develop the role of the basic-level party organizations in the countryside as a fighting castle and the role of communists as vanguard and model, and combine the building of our civilized villages with our party rectification in the countryside, so as to protect the healthy development of our activities in building the civilized villages. In the cities and townships, too, we must launch activities of building civilized streets and civilized institutions; we must mobilize all workers, peasants, students and businessmen and all males, females, old and young so that everybody can come forward to eliminate bourgeois spiritual pollution and build our socialist spiritual civilization.

During the past few years, we have been implementing the policies of opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy domestically, carrying out the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, and thus succeeded in mobilizing the positive factors in all aspects and promoting the speedy recovery and development of our production. While attempting to eliminate spiritual pollution and reinforcing the building of our spiritual civilization, we must continue to implement the party's series of economic policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the Central Committee after the 11th CPC Congress with no hesitation or wavering whatsoever.

## Commentary on Leadership Enhancement

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "It Is Necessary to Strengthen Party Leadership in Order to Eliminate Spiritual Pollution"]

[Text] After seeing the report on "Lin Yimei Houseplay Troupe Is Honored as 'Vanguard Team' in Propagating Spiritual Civilization," our hearts are very much stimulated; especially in our ideological struggle to resist and eliminate spiritual pollution, it is fraught even more with realistic significance and worthy of promotion. It is hoped that the vast ranks of our literary and artistic workers, especially leading comrades of our literary and artistic performing groups, would keep in line with their own ideological and working circumstances to conscientiously sum up somewhat their experiences and lessons in this regard, practically reinforce and improve our party leadership, launch deepening and careful ideological and political work, and thereby bring about a new situation in our literary and artistic undertakings.

Is there any need for our literary and art departments to reinforce their party leadership? On the surface, there does not seem to be any difference of opinion. But in practical work, various understandings and views often exist. For instance, after a troupe has contracted its programs, is there still any necessity for a party committee to function there? After everybody's enthusiasm is mobilized, is there any further need to strengthen ideological and political work? Does the launching of regular criticism and self-criticism warrant its being called "attack and retaliation" or "giving them narrow shoes to wear"? With respect to such problems which should never have become such, there have long prevailed actually in certain units lingering confusion and endless quarrels; some even seize upon this or that kind of mistakes in the work of the basic-level cadres and amplify them, making accusations everywhere. In particular, some comrades in the departments above have failed to carry out deepening and careful investigation and study but tended to listen and believe with a bias and express their attitudes at random. They are not thus helping those comrades doing their work in the party branches to overcome their defects or solve problems, but adopting a simplistic approach of blaming people in a singleminded manner or stopping their work. This has caused certain literary and art units to have piles of problems with no one to shoulder the responsibility. Such a situation must be changed as soon as possible.

Practice in many localities proves that the party organization of whichever unit happens to be united and consistent, follows a forthright workstyle and strengthens its leadership, that unit would be able to resist the spiritual pollution of commercialization, liberalization and "all looking up to money." The party committee of whichever place happens to be lax and flabby or to reach a decadent state, the spiritual pollution in that place would be rather serious. Not only, in such a case, does the unit itself become polluted but it also consciously or unconsciously spreads such pollution and thereby emanates a very bad impact among the masses. The experience of Huguan County's sprout-song theatrical troupe tells us: in the face of various sorts of bourgeois liberalization thoughts, a party branch must inherit our fine traditions in an even more

clear-cut manner and seek to reinforce our party leadership. We can only adopt a method of guidance to educate our youths to embark upon the right course, but cannot leave them alone and not bother with them, "let everyone work out things in any way he wants, and let everyone do whatever he wants." The experience of the first branch of Datong Municipality's Shanxi Play Troupe also tells us: so long as party members take the lead, "show no envy when they see money, and seek no private gains even if they have earned high artistic achievement," then it is by no means difficult to overcome "all looking up to money." The experience of the Lin Yimei Houseplay Troupe similarly illustrates: so long as we adhere to and improve our party leadership, not only would we be able to resist spiritual pollution but also enable our theatrical undertakings to persist in the correct direction through contending and improve our artistic quality through competition, and thereby become the "vanguard team" in propagating spiritual civilization. Their experiences have provided us with a valuable spiritual weapon for us to eliminate spiritual pollution. It can be said, therefore, that in our work to eliminate spiritual pollution, we must reinforce our party leadership, draw a clear boundary, master the pertinent policy, take up the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, and launch our hard, careful ideological and political work.

#### Resolution in Shanxi

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 83 p 2

["Resolution of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress of Shanxi Province on the Strengthening of the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization and the Prevention and Elimination of Spiritual Pollution" (Passed on 26 November 1983)]

[Text] The Fourth Session of the Standing Committee of the Sixth People's Congress of Shanxi Province has examined Governor Wan Senhao's "Report on the Strengthening of the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization and Prevention and Elimination of Spiritual Pollution," and considered it to be in accord with the reality in our province; it therefore decides to pass it. In order to practically strengthen the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and strive for a turn for the better in our social trends, it is especially resolved as follows:

1. The elimination of spiritual pollution is an important policy decision made by the 2d Session of the 12th CPC Congress of the Central Committee. The essence of spiritual pollution is the spreading of various sorts of corrupt and obsolescent ideas of the bourgeoisie and other exploitative classes and the spreading of sentiments of a lack of confidence in the socialist, communist cause as well as in the Communist Party. Its harm lies in shaking people's peace of mind, poisoning social trends and obstructing the smooth progress of our four modernizations; it is necessary to adopt resolute measures to eliminate it.
2. The elimination of spiritual pollution and the building of our socialist spiritual civilization are the common tasks of our various fronts. All departments must conscientiously seek to sort out the attendant issues. The warriors



on the front of ideological theory and literature and art are the engineers of man's soul; they should stand in the forefront of this struggle. Other departments on this ideological front, such as education, journalism, the press, broadcasting, television, etc., should all actively seek to struggle against phenomena of spiritual pollution. They must apply the dialectical materialist and historical materialist viewpoint to the criticizing of the theory of "socialist alienation," capitalist humanitarianism and abstract human nature theory, and eliminate their influence among the people. They must overcome and correct the erroneous tendency of commercializing spiritual products and "all looking to money." They must, in the countryside, take the activities of opposing feudal superstitions as an important task in the elimination of spiritual pollution and handle it accordingly.

3. It is necessary to implement the principles and policies of the party Central Committee. The elimination of spiritual pollution is an ideological struggle among the people, which we must seek to solve by using only the weapon of Marxism and the method of going through criticism and self-criticism. But, in the case of those criminal elements who manufacture, sell and broadcast pornographic books and pictures, recordings, videotapes and who take advantage of people's superstitious activities to hoodwink them out of their money and property and maim their lives, it is necessary to punish them according to law.

4. Leaders of all levels in the province must shoulder their own responsibilities, reinforce their management, strengthen their educational programs, and overcome the kind of flabby attitude of daring not to cope with or bother with those erroneous tendencies. It is necessary especially to guard well the strategic pass of editorial examination in the case of various books, journals and other publications and never allow those erroneous things to spread freely.

