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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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12 January 1984

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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UNITED STATES

U.S. POSITION ON ISRAEL, PLO CRITICIZED

OW290808 Beijing XINHUA in English 0716 GMT 29 Dec 83

[Text] Washington, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson said that the United States may support Israel's right to exist but it has no obligation to support Israel's occupation and expansion in the Middle East.

In an interview with the NEW YORK TIMES published here today, Jackson said he favored upholding Israel's right to exist while allowing self-determination and a homeland for the Palestinians.

He criticized the present U.S. "no-talk" policy toward the Palestine Liberation Organization as "a bad policy". In his recent negotiations with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, he noted, the U.S. president "did not link the negotiations with a commitment on the Golan Heights and West Bank occupation (by Israel), expanded settlements (in the Israeli-occupied areas) and the offensive use of American weapons in the invasion and occupation of Lebanon.... It made America a party to the occupation and to the invasion."

He pointed out, "In effect, America helped to finance that invasion and occupation which robbed America of any innocence or any moral authority."

He therefore called for "a measure of fairness and justice" in U.S. relations with the Israelis and Arabs.

CSO: 4000/150

WESTERN EUROPE

UK PAPER SAYS U.S. MAY USE NONNUCLEAR MISSILES

OW191956 Beijing XINHUA in English 1837 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] London, 19 Dec (XINHUA)--The United States is considering deployment of new cruise missiles armed with conventional high explosives in addition to the nuclear cruise missiles arriving in Western Europe, the SUNDAY TIMES says.

The British newspaper yesterday quotes defense sources in Washington as saying a study prepared there lists Turkey, Denmark, Federal Germany, Iceland, Scotland, Norway and Japan as the "most useful" countries in which to base the proposed non-nuclear cruise system.

The paper notes that although the proposed new cruise missiles would be armed with conventional high explosives, the launchers could also be used to fire nuclear cruise missiles.

It says the sources in Washington had confirmed that the plan, prepared by the Washington Think Tank Science Application Inc., is one of several under official consideration by Pentagon officials.

The SUNDAY TIMES says the plan offered two advantages to the NATO alliance. "The system is designed to act as a nuclear decoy. Because it would be identical in appearance to the nuclear missiles and their launchers, it would confuse Soviet strategists about the number and whereabouts of NATO's nuclear weapons," it adds.

It continues: "The system's mobility would make it difficult to locate and difficult to destroy, except by large scale attack.

"The missiles would guard narrow sea passages through which the Soviet Navy has to pass. One of these lies between the north of Scotland, Greenland and Iceland.

"The system would provide a relatively cheap and effective way to counter what U.S. joint chiefs of staff see as the growing threat of the Soviet Navy to NATO sealanes in the north Atlantic."

"The attraction of the system, known as the ground-launched anti-ship system, is its relative cheapness since it uses existing technology. It would combine Tomahawk anti-ship cruise missiles armed with high explosives, such as those on board the U.S. battleship New Jersey, with the mobile launchers of the type used by nuclear cruise missiles based at Greenham Common," the paper says.

CSO: 4000/149



WESTERN HEMISPHERE

GUOJI WENTI YANJIU DISCUSSES CENTRAL AMERICA

HK161020 Beijing GUOJI WENTI YANJIU in Chinese No 4, Oct 83 pp 14-18

[Article by Xiao Yu [2556 3342]: "Crux and Prospects of the Central America Issue"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The situation in Central America has continuously deteriorated this year and the people of the world are paying a good deal of attention to what is going on in the region. The situation there was caused by many complicated and deep-rooted factors. As to how to solve the problems in the region, the Chinese people, who persistently side with the countries and people of the Third World, give resolute support to the majority of Latin American countries in safeguarding independence and sovereignty, opposing foreign interference, and seeking a peaceful solution to the Central American issue. They also hope that the Contadora group will achieve positive results in its endeavors so that the tension in Central America will soon become less acute.

/1. The Appearance and Development of Tension/

The turbulent situation in Central America has gone on for years, and the cause of the turbulence can be traced back to a long, long time ago. The overthrow of the 40-year-long tyrannical rule of the Somoza family in 1979, under pressure from the Nicaraguan people, shocked the whole of Latin America and especially the Central American countries, such as El Salvador and Guatemala, which stood in the breach. Guerrilla forces in the two countries which had been suppressed in the late sixties flared up again and developed rapidly. Several detachments of guerrilla forces in El Salvador, which had been scattered around the country, immediately united together and grew fast. By uniting with other political forces, they formed an anti-government front with the wide support of the masses, constantly launching attacks throughout the country and constituting a cloudy threat to the ruling regime. In Guatemala, three detachments of guerrilla forces also united to wage with concerted efforts an armed struggle on a certain scale. Meanwhile, the democratic movement surged forward in varied forms in other Central American countries. Strikes and riots were often evident in countries like Costa Rica, which had been regarded as relatively stable. Central America, which the United States had all along considered its "backyard," once again was plunged into the wave of revolution of opposing imperialism and tyranny and striving for democracy and freedom. This threw the United States and the regimes it backed in some Central American countries into a panic, as they worried that a "domino" revolutionary situation might appear in Central America.

In order to change such a situation and stop the revolution, the U.S. Government never ceased its efforts to readjust its policy and strategy in relation to Central America. Since he came into power, Reagan has been pursuing a "tough" policy toward Central America. By taking El Salvador as the point of departure, he gave enormous military aid to the government to rigorously suppress guerrilla forces in an attempt to solve the problem in a short time. However, no notable results have been achieved so far. Guerrilla forces in El Salvador suffered losses but their main force was still there, and they learned a lot concerning strategy and tactics, and even made progress on the battlefields. As a result, a seesaw battle emerged in El Salvador and no favorable change has taken place, as the U.S. Government had expected. Under such circumstances, the U.S. Government vented its anger on Nicaragua for its support of guerrilla forces in El Salvador, claiming that the United States would never reconcile with Nicaragua.

For this reason, the United States has gradually shifted the focus of its Central American policy from El Salvador to Nicaragua, exerting pressure on it in three areas--politics, the economy, and the military. 1) Making continued efforts to isolate Nicaragua diplomatically. The United States has expelled 20 Nicaraguan diplomats and closed 6 Nicaraguan consulates. Besides, it also incited member countries of the "Central American Democratic Community" to cross swords with Nicaragua by continuously spreading propaganda that Cuba and Nicaragua interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. 2) Striking economic blows at Nicaragua. The United States cancelled 90 percent of the sugar quotas from Nicaragua and transferred them to other Central American countries. In addition, it also discontinued flights from Nicaragua to the United States. 3) What was the most important was a military threat to Nicaragua, which was, in fact, a three-pronged attack against Nicaragua as follows: 1) Efforts were made to arm Somoza's surviving forces in Honduras to launch large-scale armed intrusions against Nicaragua. 2) The United States openly abetted Honduras to create disturbances, thus escalating the border conflicts between Nicaragua and Honduras. Moreover, fierce sea fighting took place between the two countries in the Gulf of Fonseca. 3) The United States dispatched 19 warships in 3 groups to sea areas east and west of Nicaragua. About 20,000 U.S. troops, along with thousands of Honduras troops, operated a 6-month-long amphibious exercise. The United States even claimed that nearly 10,000 of its troops stationed in the Panama Canal were ready to accept any assignment at any time.

All the above shows that a definite change has taken place this year in the Central American situation, with the covert U.S. intervention in changing into overt intervention, and with its focus shifting from El Salvador to Nicaragua. In its policy toward Nicaragua, the United States stepped up direct military threats to Nicaragua instead of inducements that were made via diplomatic and economic channels. As a result, besides the civil war battleground in El Salvador, Central America today sees another battlefield between Honduras and Nicaragua, where conflicts between the two countries may escalate into a real war. Nicaragua, which was exposed to enemy attacks on all sides, had to take some countermeasures to maintain its security. For example, it stepped up diplomatic activities by means of world rostrums such as the United Nations to denounce the U.S. intervention and provocation so as to win the support of world public opinion. At the same time, it further reinforced its military forces while mobilizing the masses to play a supporting role in repulsing armed intrusions by Somoza's surviving forces and in

wiping out invading foreign troops along its border with Honduras. However, the United States is pressing forward steadily with swords drawn and bows bent. In analyzing the United States intent to action, there are now two different views held in the world. The first analysis says that the current U.S. action is aimed at mainly exerting pressure upon Nicaragua to force it to make more concessions and to give up support to the guerrilla forces in El Salvador so as to maintain the ruling regime in that country and to prevent the influence of Nicaragua from spreading further in Central America. This can be regarded as a U.S. maneuver to "relieve the besieged by besieging the base of the besiegers." The other analysis points out that the United States has lost its faith in luring Nicaragua to surrender and has made up its mind to overthrow the present regime in Nicaragua by military force. Regardless of the real intentions of the United States, its actions are now bringing about new dangers to the situation in Central America.

## /2. The Crux of the Problem/

The long-standing turbulence in Central America resulted mainly from sharp contradictions in the economy and the social classes in some countries.

Dictatorship by the Somoza family in Nicaragua had lasted for 40 years before the revolution. During its early years in power, the Somoza family had only a poorly established coffee plantation. But in 1979, 7 Somoza family groups had 340 enterprises with a total of \$2 billion in capital and were in control of 40 percent of the national economy and 15 percent of the nation's cultivated land. The family was also granted the privilege of utilizing power, railway, and harbors and obtaining loans with special terms, and its import-export business was [word indistinct] from taxation. Anyway, corruption, irregularities, and embezzlement of public funds by force or trickery were absurd to the extreme in the Somoza years. Nevertheless, the broad masses of people were extremely poor. It was estimated that 60 percent of the peasantry struggled along on the verge of starvation and about 70 percent of them were illiterate. In 1972, a massive earthquake shook Managua, the capital, causing 30,000 deaths and leaving 250,000 people homeless. In the face of such misery, the Somoza family went so far as to pocket the relief materials and money donated by countries. All this drove the people beyond forbearance and ignited the flame of revolution in 1979.

Some other countries of Central America, especially El Salvador and Guatemala, have close links with Nicaragua in history, politics, and economy. In past years, these countries fought shoulder to shoulder against the colonial rule of Spain. After proclaiming independence, they made common efforts to organize the Commonwealth of Central America, and then all of them became members of the Organization of Central American States, members of the Central American Common Market, and members of the Central American Defense Commission. However, the pity is that like the people in old Nicaragua, the people of El Salvador and Guatemala, where tyranny is overwhelming, have no democratic rights at all. In the past 50 years and so, El Salvador was under the high-handed reign of a military junta. Resistance by the people was mercilessly suppressed. In the uprising in 1932 only, more than 10,000 people were massacred. In 1972, a general election was held, but was immediately nullified by the military, who had ruled the country for more than 40 years. Consequently, the elected president and his supporters were arrested or

exiled. Right-wing military in Guatemala are overbearing too. In 1954, they overthrew President Arbenz shortly after he entered office. Later, under the pretext of "anti-violence." They massacred more than 30,000 people in 1 district, and most of them were innocent peasants. Both El Salvador and Guatemala are still in a state of poverty and backwardness. Agriculture constitutes a major part of the economy of the two countries and the feudal system of manor ownership is still overwhelming in the countryside, with the application of semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations of production. El Salvador has a large population but not enough land; its population density ranks highest in Latin America. For this reason, the land issue [word indistinct] intensely burning one. While 10 percent of the land owners are in control of 78 percent of the arable land, the broad sections of peasants have only very little land, and what is more, 40 percent of peasant households have not even a single inch of land. In the whole nation, 14 powerful families monopolize all economic lifelines in El Salvador. The differences between the rich and the poor are very sharp. Thirty-eight percent of national income is in the hands of 5 percent of the population, but per capita income of 60 percent of the population is below [figure indistinct]. The unemployed and the partially employed account for 50 percent of the urban population. In Guatemala, land distribution is also absolutely irrational; 26 percent of the peasantry have no land. Ninety percent of the people are struggling along on the verge of starvation. Both the illiteracy rate and the infant mortality rate are second to none in Latin America. Guatemala is also facing a harassing social problem--the problem of Indians, who make up 50 percent of the whole population. They are more miserable than the common poor people. The situation in some other Central American countries is a bit better than that in prerevolutionary Nicaragua and today's El Salvador and Guatemala, but the economy is also rugged and the people are very poor.

Just imagine, how can such a social, political, and economic situation ensure the "tranquility" the rulers of these countries expect? How can people's resistance be prevented? As for these questions, even the U.S. rulers give a negative answer. In a response to Reagan's statement on 27 April 1983, Senator Dodd of the Democratic Party pointed out: "The tyrannical junta regimes have smothered democracy and have infringed upon human rights in Central America. If there had been no poverty, famine, and injustice there, there would have been no revolution. So long as there is an oppressive system in this region, there will be revolution."

Another important reason for long-standing turbulence in Central America is the deep contradictions between the countries in the region and the United States.

The United States has all along regarded Central America as its sphere of influence. It has major economic interests in this region and pays great attention to its strategic importance. Nearly half of its import and export goods, two-thirds of its imported oil, and more than 50 percent of its imported strategic mineral resources are shipped through the Panama Canal. Moreover, 40 percent of the warships of the U.S. east and west coast fleets pass through the Panama Canal and cruise on the Caribbean Sea. Therefore, just as a former American ruler said, "this is a region which does not tolerate a step forward by any hostile forces."

It may be said that the United States, which has made unstained efforts to tighten its control over Central America, does not tolerate any "misbehavior" in the region. From 1946 to 1972, it had exercised 58 armed interventions and subversive

actions in Latin America, of which 53 were in Central America and the Caribbean area and involved 11 countries. (Helade Biyeer Kayousi [6378 2139 1795 1764 0048 1422 0595 3945 2448] "Modern Caribbea" p 149)

As a result of U.S. oppression and exploitation, people's struggle in Central America has a strong nature of opposing the United States, with extensive support of the masses. For example, the anti-U.S. struggle waged by patriotic Panamanian people in 1964 and the Nicaraguan people's struggle against U.S. support for Somoza's tyrannical rule in 1979 were all widely supported by people from various walks of life in the two countries. The two struggles called forth a universal response in Central American countries and yielded to far-reaching influence.

The long-standing turbulence in Central America is also directly related to contention between the two superpowers in the world.

The situation in Central America gives another superpower in the world a chance to meddle. Proceeding from its global strategy of contention, and under the cloak of supporting the struggle for national liberation, the Soviet Union, mainly through Cuba, is stepping up infiltration in the region in an attempt to build a fire under the United States. With increased tension in the region, Soviet military aid to Cuba is constantly increasing. While transferring a part of these weapons to the Nicaraguan Government and El Salvador, Cuba has dispatched a large number of military advisers to Nicaragua. In addition, the Soviet Union also shipped military and material aid directly to Nicaragua. During his visit to Nicaragua in August this year, the general secretary of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that in the event Nicaragua became involved in regional war, the Soviet Union would "lend support by all means." It was reported that when the U.S. Fleet was manoeuvring off Nicaragua, the Soviet Union shipped large quantities of military equipment to Nicaragua.

The Soviet interference whips up the United States to increase its economic and military aid to the region. A package of plans for American aid have been worked out. At the same time, efforts have been made to intensify its military deployment, with a massive assembly of warships on the Caribbean Sea and repeated military exercises near the Panama Canal and the Gulf of Mexico, in an attempt to subdue Cuba and warn the Soviet Union by flaunting its strength. Thus it can be seen that the hegemonic contention between the United States and the Soviet Union will further aggravate the situation in Central America.

### /3. What Will the Situation Be?/

The situation in Central America is now at a critical juncture and stands at the crossroads of war and peace talks, and there is now a crucial test of strength.

The force represented by the Contadora group, which advocates a solution to the conflict through peace talks and dialogue, is steadily growing with increasing influence, and has become the unanimous voice of world countries. This is the continuation and development of a series of mediations and consultations which have been made in recent years by many Latin American countries, West European countries, and some political groups and organizations which worry that their interests will be infringed upon due to the conflict in the region.

Since 1980, and especially since last year, heads of state of some Latin American countries have repeatedly appealed for peace and have made every effort to relax the tension in Central America. During his visit to Nicaragua on 21 February 1982, President Lope E de Portillo of Mexico put forward a peace proposal for the El Salvador issue. On 15 September 1982, the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela wrote a joint letter to the countries concerned, calling for an ease of the tension in Central America. On 4 October 1982, foreign ministers of Central American countries and the Caribbean region met, stressing a solution to the problems at issue in line with the principle of noninterference of other nations' internal affairs. On 8 November 1982, the Panamanian president paid a special visit to Mexico to seek ways to ease the tension in Central America. Meanwhile, West European countries and some world organizations, and especially the Socialist International, which is tied by a thousand and one links to Latin America, also used their influence to explore avenues for a peaceful settlement of the Central America issue. By virtue of the aforementioned endeavors, the foreign ministers of Mexico, Venezuela, Columbia, and Panama met on Contadora island in Panama on 8 and 9 January this year to discuss the Central American issue. This is why the four nations are now called the Contadora group.

Following the meeting, the foreign ministers met again and again, proposing that the Central America issue be solved through peace talks and dialogue and reiterated that any problems should be settled by the countries concerned, without foreign intervention. At the same time, they also shuttled between the countries concerned and sponsored a series of meetings for foreign ministers of nine nations, including the five nations of Central America. In the middle of July 1983, heads of state of the group met in Cancun, Mexico, putting forward a 10-point plan for a settlement of the Central America issue. The plan not only viewed the solution to the problem from the military and political angles but also initiated efforts to eradicate the root of turbulence in the region by means of economic and social development and cooperation. From the meeting, the heads of state of the four nations also sent a message to both Reagan and Castro, calling for their support and cooperation for the proposal by the Contadora group.

The Cancun meeting aroused wide attention of world public opinion because the Contadora group, which is regarded as the first group of nations which earnestly seeks a peaceful solution to the Central America issue, put forward a concrete proposal instead of a statement of general principles. To support this proposal, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution, and the European Economic Community, as well as the Socialist International, France, Portugal, and other nations issued statements one after another, pointing out that the Central America issue should not be solved by military means, but by a political solution as put forth by the nations of the region. Meanwhile, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia, as well as heads of state of the 13 nations of the Caribbean community, also issued statements to express their firm support of the proposal.

All parties involved in the conflict in Central America also expressed their willingness to solve problems at issue in the spirit of the proposal. Under public pressure, the U.S. Government was compelled to abandon its unbending attitude and put on a pose of being willing to hold negotiations. The American President dispatched his special envoy, Stone, to Central America many times, and to

El Salvador to meet representatives of guerrilla forces. Due to the change in U.S. attitude, countries like Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica also expressed support to varying degrees for the activities of the Contadora group.

At first, Cuba took a wait-and-see attitude and did not react. After the Cancun meeting, Castro wrote a letter in reply to the heads of state of the four nations expressing support for the Cancun statement. Meanwhile, with the mediation of foreign ministers of the Contadora group, Nicaragua gave up its previous stand that it would only hold bilateral talks with the United States and Honduras and agreed to hold regional talks and to attend the foreign ministers conference of nine nations.

The above indicates that efforts of the Contadora group have achieved tentative and positive results and have brought about a gleam of hope for a peaceful settlement of the Central America issue.

However, people have not failed to notice that there are still numerous difficulties and formidable obstructions to be faced before the peace proposal can be put into effect. The two sides, each being antagonistic to the other, can hardly reach a real compromise due to their conflict of major interests. While expressing support for the proposal of the Contadora group, Nicaragua also put forth a six-point plan, promising no support for the guerrilla forces in El Salvador, but demanding that the United States no longer back Nicaraguan reactionaries and the El Salvador Government and no longer poke its nose into Central American affairs. At the same time, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica also put forward an eight-point proposal directed at Nicaragua in an attempt to compel it to submit. The United States is now pressing Nicaragua to make more compromises by using what is favorable to the United States in Nicaragua's six-point plan. In denouncing the intervention of superpowers, Latin American countries failed to take an identical view. Some nations deemed that the tension in Central America resulted mainly from U.S. intervention and called on the United States to stop its intervention. Some said that it was Soviet intervention in this region that caused some countries to ask for help from the United States to prevent internal turmoil. Even within the Contadora group there were differences of opinion. At the very outset, this group worked out more than 10 plans for a settlement of the Central America issue. These self-corroding and complicated contradictions have already made and will continue to make the Contadora group meet with more difficulties in its mediation activities. For this reason, no progress was made in the discussions on some concrete problems at the foreign ministers conference of nine nations sponsored by this group in Panama on 28 July. This indicates that the future may not be promising.

Meanwhile, people realize that the factors leading to war are continuously increasing. While expressing its support for the Contadora group and putting on a pose of holding peace talks, the United States is stepping up its intervention and is cooking up excuses for further actions. The present situation shows that the United States will probably give more help to Somoza's surviving forces to launch a massive attack and make use of activities of the armed forces of some opposition parties on the southern border areas of Nicaragua. At the same time, it will probably further arm the Honduran army to provoke more conflicts on its borders with Nicaragua, and still more prop up the armed forces of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras to declare war on Nicaragua.

We cannot rule out the possibility of U.S. Government intervention by dispatching troops. But this will be opposed, not only by the fair-minded world public opinion but also by the American people and opposition parties for fear that the United States will be plunged into another "Vietnam" war. This can be proved by the decision made recently in the U.S. House of Representatives on the suspension of giving secret aid to Nicaraguan reactionaries and from the opposition to any U.S. military actions in Central America. A general election will be held in the United States next year, so the Central America issue will come into controversial focus. The U.S. Government has to take into account the reactions and consequences arising from open military intervention. World public opinion also notes that if the United States risks universal condemnation and carries out direct military intervention, another superpower which is sitting back and waiting will take advantage of the occasion. Moved by its global strategy of contention, the Soviet Union will probably take some necessary steps to enter into the conflict for confrontation with the United States. The vice president of the Cuban Council of States and Ministers, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, said: If Nicaragua is attacked, it might be possible for Cuba to dispatch troops to Nicaragua. If this is the case, the escalation of contention between the two superpowers in this region will unleash a new threat to world peace.

