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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE

COMMENTARIES ON RECTIFICATION OF PARTY WORKSTYLE PUBLISHED

Role of Leaders in Rectification

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Brief commentary: "Rectification of Party Workstyle Must Begin with Leaders"]

[Text] Just after comrades of organs at the provincial level participating in the enlarged session of the provincial party committee meeting sent out their proposal on not seeking to obtain extra supplies on festivals, the concerned departments of the provincial party committee and provincial government also issued for that reason a corresponding notice. Some leading comrades attending the session from the regions of Putian, Jinjiang, and Longqi, therefore, wrote letters to their family members to ask them to decline such extra supplies, some encouraged concerned comrades to withhold their approval slips for such extra supplies, and some consciously accepted supervision by the masses; the response from various circles has been enthusiastic, indeed.

This proposal was issued in response to the unhealthy practice that prevails in certain leading organs. Leading organs and leading comrades should naturally pay attention to this matter and take the lead to implement it. They should adhere to the principle that the interests of the party and the people are above everything else, influence the masses around them with their own exemplary conduct, and protect the close relationship between the party and the masses. This is an elementary requirement of every party member by the party, especially a leading cadre of the party; this is a workstyle a Communist should have. Yet, there are actually a small number of comrades who forgot this fine workstyle of the party. During these past few years, some organs have chosen to send approval slips to the relevant departments for the extra purchase of auxiliary foodstuffs or to the production units to purchase goods in short supply; was this not related to the fact that certain leading comrades had themselves initiated the idea or acquiesced in it? In order to solve this problem today, leading comrades must first of all "begin with myself" by abiding by their words in their conduct and set up an example. Otherwise, they would lose the qualifications to educate others, let alone their ability to rectify unhealthy practices.

Practically rectifying the unhealthy practice of an organ seeking to acquire extra supplies is a concrete measure in rectifying our party workstyle. Viewed

from the reactions within and without the session, such an approach of leaders beginning with themselves and beginning with concrete measures is very welcome by the masses; it should be energetically promoted and expanded to other aspects. The masses usually watch our party workstyle from each single concrete measure we undertake; if we wish to rectify unhealthy practices, we too should get a handle on each single concrete measure. Once the leaders themselves set an example and leading organs themselves take a good lead, things become easy to handle. Of course, there are also some who are used to rendering help in the opposite direction; when you yourself do not want any extra supplies, they would somehow take the initiative to send them to your door; when you yourself do not seek particularization, they simply must provide you with "special care." With respect to such instances, the leaders involved must remain clear-headed and must maintain a clear attitude; they must also carry out an education among the relevant comrades. This way, their down-to-earth and assiduous perseverance in this handling such matters would make it very likely that our party workstyle will become better and better.

### Role of 'Sensible People'

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "There Must Be Such 'Sensible People' in the Leading Groups"]

[Text] During the past few years, the Sanming municipal party committee has done plenty of outstanding work; it has, especially in handling the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, achieved some conspicuous results.

Why after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee has the change in Sanming Municipality been so conspicuous? A news despatch this paper has issued today tells the secret--because there are a few "sensible people" in the leading group. Practice in many places indicates that when the leading group of an enterprise is equipped with a few sensible people, a new situation in the management of the enterprise can open up quickly and its economic results also can be enhanced conspicuously. This is the case for one enterprise, but it is also the case for the work of one department, one county, and one region. Creating a new situation must be connected to having sensible people.

Asking a leading cadre to be a "sensible person" is what our party has always stressed. Chairman Mao long ago put forward a similar demand, pointing out: how would it do if "one should remain oneself willy-nilly while trying to direct others who are clear-headed"? Clear-headed, of course, means someone knows what's what, while willy-nilly means someone is topsy-turvy. A colloquial saying has it: when a soldier is lax, he affects only himself individually; when a general is lax, he affects a large crowd. As a leading cadre, if one remains murky-headed, that would be a grave matter.

A so-called "sensible person" refers ordinarily to what the masses of the people call someone who knows what's what. Today, as we endeavor to struggle under the guidance of the 12th Party Congress' line, principles and policies for the



strategic goals put forward by the party central committee, what new content should we import in the conditions a "sensible person" should possess? In this regard the experience of the Sanming municipal party committee has provided us with some beneficial enlightenment:

First, they [the "sensible people"] maintain consistency with the party central committee in politics, resolutely uphold the line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, emancipate their own thinking, proceed from reality, dare to expel interference from the "Left" as well as from the Right, and earnestly implement the party's principles and policies. In respect to the policies of the party Central Committee, it is not for them a case of waiting for arrangements by the superior level, but of keeping in line with reality, taking action quickly, and thus demonstrating the revolutionary spirit of initiative intrinsic with a Communist.