5. In order to effectively resist and prevent spiritual pollution, we must energetically strengthen our ideological and political work and not relax even for one moment our effort to build our socialist spiritual civilization; we must in a clear-cut manner carry out education on communist ideals, faith and morality among the masses of the people. We must penetratingly and persistently launch activities on the "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three loves" and launch the activities to build civilized villages, towns, streets, organs, factories and mines, stores, schools and dormitories, and thereby energetically develop in the cities as well as in the countryside reading activities in the name of vitalizing China. All public places must formulate simple, feasible covenants on civilized conduct and implement them strictly. Cadres and staff of all state organs, mass organizations and entrepreneurial and public business units must play the role of the model and vanguard in the building of our socialist spiritual civilization.

While strengthening the building of our spiritual civilization and preventing and eliminating spiritual pollution, we must at the same time reinforce our leadership over economic work. We must unswervingly continue to implement our principles of opening to the outside world and enlivening our economy domestically. Let us assert our spirit even further, work diligently, and bring about a new situation in the construction of our four modernizations on all fronts.

9255

CSO: 4005/274

NORTH REGION

SHANXI CONFISCATES PORNOGRAPHY, PUNISHES OFFENDERS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Nov 83 p 1

[Report by Han Wenshou [7281 2429 1108]: "Confiscate Pornographic Painting and Calligraphy and Severely Punish Criminal Elements"]

[Text] In closely coordinating with the struggle to boycott and eradicate spiritual pollution, the various security departments at various levels in our province have confiscated a batch of pornographic paintings and calligraphy and tape recordings and dealt relentless blows to and dealt with a group of criminal elements involved in manufacturing and making private copies of the above for circulation. At present, 64 pornographic paintings and calligraphies, 131 pornographic and reactionary tape recordings, 1,607 poker cards of nude female figures, 19 photographs of nude women and 17 pieces of obscene publications throughout the province have been confiscated and 58 criminals who were involved in manufacturing, peddling and copying pornographic paintings and calligraphy and tape recordings have all been arrested. These efforts have effectively coordinated with the struggle to build a socialist spiritual civilization and to eradicate spiritual pollution.

Recently, the Wholesale Department of the Taiyuan City Trust and Trading Company has conscientiously studied the concerned documents of the central authorities concerning the eradication of spiritual pollution, swiftly convened a special conference, and adopted decisive measures in launching all-round inspection and shorting out of all decadent magnetic tape recordings and records which the company has in storage or in stock. It has confiscated all the tape recordings and records of obscene songs and decadent music that have been sorted out, and strictly prohibited distribution to retail units.

This company also asked that the units directly under it to resolutely implement the regulation of the State Broadcasting Bureau concerning commodities that are banned from sales, and that in the future, the procurement personnel are not permitted to bring in any magnetic tape recordings and records that are spiritually polluted. We should find out who is to blame if decadent magnetic tape recordings and records are discovered. The shopping malls, shops and retail units directly under the company will all replace the advertisement of pictures of beauties that are unrelated to the content of the commodities. We must resolutely eradicate the unhealthy tendencies toward hypocrisy, grandeur and emptiness commercially. We must proceed from reality in holding exhibitions, sample exhibits and exchange meetings, and must not engage in attempts to cheat the customers by "hanging up a sheep's head and selling dogmeat," which the masses oppose.

## NORTHEAST REGION

### HEILONGJIANG TO CARRY OUT PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION REFORM

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Fang Peien [2455 1014 1869]: "At a Mass Meeting of Cadres in Province-subordinate Organizations at Department Level or Above, Wang Fei [3769 2431] Announces That Reform of These Agencies Has Begun in Every Respect: The CPC Central Committee Has Approved the Plan for Heilongjiang's Province-level Party and Government Organizations, Whereby Top-level Departments, Offices, Commissions, Sections and Bureaus Will Be Reduced From 105 to 81 and Party and Government Organizations Approve a 40-Percent Reduction in Personnel From 8,172 to 4,900"]

[Text] Wang Fei, member of the provincial committee Standing Committee and head of the group in charge of reforming Heilongjiang's province-subordinate organizations, said: "The provincial CPC committee has decided that reform of province-subordinate organizations will now be launched in every respect."

At the mass meeting of deputy department [chu 5710] level cadres convened today [19 April], Comrade Wang Fei received the provincial party committee's authorization to announce this decision.

Referring to the Central Committee's recent approval and authorization of the plan for Heilongjiang's province-level party and government organizations, he said that it was an important step in pushing forward the reform of leading party and state systems and groups after the Central Committee's initial step of reforming top-level party and government organizations had been basically completed. He added that it was an important genuine act in Heilongjiang's comprehensive practice of the spirit of the 12th CPC congress. The plan approved by the Central Committee calls for the abolition of all branch offices of the provincial government, the reduction and merger of organizations whose natures are similar and whose business overlaps and the conversion of some units into economic and service units. In this way, the provincial government's working departments will be reduced from their present total of 68 to 41. Moreover, the provincial party committee's 6 working departments, the organizations mandated by the party and state constitutions and by relevant provisions and the departments [bu 6752], offices, commissions and bureaus under provincial jurisdiction will be reduced from their original total of 105 to 81. A reduction of 40 percent--from 8,172 to 4,900--in the authorized strength of all party and government organizations' personnel has been approved, with the exception of the authorized strength of public security

examination, legislative and judicial organs. Our next task is to implement the program approved and authorized by the Central Committee, pay close attention to the reform of the internal structure of organizations under provincial jurisdiction and complete, before the end of June, the tasks of reducing the number of organizations at the department (bureau) and office levels, of readjusting leading groups and of reducing authorized strength.

Comrade Wang Fei said that the current reform's starting point is suitability to the needs of the construction of socialist modernization and to the characteristics of the new era. The goals are higher work efficiency, better economic results and higher labor productivity. The readjustment of leading groups, the reduction and merger of organizations and the reform of the work system should only be judged by whether they favor the growth of the national economy and the construction of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

In particular, he pointed out that the current retrenchment is an arduous task. The number of provincial government departments must be reduced by about one-third, with the key being the reduction of merged units and economic management departments. The retrenchment must exceed 35 percent. In the case of comprehensive economic coordination departments and statistical supervisory departments, the object is to strengthen the department by reducing the number of its personnel. Since party departments have relatively low base numbers, they can be reduced by about 15 percent. Before the reform of the management systems of former administrative organs now converted into economic organizations and public agencies, there must be a retrenchment of about one-third. Retrenchment is law. After the cutbacks, no department can violate the newly set limits on personnel for any reason, nor is it allowed for any two or more departments to conspire to exceed these limits.

After retrenchment, we must properly dispose of dismissed personnel. There will be stipulated numbers of positions and people for department [chu] level or higher cadres and stipulated positions but not number of people for cadres in general. Discharged personnel suited for quitting-and-then-resting or for retirement will do just that. Those qualified for training will be trained by stages and in groups. Those temporarily unable to get rotational training will first take part in the central tasks of the province and department. Cadres once at the department [chu] level who cannot hold real jobs after organizational reform can work as inspectors, researchers, organizers and discipline inspectors for their units; their rank and political life will stay the same.

12570

CSO: 4005/950

## NORTHEAST REGION

### TELEPHONE CONFERENCE HELD TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SECURITY

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 83 p 1

[Text] This evening [18 May], the Heilongjiang Party Committee held a telephone conference to further improve social order. The committee's leading comrades spoke at the conference. The conference emphasized that we must earnestly implement the general policy of comprehensive control and positive public security, take measures of all kinds, lower the crime rate and achieve further improvement in public security.