In summarizing the above, there is hope for a peaceful settlement of the Central America issue. With the efforts of the Contadora group and international society, and especially the common efforts of all Latin American countries, it is possible that this hope will come true. However, there is also a danger that the conflict will rage further and the war will escalate step by step. Now, it is still difficult to see what kind of future will prevail. The situation today is that both sides involved in the conflict shall neither refuse to hold peace talks, nor even to come to terms on certain concrete problems, nor discard war as a means of solution. Now, there is appearing a situation [word indistinct] by fighting alternating with peace talks, or fighting hand-in-hand with progress in peace talks. Yet, no matter what the situation, we are convinced that the people of the whole world, especially the people of Latin America, will surely unite further to support the endeavors of the Contadora group so that peace will predominate over the imperialist force of war and the people of all Central American countries will be able to solve independently their regional problems without the intervention of superpowers.

CSO: 4005/282



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LI WEIHAN DISCUSSES 'IMPORTANCE' OF UNITED FRONT

HK280550 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 28 Dec 83 p 4

[Excerpts by Li Weihan, vice chairman of CPC Central Advisory Commission, from HONGQI]

[Text] The question of the united front is of major importance in the theoretical system of Mao Zedong Thought. Since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949, our country's united front has adopted the form of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. It includes all national minorities, all democratic parties, and all people's organizations.

Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, our united front played a gigantic role in the fight against internal and external enemies, in strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship and in advancing our country's socialist transformation and socialist construction. After 1957, the united front suffered from "leftist" interference, and during the "cultural revolution" it was all but wrecked by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques.

But with order restored by the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee in 1978, the united front is again being developed, strengthened and expanded.

China used to be semi-feudal and semi-colonial country and its people were long oppressed by feudalism and imperialist aggression. This historical condition caused the Chinese proletariat to have many allies. It can unite all the patriotic forces around itself, which includes the vast majority of the population.

In December 1947, when summing up the historical experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Without the broadest united front of the overwhelming majority of the population, it will be impossible to win victory in China's new democratic revolution.

"Moreover, this united front must be under the firm leadership of the Communist Party of China. Without the party's firm leadership, no revolutionary united front can win victory."

With the founding of new China our party has become the governing party and its leading position in the united front has been consolidated and strengthened as never before.

In the socialist period, to strengthen and develop the great unity of all the people, to overcome the destructive activities of internal and external enemies, to realize the unification of the motherland and to fulfill all the difficult tasks of socialist revolution and construction, our party must further develop the united front and maintain leadership over it.

The Chinese national bourgeoisie was born under conditions of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. Its socio-economic position determined a dual character in its basic political attitude. It had anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tendencies, but at the same time it was weak and vacillating. This was an important characteristic distinguishing our national bourgeoisie from the bourgeoisie of imperialist countries and our own big compradore bourgeoisie.

A correct appraisal of this dual character of the national bourgeoisie occupied an important portion of our party's political line. Whenever this problem was solved correctly, the revolution thrived. Otherwise, the revolution was beset with setbacks or even failure.

After the founding of the People's Republic, the national bourgeoisie still kept its dual character. "Exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the Constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other."

Now, the national bourgeoisie no longer exists as a class. The majority of its members have been transformed into laborers earning their own bread, and working hard for the socialist cause. This is a remarkable achievement of the Chinese united front, and an addition to the theoretical wealth of Marxism.

During the democratic revolution period, the question of intellectuals is of extreme importance to the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Without the participation of the intellectuals, victory in the revolution is impossible." Right up to the War of Liberation and the early days of the founding of the republic, large numbers of intellectuals joined the revolutionary ranks.

After 1957, "leftist" mistakes sometimes predominated the party's thinking. Intellectuals were often regarded as bourgeois, and many of them were labelled "rightists." During the "cultural revolution," they were ranked as the "stinking ninth category." Since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the party's correct policy in regard to intellectuals has been restored.

In the current historical period, with the victory of the socialist revolution and a basic change in the class status inside our country, our

united front has developed into the broadest front composed of all socialist laborers and patriots who support socialism and unification of the motherland. It also includes compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese citizens living abroad.

The three basic tasks of the united front in the new period are to build China into a modern socialist power, to realize the unification of the motherland and internationally to combat hegemonism.

We do not require that all our compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao and Chinese citizens living abroad should support socialism. So long as they are patriotic, in favor of the unification of the motherland and not against socialist new China, we should unite with them.

CSO: 4000/151

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPC GREETES DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE CONGRESS

OW161937 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1424 GMT 14 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA)--The following is the text of the message of congratulations from the CPC Central committee to the Fifth National Congress of the China Democratic League.

Delegates, comrades: The Fifth National Congress of the China Democratic League opens solemnly today. This congress is convened under the excellent situation in which new achievements have been scored in all spheres of socialist modernization in the country. It is an important meeting on the creation of a new situation in the work of the Democratic League. The convening of the congress will certainly play an important motivating role in mobilizing and organizing all members of the league and the intellectuals with whom the league keeps in contact, and in giving full play to their enthusiasm for socialism in order to enable them to more effectively contribute their wisdom and strength to the modernization drive. The CPC Central Committee hereby extends its warm congratulations to the congress.

The China Democratic League, having stood together with our party through thick and thin, and fought shoulder to shoulder with us for a long time, is our party's close comrade-in-arms. It has a glorious, patriotic and revolutionary history. The league's members and organizations made important contributions to the great struggle of the people of all nationalities in the country led by the CPC to oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism and to win final victory in the new democratic revolution. A number of the comrades of the league heroically laid down their lives in this struggle. Because of this, the people always dearly cherish the memory of them.

Since the founding of new China, the Democratic League has consistently and closely cooperated with our party, playing an important role in enthusiastically serving socialist transformation and socialist construction and in leading the league's members and the intellectuals with whom the league keeps in contact to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the Democratic League has actively taken part in consultations on major issues in the state's political life, economic construction, and united front work; participated in the task of developing culture and education; and scored gratifying achievements and

experiences in rendering scientific and technological consultative services and giving education and construction support for the border and national minorities areas. Many of the league's members have been named model or advanced workers. Some others have conducted in-depth social investigations and studied hard, while others have won glory for the motherland in international academic exchange activities. The CPC Central Committee is extremely pleased at the Democratic League's outstanding achievements during the new historical period and wishes to take this opportunity to express its cordial regards and sincere respects to the leading comrades and all members of the league.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out in his "speech at the opening ceremony of the national science conference" in March of 1978: "Those who do physical or mental labor are workers of socialist society." In the past few years, our party has vigorously implemented its policy toward intellectuals and strengthened the unity between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intellectuals on the other. With the enthusiasm of the broad masses of intellectuals for socialist modernization rising to an unprecedented height, a nationwide upsurge in the march toward science and culture has been stirred up. People of all nationalities in the country are working hard to create a new situation in socialist modernization and all undertakings are flourishing. Every area of the motherland is prosperous. The revitalization of the Chinese nation is promising and the future of China's socialist cause is very bright. No difficulties can hinder the industrious and brave Chinese people from advancing victoriously on the broad road of socialism.

We should step up socialist modernization; strive for the reunification of the motherland, including the return of Taiwan, combat hegemonism, safeguard world peace, and build China into a culturally advanced and highly democratic modern socialist country. To achieve these tasks, we must firmly rely on the workers, peasants, and intellectuals to consolidate and develop the broad patriotic united front led by the CPC with the participation of various democratic parties, nonparty democrats, the patriotic forces of all the nationalities, and the people's organizations. Our party will continue to firmly implement the policy of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and the principle of "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal or woe" with the various democratic parties and all nonparty democrats; respect the political freedom, organizational independence, and legal equality of the democratic parties within the limits of the Constitution; and support them to develop the work and activities independently. We hope that the Democratic League's organization and members will adhere to the four fundamental principles, carry forward their glorious tradition and strong points, play an active role in advancing socialist material and spiritual civilization, press for achievements and train more people, and make still greater new contributions in all these fields of work.

Acting in accordance with the decision on party rectification adopted at the 2d plenary session of our party's 12th Central Committee, an overall party rectification has begun. The Central Commission for Guiding Party Rectification has issued formal circulars, asking party committees at all levels to listen to the opinions of friends and other people outside the party in the course of the rectification process, and spelling out concrete rules and

regulations on this matter. We sincerely hope that comrades of the Democratic League, with a sense of responsibility to the state and the people and acting in the spirit of the nonparty personages forum held by our party's Central Committee in October of this year, will say all they know and say it without reserve, actively put forward their opinions and suggestions, helping us do a good job in party rectification. Our party has raised the questions of strengthening work on the ideological front and eliminating spiritual pollution. This has also aroused the attention and concern of all sectors. Eliminating spiritual pollution is a pressing task on the ideological front. Its goal is similar to that of the current party rectification--to better implement the line, principles, and policies adopted at the 3d plenary session of our parth's 11th Central Committee and to advance socialist modernization centered on economic construction. To eliminate spiritual pollution is to solve the ideological problem among the members of our party, cadres of the state, and the people, which is itself a contradiction among the people themselves. It is imperative to understand and distinguish clearly between right and wrong, strictly draw clear lines of demarcation in applying this policy, lead comrades concerned in studying documents and enhancing their understanding, and use the methods of criticism and self-criticism to do a good job in this campaign. We hope that comrades of the Democratic League will play an active role in eliminating spiritual pollution and in advancing spiritual civilization.

We wish the congress complete success. We wish the delegates and comrades good health.

The CPC Central Committee, 14 December 1983

CSO: 4005/271

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON REPRIMAND OF QING OFFICIAL

HK091250 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Zhai Tunjian [5049 1470 1696]: "Why Was Wang Maoyin Reprimanded?"]

[Text] A footnote on page 146 of the first volume of Marx' "Das Kapital" says: "The Mandarin Wang Maoyin, the Chinese chancellor of the exchequer, took it into his head one day to lay before the son of heaven a proposal that secretly aimed at converting the assignats of the empire into convertible banknotes. The assignats committee, in its report of April 1854, gives him a severe snubbing. Whether he also received the traditional drubbing with bamboos is not stated. The concluding part of the report is as follows: 'The committee has carefully examined his proposal and finds that it is entirely in favor of the merchants, and that no advantage will result to the crown.'" "Wang Maoyin was the only Chinese mentioned in Marx' "Das Kapital." The story is about how Wang Maoyin, the chancellor of the Chinese exchequer of the Qing Dynasty and concurrently chancellor in charge of monetary affairs, was reprimanded for submitting a report to Emperor Xianfeng on the 5th days of the 3d month of the 4th year of Xianfeng (1854), which opposed to issuing low-value coins and proposed converting the official assignats of the empire into convertible banknotes.

Why was Wang Maoyin reprimanded? Most historians and economists hold that it is because his report was in favor of the merchants and thus offended the feudalist ruling class; others hold that Wang's proposal on the monetary system was not in favor of the merchants and that he was reprimanded only because the emperor, who was already dissatisfied with him when he submitted a report "On the Issue of Coins" in November of the previous year (1853), wanted to take this opportunity to reprimand him.

I hold that these two views are open to question.

In the first year of Xianfeng (1851), Wang Maoyin presented a memorandum to Emperor Xianfeng on adopting a new monetary system, but his proposal was not accepted. In the next year (1852), the financial situation became even worse in this feudal society. In view of this, Wang Yide, military governor of Fujian; and Sha Huana, president of the Censorate, also presented memorandums to the emperor on adopting the new monetary system. Then, the emperor

ordered Sha Huana and Wang Maoyin, then the inspector-general, to Shaanxi to work out the regulations for the new monetary system with the help of the exchequer. However, when the regulations were being discussed, Wang Maoyin's proposal was negated. After that, in order to rescue the country from the financial crisis, the Qing government began to cast coins in denominations of 100 and 1,000 coppers, resorting to inflation by every possible means. Wang Maoyin resolutely opposed to all this. He repeatedly presented memorandums to the emperor and pointed out the defects of casting coins. Since Wang Maoyin was the chancellor of the exchequer and concurrently chancellor in charge of monetary affairs, and also the sponsor for adopting a new monetary system, both those for and against the current monetary system had shown a grievance against him, although the current monetary system was not what he originally proposed. Under such circumstances, for the benefits of the feudal state and also for his own future and reputation, Wang Maoyin could not but reiterate his propositions again. On the 5th day of the [word indistinct] month of the 4th year of Xianfeng, he presented another memorandum "More on the Monetary Regulations." In this memorandum, in addition to reiterating his propositions and suggesting some remedial measures for converting the assignats of the empire into convertible banknotes, he also asked the emperor to issue an imperial decree to punish him severely so as to comfort the people under heaven. Xianfeng was very angry at this. He told Yixin, also known as Prince Gong, and Zai Quan, Prince of Ding, on the 8th day of the 3d month that Wang Maoyin "only knows how to benefit the merchants...and knows nothing about the overall situation. Moreover, he was audacious enough to ask for severe punishment from me so as to comfort the people under heaven." Then he issued an imperial decree to reprimand Wang Maoyin.

The reason why Emperor Xianfeng was so angry at Wang Maoyin's memorandum this time and issued a decree to reprimand the latter was not that the latter "only knows how to benefit the merchants," because as early as in the 3d year of Xianfeng, Wang already had pointed out repeatedly in his memorandums that the "monetary system does not benefit the merchants," and he was opposed to the policy of inconvertible assignats and the casting of low-value coins. At that time, however, Xianfeng did not criticize him, but instead, several times promoted him to higher positions, although his suggestions were not adopted. This shows that Emperor Xianfeng was actually in favor of his proposals, but felt it difficult to adopt them due to the political and military situations at that time and the serious financial crisis facing the ruling class. Therefore, the view holding that Emperor Xianfeng was dissatisfied with him long ago does not conform to historical facts.

Wang Maoyin's proposal on issuing convertible banknotes was aimed at preventing reckless issuing and devaluation of banknotes, so as to protect normal financial and commercial activities. This proposition was in conformity with the law of issuing banknotes. However, he was unable to rescue the feudal state from serious financial crisis. At that time, only the assignats of the empire (a kind of inconvertible bond) and the low-value coins could satisfy the predatory desire of the ruling class. However, all measures that run counter to economic law are doomed to failure. As a result of the issuing of the assignats of the empire, banknotes were devalued, banks went bankrupt, shops closed down, and complaints were heard everywhere. Of



course, Emperor Xianfeng, who approved this policy, could not feel happy about all this. Under such circumstances, Wang Maoyin, showing no understanding of the situation, continued to present memorandums to the emperor, opposing the existing policy of the Qing government and directly pointing out the evil consequences of the assignats, which was a taboo in the Qing court at that time. However, Xianfeng only criticized him for "knowing nothing about the overall situation." The true reason why Xianfeng felt intolerable was Wang's "asking for severe punishment" from the emperor. In feudal and autocratic China, all matters concerning the promotion and demotion of officials should be decided by none other than the emperor himself. Therefore, the request by Wang Maoyin himself for a "punishment" could only be regarded as an offense against the dignity of the emperor. No wonder Emperor Xianfeng said that he "was audacious enough," and reprimanded him.

As a matter of fact, the "reprimand" was but a superficial measure of Emperor Xianfeng to maintain his dignity. It was not enough to prove that Xianfeng was discontented with Wang Maoyin's proposal on issuing convertible banknotes, still less was it enough to show that Xianfeng "wanted to take this opportunity to reprimand him." On the 4th day after Wang Maoyin was reprimanded (that is, the 12th day of the 3d month) the emperor issued another decree, transferring him to the post of the chancellor of war. This shows that Xianfeng had ample trust in his loyalty to the imperial court. The above-mentioned reprimand on Wang Maoyin for "only knowing how to benefit the merchants" was but a measure of Emperor Xianfeng to maintain his personal dignity.

CSO: 4005/271

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

NIE RONGZHEN RECALLS MAO, 1948 BOMBING INCIDENT

HK290603 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

["Extracts from two sections of second volume of soon-to-be-published 'Memoirs of Nie Rongzhen,' printed here with permission of Comrade Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271]": "In the Days of Working Together With Comrade Mao Zedong in Chengnanzhuang"]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong Arrives

On 10 April 1948 the Central Committee of the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong arrived at Chengnanzhuang in Fuping County. When Comrade Mao Zedong arrived he had come across from Hongmenyan at the northern foot of Wutaishan. It was said that on the way they were hit by snow and had to stop for 2 days before they were able to cross Wutaishan.

I knew the area very well and there is a twisting mountain road across Hongmenyan. Around the bottom of the mountain there is nothing at all but when one reaches the top of the mountain the wind and fog set in and thus there are big differences in the weather. Even on a fine day, it is not easy to cross this pass.

Comrade Mao Zedong traveled by jeep and while crossing the rugged mountain road, the wheels skidded and so the going was slow. Seeing that the journey was going to be difficult he got out of the jeep and walked the road on foot. Comrades Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi, who had come with him, also got out of the jeep and followed Comrade Mao Zedong.

They traveled partly on foot and partly in the jeep and it took a long time before they crossed the mountain pass and Longquanguan.

Late on 10 April, probably about 6 to 7 li from Chengnanzhuang, we finally met up with Comrade Zedong's convoy. As well as Comrades Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi, some additional personnel were accompanying Comrade Mao Zedong. I led them to the courtyard.

At that point it was very clear that Comrade Mao Zedong was very tired. I had heard that when he returned from Chongqing he was not in very good shape and previously he had been in Shaanxi and had not had time to recover. Nevertheless, he looked in good spirits and we hoped that he would have the chance to rest while he was in Chengnanzhuang and to recover his health.

But Comrade Mao Zedong was busy immediately. As was his habit, he worked all through the night until early the next morning. I know that even when he slept during the day he did not sleep soundly and so, in order to allow him to rest, whenever he was asleep we always tried our utmost not to disturb him.

After 2 or 3 days Comrades Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi left Chengnanzhuang. Because the central authorities of the CPC were setting up offices in Xibaipo they had to go there to organize things.

Comrade Mao Zedong lived with me and we were in contact every day, often discussing various questions and problems, and the more he talked the more interested he became and so we talked all through the nights.

Much of what we discussed has already been recorded and much of it remains fresh in my memory even today.

It seems as if the masses in the Jinchaji border region made a deep impression on Comrade Mao Zedong. He said that once he had passed Longquanguan he felt the masses were extremely warm toward him and it reminded him of the time in Jiangxi the same year, when the masses were all smiles. He reminisced, saying that at the start of the war of resistance against Japan we had to test ourselves and see whether we could actually stand up behind the enemy's rear and the outcome was that the people were still standing firm behind the enemy's rear [Word indistinct] said to Comrade Mao Zedong that the key to our ability to remain firm was the implementation of the party's policies and uniting all forces together in resistance against the Japanese.

Therafter we talked about the experiences and lessons to be gained from previous implementation of party policies. We remembered how, at the Central Committee's revolutionary base in Jiangxi, many "leftist" policies had been implemented as a result of Wang Ming's errors and the result of this had been that serious opposition had been created all around the base camp and so we found ourselves in difficulties every time we left the base, tying our own hands and feet and isolating ourselves and thus causing serious damage to the revolution.

I said to Comrade Mao Zedong that when we were setting up the Jinchaji anti-Japanese base we learned a historical lesson. We steadfastly implemented the party's policy of a united national front against the Japanese and we unified all levels of the masses in an extensive way, and no such opposition appeared. Thus we were able to move around freely and safely everywhere. Every time we went somewhere the masses welcomed us and helped us with our work.

We talked a great deal about questions relating to the central work at that time, namely land reform.

I reported to Comrade Mao Zedong on the situation concerning land reform in Jinchaji as well as various problems which had arisen in connection with the land reform. I said that some people criticized me for being rightist in relation to the question of land reform and the reason for this was that I had not done any of the "leftist" things. At that time landlords and rich peasants were being exterminated in some areas. This was incorrect and was not in line with the Central Committee's land reform policy and this should not have been

carried out. Before that, under the Wang Ming Line, the landlords did not divide up the land, while the rich peasants only divided up bad land, encroaching on the interests of the Chinese peasants, and this was a penetrating lesson for us and should never be allowed to happen again. On the basis of the directives of the Central Committee, we shared out the land in the base fairly and afterwards we carried out checks and whenever we came up against problems we always adopted the principle of taking from those who had too much and giving to those who had too little. Thus we did not simply sweep the landlords away in one go, for the aim of the land reform was to eradicate the feudal system of exploitation, and to eradicate the landlord class meant the eradication of their exploitation, thus we were not working for physical eradication of the landlords. Hence, when we were evenly dividing up the land we treated the landlords and the rich peasants the same as everyone else and gave them certain amounts of land along with the peasants so that they might be able to feed themselves.

Comrade Mao Zedong told me what Stalin had said, for during the same year the Soviet Union had made their rich peasants suffer and thus we should learn a lesson from them.

I said to Comrade Mao Zedong that some people were still advocating the exploitation of the landlords' movable assets and that I could not encourage this because there were landlords, rich peasants, and middle peasants involved in the management of industry and commerce. It was very difficult to distinguish in industry and commerce who was managing what. The party's policy stated that industry and commerce should not be affected or damaged through land reform and this was based on the interests of the revolution. It was especially true during times of war that industrialists and merchants could be used to buy necessary items in enemy occupied areas and thus if we exploited landlords' movable assets this would harm their interests and thus we would lose this channel of receiving provisions.

Comrade Mao Zedong was in absolute agreement with me and he criticized incorrect methods that were being used. In addition to discussing problems related to land reform we also discussed the implementation of the policy of reducing rents and interest during the war of resistance against the Japanese. Comrade Mao Zedong was very positive about the usefulness of this policy and later, after the war of liberation, when our army overran Chiang Kai-shek's occupied territory and during the early years of new China, the policy of reduced rents and interest was implemented first, and then land reform.

Our discussion of questions relating to land reform went on until well past midnight but Comrade Mao Zedong did not feel in the least bit tired and he wanted me to continue drinking a little with him.

I let the bodyguard pour a little alcohol and a little tea and then I continued talking with Comrade Mao Zedong.

I talked and drank together with Comrade Mao Zedong. We moved on from the question of land reform to Wang Ming's line, the struggle inside the party, the Zunyi meeting and "Decisions Concerning Several Historical Questions."

Finally, Comrade Mao Zedong started to talk about his views on the war for liberation. He said that the war of resistance against the Japanese must continue while the war to vanquish Chiang Kai-shek should not be dragged out too

long and a solution to it should be obtained as soon as possible, for this would benefit us. The first step would be to liberate Dongbei and Huabei and in order to draw and divide the nationalist forces, Deng's and Liu's troops should withdraw from Dabieshan while Chen's and Su's troops should cross the Changjiang. The second step would be to go to the northwest and southwest. Apart from some troops from Huabei, which would be sent as reinforcements to the northwest and southwest, the rest of the troops would remain in Huabei and would there form themselves into two or three armies. At that time, because most of Huabei had already been liberated and the enemy controlled only a few cities, and the organizational system of the army not being on a very large scale, once the enemy in Dongbei had been dealt with they would come and deal with the few remaining towns in Huabei. These, then, were some of Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts on the course of the war.

When we finished our talk that time the cocks were already crowing in the village.

The question of Chen's and Su's troops crossing the Changjiang came up again when Comrade Su Yu met with Comrade Mao Zedong and mentioned the problems involved in crossing the Changjiang. After listening to his opinion I suggested to Comrade Mao Zedong that they could first of all fight on the southern side of the Huanghe and by doing this they would also draw and divide the enemy's forces. Comrade Mao Zedong agreed with my suggestion.

After this discussion, Comrade Mao Zedong asked me one day whether, since he was not in good health and Stalin wanted him to go to the Soviet Union to convalesce, he should or should not go.

I said: "It is of course very good that Stalin has invited you to Moscow; if the Chairman wants to go we can escort you to Dongbei. However, if the Chairman is asking for my personal opinion I feel that it would be better not to go. The reason is that on the basis of the present situation there should be no problems escorting the chairman as far as Dongbei, but in view of the war it is difficult to give absolute assurances. Furthermore, in view of the fact that your health is not too good at the moment, the long journey would do you no good and thus I would suggest that you reconsider."

After listening to what I had to say, Comrade Mao Zedong said he would think it over before making a decision. Later Comrade Mao Zedong decided not to go to the Soviet Union.

Although his health was not good, Comrade Mao Zedong was occupied with numerous party affairs all the time he was in Chengnanzhuang and his spirit was indeed moving. On 1 May Comrade Mao Zedong personally drafted the announcement for the opening of the National Political Consultative Conference, asking me to pass it on to Comrade Zhou Enlai in Xibaipo over the telephone. After the Central Committee dispatched this announcement throughout the country and many patriotic democrats responded warmly to the message and used all possible means to come to the liberated areas from Chiang Kai-shek's occupied areas or from abroad. This played an important role in further unifying the frontline and improving the generally good developments that were taking place at that time.

## The Enemy Bombs Chengnanzhuang

Just after the end of the 12th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee I entered the PLA general hospital because of a fever, due to pneumonia and recurrent heart problems.

One day Comrade Chen Yi came to my room and said very indignantly "Officer Nie, I just read the bulletin, it is absolutely terrifying. I am very worried about you!"

For a moment I could not make head or tail of what he was saying and I asked him what had happened. He then roughly outlined the situation to me. Two days later I saw the bulletin that my family had sent.

At the 10th Plenary Session of the 8th CPC Central Committee, Jiang Qing did not originally have anything she could do to me, but afterwards she retroactively issued one of the conference bulletins with ulterior motives. The bulletin stated that it was written by Jiang Qing herself. She had distorted the truth and framed me as deliberately plotting against Comrade Mao Zedong. The gist of what Jiang Qing said was that in 1948, just after Comrade Mao Zedong arrived at Chengnanzhuang in Fuping County, the place suffered enemy bombing and many people were killed and Comrade Mao Zedong narrowly escaped injury. Investigations afterward showed that someone had plotted against Chairman Mao and that there was a secret transmitter in the headquarters of the military area command to direct the enemy bombers. Later on the spies connected with the affair were executed.

As I listened to Comrade Chen Yi I felt very calm, and smiled.

I said to Comrade Chen Yi, "Relax, it is Chairman Mao who knows most about this affair. When the enemy bombed Chengnanzhuang there were no casualties, not even among the locals."

After seeing the bulletin I felt that Jiang Qing was really evil and ruthless to say nothing in front of me but to do such things behind my back. Fortunately, this affair was something which Chairman Mao knew all about and so I had no reason to take any notice of her actions. I have now forgotten the exact time of the enemy bombing of Chengnanzhuang but it was probably around the beginning of May 1948.

For many years I have had a habit of rising punctually every morning. After getting up the first thing I do is take a walk outside and after that I listen to the news on the radio, and only after that do I eat any breakfast.

That particular morning I finished listening to the radio and was eating my breakfast when I heard the sound of airplanes. At that time I was very much alert and because Comrade Mao Zedong was living in the village I was absolutely responsible for his safety.

I ran quickly into the courtyard while the rumble of the enemy planes drew closer.

The sound of my voice was lost as one of the planes flew over, making a reconnaissance of Chengnanzhuang. Then from behind I heard the sound of bombs, the noise being tremendous, and then two planes only flew over. By now I could already see that they were B-25 bombers, so I quickly ran to Comrade Mao Zedong's room.

Because Comrade Mao Zedong had been working throughout the night, when I entered his room I saw him lying on his bed, resting, dressed in blue woolen pajamas. I said in a soft but urgent voice "Chairman, enemy bombers are approaching, please come to the bomb shelter quickly." Comrade Mao Zedong sat up calmly, very alert, and said to me humorously, "Don't worry, that's nothing extraordinary. It's nothing more than some iron and steel that they're throwing down, it will be fine for making some hoes to open up the wastelands."

At some point, but I am not sure exactly when, Staff Officer Comrade Zhao Erlu arrived and stood behind me. I could see that Comrade Mao [phrase indistinct] and I was worried and said "Chairman, the enemy planes have arrived, you must leave here immediately, I am responsible for your safety."

But Comrade Mao Zedong remained sitting on the bed and did not want to move.

I felt that I could not delay any longer and so I quickly made a decision and sent a guard to fetch a stretcher. When he returned with the stretcher I turned and winked at Comrade Zhao Erlu and we helped Comrade Mao Zedong onto the stretcher. Then the two of us picked up the stretcher and left the room, the guards and secretaries outside all helped and took the stretcher and then we ran as fast as possible to the bomb shelter behind the house.

Jiang Qing was terrified and as soon as she had heard the planes she had run for the shelter and thus was already there when we arrived with Comrade Mao Zedong.

Just as Comrade Mao Zedong and I entered the bomb shelter the enemy planes dropped their bombs and all we could hear was the thunder of the bombs while, from the courtyard where we were based, a plume of thick smoke rose into the air.

This bombing of Chengnanzhuang by the enemy involved a total of five bombs. One of the bombs fell to the southeast of where we were stationed, and a second fell on the hillside behind the house and did not explode. A third fell right into the courtyard and exploded there, while the fourth and fifth bombs fell in areas quite a long way from where we were.

After the bombing had stopped the planes flew off. I walked outside to take a look and saw that the enemy had dropped 500-pound antipersonnel shells and that the other houses in the courtyard had escaped without any damage. However, the glass in the windows of the two rooms where Comrade Mao Zedong was living had all shattered and the two hot water flasks inside the room had been smashed by shrapnel flying into the room, while some eggs that were in the room had been smashed to pulp. When I saw this I could not help feeling frightened even after the event for if we had not made a quick decision, the aftermath of the bombing would not have borne contemplation.

After this event I thought very often about the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong had now been in Chengnanzhuang for some time, and although we had stepped up security, it was possible that the news might have leaked out. Still, we were extremely strict about where Comrade Mao Zedong was actually living and, apart from a few vetted personnel, most people did not know exactly where he was. Judging from the bombing, not only did the enemy know that Comrade Mao Zedong was in the village, they also seemed to know where he was living, and so I suspected a spy within our midst.

In order to ensure Comrade Mao Zedong's safety we had to get him to leave Chengnanzhuang and go to another, safe and reliable, place. Where was there a safe place? Then I remembered a small village called Huashan where we were stationed during the war of resistance against the Japanese. Huashan was not far to the north of Chengnanzhuang and it was very well concealed. I felt that this would be a suitable place.

The next day, when I had finished my breakfast, I told Comrade Mao Zedong about my idea and he agreed. So Comrade Mao Zedong moved to Huashan for a few days and later he went on to Xibaipo.

The security department carried out investigations into the bombing of Chengnanzhuang for a long time and the riddle was never solved and, although there were a few suspects, there was a lack of any reliable proof, and the only thing we could do was to put the affair aside. It was only after the liberation of Datong and Baoding, when we were able to look through enemy files, that the case was solved.

The management office of the regional military headquarters had previously set up a tobacco factory at Wangkuaizhen and the manager of this factory, Meng Xiande, had at some time been approached by Nationalist agents and bought over by them and so he secretly entered their spying organization. Later on he also roped in a man called Liu Congwen, mess officer in the regional command headquarters kitchens. These two characters were appointed as captains in the spy ranks and, in addition to providing the enemy with information and reports, Meng Xiande on several occasions gave Liu Congwen some poison ordering him to put the poison in my and other leading comrades' food at a suitable opportunity, in attempts to poison us. However, because Liu feared that he might be discovered he never dared do it and so that plot did not succeed. After Comrade Mao Zedong arrived in Chengnanzhuang I ordered that only special personnel should prepare and present Comrade Mao Zedong's food and my security measures were very strict, and so no one else had any contact with him. In this way I was able to guarantee Comrade Mao Zedong's safety.

So the case was solved, the bombing of Chengnanzhuang was carried out on the basis of information given to the enemy by Meng Xiande and Liu Congwen. After the investigations were complete, there was irrefutable proof of the crime and the two involved confessed everything and, after an official trial, presided over by Comrade Zhang Zhiyang, the then deputy commander of the political section of the Huabei Military Region, they were both condemned to death. When the report came into my hands I made sure that all the formalities were in accordance with the law and I then approved the execution by shooting of these two spies.

That then is the whole story of the bombing of Chengnanzhuang. I really did not expect that this old affair, which took place so long ago, would be twisted by Jiang Qing into material designed to frame me but, as it turned out, it was nothing more than a failed scheme.

CSO: 4005/279



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

VARIED ACTIVITIES MARK MAO ZEDONG'S BIRTHDAY

OW271752 Beijing XINHUA in English 1451 GMT 27 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 27 Dec (XINHUA)--Meetings, exhibitions and other commemorative activities have been held in China's provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, marking the 90th anniversary of the birth of the late Chairman Mao Zedong.

More than 5,000 people gathered in Mao Zedong's birthplace, Shuoshan, Hunan Province, on 25 December with provincial government, party and army leaders attending.

Shanghai government, party and army leaders yesterday visited the site of the first National Party Congress, an exhibition on Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities in his earlier years in Shanghai and a photo exhibition on the life of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De sponsored by the trade unions of Shanghai Municipality.

Representatives from all walks of life in Guangzhou, south China, held a forum at the site of the National Institute of Peasant Movement, recalling Chairman Mao's contributions to the Chinese revolution.

In Yanan, the nerve-center of Chinese revolution in the late 30's and early and mid-40's, prefectural leading officials and local people attended commemorative meetings and visited cave dwellings where Mao Zedong and other veteran revolutionary leaders had lived and worked.

Leading officials in Jiangxi, Hebei, Hubei, and Fujian Provinces also joined local people in commemorating Mao Zedong's birth anniversary in the past few days.

CSO: 4000/151

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BEIJING PERFORMANCES MARK MAO'S BIRTHDAY

OW231427 Beijing XINHUA in English 1250 GMT 23 Dec 83

[Text] Beijing, 23 Dec (XINHUA)--Song and dance performances, dramas, operas, films and TV shows will be presented for Beijing audiences to mark the 90th birthday anniversary of the late Chairman Mao Zedong which falls on 26 December.

Songs singing praises of Mao's contributions to the Chinese revolution and socialist construction include "Commissar Mao Is With Us," a Jiangxi folk song, "Our Leader Mao Zedong," a northern Shaanxi folk song, and "Chairman Mao Travels Across the Country."

Actors and opera singers will portray the character of the late chairman in "The Long March," and "Fighting in Northern Shaanxi."

Theatrical works which were favorites of the chairman will be revived on the Beijing stage. Among them are "Three Attacks on Zhu Village" and "Driven To Join the Liang Mountain Rebels"--two Beijing operas on peasant uprisings; "An Eye for the Future," a one-act play on fighting the enemy during the Japanese aggression and "The White-Haired Girl," an opera very popular in liberated areas before 1949.

Other revivals include "Liu Hulan," an opera about a revolutionary heroine killed by KMT troops at the age of 15, the modern revolutionary Beijing opera "Shajiabang" and the dance drama "The Red Detachment of Women."

On the program for film goers are an 80-minute color documentary entitled "Mao Zedong" and the wide--creen color feature "Four Crossings of the Chishui River" about the Red Army breaking through enemy encirclement on the long march.

TV viewers will be presented with songs, dances and poem recitations arranged for the occasion. They will also see special programs on Mao's activities in the peasant movements in his home province of Hunan, his early years in Shanghai and his work in Ruijin, Jiangxi Province, in the 1930's.

Performances will also be given outside Beijing, including a play by a Hebei drama troupe on Mao's negotiations with Chiang Kai-Shek in Chongqing after China's victory over Japanese aggression.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARTICLE BY TAN ZHENLIN ON MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

HK191346 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 83 p 5

[Article (posthumous) by Tan Zhenlin [6223 7201 2651]: "Inherit and Develop Mao Zedong Thought--In Commemoration of the 90th Birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong"]

[Text] The 26th of December 1983 is the 90th birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong, the great Marxist, great proletarian revolutionary, strategist, and theorist. Being a veteran fighter who was with Comrade Mao Zedong in establishing the Jinggangshan revolutionary base, I feel the great vitality of Mao Zedong Thought when I look back on the glorious fighting course of the Chinese revolution and when I look at the present new situation of vigorous development of China's socialist revolution and construction, especially the gratifying situation in which the minds of the whole party and the people of the whole country have been emancipated and Mao Zedong Thought has been continuously developed, and when I find that there are successors for the revolution and there are hopes for the rejuvenation of China. I feel an upsurge of emotion and hail from the bottom of my heart: Long live Mao Zedong Thought.

I

Comrade Mao Zedong made a special contribution to China's revolution and the establishment and development of Mao Zedong Thought. At several critical junctures during the revolution, he applied the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and, in light of the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, adopted new strategies to save the revolution. He thus developed Marxism-Leninism and established Mao Zedong Thought. The first important ideology that is of decisive significance is the new revolutionary theory and strategy on establishing the Jinggangshan revolutionary base, leading the peasants to carry out armed struggles, and encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them. Since then, China's revolution has followed a correct road and victories have been achieved one after another. This was an important contribution made by Comrade Mao Zedong in China's revolution. The Chinese people will never forget it.

A minute description of the course of establishing the first revolutionary base in our country and the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought was given in my article entitled "The Practice of the Struggle at Jinggangshan and the Development of Mao Zedong Thought" which was written in 1978 (published in the 12th issue of HONGQI in 1978). Here, I would like to again mention several points which are of special and important significance in our socialist revolution and construction.

1. The establishment of the new revolutionary theory and strategy on leading the peasants to carry out armed struggle, establish rural revolutionary bases, and encircle the cities from the rural areas and then capture them. This was an original creation of Comrade Mao Zedong, which cannot be found in the Marxist-Leninist classics or in previous history of the international communist movement. No one could put forth this theory and strategy in the situation at that time unless he had profound theoretical knowledge and political foresight. It was by no means an accidental phenomenon that Comrade Mao Zedong was able to put forth this theory and strategy. At that time, he already had a profound understanding of the Marxist-Leninist theories and had mastered the essence of Marxism--making a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. On the other hand, he had a profound knowledge of the characteristics of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in China, especially of the experiences and lessons of the peasant revolutions in Chinese history. This was why he was able to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, shake off the yoke of dogmatism and empiricism, see through the complicated superficial appearance to get at the essence of things, put forth the revolutionary theory and strategy that suited China's situation, and lead the revolution on the correct path. From this, we can also understand why he was able to adhere to and carry out this theory and strategy, prevailing over all dissenting views. At that time, those views against him came from his "direct leaders" and the leaders in the CPC Central Committee and the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee. They were certainly not easy things to deal with. This struggle is described in several articles in the first volume of the "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," such as "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" "The Struggle in the Jinggangshan," and "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire." Of course, he was not alone. At that time, many leaders also favored and supported his theory and strategy and made contributions to adding new theories and strategies to them. The contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong was that he was able to absorb other people's opinions and to unite his comrades in the common struggle. Just as was pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC": "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it constitutes a correct theory, a body of correct principles, and a summary of the experiences that have been confirmed in the practice of the Chinese revolution, a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party. Many outstanding leaders of our party made important contributions to the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought, and they are synthesized in the scientific works of Comrade Mao Zedong."

2. Setting forth a series of policies, principles, and methods on the question of establishing rural revolutionary bases so as to ensure the continuous development of the revolutionary bases. As a result, the theory of establishing rural bases was turned into reality and the rural bases were gradually perfected and developed. In a short period of 1 year and 3 months during the struggle in Jinggangshan, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the tactics of fully relying on and mobilizing the masses under the leadership of the party and closely combining the construction of revolutionary bases with armed struggle and land revolution so as to promote the establishment of Red power and the continuous extension of the Red areas. He also put forth the program for land revolution, the principles for establishing political power in the bases and building the people's army, and the strategy and tactics for the people's war, and paid attention to solving economic problems. Owing to these policies, principles, and methods, the revolutionary bases were continuously extended and consolidated and became more and more attractive. Thus, the peasant revolutionary movement led by the communist party was differentiated from all the previous peasant revolutionary wars in history. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and with the establishment of the revolutionary bases, the peasant revolution advanced victoriously. The practice in Jinggangshan provided experiences and trained cadres for the establishment and development of various revolutionary bases at that time and especially for various anti-Japanese bases established later.

3. Fostering a new work style characterized by seeking truth from facts and the mass line. During the struggle in Jinggangshan, Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to developing a democratic style of work and to the opinions of the masses of people and grassroots cadres who were doing practical work. When a meeting was held, he would usually ask the participating comrades to air their views before drawing a conclusion. He not only set a good example in making social investigation, but also required that wherever the PLA units went, an investigation of the local political, social, and economic situation should be made as soon as possible. This became a common practice and habit of the PLA units at that time. Since Comrade Mao Zedong always attached great importance to the practice of the masses and to investigation and study, he was always very clear about the situation and especially about both the "leftist" and rightist mistakes. Besides, he was always loyal to the revolutionary cause. All this made him dare to, and know how to, go against the tide, and dare to, and know how to, carry out uncompromising struggles against various erroneous trends. In the Jinggangshan period, while holding on to his correct views in his struggle against the "leftist" mistakes within the party rather than blindly following the wrong leadership, he also abided by party discipline and adhered to the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority and the lower level being subordinate to the higher level. He often said that whether what he said was correct or not, decisions should be made in accordance with the opinions of the majority. This is an expression of the noble quality and good work style of a revolutionary leader.

The above-mentioned three aspects of things played an enormous role during the second revolutionary civil war period. If there had not been the interference of the "leftist" mistakes, which appeared many times in our party, especially the third "leftist" mistake, greater achievements would have been

made. Today, it is still necessary for us to apply in our work the essence of principles in these three aspects so as to profoundly study the new situation, sum up new experiences, solve new problems, and develop Mao Zedong Thought and to further push forward the cause of socialist revolution and construction.

## II

After the founding of the PRC, our party led the people throughout the country to begin the intense fighting of socialist revolution and construction. The tasks, strategies, and tactics for this period were entirely different from those in the period of new democratic revolution. We had to recognize the new law governing the development of things and solve new problems. Comrade Mao Zedong was very clear about this. In his report at the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee, he pointed out that the road after the revolution would be longer and that the work would be greater and more arduous. He thus required us to remain modest, prudent, and free from arrogance and rashness in our work style and that we be good not only at destroying the old world, but also at building the new. In his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," he reminded us that "the imperialists reckon that we will not be able to manage our economy" and thus spurred us on. At the 7,000-people rally held in 1962, he put it more concretely: "There is great blindness in our socialist construction. In the socialist economy, there are still many realms of necessity for us that have not been recognized by us." He also said: "There must be a process in recognizing the law of socialist construction. It is necessary to proceed from practice and develop from being inexperienced to being experienced, from having less experiences to having more experiences, from building socialism, which is a realm of necessity unrecognized by us, to achieving a leap in the process of our cognition and reaching the realm of freedom after gradually overcoming blindness, recognizing the objective law, and obtaining freedom." If all of us had recognized this and had advanced through exploration and with caution, we would have made less mistakes and greater achievements. The pity is that in the course of our socialist revolution and construction, we have made many mistakes, which have brought about great losses. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" has made a detailed summary of this. Here, I would like to mention only one thing that has most deeply impressed and educated me, that is, the first mistake Comrade Mao Zedong ever made in agriculture--the mistake of criticizing the "bound-feet woman." In that period, Comrade Mao Zedong made great efforts to promote the cooperative transformation of agriculture. In July 1955, he published an article "On the Cooperative Transformation of Agriculture" and then organized and compiled the book "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside" and personally wrote the prefaces and editor's notes for it. In October the same year, the enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Seventh CPC Central Committee was convened. Thus, the task of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, which had originally been planned to be fulfilled in three 5-year plan periods, was fulfilled in more than 1 year's time after criticizing the "bound-feet woman," that is, the advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives were established by the end of the First Five-Year Plan, and the people's communes were established in 1958, although

Comrade Mao Zedong had pointed out in 1957 that the agricultural producers, cooperatives could become consolidated only when efforts were made in the next 5 years. This is a matter known to all, and its consequence is also clear. Just as was pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC": "From the summer of 1955 onward, we were over-hasty in pressing on with agricultural cooperation and the transformation of private handicraft and commercial establishments; we were far from meticulous, the changes were too fast, and we did our work in a somewhat summary, stereotyped manner, leaving open a number of questions for a long time." What especially made me ponder deeply is the question why Comrade Mao Zedong made his first mistake on the peasant question, which he was most familiar with, and under the conditions that a good analysis had already been made on the "two kinds of initiative" of the peasants after the land reform and on the policies and steps of the cooperative transformation of agriculture. Was it because he lacked experience? There must be some reasons, for the cooperative transformation of agriculture was really a new thing. In the period of building the Jinggangshan revolutionary base, the circumstances were perilous and we had even less experience. Yet at that time, he was able to manage the matter well and to correct other people's mistakes in good time. However in the period of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, although it was possible for him to find out about the whole situation and to listen to various opinions from various aspects, although, in addition to the positive and negative experiences of the collective farm movement in the Soviet Union, we had also accumulated some experiences through establishing some elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives for experiment, he negated the correct opinions and practice of some comrades and thus committed mistakes. It seems that an important reason is obviously subjectivism, one-sidedness, arrogance, and immodesty. At that time, having failed to find out about the true situation, he would not listen to differing opinions and ran counter to the work style of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, which he had advocated. This matter teaches us that if anyone, including Comrade Mao Zedong, the great Marxist and strategist, deviates from the work style of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, he will surely commit mistakes, even on the question that he is most familiar with. It also teaches us that all revolutionaries, especially all communist party members, must, under all circumstances and at all times, adhere to materialism, adhere to the work style of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, and act in strict accordance with objective law.