When analyzing Heilongjiang's present situation in public security, the conferees pointed out that generally speaking, public security continues to improve under stable circumstances. The crime rate for January through April is down somewhat from last year. Since March, however, the number of criminal cases is picking up again with an especially sizable jump in April. Investigation of the reasons for this jump shows that some localities are experiencing new problems in the reform of the economic management system. They have not taken prompt and appropriate measures, so criminal elements have seized the opportunity. Other localities have a complacent and slack attitude and have not stressed the rectification of public security work. Still other localities have not hit hard at criminal elements. The experience of the past few years proves that if we attach importance to ideology, pay close attention to work and carry out our measures, public security will improve. Conversely, if we are complacent in ideology and slack in our work and if we do not carry out our measures, public security will be worse.

The conferees pointed out that rectification of public security is a task of protracted struggle that we must never relax. We must pay the closest attention at all times before public security can further improve. The conference drew up some plans for the improvement of public security, stressing in particular the strengthening of comprehensive control and the full implementation of measures. Under the united leadership of their party committees and governments, all localities must rely on all forces in society and stress implementation on every front and in every unit. They must actively initiate activities for civilized neighborhood committees, villages, factories, schools and shops and safe households. They must mobilize social forces, do good work in transforming contradictions and improve crime prevention work. They must carefully guard localities that have concentrations of grain, money or materials and can be easily victimized by crime. They must resolutely lower the crime rate,

improve the guarding of all buildings and establish networks for the joint defense of public security. High-crime localities must have patrols and checkpoints. With primary stress on anticrime groups and cadres and on night watchmen, we must implement the responsibility system and rigorously enforce the law in order to prevent trouble. Elements guilty of crimes that deserve a crackdown must get it. Serious criminal elements must be punished in accordance with the severity and swiftness of the law.

12570

DSO: 4005/950

## NORTHWEST REGION

### SECOND PHASE OF PARTY RECTIFICATION UNDERWAY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Nov 83 p 1

[Article by reporter Liu Jintang [0491 6855 2717]: The Yushu Zang Nationality Autonomous Prefecture Is Actively Preparing for the Second Phase of Party Rectification; Studying Party Rectification Documents Cannot Wait, Correcting Unhealthy Tendencies Within the Party Cannot Wait, Purging the 'Three Types' and Those Who Seriously Violate Regulations and Breach Discipline Cannot Wait"]

[Text] Presently, party rectification work is fully underway. How should things be handled in the areas entering the second phase of party rectification? The banner of the party committee of the Qinghai Provincial Yushu Zang Nationality Autonomous Prefecture clearly proclaims the "Three Cannot Waits": Studying party rectification documents cannot wait, correcting unhealthy tendencies within the party cannot wait, and purging the "three types" and others who seriously violate regulations and breach discipline cannot wait.

The party committee of the autonomous prefecture believes that, first of all, in order to guarantee that party rectification not be done perfunctorily, the study of party documents cannot be done perfunctorily. Studying the documents is the foundation of party rectification, and the solidity of the foundation affects the results of the party rectification. Because of this, they demand that the units under the prefecture and each county arrange rotational party cadre training classes for cadres above the section administrative level, concentrating on the study of party rectification documents, acquiring an awareness of the weapons of party rectification, uniting ideology, strengthening beliefs, and accepting the second phase of party rectification with a positive attitude.

In taking aim at the actual situation involving unhealthy tendencies within the party in recent years, the prefectural party committee stipulated that before the end of November of this year, party organizations above county level must convene conferences for cadres responsible for party members in order seriously to investigate the following several matters: whether or not the line, principles, and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee are being resolutely and forcefully implemented; whether or not the struggle against unhealthy tendencies is weak and disorganized; and whether or not there are those who are using their positions to enrich themselves. And they demanded that each unit under the control of the prefecture and each county organize efforts to investigate and clarify these matters.

Recently, the prefectural party committee issued a notification demanding that party members and cadres who have made mistakes carry out profound examinations within a limited period and actually move to correct mistakes. Otherwise, they will be dealt with severely.

This prefecture was an area severely damaged by the 10 years of unrest. After the smashing of the "gang of four," investigations of the "three types" were not very forceful, with some units and departments basically not even doing any investigating. Recently, the prefectural party committee has organized efforts to deal with this item of work.

9705

CSO: 4005/218



EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL LEADERS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 69, Jul 83 pp 12-14

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 0393]: "How National Leaders Are Produced"]

[Text] Decision of Half a Year Ago

Without campaign speeches, without polemics between political parties, without the bustling crowds of thousands of tens of thousands of people getting up early to go to the polls to cast their votes, the election of the national leaders goes on quietly. This is because this is not England, which put Charles I to death, nor France, which sent Louis XVI to the guillotine. This place is ancient China, the capital of China, the Great People's Hall which only recently removed from its gate the portrait of Mao Zedong.

The vote to elect and decide the national leaders on 18 June 1983 was the high point of the first meeting of the Sixth National People's Congress.

The so-called national leaders mainly refer to the state chairman, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, the premier of the State Council and the chairman of the Central Military Commission of the State.

The list of nominees of the state's leaders was proposed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China called the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, the National Committee of the Political Consultative Conference and the heads of the democratic parties on 31 May and 1 June to discuss the list. Voting at the first meeting of the Sixth National People's Congress, which opened on 6 June, was conducted only after some deliberation. But according to comments made to this writer by "authorities," the list of nominees had been deliberated on very early in the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and had been basically determined half a year ago by high-echelon Chinese communists.

CONTENDING magazine issue of May 1982 reported to readers that some people had nominated Li Xiannian as state chairman. Why did they say so? First it was Deng Xiaoping, then it was Ye Jianying. It was even more clearly reported in the March 1983 issue of CONTENDING in "Comments on the Trip to the North" that if Deng Xiaoping absolutely refused to fill the position of state chairman, it

was very possible that Li Xiannian would. It also said: "Ye Jianying also mentioned the name of Li Xiannian."

#### Visiting the Straw Hut Three Times

Recently, the situation has become clearer. Deng Xiaoping acted somewhat like the ancient Liu Bei who visited the straw hut three times to seek Kong Ming. He suggested three times that Li Xiannian become the state chairman. But Li Xiannian did not accept the offer on account of poor health. Finally, the members of the Politburo convinced Li Xiannian to shoulder this burden.

Of course, in the new constitution, the state chairman does not have any real power. Unlike the past, the state chairman had military power. Therefore, the "burden" is very limited.

The background of Li is familiar to everyone. Among all my friends, everyone had a fairly good impression of Li Xiannian but also felt "there was nothing good to tell." Li serves as chief of state because, on the one hand, a more suitable candidate could not be found among the standing members of the Chinese Communist Politburo. On the other hand, this could quiet the dissatisfaction of the oil faction and the "everything is yes" faction due to the redistribution of power since the 12th National Party Congress. Because the chief of state cannot command the military, there are no worries left behind.

#### Duty-bound

Deng Xiaoping proposed that Peng Zhen serve as the chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and Zhao Ziyang continue to serve as premier. After Deng Xiaoping proposed a whole set of opinions regarding personnel arrangements for the positions of state chairman, committee chairman and premier at the high-level meetings of the Chinese Communist Party, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang suggested that Deng Xiaoping serve as chairman of the Central Military Commission of the state. Deng Xiaoping said without hesitation: "You have no experience in military work, so let me take the job."

Other candidates were also decided early. *CONTENTING* reported in "Comments on the Trip to the North" in its March 1983 issue: "Liao Chengzhi may well play a more important role than does a committee vice chairman. This position would at least be the vice chairman of the state." On the eve of this National People's Congress, the list of candidates for vice chairman of the state proposed by the Chinese communists included only one person, Liao Chengzhi. On 10 June, Liao Chengzhi died, and the Chinese communists proposed another list.

#### Mr Liao's "Vacated Seat"

At this time, many people predicted from the list of members of the funeral committee for Liao Chengzhi that Ulanfu would fill Liao's "vacated seat." The list of the funeral committee members was divided into two parts. The first 13 names were not listed by the order of strokes. The names that followed were listed by the order of strokes. Among the first 13 names, besides the Standing Committee members of the Politburo of the Central Committee and the

chairman and vice chairman of the Central Military Commission, three names were most outstanding: one was Peng Zhen, the second was Deng Yingchao and the third was Ulanfu. This again hinted that Peng Zhen and Deng Yingchao would become chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress and the chairman of the Political Consultative Conference, respectively, and at the same time it hinted that Ulanfu would be the vice chairman of the state. According to rumors, Ulanfu's appointment to become vice chairman of the state was decided by the meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee on 11 June.

#### Father and Son in the Same "Central Committee"

People are more familiar with Li Xiannian but are less familiar with Ulanfu, who is Mongolian. Actually, Ulanfu's experience is not simple. His party standing is 2 years more than that of Li Xiannian. He is special, that is, father and son are both in the same "Central Committee"--he and his son Buhe are both Central Committee members. This is unique among the Central Committee members of the Chinese Communist Party. Although Ye Jiangying has a similar situation, Ye Jiangying's son Ye Xuanping is still not a Central Committee member but an alternate member. Ulanfu's son Buhe is the second strong man in the Mongolian Autonomous Region and holds the real power. A daughter of Ulanfu also works in the Mongolian Autonomous Region and is the responsible person of the party organization of this region.

The Chinese communists not only decided that Zhao Ziyang will continue to serve as premier, they also decided to add two positions to the vice premierships. This is because of the need to strengthen the leadership work of the State Council. The newly added vice premiers are Li Peng, who not long ago visited Hong Kong as vice minister of water conservation and electric power, and Tian Jiyun [3944 4764 7189], who was the able assistant of Zhao Ziyang in Sichuan.

#### The State Security Ministry

The State Security Ministry established by the State Council is believed to attract a lot of attention. This is a ministry established to "strengthen national security and counterespionage work." According to inside information, it was organized by Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938], Kong Yuan [1313 0626], Zhao Cangbi [6392 5547 1084], Liu Fuzhi [0491 1788 0037] and Ling Yun [0407 0061]. This ministry will jointly consist of personnel from the military, the party, and the intelligence and public security agencies of the administration. Thus the function of the State Security Ministry can be imagined.

A friend familiar with public security affairs told me that the Chinese communists are reforming the intelligence agencies and system. The establishment of the State Security Ministry is a product of this reform.

#### Little-known Secret of "Passing Three Tests"

According to Chinese communist plans and internal jargon, the name list of candidates of state leaders must "pass three tests." One is the high echelons of the party, the second is democratic consultation and the third is the People's

Congress meeting. The first test was passed a long time ago. The second and third tests were separately passed on the eve of convening the Sixth National People's Congress and at the time the congress was about to end. Actually, the highest Chinese communists in power had already had an idea, and it was very easy to pass these three tests. The tests were no tests. Here, let me reveal a "little known secret": The NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY (headquarters) had already prepared the "standard portraits" of the four national leaders--Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Zhao Ziyang and Deng Xiaoping--long before the convening of the Sixth National People's Congress. The orientation of the four is basically the same and their backgrounds are all of pure color. By adding a less than "standard" standard portrait of Deng Yingchao, the photo with a unified photo caption, "The portraits of the five comrades Li Xiannian et al.," was printed and distributed to all news agencies throughout the nation on 9 June. An expert asked the NEW CHINA NEWS personnel: "If the outcome of the election by the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference is different or is not entirely the same as the 'five comrades of Li Xiannian et al.,' then would the 'standard portraits' to be published by the local newspapers not be 'standard'?" That gentleman just smiled. That gentleman just smiled. He must have been thinking: That would be another chapter not included in the "Arabian Nights."

#### Different Views

Although the election by the National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference seemed somewhat like "putting on a play," the overall view is that compared to the era of Mao Zedong, it was more democratic. But people hold different opinions as to whether this National People's Congress manifested the true democratic spirit. Some people believe although the list of candidates was initially proposed by the Chinese communists, it still had to be deliberated, discussed and repeatedly considered before it could be finalized. Some of the candidates on the list were added on the suggestion of the National People's delegates. This also shows the election had a definite democratic style.

#### Hopes on Peng Zhen

Some people are optimistic about the future course of democratization. He said the new chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Peng Zhen, learned his lesson from the "Cultural Revolution" (he was one of the first groups of "victims" of the Cultural Revolution), and hoped to make the National People's Congress into an organ that can truly reflect the will of the people and implement the will of the people and into an organ with duties and power, unlike the past one, which was only a rubber-stamp organ. Only in this way can a repetition of the tragedy of the "Cultural Revolution" be avoided.

There are some other people who hold a different view. They point out: Does democracy have to be offered? Qian Jiaju [0578 1367 7467] said at the conference that he was happy that intellectuals are now being respected. But these people believe if the fact that intellectuals are now being respected is something to be happy about, then it would be like waiting for people to offer

favours. Only when people respect you, can you enjoy some democracy. When people do not respect you, you will have to accept degradation and become a hand-raising machine. This kind of "democracy" that depends on the whims of Chinese communists is too dangerous. If a second Mao Zedong emerges (of course the possibility is not great), will you continue to live in fear under a tyrannical rule of the Qinshihuang style? Some people said that a way must be found so that people similar to Mao Zedong would not be able to emerge, and even if such a person emerges, he would not be feared and he could be toppled.

Some delegates and committee members said privately that the key is in the system. If the political system of the past is not changed, a powerful dictator would be created and many little dictators would also be created. This is very dangerous. This problem has already been solved by many capitalist nations. It is very difficult for people like Hitler to come into power. It is a pity that nations "under the leadership of the Communist Party" still cannot solve this problem. Therefore, we must study the method and measures to solve this problem by seeking truth from facts. They welcome Peng Zhen's determination to implement democratization, but they also have opinions about Peng Zhen. But they still wish that Peng Zhen not let them down, they will not change their initial feelings and they are determined to promote China's democratization.

#### Common Wish

Outside the Great Hall and in Beijing City, I exchanged views with some intellectual friends about the Sixth National People's Congress and the Political Consultative Conference. Everyone had a common view that via the arrangement of the national leaders produced by this National People's Congress and according to the new constitution, the power and position of Deng Xiaoping have been strengthened, the stability and solidarity of political power have been strengthened and also there is a common wish that while the Chinese communists are carrying out economic reform, they must also reform the political system as well. This is the key to whether China can be prosperous.