The reason this matter has impressed me most deeply is also that shortly after the "bound-feet woman" was criticized, I was in charge of rural work for a period of time, but I did not draw a lesson from this matter and did not play well the part of consultant to the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong. I must also be held responsible for the mistakes committed by our party in the rural work, especially the mistakes in 1958. I would like to again mention it here so that other comrades can bear this lesson in mind and do a better job in the future.

The attitude of the communists toward their own mistakes is always clear and definite: to openly recognize them and resolutely correct them. The CPC Central Committee has set us a good example. In the "Resolution on Certain

Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," it openly recognizes and corrects its own mistakes, including those committed by its leader, Comrade Mao Zedong. This is a sign of vigor and prosperity of our party and a sign of our confidence in the socialist revolution and construction and the future of our revolution. Lenin pointed out long ago that "revolutionary experience and flexibility in the organizational work are things that we can learn. If only we have the desire to acquire these necessary qualities! If one can recognize one's own mistakes, one will surely make progress, for in the revolutionary undertakings, recognizing a mistake means correcting more than half of it."

### III

The publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" makes us able to recall more clearly the gratifying situation of the steady and healthy development of our socialist cause since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and particularly the continuous development of Mao Zedong Thought in the new practice, which has put an end to the depressing situation in the ideological and theoretical circles and brought about a moving situation of blazing new trails in all fields of work, in which people are active in their thinking. What is most encouraging is that the "political situation in which we have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind, and liveliness," which was repeatedly advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong but was not realized in the past, has now appeared.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has played an important role in bringing order out of chaos, in completely and accurately understanding Mao Zedong Thought, in developing Mao Zedong Thought, and in promoting China's construction of the four modernizations. He represents the correct leadership of our party. The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has substantial content. Judging from the angle of developing Mao Zedong Thought, I think the following points should be emphasized:

1. It points out that promoting the national economy is the general task for the whole party and the people of the whole country.

The second article in the "Selected Works" is entitled "The Whole Party Should Take the Overall Interest Into Account and Push Forward the National Economy." It was written in March 1975, when the "gang of four" was playing the role of tyrant. It needed great courage and political foresight to set forth this view at that time. After that, he mentioned this same view many times. In March 1979, he pointed out that the construction of socialist modernization is the most important political matter for us at present and, for the first time, pointed out that construction must also suit China's concrete conditions and that it is necessary to follow our own road in building Chinese-style modernization. At the beginning of 1980, he put forward a concrete target for our struggle, that is, strive to reach the level of being comparatively well-off in the per capita output value of national production by the end of this century. In September 1982 he pointed out: "A basic conclusion we have drawn from our long-term historical experiences is to combine the universal truth of Marxism with China's concrete practice and follow

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our own road in building socialism with Chinese characteristics." Thus, we have finally found a correct road for building socialist modernization. In the future, provided we sum up our experiences and correct our mistakes in good time, the pace of our construction will certainly be quickened.

Whether the communist party is capable of promoting economic construction and quickly developing social productive forces after seizing political power and capable of improving the people's livelihood so that the people can lead a better and more significant life than the people in the capitalist society--this is a fundamental question concerning whether the superiority of the socialist system has been brought into full play and whether communism can be realized. Comrade Mao Zedong also clearly pointed out: "In the final analysis, whether the policies and practices of the political parties in China play a good role and an important role must be judged by whether they help, and to what extent they help, promote the development of the productive forces of the Chinese people and whether they act to fetter or to emancipate the productive forces." Therefore, by emphasizing this problem, Comrade Xiaoping has actually grasped the fundamental problem of the socialist cause in China. Once this problem is grasped, other problems will be more easily solved.

2. It sets to right things which have been thrown into disorder in the ideological line.

In May 1977, after the smashing of the "gang of four" and before Comrade Xiaoping resumed his work, he talked with two comrades in the central authorities on two questions: "Two whatevers" did not conform to Marxism, and knowledge and talented people should be respected. This was comparable to Zhuge Liang's "Longzhong Dialogue." It pointed out the key problem in the leadership work of the CPC Central Committee at that time.

The theory of "two whatevers" is certainly ridiculous when we look at it today because it runs counter to the common knowledge of Marxism. However, it was the guiding ideology for the comrades in charge of the leadership work in the CPC Central Committee at that time. This ideology was, in reality, the continuation of the ideological trend in the international communist movement several decades ago, which regarded Marxism-Leninism as a dogma. It cannot be neglected because it goes against Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching on studying Marxism and applying its stand, viewpoints, and methods to solve the problems in the Chinese revolution. Obviously, if we do not criticize this theory, we will be unable to march forward and Mao Zedong Thought will not possibly be adhered to and developed. Comrade Xiaoping made a severe criticism of this theory soon after it appeared. This played a great role in promoting the emancipation of minds and correcting the "leftist" ideology and policies later, especially in correcting the mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution." This is because the ideological line "is the foundation for determining the political line" and because "a correct political line cannot be formulated or cannot be implemented after it is formulated without solving the problem of the ideological line and emancipating the mind." Comrade Xiaoping also emphasized now and again that seeking truth from facts is the essence of Mao Zedong Thought and the work style advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Both the mass line and the work style of seeking truth from facts are the most

fundamental methods. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, as a result of practicing the contract responsibility system with payment linked to output and improving the methods in the management of the rural collective economy, the situation in the countryside has been developing by leaps and bounds. This is a vivid example showing the results of setting to right things which have been thrown into disorder and opposing the "two whatevers," as well as the results of adhering to the work style of seeking truth from facts and the mass line. It shows that provided we adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought in practice, we will surely promote the continuous development of things, not only in agriculture, but also in all fields and on all fronts.

### 3. Respecting knowledge and respecting talented people.

This is a problem of urgency in the present construction of the four modernizations, and also an important problem which has not been solved well for a long time, since the founding of the state. Comrade Xiaoping formulated this problem and personally dealt with this problem. On this own initiative, he grasped the work on the educational and scientific and technological fronts. On the educational front, the "two appraisals" of the "Great Cultural Revolution" were corrected and a series of reforms were carried out. It has been clearly expounded that science and technology belong to the category of productive forces and that the intellectuals constitute a part of the working class. Some important theoretical problems, such as the relations between Red and expert, have been solved, and great efforts have been made to solve the practical problems and difficulties in the life and work of the scientific and technological workers. As a result, the initiative of the intellectuals has been brought into play and a mass fervor of studying science and technology has gradually been aroused among the people throughout the country, especially among the young students. The spring of science has come on the vast land of our motherland.

Comrade Xiaoping pointed out that the modernization of science and technology is the key to the realization of the four modernizations. Naturally, according to this viewpoint, we should respect knowledge and respect talented people and make it a common practice in the whole party. This is a promotive force for making our cadres' ranks more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent and an important guarantee for the realization of the four modernizations and the building of a powerful socialist country. Respecting knowledge and talented people is really a foresighted policy decision.

### 4. Forcefully solving the problem concerning successors to the revolutionary cause.

This is a new problem facing the communist party after the seizure of political power. A good solution of this problem so that young and middle-aged cadres who have both ideals and ability can be promoted to leading posts as soon as possible in order to undertake the task of building our motherland, is an important link to ensure that our socialist country will always be young and full of vitality and that the superiority of the socialist system

will be brought into full play. For this reason, it is necessary to establish a complete set of regulations on selecting and promoting talented people and training successors. Proposed by Comrade Xioping, the CPC Central Committee has worked out a series of policies and measures on this important question, such as maintaining the system of collective leadership, the cadre training system, the retirement system for old cadres, and the system concerning the tenure of office for leading members in the organizations at various levels. It has also put forth requirements for the successors. What is more important is that Comrade Xiaoping has resolutely withdrawn from the first line so that a younger comrade, who has both ability and political integrity, may succeed him as party and state leader as early as possible. This is a pioneering deed both in the history of our party and the history of our country. It has set a new and precious example for our party and state.

Proposed by Comrade Xiaoping and guided by his action, the emancipation of the mind has become a common practice in the whole party and among the people throughout the country. The historical mission of our party in building the motherland and rejuvenating China will surely be completed smoothly. With a feeling of joy, I look into the future of China's rejuvenation while commemorating Comrade Mao Zedong's 90th birthday.

CSO: 4005/271

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO HAILS 19TH-CENTURY REFORMER

HK200741 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Ge Fenghua [5514 7685 5478]: "A Noble-minded Patriot--Huang Zunxian [7806 6690 2009]"]

[Text] Beginning from the 1840's, the imperialists forced the Qing government to make a series of unequal treaties, forcibly occupied the majority of the territory of China, extorted huge amounts of indemnity from China, and stretched their aggressive claws into various sectors of our country, presenting an unprecedentedly serious crisis for the nation.

When the motherland's existence was in peril, some people of insight among China's sons and daughters, one after another, put forward suggestions of learning from the West and seeking truth, as they longed to save the nation from subjugation and to ensure its survival. Just like other "advanced Chinese," Huang Zunxian attempted to solve the national crisis by "political reform." Since he had "wide and profound knowledge about the whole nation," and "about the whole world," he understood that in order to make China independent, prosperous, and strong, not only must it "adopt the strong points of Europe and America" but it also must study the advantages of the "Meiji reformation" in Japan. In his "History of Japan," which was written in 1887, he put forward "learning from foreigners near and far" and advocated studying Europe, America, and Japan. Furthermore, he wrote many poems to reveal the stupidity and incompetence of the Qing government, as well as its buffoonery of knuckling under to the imperialists.

Huang Zunxian (1848-1905), alias Gongdu [0361 1653], was born in Jiaying Prefecture (now called Mei County), Guangdong Province. He went to school at the age of 4, and began to write poems under the teacher's guidance at 10. His lines of verse: "The land under heaven is so small, much smaller is the mountain in front of me" won the appreciation of the local gentry. He advocated "I express my view with my own hands, thus how can I be constrained and led along by the ancient style of writing?" and opposed "plagiarizing duplicates." Thus, he was praised as a banner of "revolution in the poetic circles."

He was born in a poor town and followed an official career, but the armed invasion by the imperialists and the great Taiping revolutionary movement, as well as other unprecedented "unusual changes" and the situation of the country in which the Qing Dynasty was on the verge of collapse could not but set this "secular scholar who venerated old thinking" to thinking in the new era. Facing these realities,

it was then that he began to emancipate himself from the shackles of old and conservative thinking. He advocated studying and understanding realities, and having the whole world in view. He felt extremely anxious about the suffering of the nation and the destiny of the country.

On his way home after failing his second township examination in 1870, he set foot in the streets of Hong Kong, which had fallen into foreigners' hands about 30 years before, and saw huge fortresses, built by the British colonialists. Opium, ready to be transported inland, was laid everywhere. He also saw the miserable life of compatriots who were living in a colonial abyss. Thus, he wrote poems to criticize the Qing government's being so incompetent that it had committed the gross mistake of national betrayal and humiliation. The verses say: "Who has made the mistakes in national affairs? I am in such deep sorrow that my face is losing its color," and "fleets of sails have connection with all parts of the world, while fortresses pose threats to our three cities; and wind is [word indistinct] over the hilltop, but it is ourselves who do harm to our national flag." In the poem "Go to Hong Kong," he even wrote with deep feelings of grief: "The water is the same as that in the Yao and Xia Dynasties, and the dress is like the official dress of the Han Dynasty in appearance. When I go upstairs, I realize that the surrounding territory is really ours, but there is no yellow dragon in the flag." He revealed in this poem his innermost feelings of sorrow regarding the loss of the vast, great territory of our motherland. When the czarist Russian aggressor invaded our country's Xinjiang, and declared its intention to "annex Ili in perpetuity as Russian territory" in 1871, Huang Zunxian was so filled with fury that he wanted to "carry a weapon and join the army, for I also want to fight the enemy."

In diplomatic activities, Huang Zunxian actively made contributions to safeguarding sovereignty and national dignity. When he was consul general to San Francisco, the United States, in 1882, he expressed his utmost indignation at actions taken by the United States Government, which refused to put Overseas Chinese under the protection of the law, so that cases of the stealing of the property of Overseas Chinese and acts of humiliating or even murdering Chinese workers frequently occurred, no protection being provided for the lives and property of Overseas Chinese at all. At one time, the U.S. authorities took many Overseas Chinese into custody under the pretext that the quarters of the Overseas Chinese were not hygienic, and violated the hygiene ordinances. Huang Zunxian rushed to the jail upon hearing the news, and instructed his accompanying officials to measure the prison cells. Then he made representations to the U.S. officials and called on them to answer the question "Are the hygiene conditions here better than those in which the Overseas Chinese are living?" The U.S. officials had nothing to say in reply and could not but release those Overseas Chinese who were in custody. Hence, he safeguarded the interests of Overseas Chinese and national dignity.

After the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the national crisis was becoming more and more serious, which brought Huang Zunxian to join in reformation activities. As early as in the period from 1880 to 1881, he was influenced by the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and others, and understood that "piping times of peace" rests on democracy. He once told He Ruzhang [0149 1172 3864] that "China must carry out reform by adopting the Western method." In October 1896, he was summoned by Emperor Guangxu on an exceptional occasion. When the emperor asked "why the politics of the West are superior to those of China," he replied that "Western countries become strong because they carry out reform." Just before

that, he had joined the Qiang Xue Hui in Shanghai and got to know Kang Youwei [1660 2589 3634]. From then, they "had friendly intercourse day and night, and discussed everything" and he became an activist of the reform faction. After the Dowager Cixi and her diehards closed down the Qiang Xue Hui, he used his funds to run the SHI WU BAO, so as to continue to publicize reformist thinking, and he invited Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] to work as chief commentator. When he was appointed provincial judge in Hunan later on, he actively supported the Nan Xue Hui, which was initiated by Liang Qichao. He presided over the association and was a speaker on politics and education. Furthermore, he established the "Bao Wei Ju" which aimed at "encouraging the power of the gentry" while weakening "the power of officials." "All new policies adopted by Hunan were the result of his efforts," so that the reform movement was developing relatively rapidly in the province, and it became the most active in the country up to then. But he was looked upon with extreme hatred by supporters of Westernization and diehards who said that he "and evildoers get together in a region and help each other. He is actually meeting bandits, though the meeting is said to be to give lectures." Huang Zunxian did not lose his enthusiasm for concerning himself with affairs of state, even though he was attacked by the supporters of Westernization and diehards. He still diligently wrote his poems to reveal the aggressive crimes of imperialists and the incompetence of the Qing government, showing a strong spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

CSO: 4005/279

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

JINGJI RIBAO REPORTS NATIONAL CENSUS RESULTS

Part I

HK240711 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 83 p 2

[Report: "Pleasing Results of the Third National Census in China"]

[Excerpts] Editor's note: Under the guidance of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council and as a result of the hard work of cadres at all levels, China has successfully carried out the third national census. This census was standardized as a population census of the entire country at zero hour, 1 July 1982. "Procedures for the Third National Population Census" states that the work of collating the data relating to the population census is split into two separate steps. The first step involves a non-computer collation of the most important figures and the second step involves collection and pooling of all figures by means of electronic calculators. The results of the manual or non-computer collection of figures has already been published by the State Statistics Bureau on 27 October 1982 in "The Report Concerning Important Figures in the 1982 Population Census." Electronic collation of data and figures took place in two steps. The first step involved an assessment and collection of a 10-percent sample of the population so that data for population analysis and predictions could be available at the earliest possible date. This work has now been completed. The second step involves a comprehensive assessment of figures and data and this work is now being carried out, and should, according to plans, be completed by the end of 1984.

The assessment of the random sample was carried out by using random selection, and throughout the entire country a 10-percent sample of production teams and neighborhood committees were chosen (with each production team and neighborhood committee comprising on average between 40 and 50 households, around 200 people). A total of 659,759 production teams and neighborhood committees were selected throughout the country, totally 100,380,000 people. Thereafter data processing was carried out with electronic calculators.

The quality of the data processing of the figures and statistics relating to the 10-percent random sample is quite high and the actual rate of error was much smaller than the margin of error permitted by the state and thus it reached advanced international standards.

Because of the scientific methods of random selection and the even distribution of the samples, the 10-percent random selection and the figures and statistics relating to them proved to be extremely representative of the country and the population as a whole. The 100,379,045 people in the random sample, when compared with the initial manual assessments of the census figures, prove to represent 9.9985 percent of the 1,003,937,078 people who make up the total population of China, and the discrepancy is below 2/10,000. The proportions of national minority populations also proved to be very close and the percentage of the total population that the 16 national minorities with populations of more than 1 million represent, proved to be almost totally consistent. Discrepancies in the proportions of various different groups of the population with differing educational standards proved to be less than 6/100,000. In addition, such statistics and data relating to the distribution of the population in terms of age structure, occupation, position, and so on, as well as figures relating to marital status and dependents, all proved to be extremely representative.

The statistics and data relating to the 10-percent sample represent a valuable and new result of the third national population census. They have an important reference value in understanding China's population and socioeconomic situation and in drawing up policies and plans and carrying out scientific research. On behalf of the State Council Population Census Office and the Population Statistics Office of the National Statistics Bureau, this report will, as from today, make a series of publications relating to some of the important figures in the 10-percent sample of the census. In addition, it will assess and clarify some of the already published important figures relating to the manual assessment of the census. Apart from those specially indicated, these figures all relate to the 10-percent sample of the census and do not include calculations of the total census data. Readers should bear this in mind when reading and making use of these figures. Detailed data on the statistics relating to the 10-percent sample is to be published in a 500-page volume by the China Statistics Publishing House and put into public circulation. [end editor's note]

## I. The Age of China's Population

1) China's population is in transition at the moment, moving from a tendency to increase towards a tendency to stabilize. In international terms, populations are generally classified as being one of three types, an increasing population, a stable population, or a decreasing population. The standards for these three types are given below:

	0-14 (percent)	15-49 (percent)	50 and above (percent)
Increasing	40	50	10
Stable	26.5	50.5	23
Decreasing	20	50	30

In China the population between the ages of 0 to 14 years makes up 33.6 percent of the total population. The population between the ages of 15 and 49 year represent 51.3 percent of the total population, and the population aged 50 or above makes up 15.1 percent of the total population. [passages omitted of three charts showing the male-female age structure in 1953, 1964, and 1982]



Judging by the basic age make-up of the population, it appears that there has been a drop in the percentage of babies, pre-school children from age 1 to 6, and school children from age 7 to 12 in the total population, when compared with the percentage that these groups represented of the total population in the censuses of 1953 and 1964. This is the result of the implementation of family planning and controls on population increase. The female childbearing population (aged between 15 and 49) and the working population (on the basis of state requirements, this is between ages 16 and 59 for men and between ages 16 and 54 for women) have increased their position in the total population, in comparison with figures for the two previous censuses. The reason for this is that those born during the population peak since liberation have now entered or are about to enter child-bearing age and working age. See table below.

Basic Age Structure of the Population in the Three National Censuses

	unit: percent		
	<u>1953</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>1982</u> (10 percent sample)
Total population	100	100	100
0	3.35	4.13	2.07
1-6	17.27	15.50	11.33
7-12	12.02	16.57	14.94
Child-bearing women (15-49)	23.46	21.98	24.75
Working population	52.84	49.51	54.86
Men (16-59)	28.09	26.54	29.29
Population of men over 60 and women over 55	9.11	7.84	9.27

Note: The age of the working population is calculated according to standards now in use in China.

2) The median age of China's population has risen somewhat. Data from the assessment of statistics and figures relating to the 10 percent sample of the 1982 population census illustrates that the median age of China's population is 22.91 and half of China's population is under the age of 22.91. The median age has risen 0.17 years from the age of 22.74 at the time of the 1953 population census, and has risen 2.71 years since the time of the 1964 population census when it was 20.2 years. The ratio of old to young (the population at or over the age of 65 divided by the population from 0 to 14) stood at 14.61 percent in the 1982 population census, an increase of 2.45 percent over the 12.16 percent in the 1983 population census and an increase of 5.85 percent over the 8.76 percent at the 1964 population census. When one compares different locations one can see that the age structure of the population varies in different towns, cities, provinces, and autonomous regions. The highest median ages in the 1982 population census were 29.28 in Shanghai, 27.19 in Beijing, and 26.6 in Tianjin. The lowest median ages were 18.32 in Ningxia and 18.42 in Qinghai. The highest ratios of old to young were also in Shanghai (40.75 percent), Beijing (25.49 percent), and Tianjin (22.84 percent), while the lowest ratios of old to young were in Qinghai (6.64 percent) and Ningxia (7.84 percent). See table below:

Median Age and Ratio of Old to Young in Provinces, Cities, and Autonomous Regions (based on data from the 10 percent sample--not including all census figures)

Location	Median age	Percent of elderly (above 65)	Percent of young (0-14)	Ratio of old to young (percent)
Total of 29 provinces, cities and autonomous regions	22.91	4.91	33.60	14.61
1. Shanghai	29.28	7.37	18.10	40.75
2. Beijing	27.19	5.64	22.12	25.49
3. Tianjin	26.60	5.54	24.24	22.84
4. Jiangsu	25.54	5.54	28.99	19.10
5. Hebei	24.72	5.66	30.78	18.39
6. Zhejiang	24.69	5.77	29.33	19.68
7. Liaoning	24.58	4.80	28.78	16.69
8. Shandong	24.56	5.63	31.02	18.16
9. Sichuan	23.41	4.67	34.42	13.58
10. Hubei	23.02	4.99	32.76	15.23
11. Shanxi	22.99	4.99	33.31	14.97
12. Shaanxi	22.80	4.58	33.09	13.83
13. Guangdong	22.54	5.44	33.87	16.06
14. Hunan	22.48	4.97	33.92	14.66
15. Jilin	22.33	3.97	33.18	11.96
16. Henan	22.27	5.23	34.92	14.97
17. Heilongjiang	21.58	3.42	34.83	9.83
18. Xizang Autonomous Region	21.45	4.64	36.98	12.54
19. Neimenggu Autonomous Region	21.19	3.61	35.41	10.19
20. Fujian	20.68	4.34	36.53	11.89
21. Anhui	20.18	4.08	36.15	11.30
22. Gansu	20.13	3.48	36.36	9.57
23. Guangxi Zhuang National Autonomous Region	20.01	5.11	37.39	13.68
24. Jiangxi	19.67	4.51	38.90	11.60
25. Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region	19.48	3.73	39.72	9.39
26. Yunnan	19.39	4.51	39.17	11.52
27. Guizhou	18.76	4.68	40.88	11.45
28. Qinghai	18.42	2.71	40.78	6.64
29. Ningxia Hui National Autonomous Region	18.32	3.25	41.44	7.84

Judging by the changes in the age structure of China's population through the three population censuses, the proportion of young children has dropped while the proportion of older people has risen. During the 1982 population census, children from the age of 0-14 made up 33.6 percent of the total population.

and this represents a drop of 2.7 percent from the 1953 figures when this age group made up 36.3 percent of the total population. It is a drop of 7.1 percent from the 1964 census figures when this age group represented 40.7 percent of the total population. In 1953, the population between the ages of 15 to 64 made up 59.3 percent of the population, and during the 1964 census it made up 55.7 percent of the total population. In the 1982 census it had increased to make up 61.5 percent of the total population. The population aged 65 and above made up 4.4 percent of the total population during the 1953 population census and in the 1964 census it made up 3.6 percent, while in the 1982 census it had risen to represent 4.9 percent of the population. This increase in the older generation illustrates how we should take care to ensure a corresponding increase in equipment and installations designed to aid the elderly.

3) The increase in the proportion of young adults in the population has lessened the burden coefficient on the old and young population. The burden coefficient of China's population has dropped from 68.6 in 1953 and 79.4 in 1964 to 62.6 in 1982. (The burden coefficient means the numerical value of the population from 0 to 14 and at and above 65, borne by the population between 15 and 64. In other words it is the sum of the population from 0 to 14 and 65 and above divided by the population between 15 and 64 regardless of whether employed or not.) In 1953 every 100 15-64 year olds carried the burden for 61.2 0-14 year olds. In 1964 every 100 15-64 year olds carried the burden for 73 0-14 year olds, and in 1982 the figure was 54.6 0-14 year olds being supported by every 100 15-64 year olds. In 1953, every 100 15-64 year olds carried the burden for 7.4 people aged 65 or over, for 6.4 people in 1964, and for 8 people aged 65 or over in 1982.

Age Make-up of the Entire Population of China (ased on data from the 10 percent sample--not including all census figures)

unit: 1 person

Age	<u>Population figures</u>			<u>Sex ratio</u> (to 100 women)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	
Total				
population	100,379,045	51,522,177	48,856,868	105.46
0-4	9,471,664	4,899,234	4,572,430	107.15
0	2,081,008	1,078,212	1,002,796	107.52
1	1,737,963	901,728	836,235	107.83
2	1,827,423	946,288	881,135	107.39
3	1,962,366	1,013,128	949,238	106.73
4	1,862,904	959,878	903,026	106.30
5-9	11,073,163	5,704,070	5,369,093	106.24
5	1,952,134	1,001,344	910,790	106.44
6	2,041,599	1,052,112	989,487	106.33
7	2,177,532	1,122,108	1,055,424	106.32
8	2,403,068	1,236,852	1,166,216	106.06
9	2,508,830	1,291,651	1,217,176	106.12
10-14	13,180,221	6,786,152	6,394,069	106.13
10	2,521,688	1,299,475	1,222,213	106.32
11	2,732,772	1,408,606	1,324,166	106.38
12	2,649,551	1,363,961	1,285,590	106.10
13	2,823,915	1,451,610	1,372,305	105.78
14	2,452,295	1,262,500	1,189,795	106.11
15-19	12,531,248	6,374,799	6,156,449	103.55

[table continued]

unit: 1 person

Age	Population figures			Sex ratio (to 100 women)
	Total	Men	Women	
15	2,273,697	1,169,747	1,103,950	105.96
16	2,565,943	1,317,022	1,248,921	105.45
17	2,443,144	1,251,567	1,191,577	105.03
18	2,510,721	1,271,094	1,239,627	102.54
19	2,737,743	1,365,369	1,372,374	99.49
20-24	7,431,211	3,785,529	3,645,682	103.84
20	1,559,714	768,979	790,735	97.25
21	1,067,672	531,294	536,378	99.05
22	1,430,197	732,610	697,587	105.02
23	1,429,025	739,773	689,252	107.33
24	1,944,603	1,012,873	931,730	108.71
25-29	9,259,102	4,778,144	4,480,958	106.63
25	1,888,994	979,221	909,773	107.63
26	1,792,173	923,286	868,887	106.26
27	1,967,326	1,017,366	949,960	107.10
28	1,861,774	959,337	902,437	106.31
29	1,748,835	898,934	849,901	105.77
30-34	7,295,777	3,790,643	3,505,134	108.15
30	1,735,636	890,889	844,747	105.46
31	1,463,039	754,056	708,983	106.36
32	1,527,697	800,609	727,088	110.11
33	1,315,975	688,496	627,479	109.72
34	1,253,430	656,593	596,837	110.01
35-39	5,420,337	2,854,598	2,565,739	111.26
35	1,241,291	650,827	590,464	110.22
36	1,129,385	590,147	539,238	109.44
37	1,056,355	556,066	500,289	111.15
38	1,024,095	542,141	481,954	112.49
39	969,211	515,417	453,794	113.58
40-44	4,838,103	2,579,236	2,258,867	114.18
40	1,004,885	532,879	472,006	112.90
41	999,144	533,317	465,827	114.49
42	936,618	498,708	437,910	113.88
43	938,669	500,209	438,460	114.08
44	958,787	514,123	444,664	115.62
45-49	4,736,400	2,504,699	2,231,701	112.23
45	959,159	510,468	448,691	113.77
46	965,291	510,503	454,788	112.25
47	929,509	487,903	441,606	110.48
48	945,489	499,549	445,940	112.62
49	936,952	496,276	440,676	112.62
50-54	4,085,078	2,156,099	1,928,979	111.77
50	857,062	452,931	404,131	112.08
51	815,137	434,214	380,923	113.99
52	844,656	446,737	397,919	112.27
53	778,231	407,695	370,536	110.03
54	789,992	414,522	375,470	110.40

Age	Population figures			unit: 1 person
	Total	Men	Women	Sex ratio (to 100 women)
55-59	3,390,931	1,749,971	1,640,960	106.64
55	780,238	370,476	337,762	109.64
56	691,710	359,297	332,413	108.09
57	705,680	364,349	341,331	106.74
58	679,858	347,651	332,207	104.65
59	605,445	308,198	297,247	103.68
60-64	2,738,253	1,371,463	1,366,790	100.34
60	616,102	312,219	303,883	102.74
61	576,321	290,809	285,512	101.86
62	568,209	285,775	282,434	101.18
63	497,357	245,940	251,417	97.82
64	480,264	236,720	243,544	97.20
65-69	2,126,713	1,017,500	1,109,213	91.73
65	481,345	232,820	248,525	93.68
66	448,439	215,888	232,551	92.83
67	415,179	199,115	216,064	92.16
68	424,515	201,868	222,647	90.67
69	357,235	167,809	189,426	88.59
70-74	1,434,895	643,905	790,990	81.40
70	325,281	151,013	174,268	86.66
71	306,873	140,608	166,265	84.57
72	290,919	130,382	160,537	81.22
73	275,491	120,060	155,431	77.24
74	236,331	101,842	134,489	75.73
75-79	860,854	349,763	511,091	68.43
75	210,958	88,922	122,036	72.87
76	198,981	81,662	117,319	69.61
77	169,080	68,728	100,352	68.49
78	150,808	59,850	90,958	65.80
79	131,027	50,601	80,426	62.92
80-84	370,656	134,967	235,689	57.26
80	111,792	42,353	69,439	60.99
81	91,757	33,839	57,918	58.43
82	69,793	25,030	44,663	56.04
83	52,502	18,430	34,072	54.09
84	44,912	15,315	29,597	51.75
85 and above	134,439	41,405	93,034	41.51

## Part II

HK240729 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Dec 83 p 2

[Report: "Pleasing Results of the Third National Census in China"]

[Text] II. Centenarians in China's Population

On the basis of the first non-computer assessments of the third national population census, there are a total of 3,765 centenarians in the 29 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions on the Chinese mainland, making up 3.2/1 [as printed] million of the total population. Thus, on the average, for every 1 million

people there are 3.8 centenarians. There are more female centenarians than male, with 1,108 men and 2,657 women. Thus, there are 2.4 times more female centenarians than male and the sex ratio is 41.7.

The vast majority of China's centenarians live in villages in the rural areas, located mainly in the northwest, central southern regions, and the southwest. When one compares the number of centenarians per 1 million people in each province, city, and autonomous region, we see that Xinjiang has the most with 66.1 centenarians per 1 million people; Xizang is second with 24.3, then Qinghai with 12.8, and Guangxi with 11.1, while the lowest is Shanxi with only 0.2 centenarians per 1 million people.

Of all China's centenarians, there are 1,462 national minority centenarians, and on the average, for every 1 million of the national minority population there are 21.7 centenarians. There are 2,303 Han centenarians and thus for every 1 million of the Han population, there are 2.5 centenarians.

Of China's centenarians, those between the ages of 100 and 109 represent the vast majority, namely 3,501, 92.99 percent of all centenarians. Those between the ages of 110 and 119 total 228, 6.05 percent of all centenarians, while there are 26 centenarians over the age of 120, making up 0.96 percent of all centenarians. The oldest centenarian is 130 years old and this venerable old gentleman is Kuerbanyasheng, a member of the Yingaleike production team in the Tashenlike commune in Xinhe County, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. According to calculations from the 10 percent sample of the 1982 census, the longevity level in China has now reached 6.6 percent. (According to international customs, the longevity level is calculated by dividing the total population over the age of 80 by the total population over the age of 60.) This represents an increase of 2.1 percent over the level in 1953 of 4.5 and an increase of 2.3 percent over the level in 1964 of 4.3 percent.

The longevity level of the older population is very closely related to socio-economic development. In the world's economically advanced countries, the longevity level has reached more than 10 percent while in developing countries it is mostly under 10 percent. For example, in France in 1972 it was 13.7 percent, Norway in 1975 it was 13 percent, in Canada in 1975 it was 13.2 percent, and in the United States in 1976 it was 14.5 percent. In Brazil in 1975 it was 6.9 percent, in Paraguay in 1975 it was 6.9 percent. In Burma it was 5.5 percent, and in Papua New Guinea in 1971 it was 5.7 percent.

In China today the longevity level among our elderly is 6.6 percent. This is still lower than the level in the world's developed countries. As research, education, hygiene, and health care continue to develop and standards of living continue to improve, the longevity level in China will rise steadily.

Level of Longevity in Each Province, City, and Autonomous Region  
(based on the 10 percent sample--not including all census figures)

<u>Region</u>	<u>Level of longevity(0/0)</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Level of longevity (0/0)</u>
All 29 provinces, cities and autonomous regions	6.6		
1. Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region	11.9	15. Anhui	6.4
2. Zhejiang	9.0	16. Henan	6.4
3. Guangdong	8.6	17. Sichuan	6.2
4. Shanghai	7.9	18. Hunan	6.0
5. Liaoning	7.7	19. Hubei	5.6
6. Jiangsu	7.6	20. Guizhou	5.6
7. Beijing	7.4	21. Heilongjiang	5.5
8. Guangxi Zhuang National Autonomous Region	7.4	22. Jiangxi	5.4
9. Xizang Autonomous Region	7.3	23. Yunnan	5.3
10. Shandong	7.2	24. Shanxi	4.4
11. Tianjin	6.9	25. Neimenggu Autonomous Region	4.4
12. Fujian	6.8	26. Qinghai	4.4
13. Jilin	6.5	27. Ningxia Hui National Autonomous Region	4.2
14. Hebei	6.5	28. Shaanxi	3.5
		29. Gansu	3.3

Centenarians Throughout All Provinces, Cities and Autonomous Regions  
(based on initial non-computer assessment of all census statistics)

	<u>Grand total</u>	<u>Total number of centenarians</u>		<u>Unit: one person 100-104 years</u>		
		<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>total</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>
Total of all 29 provinces, cities and autonomous regions	3,765	1,108	2,657	2,836	724	2,112
Beijing	19	3	16	19	3	16
Tianjin	8	2	6	8	2	6
Hebei	44	9	35	36	8	28
Shanxi	6	2	4	3	--	3
Neimenggu Autonomous Region	16	9	7	11	6	5
Liaoning	51	20	31	47	18	29
Jilin	29	18	11	24	14	10
Heilongjiang	29	9	20	20	7	13
Shanghai	20	3	17	20	3	17

	Total number of centenarians			Unit: one person 100-104 years		
	Grand Total	m	f	Total	m	f
Jiangsu	101	14	87	93	13	80
Zhejiang	54	6	48	54	6	48
Anhui	121	22	99	92	16	76
Fujian	44	7	37	37	7	30
Jiangxi	43	13	20	39	12	27
Shandong	121	16	105	98	13	85
Henan	345	41	304	291	37	255
Hubei	90	17	73	69	10	59
Hunan	82	19	63	72	16	56
Guangdong	441	63	378	388	57	331
Guangxi Zhuang National Autonomous Region	405	84	321	324	69	255
Sichuan	372	68	304	314	49	265
Guizhou	79	17	62	64	15	49
Yunnan	210	57	153	153	41	112
Xizang Autonomous Region	46	10	36	25	5	20
Shaanxi	21	6	15	15	6	9
Gansu	31	14	17	22	10	12
Qinghai	50	12	38	36	7	29
Ningxia Hui National Autonomous Region	22	11	11	12	7	5
Xinjiang Uighur Auto- nomous Region	865	536	329	450	268	182

	105-110 years old			older than 111 years of age		
	Total	m	f	Total	m	f
Total of all 29 provinces, cities and autonomous regions	756	281	475	173	130	70
Beijing	--	--	--	--	--	--
Tianjin	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hebei	7	1	6	1	--	1
Shanxi	2	1	1	1	1	1
Neimenggu Autonomous Region	3	2	1	2	1	1
Liaoning	4	2	2	--	--	--
Jilin	4	3	1	1	1	--
Heilongjiang	8	2	6	1	--	1
Shanghai	--	--	--	--	--	--
Jiangsu	8	1	7	--	--	--
Zhejiang	--	--	--	--	--	--
Anhui	27	5	22	2	1	1
Fujian	7	--	7	--	--	--
Jiangxi	4	1	3	--	--	--
Shandong	22	3	19	1	--	1



	105-110 years old			older than 111 years of age		
	<u>Total</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>
Henan	45	4	41	9	1	8
Hubei	19	6	13	2	1	1
Hunan	9	2	7	1	1	--
Guangdong	52	6	46	1	--	1
Guangxi Zhuang National Autonomous Region	67	12	55	14	3	11
Sichuan	51	15	36	7	4	3
Guizhou	13	2	11	2	--	2
Yunnan	50	13	37	7	3	4
Xizang Autonomous Region	19	5	14	2	--	2
Shaanxi	6	--	6	--	--	--
Gansu	9	4	5	--	--	--
Qinghai	12	3	9	2	2	--
Ningxia Hui National Autonomous Region	10	4	6	--	--	--
Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region	298	184	114	117	84	33

### Part III

HK240756 Beijing JINGJI RIBAO in Chinese 15 Dec 83 p 2

[Report: "Pleasing Results of the Third National Census in China"]

[Text] III. The Martial Structure of China Population

Assessments of the date of the 10 percent sample from the third national census illustrate that of the population in China above the age of 15 on 1 July 1982, 28.56 percent were not married and 63.67 percent were married, 7.18 percent were widowed, and 0.59 percent were divorced. (Those who remarried after being widowed or getting divorced are counted as married.)

The martial make-up of China's population reflects a situation in which the majority of adults live in households comprised of both a husband and a wife, while the proportion of single, divorced households is very small and hence the family structure in China is very stable.

China's marriage laws specify 22 as the youngest legal age of marriage for men and 20 for women. On the basis of data from the 10 percent sample of the 1982 census, of China's married population, those who have married before the legal minimum age (for men between 15 and 21 and for women between 15 and 19) make of 3.23 percent of their age group.

Martial Make Up of the Population According to Age  
 (based on the 10 percent sample, not including all census figures)  
 unit: one person

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Unmarried</u>	
		<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>
Total in 28 [as published] provinces, cities and autonomous regions	19,002,333	11,143,170	7,859,163
15-19	12,184,584	6,306,828	5,877,756
20	1,309,257	716,583	592,674
21	796,067	461,634	334,433
22	895,791	557,213	338,578
23	697,255	469,215	228,040
24	710,790	515,794	194,996
25	485,749	376,607	109,142
26	322,572	263,861	58,711
27	248,525	213,447	35,048
28	174,980	155,425	19,555
29	127,099	115,510	11,589
30-34	359,106	335,317	23,789
35-39	200,731	193,453	7,278
40-44	151,234	146,943	4,291
45-49	113,180	109,226	3,954
50-59	123,394	115,867	7,527
60-79	96,732	85,801	10,931
80 and above	5,287	4,416	871

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Married</u>	
		<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>
Total in 28 [as published] provinces, cities, and autonomous regions	42,365,941	21,099,085	21,266,856
15-19	324,020	57,589	266,431
20	244,860	49,851	195,009
21	267,009	67,496	199,513
22	528,712	172,668	356,044
23	725,239	267,250	457,989
24	1,225,156	492,353	732,803
25	1,393,187	596,952	796,235
26	1,458,529	652,847	805,682
27	1,705,456	795,661	909,795
28	1,671,600	794,300	877,300
29	1,606,117	773,303	832,814
30-34	6,843,358	3,394,021	3,449,337
35-39	5,101,727	2,587,367	2,514,360
40-44	4,508,250	2,329,811	2,178,439
45-49	4,321,800	2,243,115	2,078,685
50-59	6,301,118	3,374,004	2,927,114
60-79	4,050,917	2,385,035	1,665,882
80 and above	88,886	65,462	23,424

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Widowed</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>Divorced</u>	
		<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>		<u>m</u>	<u>f</u>
Total in 28 [as published] provinces, cities, and autonomous regions	4,775,638	1,522,110	3,253,528	395,205	312,896	82,309
15-19	354	124	230	2,806	515	2,291
20	249	77	142	1,598	545	1,053
21	240	87	153	1,301	542	759
22	546	244	302	2,240	1,063	1,177
23	828	407	421	2,659	1,416	1,243
24	1,547	796	751	4,290	2,527	1,763
25	2,186	1,227	959	5,227	3,156	2,071
26	2,918	1,701	1,217	5,559	3,606	1,953
27	4,008	2,385	1,623	6,705	4,533	2,172
28	4,747	2,860	1,887	7,807	5,432	2,375
29	5,506	3,356	2,150	7,769	5,583	2,186
30-34	40,277	23,761	16,516	41,939	32,000	9,939
35-39	67,148	35,793	31,355	40,449	32,912	7,537
40-44	123,771	59,134	64,637	45,351	38,695	6,656
45-49	237,590	100,419	137,171	55,144	47,746	7,392
50-59	942,836	331,560	611,276	94,827	78,114	16,713
60-79	2,932,890	853,466	2,079,424	67,628	53,034	14,594
80 and above	408,027	104,713	303,314	1,906	2,477	429

CSO: 4005/279

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNAN: NATIONAL PARTY SCHOOL SEMINAR OPENS 19 DEC

HK200352 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 19 Dec 83

[Text] A national partyschool academic seminar on party history and documents, held to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong, opened in the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee hall on 19 December. Wang Zhen, member of the CPC Central Committee Political Bureau and principal of the Central Party School, presided at the opening ceremony and made a speech. He said: Mao Zedong Thought is our precious spiritual treasure. We must advocate that people study, research, uphold, and develop Mao Zedong Thought. This is the best way for us to commemorate Comrade Mao Zedong.

Jiang Nanxiang, member of the CPC Central Committee and deputy principal of the Central Party School, delivered a speech on inheriting and carrying forward the fine traditions of the Yanan rectification of work style and doing a good job in all-round party rectification. He pointed out: Apart from solving problems of impurity in ideology and work style, purifying the organization is an extremely urgent and important task in this party rectification. The first task in this party rectification is to unify ideology. This means further accomplishing a high degree of ideological and political unanimity in the whole party.

Wang Shoudao, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Advisory Commission, and Mao Zhiyong, first secretary of the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee, also spoke at the opening ceremony.

The 300 delegates attending this academic seminar will discuss in depth how to study Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant achievements, the great significance of publicizing Mao Zedong Thought, and how to learn from the way proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation such as Comrade Deng Xiaoping have upheld and developed Mao Zedong Thought.