9296

CSO: 4005/1029

BEIJING'S AUTHORITATIVE ANSWER TO HONG KONG'S FUTURE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 69, Jul 83 pp 16-18

[Article: "Talk by Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8113] Replying to the Opinions of the Visiting Group of Hong Kong Youths; Beijing's Authoritative Reply"]

[Text] Editor's note: This article was provided by the "Visiting Group of Hong Kong Youths" headed by Li Pengfei [2621 7720 7378]. This publication did not make any changes. Paragraph headings were added by this publication.

Date: 19 May 1983

Location: Fujian Room of the People's Hall

Xi Zhongxun:

I have learned a lot from listening to your opinions. I believe that whatever you said, whether right or wrong, were not just opinions but what you believed. Talking about problems face to face is always good, not bad. There is no such thing as being right or wrong, as wrong statements can inspire us to think. Everything you said was well said.

What He Said Was Not a Personal Opinion But Represented the Chinese Government

Although what you have said can be regarded as your personal opinion, what I am about to say--is not my own opinion but represents the views of the Chinese government.

Confidence must be based on concrete objects. It is a time to find confidence, and why we still cannot propose a good plan now should be Britain's problem. Last 9 September, when Mrs Thatcher talked about this question, the statements chosen were not good, especially when the three unequal treaties, including Hong Kong, Kowloon and the New Territories, were brought up. This is a question that has been left to history by China and Britain.

We are in the 1980's, and it should be time to solve this question. If we do not propose to solve this question, then if the British people are wise, they should all take the initiative in proposing a solution. Do they really want

to keep Hong Kong as a colony. What kind of people do they treat the Chinese people of Hong Kong as? Deng Xiaoping and Premier Zhou made it clear to Mrs Thatcher last September that the question of sovereignty is very clear, and there is nothing to negotiate over the question of sovereignty. In the past, under what condition did China sign these treaties? It was during the Opium War, and they are entirely unequal treaties.

Deng Xiaoping said it clearly: If we do not solve this question, our government would be the Manchu government, and we would be Li Hongzhang. Do you agree? (Nobody disagreed in the conference hall.) No Chinese would oppose this statement, and also no open-minded foreigners would oppose it.

The question of the sovereignty of Hong Kong is not a prerequisite condition. There is nothing to discuss over sovereignty. What is there to discuss about sovereignty? Hong Kong is your home and also a part of China. Not only today, but it will be like this forever. Everyone is a Chinese compatriot. There is no doubt about this.

#### Problems That Capitalism Cannot Solve Will Finally Be Solved by Socialism

I agree with part of what you said about Hong Kong's economic problem and I disagree with some other parts. Think for a moment, without Mrs Thatcher's visit to China last year, can Hong Kong's economy be sustained? In the past, how large a deficit had Hong Kong encountered? Have you compiled any statistics!

The present situation is more serious, and this is because of the additional factor of economic depression. To what degree will the economy of the United States recover is still a question. Asian nations and the European Common market are also affected by the present economic depression. When the price of oil drops, Hong Kong should benefit, but the situation is not so, why?

If you blame the government for all the ills of Hong Kong's economic problem and for China's proposal of the question of sovereignty, they are only part of the problem. The best years of the Hong Kong economy were 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981. Development was better. In 1980, when I was visiting the United States, I had already seen the U.S. economy going downhill.

Some problems that you have heard cannot finally be solved by capitalism but can ultimately be solved by socialism. The capitalist economy rises and falls. Since the 1930's, economic crises occurred like waves, and the intervals between them have been getting shorter and shorter. The United States and the Soviet Union engage in arms buildups and expansion in order to solve their economic crises. We do not have these problems. China advocates peace and therefore opposes hegemony.

The question of sovereignty does have some effect upon Hong Kong's economy, but this is not the main reason and not the fundamental reason. There are many factors that affect it. The Hong Kong question is very complex, and I cannot explain it very clearly to you.

## Britain's Stance Has Changed; It No Longer Insists on the Three Treaties

After Mrs Thatcher's visit last September, the position of the British government changed slightly and it no longer insists on the three unequal treaties. No nation will support this aspect; even the United States will not do so.

The development of socialism also has its own ups and downs. We can never hope that it will develop in a straight line. No nation can exist in isolation. During the 1950's and 1960's, others have contained China, and it was not possible for China to develop its relations with the outside world. Now, China has implemented the open-door policy. Capitalist nations can even invest in China, and they can also invest in petroleum.

The Communist Party of China believes the Cultural Revolution will not occur again. The mistake of the 1960's in Hong Kong was the ultraleftist action. Why were riots launched? Not only does Hong Kong hope to have no more upheavals, but China also does not wish to have any more. They hope so today and they also hope so tomorrow.

I want to talk about two types of systems. We will not change Hong Kong's capitalist system. If the system changes, it would not be a special zone, and Article 31 of the constitution would be empty talk. This is not only the way of thinking of this generation; it has nothing to do with who lives or who dies, it does not depend on certain individuals and it will be continued by the next generation.

China and Britain are friendly nations. Our relations are friendly, and therefore, it is beneficial to both the governments and the peoples on both sides to solve problems via bilateral talks. The solution resolved by these negotiations must honor China and must also honor Britain. If the problem cannot be solved, what glory will there be for the British government and its people? If this problem is solved, it would benefit friendly cooperation and economic development between both sides.

Your worries are understandable. You work and live in Hong Kong. Your opinions and worries are understandable. I welcome everyone of you to talk about your opinions so that I can listen to some more.

## The Chinese and British Embassies Have Made Contacts; Britain Has Not Proposed Any Plan

The governments of both nations have already made contact through their embassies, and delegations have been organized. The question of responsibility is not on China's shoulders but on Britain's shoulders. Britain has not yet proposed any plan. It has only lingered around the question of sovereignty. Of course, sovereignty cannot be discussed, but we praise Mrs Thatcher very highly. She is wise; as in playing chess, her first move was a mistake. She has now changed, and the second move will be right, and we are urging her to push quickly for a method of solution. Fourteen years seem on the surface to be a long time but actually the time is very short. Last year, we said we



hoped to propose a plan within 1 or 2 years, but can it be done this year? Can it be done next year? The plan must be negotiated by both sides, and it cannot be solved unilaterally. I hope you will also talk with the British and urge them to negotiate quickly. Otherwise, by pressuring us alone, you will not get anything. We originally hoped talks could begin in May. We were very anxious, and we clearly proposed to maintain Hong Kong's system, not only for this generation but also for the next generation. This is beneficial to all sides.

#### As Long as the System Remains Unchanged, Capital and People Will All Return

It was not easy for Hong Kong to reach its present stage. Shenzhen cannot compare with Hong Kong. Fujian also has a special economic zone, and it is also a socialist special zone. I recently went to Xiamen. The situation is slightly better than that in Shenzhen. The airport is about to be completed. The special economic zones are all inside the socialist system. In the Xiamen special economic zone, the price of the land does not have to be paid for 20 years, like investment without cost.