CSO: 4005/271

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNAN: NATIONAL SEMINAR ON MAO'S PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHT

HK090151 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 8 Dec 83

[Text] According to HUNAN RIBAO, a national seminar on Mao Zedong's philosophic thought, held to mark the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong, opened in Changsha on 8 December. Present at the opening were Central Committee Advisory Commission Standing Committee members Wang Shoudao and He Changgong; member Zhang Tilong; Central Committee member and Central Party History Research Office Director Hu Sheng; Hunan Provincial CPC Committee First Secretary Mao Zhiyong; Secretary Jiao Linyi; Standing Committee member and Propaganda Department Director Wang Xiangtian; and experts, scholars, and philosophy workers from Beijing and all parts of the country and the PLA, totalling 180 persons.

This seminar has been jointly convened by the Philosophy Research Institute of the Academy of Social Science, the Chinese Research Society on the History of Marxist Philosophy, the Hunan Institute of Social Science, and the Hunan Provincial Federation of Philosophy and Social Science Associations. The seminar has received enthusiastic support and important guidance from the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee, and the Academy of Social Science.

The opening speech was delivered by Comrade (Qi Yi), secretary of the party group of the Philosophy Research Institute of the Academy of Social Science. He said: The holding of this meeting in Hunan, Comrade Mao Zedong's native province, shows how dearly we philosophy workers cherish the memory of Comrade Mao Zedong. The central agenda of the seminar is: to discuss how the party has upheld and developed Mao Zedong's philosophic thought since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee; and to study in depth how the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has upheld and developed Mao Zedong Thought.

Comrade Jiao Linyi extended warm greetings to the participants on behalf of the provincial CPC committee. He hoped they would provide more guidance and assistance for theoretical work in the province.

In connection with their own experiences, Comrade Wang Shoudao and He Chang-gong introduced some information on how Comrade Mao Zedong applied basic Marxist theory to analyze the situation at the time and to solve practical problems in the Chinese revolution. They also spoke on their experiences in study "On Practice" and "On Contradictions." The participants were greatly educated and encouraged thereby.

CSO: 4005/271

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

XU XIANGQIAN STRESSED PRIMARY EDUCATION

HK210150 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 9 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

["Special Feature": "Xu Xiangqian [1776 0686 0467] Hopes Primary School Teachers Will Make Greater Contributions to the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Editor's note: On 2 June 1981, Comrade Xu Xiangqian met with several leaders and teachers from his old school--the Taiyuan Normal School. During this cordial meeting, Marshal Xu discussed primary education.

In their recent remarks, central leading comrades have repeatedly emphasized the importance of doing well in normal school education. They have pointed out that this is the most important task in developing general education. Comrade Wang Wenzhong, who has joined the work of compiling Marshal Xu's reminiscences, hold that this is an important question. Recently, he compiled some materials concerning what Marshal Xu said during that meeting and presented them to this paper, hoping that they would be published. At the same time, he also wrote a letter to the Taiyuan Normal School, telling them about his plan. On 7 December, our editorial board received a letter from Comrade Xu Junzhuang, director of the Taiyuan Normal School office, which said that Marshal Xu's remarks were the great concern and encouragement of the proletarian revolutionaries of the old generation for the teachers and students in his school. We must always bear in mind the central leading comrades' instructions on normal school education and work hard for development in this field during the construction of the four modernizations.

Today, our paper carries some excerpts of Comrade Xu Xiangqian's remarks during this meeting. [end editor's note]

In his youth, Comrade Xu Xiangqian was among the first group of students in the Taiyuan National Normal School (former Taiyuan Normal School). He took an accelerated course for 2 years. After graduation, he became a primary school teacher for several years. Although more than 60 years have passed since then, many past events have remained fresh in his memory. This time, he joyfully received his guests--several leaders and teachers from the Taiyuan Normal School--his old school.

Marshal Xu told his guests: "Ours is a large country with a population of 1 billion. It is an arduous task for us to change the backward situation in our education. Many problems certainly will be solved in our construction of

the four modernizations if we lay a good foundation for it by promoting primary education. We now have primary schools and primary school teachers in all villages. If all the teachers are doing well in their work and paying great attention to the education of the children, they will play an immeasurable role in socialist construction."

#### Making Primary Education Universal Is a Very Important Strategic Task

Marshal Xu said: "To develop education, we must start with primary education. How can we do otherwise." Primary education is the foundation, on which secondary and higher education is developed and talented people in various fields are trained. Without primary education, how can we develop secondary and higher education? How can we talk about training talented people? If we do not lay a solid foundation in this respect, the children cannot grow up healthily and become useful."

Making primary education universal is not only a pressing and arduous task at present, but also a very important strategic task. Marshal Xu emphasized: "Our country has a large population and backward culture and science and technology. Over the past 30 years or so, our education has been greatly developed in comparison with that in the period under the KMT rule. However, we must not rest content with our achievements. We must set higher demands on our work in accordance with the needs of the new period. At present, there are difficulties in our development of production due to the lack of scientists and technicians and the lack of experienced and well-educated cadres. This is why the central authorities and Comrade Xiaoping have repeatedly emphasized the importance of developing basic education. Time is needed in order to train talented people. Some 16 to 17 years are needed for one to complete one's study from primary school to university. Of course, not every primary school pupil will be able to study in university. There are all kinds of talented people. It is necessary to train qualified laborers. Time is also needed in order to train qualified laborers. The training of talented people also must start with primary education. Without a solid foundation in this field, the quality of talented people in various fields will be affected. Therefore, it is necessary to firmly grasp primary education."

#### Improving Teaching Methods Is an Important Question in Improving the Quality of Primary Education

Comrade Xu Xiangqian regarded improving teaching methods as one of the important questions in improving the quality of education. When he was a primary school teacher, he paid great attention to the use of teaching methods. He said: "I was a primary school teacher for several years. I understand that it is not an easy job to bring up and teach those school children, boys and girls, who come from different families and have different intelligence and dispositions. The work for a teacher in charge of a class is very hard. It is different from the hard work of a university professor. Farmers all know that young plants are too weak to withstand strong winds and storm, however, because they must grow amid rain and storm, they must be strong. But they cannot grow well without the care of the peasants. The growth of children is similar to this. In educating the children, we have to explain many hows and whys. Our purpose is to train communists. The teachers must show solicitude for schoolchildren like loving mothers and must dedicate themselves to the cause of training talented people for our socialist



motherland. This is not enough. They must also have correct methods. The eight Chinese characters meaning 'teaching the students in accordance with their aptitude and applying the method of elicitation' are of great significance. Provided we apply them in light of realities, we will surely achieve successes. The experiences of the 'special-class teachers' and 'model teachers' are very precious."

#### The Exemplary Role of Teachers Is Very Important

Marshal Xu said: "It often happens that after a child goes to school, he usually has more faith in what his teachers say than what his parents say. On many occasions he will say: 'This is what our teacher says.' 'Our teacher told us to do it this way.' 'This is exactly what our teachers have done.' What does this show? It shows that the children have reverence for and confidence in their teachers. Unlike university students who have the ability to distinguish between right and wrong independently, primary school pupils are good at imitating their teachers and follow their examples. This is why we say that the exemplary role of the teachers is very important. It has an important bearing on the formation of the moral character and behavior of the pupils. Now in our country, both civilization and courtesy are emphasized everywhere. The teachers must set an example in this respect. How can you tell the pupils that they should be polite in their behavior and language when you yourself are not doing so?"

#### The Key to Running Primary Schools Well Lies in the Training of Qualified Teachers for Primary Schools

The visitors asked Marshal Xu to offer his opinions on running the normal school well. After short consideration, Marshal Xu said that the key, and the most important key, to raising the level of education lies in the quality of teachers. What you are undertaking is the task of training primary school teachers. If a solid foundation is not laid at the primary school stage, it will be difficult to train talented people. Teachers are often likened to "gardeners" and "engineers of the human soul." They are also likened to "instructors of modern human beings" by some people. No matter what the teachers are likened to--engineers, gardeners, or instructors--all this reflects the important position and role of the teachers in the field of education. Without "gardeners," there would be no gardens with a hundred flowers in blossom; without engineers, there would be no high buildings and large mansions; and without instructors, mankind would be groping on the sea of ignorance.

What is the fundamental problem we should deal with in training teachers?

Marshal Xu said: "In order to train the teachers, we must let them acquire a correct outlook on life and correct world outlook. Without these correct outlooks, the teachers will find it difficult to educate the students to foster correct ideals and study with a correct purpose. Therefore, we must require the teachers to acquire a correct world outlook and correct outlook on life and foster lofty ideals. We must require that they cultivate the spirit of utter devotion to the cause of the motherland, the people, and socialist modernization, and the revolutionary spirit of fighting to their last breath." Marshal Xu emphasized:

"Our country is one under the leadership of the Communist Party, in which the four basic principles are adhered to and the construction of socialist modernization is being carried out. Education must serve this purpose. The students brought up in the normal schools must be those who are able to adhere to the four basic principles and serve the construction of the four modernizations.

Society Must Respect Primary School Teachers; Primary School Teachers Must Also Encourage Themselves

At the end of the conversation, Marshal Xu showed great concern for the work, daily life, and social position of the teachers. He said: "The work for primary school teachers is very hard. However, they do not have good enough working and living conditions, and their social position is not high. During the 10 years of turmoil, all the teachers became the "stinking ninth category." Over the past few years, this has changed, as a result of adhering to the four basic principles and setting to right things which had been thrown into disorder. However, there is still pernicious influence of that period, and we must not underestimate this influence. In the eyes of some people, there are only cadres and "officials," but no teachers. This is a very bad atmosphere. When we were young, we felt that university professors were very great people. In the countryside, primary school teachers were respected everywhere. They had a comparatively higher social position. Just think: How can our country advance without intellectuals and how can our society achieve progress if the workers and peasants have less knowledge? This is plain to everyone. Teachers should be respected by society. Of course, they also must encourage themselves. Being a teacher is an honor. They must be worthy of the name of a teacher."

In conclusion, Marshal Xu said sincerely and earnestly: "It is certainly no easy job to do well in primary education and to raise the level of education in the whole country. The tasks for the educational circles are heavy. Therefore, the burdens for the teachers, especially for primary school teachers, are even heavier. I hope that primary school teachers will make greater contributions to the four modernizations!"

CSO: 4005/279

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO ON PEASANT WARS IN FEUDAL SOCIETY

HK231250 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Li Guihai [2621 2710 3189] and Xiao Li [5135 2746]: 'How To Evaluate the Anti-Feudal Struggle in Peasant Wars']

[Text] The question of the struggle against feudalism of peasant wars in China's feudal society has all along been an important topic followed with interest and discussed by historical circles. For a time, under the influence of "leftist" ideas, the struggle against feudalism in peasant wars had been improperly raised to the plane of the struggle of the proletariat against feudalism for evaluation. This is, of course, inappropriate. However, in recent years, while correcting this excessive raising of the struggle against feudalism in peasant wars, some comrades have at the same time repeatedly published articles belittling the significance of the struggle against feudalism in peasant wars. They have described peasant wars as "repairers" of the feudal system whose mission was to establish an "enlightened new dynasty," and therefore "feudalization" is the inevitable road of development in peasant wars. Such views are not in keeping with the historical truth of the struggle against feudalism of peasant wars in feudal society, for they negate the historical role of peasant wars. Therefore, discussion is very necessary.

#### Peasant Wars Are Not 'Repairers' of the Feudal System

The comrades who maintain the above views hold that: "At the time when the feudal system had still not reached the stage of being discarded as worthless," "regardless of what the peasants may have thought at that time, the role of objective law enabled peasant wars only to play the role of repairers of the feudal system," and "as long as repair had been properly carried out, they had also fulfilled their historical mission." The feudal system and peasant wars are actually products of two basically antagonistic classes, and the exploitation and oppression of the feudal system are precisely the cause of the outbreak of peasant wars. Regardless of whether or not the feudal system has reached the stage of being discarded as worthless, the ultimate goal of peasant wars is not to repair the feudal system so that it can exploit and oppress the peasants even more, but to attack and overthrow it.

The feudal system is the machinery used by the landlord class to oppress the peasants. To the oppressed, the breakdown and malfunction of this machinery are precisely what they long for. After the outbreak of peasant wars, regardless of whether in the subjective or objective sense, what the peasants want is to overthrow the feudal system exploiting and oppressing them, and they absolutely do not want to repair this "machinery" which oppressed and exploited the peasants. The function of the feudal system is to carry out class exploitation and oppression, and if the goal of the exploited and oppressed peasants who staged uprisings, spilled blood, and made sacrifice, is instead to repair this "machinery" so that it could more ruthlessly oppress them, such a stupid thing would definitely not happen in history. To be sure, viewed objectively, the peasant wars had given an impetus to the development of feudal society and enabled the feudal system to develop from the lower stage to the higher stage until its destruction. However, the impetus given by the peasant wars to the development of the feudal society does not amount to "repairing" the feudal system. These two things are entirely different in concept. The peasant wars gave an impetus to the feudal society mainly in two directions: First, they progressively eliminated remnants of the slave-owning system and enabled the feudal system to develop normally. Second, they attacked the feudal system, created conditions for the seeds of capitalism to emerge and develop, and enabled the feudal system to be ultimately replaced by a more advanced system. Thus, it is clear that the impetus given by peasant wars to the development of the feudal society is the outcome of the attack made by peasant wars on the feudal system. If we describe this kind of attack as "repair," it will be difficult to differentiate the distinction between the revolutionary character of peasant wars and the so-called "political reform" carried out by certain groups within the ruling class. If we equate revolution with reform, this will also negate the revolutionary character of peasant wars.

As for the moribund things in the feudal system which obstructed and restricted the development of social productive forces, although the ruling class could by means of readjustment and reform also make some partial improvements, it had no means of completely solving them. Moreover, the spearhead of the peasant wars was directed against the whole feudal system, and what they wanted to attack in particular was the moribund feudal system that was fettering the development of productive forces. For example, during the Qin and Han dynasties, those who obstructed the development of productive forces were mainly remnants of the slave-owning system. This was mainly manifested as the serious personal dependency of the peasants and the large-scale forced labor emerging therefrom. Therefore, the peasant wars of this period were mainly against "harsh laws" and "despotic rule." From the later part of the Eastern Han to the Sui and Tang dynasties there occurred the rise of aristocratic families and powerful clans, and the manor economy as well as the system of power and influence flourished. This moribund system became the principle target of attack in peasant wars during this period. It was only toward the close of the Tang Dynasty that the peasant wars were able to completely smash this system, and there appeared the situation of "not checking family circumstances in selecting officials and not checking background in matrimony." ("Tongzhi: Preface on Clans") After the Song Dynasty,

"the land system was not practiced" and land ownership became more centralized fully reflected that the feudal state could no longer interfere with the annexation of land. Therefore, from the beginning of the Song Dynasty to the Taiping Tianguo Revolution, the principal content of peasant wars had all along been opposing the annexation of land and calling for equal distribution of land. Moreover, after each large-scale peasant war, the situation of land annexation changed to a certain extent, and land ownership also inclined to become decentralized. Under the attack of peasant wars, it was very difficult to reestablish the part of the feudal system that was obstructing the development of productive forces, but the part still playing a promotional role on productive forces could easily be reestablished. This is determined by the law of social development and is not determined by the repair of any "repairer." Therefore, in regarding the death-and-life struggle between the two antagonistic classes in feudal society as the relationship between the "machinery" and "repairer," there will be no means of explaining the relations of the class struggle between the peasants and the landlords in feudal society.

#### The Task of Peasant Wars Was Not To Establish an 'Enlightened New Dynasty'

These comrades also hold that "the supreme task of the old type of peasant war was to overthrow the moribund old dynasty, establish an enlightened new dynasty, and sweep away all obstacles to the development of productive forces and social progress." Overthrowing the moribund old dynasty was indeed one of the tasks of the old type of peasant war, but many of the peasant wars had already achieved this objective. However, the establishment of an enlightened new dynasty only symbolizes the failure of the peasant war and definitely does not mean that the tasks of the peasant wars had been fulfilled.

In the history of China's peasant wars, some of the large-scale peasant wars overthrew the old feudal dynasties and established new feudal dynasties. These newly established new dynasties would generally also have some "enlightened" measures, make certain "concessions" to the peasants, and their political oppression and economic exploitation would also be lighter than the former feudal dynasties. However, we should see through the historical appearance to get at the heart of the matter. The basic object of less forced labor and taxes of these "new dynasties" was not for the sake of protecting and raising the standing of the peasants, but for the sake of consolidating feudal rule and for the sake of the long-term interests of the landlord class. Its class character is very clear. The first emperor of the Tang Dynasty repeatedly stressed: "The sovereign is like a boat; the common people are like water. Water can carry the boat, and water can capsize the boat." ("Zhenguan Zhengyao," Vol. 1) Zhu Yuanzhang also realized that "the way of those above is to make proper use of the army"; otherwise, "the bow string drawn too tight will snap, and the people pressed too hard will riot." ("Hungwu Shilu," Vol. 36) Thus, it is perfectly clear that regardless of new dynasties or old dynasties, they are all in fact a dictatorship of the landlord class. Regardless of "enlightened" or "moribund" feudal regimes, they are ruthless in their oppression and exploitation

of the peasants. The peasants are only breaking an old shackle to put on a new shackle. If we regard the establishment of a new dynasty as the "supreme task" of the peasant war, then we are not equating the task of the peasant war with the attempt of the landlord class to reestablish their rule and political power? Based on this theory, the great anti-feudal struggle of peasant wars will certainly be described as a struggle between the peasantry and the landlord class to become the "enlightened" emperor of the "new dynasty."

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that because the peasants of the feudal society were not representatives of the new mode of production, "every peasant revolution failed, and the peasantry was invariably used by the landlords and the nobility, either during or after the revolution, as a lever for bringing about dynastic change." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 588) The establishment of the "new dynasty," which enabled the landlord class to reestablish its rule in the dynastic change, is precisely an indication of the failure of the peasant war. Historical facts have proved that although large-scale peasant wars of a national character temporarily ended with the establishment of the "new dynasty," the peasants again started a struggle against the "new dynasty." For example, in the early part of the Western Han, there were still "numerous people holding out in the mountains and marshes." During the reign of Emperor Wudi, "bandits appeared everywhere." During the period of Hongwu in the early part of the Ming Dynasty, there was a slave uprising led by Wang Jingang "in the southern part of Gansu which took three reigns and more than 40 years to suppress." (Shen Defu: "Yehuobian," Vol. 27) If the task of the peasant war is to establish an "enlightened new dynasty," and the establishment of an "enlightened new dynasty" is also a "victory" of the peasant war, does it not conflict with why the "new dynasty" encountered uprising and opposition the moment it came into being? The fact that the "enlightened new dynasty" established by the peasants after bloody fighting was again immediately opposed by them explains that the establishment of the so-called "enlightened new dynasty" is basically not the goal of the peasant war, much less the fruit of victory of the peasant war.

Of course, because the peasants of the feudal society did not represent the advanced mode of production, the outcome of their struggle against feudalism could not lead to the establishment of a social system more advanced than feudalism. Therefore, after overthrowing the feudal dynasty, they could only establish a new feudal society. The emperor of this new dynasty, regardless of whether he came from the landlord class or started out as a leader of the peasant uprising, makes no difference. This is a limitation of history and a limitation of class, not the fault of the peasant war. Because the ultimate outcome of the peasant war was only to overthrow the old dynasty and establish a new dynasty, we cannot determine that the task of the peasant war was for the sake of establishing an "enlightened new dynasty." This is because the goal of the struggle and the outcome of the struggle are not always identical. In the feudal society, the goal and outcome of the anti-feudal struggle of the peasants were contradictory. To basically solve this contradiction, it is necessary to have a class representing the new mode of production to lead the peasant war. Because the old type of peasant wars could not ultimately achieve the goal of destroying feudalism, we cannot negate the historical role of the anti-feudal struggle of the peasants.

## 'Feudalization' Is Not the Road of Development of Peasant Wars

These comrades, on the one hand, hold that the egalitarianism put forward in peasant wars was an "ultra-leftist voice, a colorful 'revolutionary' dress with diamond-like radiance," and a "most beautiful fancy cake"; that it is better "to call the 'property system of the Heavenly Kingdom,' promulgated by the Taiping Tianguo, revolutionary than to call it reactionary; that Li Zicheng and Hong Xiuquan should "bear a certain responsibility for the slow, backward, and passive development of the Chinese nation." On the other hand, these comrades hold that "feudalization" is the road of development of peasant wars, and "practicing feudalism" is the "only correct road." Due to the limitation of space, this article will not discuss the question of how to evaluate egalitarianism in peasant wars, but will only briefly discuss the question of whether opposing feudalism or "feudalization" is the road of development of peasant wars. The road of development of peasant wars is to keep on opposing feudalism and to step-by-step temper and improve one's fighting level in the struggle against feudalism, promote the development of feudal society by means of attacking the moribund system, and ultimately, under the leadership of the advanced class, completely destroy feudalism. If we describe "feudalization" as the "only correct road" in people's war, the anti-feudal struggle in peasant wars will lose its meaning and value.

In the process of development, and particularly after having won considerable success and established its own regime, some signs of feudalization indeed appeared in the peasant war. This was caused by the historical limitation of the peasantry because, as a result of the unremitting development and expansion of the peasant war, it not only had to continue to carry on the anti-feudal struggle, but it also had the problem of how to consolidate the gains already achieved. Therefore, the contingent of the peasant revolution at this time not only had to have a form suited to the developed and expanded military organization, but the newly established regime also had the problem of what form of organization to adopt. In the later part of the Eastern Han, Zhang Lu adopted the form of combining politics with education in central China, "not appointing permanent officials," not using torture indiscriminately, and "checking and rechecking the reason before carrying out a death sentence." He also set up "free houses" and "free rice and meat" for the use of the people. In the early part of the Southern Song, Zhong Xiang also adopted the form of organization of uniting the soldiers and peasants along Tongtinghu or, in other words, "carrying out cultivation in spring and summer, collecting and storing grain in the stockade when the water is low in autumn and winter, putting the old people and children on boats, and leading his men to raid the surrounding areas" ("Zhongxing Siaoji") Historical facts have proved that this form of organization is not suited to the need of the struggle, and therefore does not have much vitality. Owing to the fact that the peasantry did not represent the new mode of production, it also could not set up a form of organization for its own political power and armed struggle; it could only use that of feudalism for reference, as this was the most ready-made form and also one with which the peasants were familiar. Therefore, most of the peasant wars, after having

developed, expanded, and established their own regime, gradually adopted some of the forms of organization and management of feudal regimes. This is not revolutionary progress, but a kind of slipping back. Lenin said: The dictatorship of the toilers established in the peasant war was not very consolidated, and after a brief period, everything slipped back. "Everything slipped back precisely because the peasants, the toilers, the small proprietors, cannot have their own policies, and after vacillating for some time, they have to retreat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 496) Eulogizing this kind of slip back and describing this kind of slip back as the road of development of peasant wars is to negate its revolutionary aspect because of the backward and conservative aspect of the peasants. This is obviously incorrect.