Hong Kong has already developed for a period of time. Hong Kong has already become a free international port, a center of international trade and finance, and it is also our channel to the outside. Regardless, as long as Hong Kong's system does not change, Hong Kong will continue to prosper. Capital and people will all return. The downturn of Hong Kong's economy is only temporary, and there is no need to worry just because a small group of people has left. If they do not have confidence, they can leave. They can still come back in the future.

I met Jian Yueqiang [4675 1878 1730] four times. We are good friends. We can discuss everything. He and I talked about this. As long as the system does not change, we need not worry about any outflow of capital and talent. As long as the method of doing things is not changed, the method can be improved. The key is improvement. We will not carry out the reforms of the 1950's, you can be sure of that.

Hong Kong's development is lopsided. The raw material for the electronics industry is entirely imported from abroad. It is processed and then shipped abroad. This situation is a shortcoming. If Hong Kong is to remain stable and prosperous, it must maintain its supply, and Hong Kong's major industry must be reformed. If China wants to import, a slight improvement in technology will increase it! We are confident. We are not only confident about the four modernizations, the 1 billion people are also confident. China's rural areas have surplus foods and more edible oil. There must be more processing and there must be improvements in technology. Hong Kong can realize these.

#### Prosperity of Hong Kong Cannot Be Separated From China, But China's Four Modernizations Do Not Need Hong Kong

There are many things China can supply Hong Kong. Hong Kong's prosperity cannot be separated from China's four modernizations, but to say that the four modernizations cannot be separated from Hong Kong is not so. This relation

must be correctly understood. China does not need Hong Kong to carry out the four modernizations. Hong Kong relies on China to supply material goods. China's four modernizations can guarantee Hong Kong's prosperity. I talked with Jian Yueqiang. Jian Yueqiang also agreed with this view.

You are welcome to come and take a look and to understand the situation. The member nations of the European Common Market cannot be independent of each other. Everyone relies on each other. China does not have this problem.

After the Communist Party takes back Hong Kong, who can predict the changes? Who can say for sure prosperity and stability will be maintained? Today we want to maintain Hong Kong's stability and prosperity, but after 1997, there is still the question of prosperity and stability, and in the 14 years starting from now, we still hope to maintain stability and prosperity. You must have confidence in the future of Hong Kong. If your friends have left, let them leave. As you said, they will all come back. Now, whatever is said is empty talk. Let time prove it!

There are many questions now that must be solved by negotiations between China and Britain. I do not plan to answer concrete questions here. If the talks between China and Britain are not clear, it is understandable to feel that the future is pessimistic.

You can have two homes, one in Hong Kong and another in a foreign land. Go and take a look and then come back. Go! It is not that easy a life elsewhere! Go to the United States and take a look. It is not easy living there. Some people have told me that if you have savings in the United States, the interest you earn is not even enough to pay the bank.

We guarantee that everything in Hong Kong will not change. The free life will not change, the system will not change, the way of living also will not change. There is a lot of freedom elsewhere, and it is also very free in China. Of course, absolute freedom is not possible. If there is absolute freedom, every system will collapse!

There is a question of mutual understanding between us. It is hoped that more people organize groups to come to China and take a look. We will consider your opinions. At present, the two nations have not begun to talk, and it is difficult to talk about concrete things!

China Will Not Take Back the Power of Government, But Hong Kong Must Implement Reforms

It is hoped that you can have confidence and believe that Hong Kong will become better and not worse. We are very careful about the question of Hong Kong. We will not do anything or say anything that will harm Hong Kong. But some things that have occurred in Hong Kong recently are not necessarily good. For example, one hike, two hikes, three hikes, tax hikes, price hikes and rent hikes are all not good. These are all a crisis. Prosperity and stable order must be realized. The most important is confidence.

In 1979, when I was in Hong Kong, MacLehose was not there, and therefore I talked with Jida. I said that China will not take back the power of government, but there must be some reforms in Hong Kong. All of the policies of raising prices are very poor. I am a military man, not a politician. I asked him (referring to Jida) how one copes with inflation. A lot of benefits went to Britain, including 35 percent of the revenue.

Do not worry. After this generation dies, the next generation will be wiser. Our generation did some dumb things but they have been corrected. A nation is like a person. We develop from mistakes. Without these lessons there would not have been a 3d plenum and the 12th party congress.

What I said today may not completely satisfy your needs, but we hope you will cooperate with us in the future to work from both sides. Propose opinions to us, and also propose opinions to Britain to solve the question of Hong Kong quickly. I beseech you to help solve the Hong Kong question. I believe there must be a mutually satisfactory method of solution.

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DENG, HU, ZHAO'S NEW SYSTEM

Hong Kong CH'I-SHI NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 7, Jul 83 pp 16-19

[Article by Qi Xin [7871 6580]: "New Situation of the System of Deng, Hu and Zhao"]

[Text] The Sixth National People's Congress saw a redistribution of power in the Deng, Hu and Zhao system. Since the third plenum, the "reformist faction" has been victorious, but up to now the problem of the conservative forces in the military, which have been a headache, has not been resolved. The establishment of the two military commissions and the withdrawal and "re-emergence" of Ye Jianying show that although the Chinese communist political situation is basically stable, there is still the possibility of change.

Distribution of Power, Settling the Old, Stabilizing the Military

The Sixth National People's Congress and the Sixth National Political Consultative Conference, held from 4-22 June, can be said to be an internal redistribution of power while the Deng, Hu and Zhao system gradually consolidates itself.

Since the first meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress in 1978, the National People's Congress meeting each year has been following the themes of economic construction and reformation of the system. In personnel, efforts were directed toward the consolidation of Deng, Hu and Zhao system. The National People's Congress meeting in 1979 was the first National People's Congress after the third plenum. This meeting was characterized by the campaign against special privileges, but as a result, it caused the overthrow of the "small Gang of Four" at the beginning of the 1980's--Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian, Ji Dengkui and Wu De. At the National People's Congress meeting in 1980, Hua Guofeng talked a lot about the reformation of the system, but as a result, Zhao Ziyang replaced Hua Guofeng as premier. The National People's Congress meetings in 1981 and 1982 coincided with the personnel changes within the party and carried out the reorganization of the personnel of the state agencies. By the Sixth National People's Congress, the many layers of hindrances by the Cultural Revolution faction, the senior faction, the oil faction and the forces of the military conservatives were finally eliminated, power was redistributed, the old were settled and the military was established.

Up to the fifth meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress at the end of last year, the 85-year-old Ye Jianying did not have any intention of retiring. At the 12th National Party Congress last September, he even indicated that he would "serve until his death." At the fifth meeting of the National People's Congress in December, he proposed that "new and old cadres should cooperate closely, unite in combat and open up a new situation together." He also proposed that "for the future, young people must cooperate with old people to guarantee the implementation of the constitution." Although the Chinese communist pragmatists continue to call for filling the rank and file with young people and letting Liu Bocheng [0491 0130 2110] and Cai Chang [5591 2545] and such people willingly retire as an example, the senior faction and the conservative forces in the military still continue to hold on. Up to February of this year, Hu Yaobang revealed to the outside world that Ye Jianying was about to resign. On 3 March, the PEOPLE'S DAILY finally published a letter by Ye Jianying to the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. The letter was not one of resignation, only a suggestion that he not be nominated as delegate to the National People's Congress, thus keeping his name off the list of candidates for the chairmanship of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. After the willing retirement of Ye Jianying, who symbolizes the senior faction and the conservative forces in the military and his withdrawal from "serving to the end," the Deng, Hu and Zhao system was able to make overall personnel arrangements on the basis of consolidating its power.

Hu Yaobang invited people from all sides to hold a "Democratic Consultative Conference" on the eve of this National People's Congress and made suggestions concerning the state and the leaders of the Political Consultative Conference on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. At the meeting, he proposed the so-called building up of the three ranks. The first rank was "some highly respected old comrades who devised the major principles and policies of the state and the party within a command tent." The second rank was the "comrades working on the front line in the State Council and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China." The third rank was "morally equipped and talented young and strong cadres to be selected to enter the leading groups at each level."

In the past few years, the personnel of the State Council has been in a constant reshuffle and reorganization. Generally it has coincided with the arrangement by the Deng, Hu and Zhao system, and therefore it was not readjusted much this time. The personnel of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was set at the 12th Party Congress last September. The cadres on the front line in the administration and the party were people holding real power. The senior officers in the party who retired from this front line entered the Advisory Committee and those in the state agencies entered the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the special committees of the people's congress. For example, former Foreign Minister Huang Hua retired last year to become a committee member of the State Council, and this time he again retired from the State Council to serve as vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Peng Chong [1756 0394] and Geng Biao [5105 7374] retired from the Politburo at last year's 12th party congress and this time became directors of the Legal Committee and the Foreign Affairs Committee, respectively.

This Sixth National People's Congress, besides determining again the power distribution within the State Council, also settled some old cadres who have retired from the front line of work and let them be in charge of some positions with no real power except to discuss official business. The purpose of such an arrangement is to win the support of these old cadres for the Deng, Hu and Zhao system and to reduce resistance.

Another purpose of the personnel arrangement at this National People's Congress had been to use the opportunity of Ye Jianying's desire to retire to further perfect and consolidate Deng Xiaoping's power system, especially his influence in the military. But it seems that this goal was not achieved.

#### The State Chairman Without Real Power

The new constitution reinstated the article of the 1954 constitution establishing a chairman of the state, and Li Xiannian was selected for the position. The vice chairmanship was given to Ulanfu. This became the most striking personnel arrangement of this National People's Congress.

China has suffered serious power struggles around the question of the chairmanship of the state. When Mao Zedong was the chairman of the Communist Party of China, he launched the Cultural Revolution to topple Liu Shaoqi who was chairman of the state, and struggles came about over the desire of Lin Biao to become chairman of the state. The cadres at each level and the people also engaged in many discussions and learning campaigns that wasted a lot of time and that hindered a lot of work in discussing whether a state chairmanship should be established. The fundamental reason was that the singular Communist Party leadership cannot allow more than one power center, i.e., "the sky must not have two suns."

But the reinstatement of the state chairman this time was different from the stipulations in the 1954 constitution. The position no longer possesses the real power given by the 1954 constitution to command the nation's armed forces and to call into session the highest State Council meeting. It can only issue laws and make various appointments and impeachments according to decisions made by the People's Congress and the Standing Committee, receive foreign dignitaries and diplomats, approve and abolish foreign treaties and such rubber stamp functions. The strangest thing is that this position as the chief of state even in form does not hold military power, and the constitution stipulates that he can "issue curfew orders, declare a state of war and issue mobilization orders." Without military power, who is going to execute the above commands?

But even though the state chairman has no real power, this is undoubtedly an honorary position equivalent to chief of state. This determines that the person in this position must be a man of high background. In addition, he must be a person acceptable to all factions, a person that even the pragmatists can be at ease with, and he must also be a person agreeable to the senior faction and the military officers who held power during the Cultural Revolution period. Also, he must be a person who has not formed a factional influence. Considering these conditions, there is almost nobody else but Li Xiannian. Li Xiannian

entered the Central Politburo in 1956. His revolutionary experience is no less than that of Deng Xiaoping. During the cultural revolution period he stood aside for only a short time, and most of the time he was with Zhou Enlai as representative of the old cadres occupying a position at the highest level. He was able to cooperate with those in power and those having real power almost during all eras--the era of Liu Shaoqi, the Cultural Revolution period, the Hua Guofeng period and the Deng Xiaoping era--and he himself did not pose any threat of becoming a real power. Although there was a period when he was accused of being the behind-the-scenes supporter of the "oil faction," the "oil faction" does not have any fundamental conflict with the Deng, Hu and Zhao system. Also, the people of the "oil faction" do not seem to form an opposing faction; when they came under attack, they were able to observe the trends and immediately abandoned Hua Guofeng and knew what they should do by handing over the economic power they had control of. There is another point: when Li Xiannian serves as the state chairman, there will not be many people who would need his "care," and there will not be any conservative forces that will use his reputation to oppose the reformist faction. Because of these factors, and the fact that he is a few years younger than other seniors (74 years old), Deng, Hu and Zhao finally decided to have him fill this highest honorary position.

It was originally decided that Liao Chengzhi would be the vice chairman of the state. The goal was to use Liao Changzhi, who was the offspring of one of the senior members of the Kuomintang, to make broad contacts with the Chinese in Hong Kong and Taiwan and with overseas Chinese and enable him to do some united front work directed toward Taiwan and Hong Kong and the overseas Chinese from this honorary position as deputy chief of state. But, unexpectedly, Liao Chengzhi died from a heart attack on 10 June during the meeting. Thus, 77-year-old Ulanfu was temporarily nominated. Ulanfu is a Mongolian. He served as minister of propaganda of the Communist Party and is also a member of the senior generation of Chinese communists. Letting Ulanfu, a Mongolian, serve as the state chairman of course also has a meaning in united front work in that he symbolizes unity among the nationalities. But conflicts of minority nationalities are not a serious question in China at present. On the contrary, one-party rule is not trusted by Taiwan, Hong Kong and the overseas Chinese. If the Chinese communists want to utilize this position to perform any effective function, it seems that one of the seniors of the Democratic Party and its factions such as Xu Deyan [6079 1795 3801] and Shi Liang [0670 5328] should be placed in this position. The reason why this was not done shows only that the Chinese communists do not trust non-Communist Party democratic persons or that doing so would be opposed by senior Chinese communists.

#### Central Military Commission of the State--A Strange Situation

The establishment of a Central Military Commission of the State in the new constitution is a very strange situation.

The constitution of almost every country in the world is the same as the 1954 constitution of China, stipulating that the chief of state is the commander of the nation's armed forces. China's 1975 constitution and 1978 constitution stipulated that the nation's armed forces are commanded by the Chinese Communist

Party chairman. This is very unusual. How can a party's chairman command the armed forces belonging to the whole nation? This new constitution again placed military power under the national system and is therefore more progressive than the 1975 and 1978 constitutions. But besides the state chairmanship, a military committee chairmanship has been established, and the military committee chairman is responsible to the People's Congress, not to the state chairman. Such a system shows outstandingly that the position of chief of state is but an empty position with only a name.

Another point that makes people feel strange is that the new constitution stipulates that the terms of the state chairman, the chairman of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, the vice chairman, the premier and vice premier of the State Council, the members of the State Council, etc., cannot be for more than 2 years, but there are no such regulations for the terms of the military commission members.