The appearance of this phenomenon of feudalization in peasant wars was the result of the inability of the peasants to find a way out in the class struggle. Therefore, in terms of the peasant war, feudalization is a kind of slip back, and not a development. The peasant wars, which constantly erupted in China's feudal society, were all caused by the ruthless exploitation and oppression of the peasants by feudalism. The reason why the peasants took desperate risks was because they were unable to make a living. Therefore, after the outbreak of every peasant war, the spearhead was invariably directed against the feudal ruler. Despite the fact that the road of their anti-feudal struggle was extremely tortuous and always resulted in failure, the peasants were opposing moribund feudal rule and absolutely not "practicing feudalism." Lenin in discussing Tolstoy said: The peasantry "showed in the revolution how great was its hatred of the old regime, how keenly it felt all the inflictions of the modern regime, how great within it was the spontaneous yearning to be rid of them and to find a better life." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol. 16, p 352) The peasants suffered deeply from the exploitation and oppression of feudalism, and it is actually very difficult to convince people that they would still seek feudalism after their uprising. In the feudal society, the landlord class was the ruling class, and it controlled all the means of production. It not only carried out political oppression and economic exploitation of the peasants, but also poisoned them ideologically. The peasants were small producers, and their products were mainly for the sake of satisfying their own consumption and not for the sake of carrying out commodity exchange. Therefore, they had very little contact with society, and a state of isolation existed between them. After the outbreak of each large-scale peasant war, the peasants would, of course, strive to overcome their own shortcomings in order to triumph over the enemy. The landlord class would also take full advantage of their superiority to control and poison the peasants. The appearance of the phenomenon of feudalism in peasant wars is precisely a manifestation of this kind of complex class struggle. The repeated probings of countless peasant wars in feudal society were for the sake of shaking off the exploitation, oppression, and poisoning of the landlord class, and discovering a way to triumph over feudalism. Although all their attempts ended in failure, they discovered one truth, and that is, simply relying on the strength of the peasants themselves cannot triumph over feudalism. Only under the leadership of an advanced class, and in China, only under the leadership of the proletariat, can they win a complete victory in the anti-feudal struggle. Only this is the road of development of peasant wars.



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### GUANGMING RIBAO IN DOUBLE-HUNDRED POLICY

HK231504 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Dec 83 pp 1, 4

[Commentator's article: "Fully Understand and Implement the Double-Hundred Policy"]

[Text] It was in 1956 that Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the policy "let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Thus, the policy is now 27 years old this year. For quite a long period of time, the influence of "leftist" thinking meant that there was serious intervention in its implementation. This was particularly true during the 10 years of internal disorder, when Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and their counterrevolutionary clique wantonly destroyed and stamped on this policy from their extreme leftist position. Only after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee did this policy achieve true implementation. As a result, science and cultural undertakings in China saw the emergence of a new and unprecedented situation, and this is an obvious and evident fact to everyone.

However, over recent years, every time the party has said that it wants to uphold the four basic principles, strengthening party guidance in the ideological front-line and overcoming tendencies toward capitalist liberalization, some comrades always ask with a certain amount of doubt: has the party line changed, is the double-hundred policy still needed? When questions such as these are asked, it illustrates, on the one hand, how far-reaching the damage of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's cultural autocracy really was, since the lingering fears in the hearts of some comrades have still not been erased, and on the other hand, it illustrates a problem relating to comprehensive and accurate understanding of the double-hundred policy. During our present struggle to eradicate spiritual pollution, there is a need to clarify some questions and eradicate "leftist" and rightist intervention so as to permit thorough and accurate implementation of this policy and promote the prosperity of China's scientific and cultural undertakings.

The 'Double-Hundred Policy' Is a Fundamental and Long-Term Policy But It Is Not the Only Policy

When Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the "double-hundred policy," he said: "This is a fundamental and long-term policy; it is not a temporary policy." Over recent years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also pointed out with clarity that we must

"always uphold the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," "and there must be no hesitation or wavering permitted." At the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee he also confirmed that party policy has not changed, that the "double-hundred policy" is still necessary. This illustrates that the party's position is one of continued implementation of the "double-hundred policy." Although in the past we made mistakes in expanding the class struggle, which resulted in "the double-hundred policy" not being correctly implemented, after the smashing of the "gang of four," it was none other than our own party which quickly rectified its own mistakes and restored and developed the "double-hundred policy." Today and in the future, with the completion of the restoration of order out of chaos, carried out under the ideological guidance of the party, the "double-hundred policy" must be upheld and implemented for a long period of time and there must be no doubt about this at all. The reason for this is that this policy has been established on foundations of socialist principles and hence corresponds with the objective laws of scientific and literary development as well as the traits of contradictions within the ideological front. For these reasons, the policy is rich and strong in vitality.

When we acknowledge the long-term and fundamental aspects of the "double-hundred policy, we must do so without wavering. However, neither should we take this policy to be the party's only ideological policy, for this policy has only specified that the development of socialist sciences and culture must involve the implementation of democratic discussion and free competition. The policy has not specified anything else, especially not the developmental direction of science and culture nor their nature or content. Hence, we should not think that the implementation of the "double-hundred policy" in ideological work is sufficient and thus ignore various other policies. This way of understanding the "double-hundred policy" is both one-sided and damaging.

As far as our party's ideological work is concerned, there exists a series of other important policies, such as the policy that all ideological work must serve the people and serve socialism; the policy of seeking truth from facts, starting from reality, and relating theory and practice; the policy of placing Marxism in the leading position in all spheres of society, politics, and ideology; the policy of implementing unity among the people, criticism, self-criticism, and unity; and so on. All these have proved to be effective policies as a result of long-term implementation and practice. Thus, they must all continue to be implemented so as to create a dynamic and animated political situation among the people characterized by centralization and democracy, discipline and freedom, and a united will and individual ease of mind.

The basic aim of carrying out ideological work is to nurture an idealistic, moral, cultured, and disciplined new generation of communists. In order to achieve this aim, ideological work must take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its fundamental guiding ideology and use communist ideology to nurture and educate people. Communist ideological education cannot rely solely on free discussion to reach

realization; a certain amount of inculcation must also be carried out. Of course, in the process of carrying out communist ideological education, discussion and contention can be encouraged in the face of various issues which arise, such as the purpose of life, the meaning of life, and the value of life and various questions related to the ethics and morals of communism. This discussion and contention enriches the content of this education and strengthens its vivacity. However, this kind of discussion should on no account depart from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and it may on no account deviate from the four basic principles; otherwise, it may cause people to be led astray.

As far as art and literature are concerned, there are, in addition to the "double-hundred policy," a series of other policies such as weeding through the old to bring forth the new, making the past serve the present, and making the foreign serve China. Furthermore, all these principles and policies must be subordinate to the overriding and main policy that art and literature serve socialism and the people, because this general policy outlines the fundamental direction and tasks involved in our artistic and literary work. The aim of implementing the "double-hundred policy" is to encourage and stimulate diversity and variety in literary and artistic topics, content, and form and to encourage different theoretical and creative views of art and literature so as to enrich and expand discussion and promote prosperity in art and literature. However, the ultimate aim of the policy is to ensure that art and literature serve the people and socialism. If when we develop and promote the general policy of art and literature--namely, the "two servings"--we understand the "double-hundred policy" in a one-sided and biased way and only get to grips with it and no other artistic and literary policies and thus make it the sole policy for the prosperity of art and literature, then there is a possibility that we may take a divergent and incorrect path.

In conclusion, we must not underestimate the active and important role that the "double-hundred policy" plays in developing science and art and literature, nor should we regard it as a dispensible policy, and we should certainly not wantonly reject it. However, we should not exaggerate it and place it in an unsuitable and overly important position and use it to replace ideological work and the general policy in art and literature, for if we do that, we may experience a weakening of the party leadership and a rejection of the guiding role of Marxism in political and ideological spheres.

#### The 'Double-Hundred Policy' Is a Marxist Policy

How did the "double-hundred policy" come about? What are its fundamental characteristics? Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "It is based on the concrete and actual situation in China and is based on an acknowledgement of the continued existence of various contradictions in the socialist society. It is also based on the pressing demand that the state quickly develop the economy and culture. The policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend is a policy which promotes artistic and literary development and scientific advancement. It is a policy which promotes the flourishing of China's socialist culture." He also said that the implementation of the "double-hundred policy"

was intended to strengthen "the leading and guiding role of Marxism in ideological circles." This thus clearly tells us that the "double-hundred policy" is based on the principles of socialism and is intended to consolidate the socialist political system and economic foundation. Comrade Zhou Enlai made this point very clearly when he said: "The policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend should be implemented on a foundation which aims to serve socialism." Hence, the policy of "double-hundred" is in essence a socialist policy and a Marxist policy. When we implement this policy, we should on no account simply understand it only in a literal sense, nor should we simply abstract its meaning. We should, instead, implement this policy by upholding the four basic principles and ensuring that it serves socialism. If we do not do this, there is a possibility that this policy will be misunderstood as a policy of bourgeois liberalism. Only by understanding this policy as a class policy of the proletariat can it be correctly implemented.

Some comrades do not concede that the basic character of this policy is the implementation of academic, democratic discussion and free artistic and literary competition, the development of true and advanced things through criticism and self-criticism, the rectification of erroneous and backward things, the use of beauty, truth, and good to overcome ugliness, falsehood, and evil so as to achieve healthy development of socialist science and culture. Instead they only consider the words "blossom" and "contention." Of course, the party has always encouraged activities related to these two words, in order to ensure the prosperity of science and art and literature in China, but such "blossoming" and "contention" must be within the limits of the constitution and the law and it must take place within the people. It should not permit deviation from principles nor such attitudes as writing whatever one wants, publishing whatever one wants, saying whatever one wants, and circulating whatever one wants without intervention and criticism. There is another belief that one can "open up" about counterrevolutionary beliefs and will not be published or censured. This kind of belief is extremely incorrect. Our party advocates "blossoming" and "contention" but on no account does it permit freedom of speech to counterrevolutionary elements. Counterrevolutionaries aim to overturn the socialist system and the leadership of the communist party. Some beliefs which in actual fact incite counterrevolutionism have now become an integral part of counterrevolutionary behavior and they violate the criminal law, so why shouldn't they be punished and censured? Some comrades often draw on Comrade Mao Zedong's words concerning the "blossoming" of poisonous weeds (or harmful speech and writing) in order to try to prove the accuracy of the belief that one can depart from all and any principles during the process of "blossoming." It is true that Comrade Mao Zedong did say poisonous weeds should also be allowed to bloom but Comrade Mao Zedong also clearly pointed out that the purpose of allowing poisonous weeds to bloom was to be able to weed them out and not to let them complete with good writings and words. If it were permissible for any incorrect works or words, including those which violate the four basic principles, to legally exist, then the "double-hundred policy" could not be a Marxist policy; it would be a policy of bourgeois liberalism. This is a misinterpretation of the meaning of the "double-hundred policy."

Some people hanker after and crave this so-called "absolute liberalization in the airing of views," but this is not realistic. In today's world, there is basically no "absolute liberalization" to speak of. Liberalization or freedom is conditional

and comparative. Under different social systems and in different countries, freedom or liberalization implies different things, and the Western bourgeois model of freedom is in actual fact nothing more than freedom for the bourgeois class and hence for the minority while the proletariat experiences no sense of freedom whatsoever. In socialist China, freedom is the freedom of the majority and it is a freedom which takes as its premise the protection of the fundamental interests of the people. If the "double-hundred policy" actually promoted and protected writings and words which diverged from socialist principles and which damaged the socialist cause and if the policy only permitted such things as these and no Marxist discussion, then the "double-hundred policy" could not be called accurate or correct, nor could it be called a Marxist policy. Hence, the words "bloom" and "contend" mentioned in the policy are not the ultimate aim of the policy. The ultimate aim of the policy is to promote scientific development and the flourishing of art and literature in order to help the advancement of socialism by means of encouraging the mutual development of differing scientific schools and differing artistic and literary trends.

### Implementation of the 'Double-Hundred Policy' Must Involve Criticism

Some comrades often place the implementation of the "double-hundred policy" in direct opposition to the development of accurate criticism, saying that criticism can negate success and achievements and hence represents a form of bludgeoning, affects creative sensitivity, creates imaginary enemies, and represents a nominal opposition. In conclusion, these people believe that criticism can hinder "the contention of a hundred schools of thought."

The "double-hundred policy" encourages free competition in artistic and literary creation and the free discussion of differing theoretical points of view and scientific schools of thought. Hence, the policy in essence involves criticism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "When we uphold the 'double-hundred policy,' we cannot ignore criticism and self-criticism. Criticism should take the form of democratic argument and reasoning, and this is necessary. However, we must on no account consider criticism as a form of bludgeoning, and this point must be clarified." Criticism must be incorporated within the meaning of the "double-hundred policy," for creation is a form of contention and criticism is also a form of contention. Why should we not criticize a piece of erroneous writing or an erroneous work? Erroneous things can only be rectified through criticism. Without criticism, none of our causes, including science and art and literature, could develop and advance, and this would be in direct contradiction to the aims of the "double-hundred policy." Thus, in this sense there can be no "double-hundred policy" without criticism.

If the active role of criticism is so evident, why is it that some comrades express opposition every time criticism is mentioned and try to resist the momentum of criticism? There are sociohistorical reasons for this and it is also a question of understanding. For quite a long period of time during the past, criticism was indeed used to put people in their place, as a form of bludgeoning--indeed sometimes even to the point of death--and hence many comrades now have a sense of "once bitten, twice shy" and as soon as they hear the word "criticism," they have a conditioned reflex and become very nervous and upset. This is very understandable. However, we cannot give up eating for fear of choking and thus we cannot eradicate criticism merely because of past "leftist" errors. For if we eradicate criticism, then we will by necessity be taking the erroneous road

toward capitalist or bourgeois liberalization. Even more important is that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party has gotten rid of the "leftist" guiding ideology, and political life in both the party and the state is once again on the right track. Hence, we have no reason whatsoever, nor should we use any kind of excuses, to reject criticism and self-criticism. Instead, we should grasp these weapons with courage.

Naturally, when we carry out criticism, we must be careful to correctly grasp the methods of criticism; and what is of particular importance is to be able to distinguish between contradictions within the people and contradictions between ourselves and the enemy. Thus, we should not take what are basically problems within the people and simply elevate them to the level of contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and as a result harm our own comrades. In order to do this it is vital that we have united aspirations. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed many times that criticism must start out from unity in aspirations in order that criticism and self-criticism can achieve new levels of unity on new foundations. When we talk about starting out from unity, we are not only referring to the criticizer; we are also referring to the criticized person. It is true and important that the criticizer must have aspirations of unity and he or she cannot simply insult others, pressure them, or bludgeon them to death. The person being criticized must also have aspirations of unity. He or she should openmindedly accept criticism and carry out self-criticism, for if he or she does not do this, then as soon as the criticism or opinion has been voiced, it can have no good effect, just like a leather ball filled with air when it has soared into the air. In addition to these aspirations of unity, one must also ensure that one has a deep and comprehensive understanding of the target of one's criticism. Thus, criticism should not be subjective supposition or assumption. Here we should take note of what Mao Zedong once said: "Without investigation, one has no right to speak." Only after intensive investigation and research can criticism be pertinent, rational, and convincing.

#### The 'Double-Hundred Policy' Has a Wide Application

Do the above questions which we have discussed limit the framework in which the "double-hundred policy" should be implemented? No. The "double-hundred policy" has certain regulations attached to it, but as long as these regulations are not broken, contention has a very wide application; hence, one can discuss scientific questions and also political questions. Naturally, discussion of political questions must maintain unity with the central authorities.

What does maintaining unity with the central authorities actually mean? This most importantly means that we must maintain unity as far as important and major political questions are concerned. It does not mean that every word we utter should illustrate unity with the central authorities, nor does it mean that no questions can be discussed at all. It should be said that as far as basic questions of policy are concerned and as far as fundamental questions of principle are concerned, we must maintain unity with the central authorities. Here, there should be no contention. But as far as the majority of concrete questions are concerned, we have complete freedom for full discussion.

Here, then, the important thing is to distinguish between fundamental principles and concrete questions. For example, questions relating to upholding the leadership of the party and the socialist road are questions of fundamental principle in China and, hence, as far as these are concerned, we should maintain unity with the central authorities. As far as such questions as how to strengthen and improve the party leadership are concerned, as well as some questions relating to maintaining the socialist road, full discussion should take place. The basic economic principle of making the planned economy central and market adjustments secondary must be upheld, but some concrete questions which come up during the implementation of this economic principle such as credit, finance, taxes, and so on, should all be discussed. On the premise of upholding these major principles, all kinds of differing opinions should be voiced, and we should not say that divergent opinion is spiritual pollution. There are a great many things which still need to be explored and still need practical application. Of course, this discussion and exploration should start out and have as its aim the maintenance of the party leadership and the socialist road, for if this is opposed or attacked, the social consequences of such discussion would weaken the party leadership and would promulgate lack of confidence in the party and in socialism; this cannot be permitted. One further point is that in the case of many questions, as soon as the party has made a decision, it is up to communist party members to respect these decisions and they should not initiate discussion. If there are varying opinions, then these should be voiced to the party organization and the central authorities; they should not be printed in newspapers in the form of opinions contrary to the party's decisions.

Judging from the actual situation, there are, in fact, very few questions which fall into the category of the party's fundamental principles. Furthermore, when the time comes to put these fundamental policies into concrete form, there are a great many concrete questions which require discussion and it is here that the "double-hundred policy" may seek full expression. Hence, it is incorrect to place the implementation of the "double-hundred policy" in direct opposition to maintenance of unity with the party. Furthermore, it is unnecessary to worry that maintaining unity with the party will affect the contention of a hundred schools of thought.

We must oppose bourgeois liberalization, we must eradicate spiritual pollution, and we must continue to implement the "double-hundred policy." Simply because we are eradicating spiritual pollution and opposing bourgeois liberalization does not mean that we can give up the "double-hundred policy," nor can we use the implementation of the "double-hundred policy" as an excuse to oppose the four basic principles and carry out liberalization. This does not correspond with the fundamental interests of the people and it is not correct implementation of the "double-hundred policy." Only by upholding the four basic principles and accurately implementing the "double-hundred policy" can science and culture in China see continuous development and prosperity.

CSO: 4005/279

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

LIU SHAOQI'S WORKS PUBLISHED IN FIVE LANGUAGES--Beijing, 28 Dec (XINHUA)--  
The first of two volumes in the "Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi" has been translated into English, French, Spanish, Japanese and Russian. English and French editions have already been issued by the Beijing Foreign Languages Press. Editions in the other languages will be released in 1984. Prepared by the Editorial Committee on Party Literature of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the volume contains 38 important speeches, articles, letters and telegrams written before 1949. Liu Shaoqi was chairman (now translated as president) of the People's Republic of China from 1959 until his death in November 1969. [Text] [OW280242 Beijing XINHUA in English 0232 GMT 28 Dec 83]

POST OFFICE ISSUES COMMEMORATIVES--Shaoshan, 26 Dec (XINHUA)--A commemorative envelope and a first-day cover were issued today by the post office of Shaoshan to mark the 90th birthday of the late Chairman Mao Zedong. Shaoshan in Hunan Province is Mao Zedong's native place. The Shaoshan post office has received orders from other parts of China and from countries in Europe, America and Africa for 350,000 such envelopes and covers, according to an office spokesman. [Text] [LD262126 Beijing XINHUA in English 1433 GMT 26 Dec 83]

FOLK LITERATURE AWARDS--Beijing, 15 Dec (XINHUA)--A prize-awarding meeting for outstanding folk literary works of 1982 was held today at the auditorium of the Beijing Nationalities Cultural Palace. Zhou Yang, chairman of the Evaluation Committee, chairman of the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and Chairman of the China Society for Study of Folk Literature and Art, presided over today's prize-awarding meeting. Responsible persons of departments concerned including Zhou [words indistinct], Ren Ying, Li Mohan, Feng Mu, Xu Zemin, Lu Shi, Xu [name indistinct] Min, Wang Pingfan, Zhong Jingzhi, Jia Zhi and Liu Xicheng as well as over 200 personages from various circles attended the prize-awarding meeting. [Excerpts] [OW160831 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1524 GMT 15 Dec 83]

CSO: 4005/271



NORTH REGION

NEI MONGGOL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING OPEN 20 DEC

SK210401 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Dec 83

[Excerpts] According to our reporter (Hu Xinmin), the Sixth Standing Committee of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress opened its fourth meeting in Hohhot City this morning. The meeting is aimed at discussing the issue of stepping up in building socialist spiritual civilization to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in social morale. The meeting will relay and implement the spirit of the 3d Session of the 6th NPC and will study the documents adopted at the 13th enlarged plenary session of the 3d regional CPC committee and at the regional conference of secretaries from the party committees of various banners and counties. The meeting will examine and approve the regional draft measures for civil lawsuit charges and some personnel changes.

Ba-tu-ba-gen, chairman of the regional people's congress standing committee, presided over and addressed the meeting.