There is another question about terminology. The constitution says that the mission of the military commission of the state is "to lead the nation's armed forces." It uses the word "lead" instead of the traditional word "command." In meaning, it has changed from the concrete of the past to the abstract of the present. Because the concept of "leading" is ambiguous and abstract, it can refer to ideological leadership and also to concrete administrative leadership. The Chinese communists explain that the leading function of the Communist Party in the state machinery is to lead in ideology, principles and policy, not in the administration of the state machinery. But in the military, obedience is emphasized, ideological leadership has no significance and what is important is that whoever commands can command and mobilize the armed forces. The new constitution changed the traditional "command" of the military to "leading," and this obviously indicates that a final decision about the question of determining who commands the military has not been made.

This necessarily involves another military commission, i.e., the question of the Chinese Communist Central Military Commission. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has also established a military commission. What is the relationship of authority between this military commission and the state military commission? To which do the Ministry of National Defense and the chief of the General Staff belong? Which military commission concretely commands the armed forces, i.e., possesses true military power?

The chairmen and vice chairmen of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China selected last year (Deng Xiaoping, Yejiaying, Xu Xiangquan, Nie Rongzhen and Yang Shangkun) average over 80 years old. Originally it was believed that this military commission would only make decisions while the concrete work of commanding the armed forces would be in the hands of the state military commission. And Deng Xiaoping is old and may need reliable successors to take care of commanding the armed forces. The arrangement of the past few years, including Geng Biao who once served as minister of national defense, almost could not satisfy him. At this People's Congress, Deng seems intentionally to let a younger person and someone he trusts lead the military commission, be responsible for commanding the military and hold military power while he holds the decisionmaking Central Military Commission of the party.



The People's Congress opened on 6 June. On 7 June, the PEOPLE'S DAILY published a photo of six people on its front page, including Hu Yaobang, Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Zhao Zihang and Deng Yinchao. This is a subtle indication that these six people were the ranking people of the Chinese communist political scene. There is no doubt that Deng Yinchao is chairman of the Political Consultative Conference, Peng Zhen is chairperson of the People's Congress, Li Xiannian is chairman of the state and Zhao Ziyang is premier. The general expectation is that Deng Xiaoping will become chairman of the military commission. But because Deng Xiaoping is not a delegate to the Sixth National People's Congress while Hu Yaobang is, even though the chairman of the military commission does not have to be produced from among the delegates of the People's Congress, if the Chinese communists decide to let Deng Xiaoping be the chairman of the state military commission, it would be better to include him among the delegates of the People's Congress. From this point of view, it seems that the original intention of the Deng, Hu and Zhao system was to let Hu Yaobang be the chairman of the state military commission. First, he can follow the will of the chairman of the party military commission to be in concrete command of the armed forces, and, second, Hu Yaobang's position in the military can be established to strengthen his power in party leadership. If they did not have such an intention, what would be the meaning of simply letting him be a delegate to the People's Congress?

As a result, not only does Deng Xiaoping continue to be the chairman of the military commission, but the vice chairman and members of the military commission are exactly the same as those of the party's military commission. Especially surprising is the fact that the 85-year-old Ye Jianying, who had already written a letter to the Standing Committee of the People's Congress indicating that he was "old and ill and had no more strength" and was about to say "good-bye" to the comrades of the Standing Committee of the People's Congress, suddenly came to serve as the vice chairman of the state military commission. This shows that the problems in the military are not small. Unless Ye Jianying wanted to hold on, at least the conservative forces in the military wanted him to continue to serve.

The problem in the Chinese communist military ranks has been the most troublesome problem for the Deng, Hu and Zhao system in recent years. During the period of military control in the Cultural Revolution, military officers who implemented extreme leftist lines and created many false, mistaken and wrongful cases served in important positions. Their tendency to support Mao and to oppose reforms is very strong. From the point of view of practical benefits, they fear the Deng, Hu and Zhao system will seek them out for their wrongdoing during the Cultural Revolution and negate the "three supports and two military" during the Cultural Revolution period (support the left, support the workers, support the peasants and military control and military training). After Lin Biao fell from power in 1971, Ye Jianying succeeded him as minister of national defense for a long time. He not only protected most of these military officers, he also formed an influence. With him as minister of national defense, the conservative forces in the military are more at ease, and they believe the question of the "three supports and two military" will not be dug up. Therefore, even if Ye himself does not wish to remain, the conservative

forces in the military still want him to remain. Deng Xiaoping not only was unable to force the conservative military officers to accept Hu Yaobang who has insufficient experience, and even with him as chairman of the military commission he could not hold the fort, so finally he had to let all of the members of the military commission of the Central Committee of the party selected by the 12th party congress last year serve as members of the military commission of the state.

It is this complex situation that has created a central military commission with two titles, the party and the state, but with exactly the same members.

It seems that in "stabilizing the military" at this People's Congress, the expected goal has not been realized. The structure and the personnel of the old military leadership agencies will still change in the next few years.

#### Potential Change

Personnel changes in the State Council have been fewer. Worth noting is the appointment of the better-educated and younger Li Peng [2621 7720] and Tian Jiyun [3944 4764 7189] as vice premiers. Li originally served as deputy minister of water conservation and electric power. Tian originally served as assistant secretary general of the State Council. Now, Tian still serves concurrently as secretary general of the State Council while the original secretary general, Du Xingyuan [2629 2502 0997], resigned.

The personnel changes in the State Council were made entirely under the Deng, Hu and Zhao system. Take the newly added vice premier as an example, whose goal is to realize the idea of the Deng, Hu and Zhao system of establishing a young and specialized "third rank." As to the key power distribution, it does not have much significance.

In reviewing the past 5 years, the Deng, Hu and Zhao system began in 1978. First, Hu Yaobang launched the discussion on the standards of practice and directed attacks against the "everything is yes faction." At the same time, he used the economic experiments of Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li in Sichuan and Anhui as the capital to infiltrate his power gradually into the party, administration, economy, military and the locality. In the ideological realm, he defeated the "everything is yes faction," which worshiped Mao Zedong Thought, then purged the "Cultural Revolution faction" headed by Wang Dongxing in the party and further eliminated Hua Guofeng's position first in the government and then in the party. Then he attacked the "oil faction" including Li Xian-nian, Yu Qiuli and Kang Shien [1660 0013 1869], who held the nation's economic power by using the "Bohai No 2" incident. The "oil faction" saw the advantages and disadvantages and did not resist but immediately handed over all the economic power, including the important positions of vice premier, head of the Economic Committee and head of the Planning Committee. Deng, Hu and Zhao solved the problems in the Central Committee on the one hand and reorganized the localities on the other. All of these moves could be said to have been victorious one after the other. The only resistance to the pragmatist faction was the military. For several years, Deng, Hu and Zhao used a lot of thought to solve the problem in the military. In the past 2 years, they delayed final

decisions about the leadership of the party, administration and the military because Ye Jianying held on. In February of this year, Ye Jianying decided to retire. It was originally believed that power could be distributed, the old could be settled and the military could be stabilized on the basis of the consolidation of the Deng, Hu and Zhao system. But the results proved that the question of the military has not been solved, and while the Chinese communist political situation is basically stable, the possibility of change cannot be ruled out.

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END