Comrade Ba-tu-ba-gen pointed out: Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the theoretical, literary, and art fronts have scored marked achievements in their work, which should be fully acknowledged. However, current spiritual pollution prevailing on these fronts is actually serious. Some persons have indeed committed corrosive bourgeois and exploiting-class ideas of every description. Some cadres have cropped a no-confidence feeling to the CPC's leadership and communist cause. Indulging in spiritual pollution not only will corrode the people's soul and will or adversely affect the building of socialist material and spiritual civilizations, but also will encourage a number of persons to suspect or negate the socialist system and the CPC's leadership. If we leave such a situation unchecked and give free rein to it, spiritual pollution is enough to bring calamity to the country and the people. Therefore, the endeavor to weed out spiritual pollution has the most vital bearing on upholding the four basic principles, carrying out our country's socialist cause, building the socialist economy, and on stabilizing the political situation of unity.

Comrade Ba-tu-ba-gen stated: This meeting is aimed at implementing the instruction given by the CPC Central Committee and the spirit of third session of the Sixth NPC in line with the principles set forth by the constitution.

The meeting will concentrate its discussions on building socialist spiritual civilization and striving to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in social morale so as to block or weed out spiritual pollution.

Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the regional people's congress standing committee, including Zhou Beifeng, Se-yin-ba-ya-er, E-qi-er-hu-ya-ke-tu, and Chao Luomeng. Among those who attended the meeting as observers were Zhao Zhihong, vice chairman of the regional people's government; (Nase-wu-li-ji), vice president of the regional higher people's court; (Zhang Hesong), deputy procurator of the regional people's procuratorate; and responsible comrades from the regional departments of culture, education, and radio and television, the regional and Hohhot City units concerned, and from the general offices of various committees under the regional people's congress standing committee.

Beginning 21 December, the meeting will hold group studies and discussions.

CSO: 4005/270

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

MUNICIPAL PARTY CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS--This afternoon, the fourth Tianjin Municipal CPC Congress held its plenary meeting. Li Ruihuan, executive chairman of the congress, presided over the meeting. The meeting approved the resolution on the report given by the third municipal CPC committee at the fourth municipal CPC congress; the electoral measures of the fourth municipal CPC congress; and the namelist of the chief scrutineer and scrutineers of the fourth municipal CPC congress. The meeting also held preliminary election of members of the fourth municipal CPC committee, the municipal CPC advisory commission, and the municipal CPC discipline inspection commission. Attending the meeting were other executive chairmen of the congress, including (Wang Shaowen), (Bai Hualing), (Li Xioanyan), (Li Jianguo), (Zhang Shiahen), Chen Bing, (Jin Jiaxian), Hao Tianyi, Guo Chunyuan, and Cao Zhongnan. [Text]  
[SK200133 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 19 Dec 83

CSO: 4005/270

BA YI RADIO

PLA SORTING OUT 'THREE TYPES OF PERSONS'

OW181922 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 15 Dec 83

[Text] Enlarged party committee meetings have now been held in the various PLA general departments, services, and [word indistinct] especially to discuss the question of sorting out the three types of persons. In their speeches, leaders of the Central Military Commission [zhong yang jun wei] as well as various general departments, services and arms have stressed that one of the main purposes of party rectification in the armed forces is to comb out the three types of persons and to purify party organizations. Although a struggle to clear away spiritual pollution is being carried out throughout the country, some army leaders have made no mention of this question at all. They have only stressed that the three types of persons must be resolutely combed out and dealt with. In carrying out party rectification in the armed forces, it is obvious that those who put particular stress on combing out and dealing with the so-called three types of persons have ulterior motives.

As everyone knows, the gang of four, which usurped the leadership of the party and the government in the Cultural Revolution, concocted the 13 September incident in an attempt to seize army leadership. Later, this incident was used to suppress the principal leaders of our army. In the movement to criticize Lin Biao in the several years following the incident, tens of thousands of good army cadres were brutally persecuted. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the party's 11th Central Committee, not only have the frame-ups involving the 13 September incident not been handled realistically but, on the contrary, army cadres have time and again been dealt blows and persecuted. All this is obvious to all.

It should be pointed out that army cadres lead a collective life. It has long been thoroughly investigated as to what army cadres did and said and who they had contacts with during the Cultural Revolution and what they did in a particular month or even on a particular day while carrying out the tasks of the three support's and two military's. [Support industry, support agriculture and support the broad masses of the left; military control and political and military training] In its report to the Military Commission [jun wei] in early 1982, the General Political Department pointed out: The performance and statements of all party-member cadres in the army during the Cultural Revolution have, on the whole been thoroughly investigated and have been dealt with accordingly. If questions in this regard are raised again, they will affect the stability and unity of the army.

It should be noted that the so-called three types of persons have long been nonexistent in the army. However, it is for this reason that, in an attempt to expand the target of attack in the course of party rectification, some leaders of the Central Military Commission have said: Many persons who used to follow Lin Biao, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, or Qiu Juizuo threw in their lot with the gang of four in order to maintain their vested interests. In purifying party organizations, we must not lower our guard against these types of persons and let them go unpunished.

This means that all those who served as cadres in the army during Lin Biao's tenure of office as minister of national defense or in the period of the gang of four face the danger of being cleared out of the army. It is no wonder a tense atmosphere has emerged, in which every army cadre feels himself to be in danger. In this situation, whether the requirements set by leading comrades of the Military Commission for strengthening the stability and unity of the army and for modernizing it can be smoothly fulfilled is therefore questionable.

CSO: 4005/268

BA YI RADIO

BA YI ON CPC DECISION TO REMOVE PLA CADRES

OW130247 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 11 Dec 83

[Text] The decision of the CPC Central Military Commission to further cut military personnel by 1 million during the 3 years of party rectification has created much mental disturbance in the whole army, especially among the cadres. As everyone can see, the main purpose of sorting out and expelling some party-member cadres from the armed forces is neither to beef up combat capabilities nor to heighten the sense of discipline and ideological consciousness, but to get rid of a large number of "unacceptable" PLA cadres under a lawful pretext.

Equally untenable was the reason used by some people for a proposal made at a CPC Central Military Commission meeting last year to purify the PLA units in order to make the cadre ranks younger and better educated as early as possible. Facts have proved that among the PLA cadres expelled in recent years and those to be sorted out in the process of reducing military personnel during the party-rectification period, many are backbone members of the PLA in the prime of life and are capable of doing their work well. On the other hand, however, a number of cadres in their sixties or seventies not only remain in the PLA but have even climbed to higher positions. Apparently the CPC Central Military Commission still adheres to the old criterion for retaining a cadre; that is, he must be boundlessly loyal to the central leaders themselves and must blindly act according to their words and instructions without expressing any doubt.

There is another reason that the PLA cadres are discontented with the CPC Central Military Commissions' decision to cut military personnel by another 1 million: The last time a large number of PLA cadres was discharged, the CPC Central Military Commission and the State Council issued an instruction that proper arrangements be made for the settlement of retired cadres and discharged servicemen. Accordingly, offices in charge of settlement of these cadres and servicemen were established in various cities and towns throughout the country. Today, however, tens of thousands of retired cadres and discharged servicemen are still unemployed or in a semi-jobless state. They are experiencing real difficulties in earning a living and in supporting their families.

As for middle-aged cadres transferred to civilian work at various localities, because they have worked for decades as career servicemen, they cannot quickly adapt to their new work environment and find it difficult to learn their new profession. Because of this, they meet with considerable difficulties in their work and are often discriminated against by local staff members and workers. In addition, many organizations and enterprises are now implementing an election system, and many of the transferred cadres cannot be elected to proper posts.

In sum, the CPC Central Military Commission's decision to further cut military personnel by 1 million will bring unsolvable serious hardships to a large number of cadres.

CSO: 4005/268

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### REFUTING 'RED FLAG'S' FALSE THEORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 73, Nov 83 pp 47-48

[Text] Are Criminal Offenders Political Offenders?

In order to coordinate or direct current domestic activities attacking crime, an article was published in issue No 18 of RED FLAG on September 16, under the aegis of a "staff commentator," entitled "Serious Struggle against Enemies within the Political Arena." The following is on this remarkable piece of writing.

This is "a political call to arms" with a very thick "political flavor." Its main feature is a mechanical repetition of Mao Zedong's old theories on class struggle, with phrases like "Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out," and "Comrade Mao Zedong tells us," and paragraph after paragraph taken from the "Quotations." However, this is still comprehensible, because the Communist Party of China has always had its "four adherences."

Nevertheless, the most extraordinary part of the RED FLAG commentator's article is that, for fear that people will not understand that the current assault on crime is a "political movement," it goes so far as to disregard all exaggerations of principle and of the two-line struggle. Below we will try to examine the "novel" thesis of this article. The commentator's article says:

"From the various types of criminal actions by the serious criminal elements, we can clearly see that they are hostile to and opposed to the broad masses of the people, they are hostile to and opposed to the socialist system, they are hostile to and opposed to party leadership and they are hostile to and opposed to our great motherland; such are their common political characteristics.

"Their criminal activities are all suited to the requirements of the abolished exploiting class, of the reactionary forces in those areas not yet reunified with the Chinese mainland and of imperialist and other international hostile forces."

This means that this is "a serious class struggle and a serious struggle against enemies within the political arena."



Raising "principle" and the "two-line struggle" to such heights still doesn't frighten anyone. Still, we cannot stop ourselves from asking: Is it necessary to do things this way? Is it fair? Is it conducive to upholding regular legal institutions?

It will be very difficult to convince people that criminal acts, even if they are "serious crimes," should all be seen as "struggle against enemies" within the "political arena."

This is the same as saying that serious criminal offenders are political offenders. According to the RED FLAG commentator, criminal elements all have the four "common political characteristics" of "hostility and opposition" that are "suited to the needs" of three types of political forces. Thus, in China, there can only be political offenders, not criminal offenders. The problem here is exactly this: Sometimes criminal offenders are regarded as political offenders, sometimes "political offenders" are considered criminal offenders--this has been a terrible abuse within the legal system of the Communist Party of China all along, which can only slow the realization of regular rule by law in China. In a true democracy and a free society ruled by law, "political offenders" ought not to exist; only under a system of autocratic dictatorship do there exist great numbers of "political offenders." The Communist Party of China now brings crime into its struggles within the political arena at every turn, while it invests criminal offenders with "common political characteristics," which, if expanded, will surely result in a new political movement.

#### Outworn Theories of Class Struggle

Criminal activities have existed in every social system, ancient or modern, Chinese or foreign. It cannot be denied that some crimes have a political background or a political hue to them, such as political assassination or the use of terrorist acts by certain political forces and so on. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the majority of crimes are without a "class nature." The bourgeoisie is certainly capable of crime, but how can the proletariat be incapable of crime? For a long time the Communist Party of China has described the bourgeoisie as inherently criminal, and the capitalist system and bourgeois ideology as the source of all social evils; the proletariat is absolutely incapable of crime--should it unfortunately occur, it would be the result of the "corrosive" influence of bourgeois ideology, with the result that it becomes "class struggle." Such outworn ideas are unrealistic and deceptive. How lamentable for a party that professes to be "armed with mankind's most advanced, most scientific ideology" to have the effrontery to uphold and disseminate such "theories"!

As people with a little bit of general knowledge of "behavioral science," and "criminology" know, violent behavior in people has psychological causes, social causes and even causes due to changes in environment. If an individual, whether from the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, causes a terrible accident and kills someone because he is drinking and driving, the law will investigate and affix responsibility for the crime in order to explain the crime. However, what if people were able to say this kind of

crime has some "political features"! Taking again the example of killing someone, this should be a "serious crime," yet under the law there is a difference between murder and manslaughter. Because there are conflicts between people, which can arise temporarily and in which a fatal blow can be struck in an instant--would you say this has any "political characteristics"?

According to the reasoning of the RED FLAG commentator, serious crimes are all a form of "class struggle," all of which possess the four "hostilities and oppositions." Thus, conversely, in Hong Kong and in the Western capitalist world, aren't these serious crimes also a form of "class struggle," so that when armed robbers rob banks and treasuries, even killing people in cold blood, doesn't this come under the heading of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (at least the money the robbers get comes from "capitalist exploitation")? Ought not the Communist Party of China to give them encouragement and support? When Zhou Tiesheng robbed banks and shot and killed high-ranking functionaries in Macao and then fled to the mainland, according to this reasoning, China should have granted Zhou Tiesheng asylum on the basis of "class struggle." Yet they ended up by shooting him. Is that not contrary to class struggle!

#### Traces of the "Cultural Revolution"

Up to now, we have yet to see the Communist Party of China openly support any overseas criminal activity with "political characteristics," and even though there is demonstrably political terrorist activity going on in many places in the world, the Communist Party of China has never shown it very much public approval. This really reveals the kind of deception involved in the RED FLAG commentator's views.

In the RED FLAG commentator's article, we seem to see some traces from the era of the "Cultural Revolution." Its do-as-you-please principles make it seem "righteously assured," but in fact, it has page after page of "falsehoods." To cite a couple of examples:

First, the article says: "Our people's democratic dictatorship is a democracy for the people.... Naturally, for domestic and foreign enemies it is not a democracy at all; for them it will really be a dictatorship." That's really daring! It's quite right that for domestic enemies, as the Communist Party of China holds power in its hands, it is a dictatorship with no democracy at all; however, how do you get the nerve to talk big about "granting or not granting" democracy to "foreign" enemies? Or having such wild ambitions as "carrying out a dictatorship"? The result of these exaggerations of principle is precisely this kind of running off at the mouth which makes you into a laughingstock.

Second, the article says: "Although the capitalist legal systems have been operating for over 300 years, they have not and cannot prevent or eliminate the phenomenon of crime," which is a fact. However, it continues: "While the capitalist countries cannot solve this problem (author's note: the phenomenon of crime), we can certainly solve it, without a doubt." This is also big talk created from an exaggeration of principle. Is it really

"without a doubt"? As socialism has been operating for over 30 years, and if even now they still must carry out a national operation in the form of a movement to eliminate crime, then we can see that the doubt is very great indeed. Some will say there were mistakes in the past, but that from here on they "will certainly solve it." However, after this campaign, how can Mainland China really say its society is "everywhere at peace"? We shouldn't forget that the RED FLAG commentator quoted in earnest a passage from the Communist Party of China's "RESOLUTIONS ON HISTORY" just preceding this: "...class struggle will exist within a given long period of time, and under certain circumstances it can become intensified.... Oppose the point of view that class struggle has already died out." On the basis of the viewpoint that "crime is class struggle," "RESOLUTIONS ON HISTORY" has clearly affirmed that the phenomenon of crime will "exist for a long period of time," yet the commentator turns around and says that they "will certainly solve" the problem of crime, while "the capitalist countries are unable to solve it." How self-contradictory! As to whether China can predict the resolution of the phenomenon of crime or the capitalist countries' inability to resolve it, for the moment we will "leave the question open."

We welcome the Communist Party of China's turn for the better in public order and the attack on criminal activities because it should benefit the public. However, the article in RED FLAG is infatuated with overstatement and is damaging to the establishment of regular order and rule by law in China. Therefore, we cannot help but sing a "different tune."

12534

CSO: 4005/144

ANTIRIGHTIST EMPHASIS IN PARTY CONSOLIDATION CRITICIZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 73, 1983 p 3

[Article by Gao Wen (7559 3306): "Why 'Emphasize Opposing Rightism' in Party Consolidation"]

[Text] The first requirement of the CPC in the current party consolidation campaign is "ideological unity," and the first requirement of "ideological unity" is "opposing rightism" instead of "opposing leftism." In the 2d Plenary Session of the 13th Party Central Committee, in which the resolution of party consolidation was adopted, leaders of the CPC Central Committee pointed out that the first problem to be solved on the ideological front is to rectify the rightist tendency of softness, weakness and laxness. Since then, outcries of opposing "rightist errors" and "bourgeois liberalization" have been heard loud and clear from the CPC's propaganda machine.

Is the rightist problem really more serious than the "leftist" one?

CPC leaders have cited this example to show the seriousness of "rightist" thoughts: Some people believe that "there is still no socialism in our country." This is an "erroneous theory" which "violates the four basic principles." We hold that the error lies in the practice of indiscriminately putting "rightist" labels on academic ideas. At present, the theorists of different countries have many interpretations of the socialist concept, but they fail to come to any agreement. The high-level CPC leaders' knowledge of socialism is very meager; otherwise, why is it so difficult for them to find an answer to the question of whether the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries are socialist countries after all? Also, why should there be two totally different answers within a year, or even 1 month? Despite the different interpretations of socialism by people from Marx to modern social scientists in various countries, they have one aspect in common, namely, the two qualifications which socialist countries and societies must possess. They are: full democracy for the people and the high development of productive forces. Does China have these two qualifications? If you say "yes," you must at the same time allow other people to say "no." History will tell that the latter is the correct answer. If you insist on calling any red flower by the name of rose, you will impair the image of roses. It also shows that you are not seeking truth from facts. Similarly, is the condemnation of straightforward people as "new rightists" what "practical people" or "pragmatists" should do?

Political movements in Communist China usually start with "opposing 'leftism'" followed by "opposing rightism." This party consolidation, however, starts with "opposing rightism," which is somewhat unusual. Being unusual is not necessarily bad. However, while the leftist poison has not been wiped out, and the leftist king is waiting for an opportunity to make his move, emphasis on "opposing rightism" will confuse the general orientation with unfortunate results.

Why the emphasis on "opposing rightism"? Because the "leftist" malady of some important people has recurred. This malady calls for emergency treatment; otherwise, when will the leftist disaster in Communist China ever end! When will China's tragedy be over!

9411

CSO: 4005/146

OBSTACLES TO RECTIFICATION OF PARTY STYLE DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 73, 1983 pp 29-30

[Article by Zhao Zhi (6392 4249): "Obstacles to Rectification Viewed from a Newsletter"]

[Text] The party consolidation campaign in Communist China is being hailed at home and abroad. To be honest, however, I do not want to be blindly optimistic about its outcome. As supported by the facts, this worry is by no means unnecessary.

The question of party consolidation in Communist China was not raised simply because people want it today. In fact, the problem of unhealthy party style has been in existence for a long time; it became "aggravated" after the "Cultural Revolution." We remember that since the smashing of the "gang of four," the CPC has for a time exposed many problems of an unhealthy tendency inside the party, and "correcting the unhealthy tendency in the party" has become an important task in the movement to set things right. This movement has ended, but the party style remains the same. This shows how difficult it is for the party style to be "rectified."

At the beginning of 1982, the CPC Central Committee again found it necessary to raise a big fanfare in rectifying the party style. It took great pains to publish what Chen Yun said in the 1930's--"uphold truth instead of being concerned about face-saving"--and to organize the whole membership to study it. At the same time, Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, stepped out to proclaim to the world: The CPC decided that "within this year, the party style must take a decisive turn for the better." We placed great hope on him at that time. However, the result of our "watch and see" stand is that Hu Yaobang's big talk cannot materialize!

Just look! Despite the clamor about "correcting the unhealthy tendency in the party" in all the 7 years after the downfall of the "gang of four," the unhealthy tendency "steadfastly stands its ground." Who can do anything about it?

Is it because the high-level CPC leaders only talk and do nothing about the rectification? Or because they have not done enough? Not necessarily. One reason why the CPC finds the rectification most difficult is that the bureaucrats, large and small, at all levels from the Central Committee down to the

local governments in Communist China are far too numerous! Instead of "guerrilla warfare," these bureaucrats are now fighting "positional warfare." They are also organizing a "joint defense," or joint resistance, in a big way in the areas under their control. This is no exaggeration. It is supported by facts.

In early 1979, in dealing with unhealthy tendencies, the CPC specially formed the "Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline," and the local party committees at various levels also formed "discipline inspection commissions." These commissions may be called the "judicial organs" in the CPC, using "party discipline" as a weapon to deal with "problem party members." At first, they did produce some deterring effect by fighting the "tigers." However, enforcement of "party discipline" is, after all, different from enforcement of "state law," and the "detering effect" can only be limited. Thus it gradually becomes "nothing to worry about"!

It should also be noted that even the Central Commission for Inspection Discipline can be "resisted" by the cadres at the lower levels. If you do not believe this, please read the newsletter carried by GONGREN RIBAO on 18 September 1983. (Editor's note: Read the attached photostatic copy.)

This newsletter highlighted an episode about Liu Liying [0491 7787 5391], member of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, but it also exposed from another angle the serious resistance to the rectification movement.

The newsletter recorded three incidents. The first was about Liu Liying's visit to the Northeast to handle a major case of extorting and accepting bribes. The chief culprit was the son of the deputy secretary of a municipal party committee. Investigation showed the deputy secretary's serious complicity, and Liu recommended heavy punishment for him. However, "for various reasons," Liu Liying's "recommendation was not completely accepted"! The "various questions" may give much food for thought.

The second incident was about her handling of a case of brutal murder during the Cultural Revolution. The victim's daughter began her appeal for justice at the age of 9, but for 14 years, nobody paid her any attention. When Liu Liying heard of this case, she requested the responsible persons in the relevant departments to take care of it as soon as possible. She proposed three methods of handling it, but these responsible persons "did not take a clearcut stand." It was not until a lot of pressure had been brought to bear that the settlement of the case "began." As to the final verdict, we can only "stretch our imagination."

The third incident was about Liu Liying's visit with a work team to a prefecture in a certain province to handle a case of intimidation, attack and slander against a cadre of the prefectural discipline inspection commission. At the onset, the investigation revealed the illegal deeds of more than 20 cadres above the county or regimental level. We have no idea of the conclusion of this case, but the newsletter said that Liu Liying, a high official from the Central Committee, was also intimidated by these words: "You all will die here!"

These three incidents are frightening. They raised some thought-provoking points:

1. If even the local cadres can "resist" and "successfully resist" a cadre of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, the gravity of the situation is now obvious.
2. The duty of the discipline inspection commission is to handle the cases of party members directly. It can do away with the red tape of "studying the documents and arming the mind." Yet it is powerless to suppress the bad tendencies in the party. The current rectification movement, as we can see from the CPC announcement, can only be a very mild affair. Furthermore, there are "3 years" for people to "go slowly." Is such a "warm bath" enough to clean up these people? We can only "watch and see."

What I have mentioned is one of the main reasons for me to refrain being blindly optimistic. Of course, we are full of admiration for the undaunted and selfless spirit of the "female discipline inspection commission member." Unfortunately, such a person in the CPC is very rare. We are also impressed by GONGREN RIBAO's courage in exposing the problem and speaking up for the workers. However, this is a digression from the topic of this article.

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- END -