Second, they set themselves as examples in fulfilling the purpose of our party serving the people wholeheartedly; they are able to sense the people's state of mind, to understand the people's aspirations, and to take as urgent what the people think is urgent; they can sustain hardship, have zeal, pay attention to efficiency while running things, never attempt to pass the buck, and consciously serve as "the general rear service people."

Third, they have culture and professional knowledge; they have "the mind of an economist" while running things. They all have more than 10 or 20 years of experience in basic-level work; some of them are good at economic management, and some of them are professional engineers who have graduated from universities. They run things in accordance with objective laws of economics.

Fourth, they are dauntless and insightful, able to anchor themselves in the present while casting their glance into the future; they dare to break through old forces of habit and dare to create a new socialist life. They grasp simultaneously "both civilizations," devote themselves to material production by making a go of all their industrial, agricultural and commercial work, also pay attention to educating others with the Communist ideology, endeavor to elevate the spiritual plane of every member of society. At Sanming, people are able to see the new situation in socialist modernization that is being created.

At the 12th Party Congress Comrade Hu Yaobang called upon us: "On the vast territory of the motherland, let us fulfill a great cause never before attempted by our predecessors!" Under the historic task of bringing about an overall new situation in our socialist construction, leaders at various levels are shouldering important responsibilities. We need a large contingent of people to bring about such a new situation as well as practitioners; the more "sensible people" the better; absorbing a large contingent of such people to join the leading groups is the key to fulfilling a great cause. Today, it is time to make up our minds.

## Communist 'Commonality', 'Particularity'

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 82 p 2

[Commentary by Qi Xingzhi [7871 5887 0037]: "A Rudimentary Discourse on the Communist Ideology and Practice: The 'Commonality' and 'Particularity' of a Communist"]

[Text] When people talk about communism, they naturally think of Communists.

What should a Communist be like? Article 2 of the new Party Constitution passed by the 12th Party Congress stresses that Communists genuinely "dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism and are ready to make any personal sacrifices." At the same time, it stresses that a Communist is "at all times an ordinary member of the working people": the former is his "commonality," and the latter is his "particularity." The provisions in these regards constitute their strict requirement and also the key wherein lies what distinguishes a Communist from the non-party masses.

Let us first talk about "commonality." A Communist is an ordinary member of the working people. Under all circumstances, Communists must coexist with others as equals; they must never throw their weight around with an imperious bearing. Even more important is that they must implement the party's policies and take an "ordinary" stance with regard to rights, material benefits and material enjoyment and things of the like; they must never seek to be particular. Among the delegations participating in the 12th Party Congress, some old Communists felt rather infirm because of their advanced age when they rode the bus [to the Congress]. The Congress, for the sake of taking care of them, especially prepared small passenger cars for them. But, except an old general whose eyesight happens to be bad, all the rest declined to ride in the small cars and wanted to ride in the big buses. They all said: "I am just like anybody else." From the point of view of others, these battle-tested old warriors, old Communists, are really "different"; yet they themselves think they are "just like the others" and hence retain their outlook as laborers. What an example worthy of our imitation! Zhang Weiting [1728 4850 1656], deputy governor of Yong'an county, has only a mute son, who was married to a mute wife and they in turn gave birth to a daughter. The old couple wanted a grandson, and the daughter-in-law happened to be once again pregnant. What was to be done? Old Zhang tried to talk the daughter-in-law into having an abortion; but the son refused to agree, and among his neighbors some sympathized with him. But old Zhang was adamant: in implementing the established policy of birth control, no one is allowed to be particular. He therefore persisted in trying to persuade the son and the daughter-in-law to go to the hospital to go through with the operation. The new Party Constitution especially prescribes clearly: "No Communist is allowed to seek any private benefit or privilege." This was posted in response to the situation that our party occupies the status of a party in power and that at present our party workstyle is still not yet forthright enough; it is of very great importance to the strengthening the education of the party members and the enhancing of the party's stamina. If someone was ready to join the Communist Party before the liberation, he was prepared to suffer hardship or even to shed his blood and sacrifice his

life in carrying out the revolution. Today, the situation is very different; our party has become the party in power. Some people think that once they join the party they can immediately become cadres, and once they become cadres, they would enjoy certain rights; hence they joined the party organization with the intention of personally "grabbing a handful." During the crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm this time, it was discovered that a small number of party members (including some party members and cadres with responsibilities) sought precisely to utilize the rights in their hands to gain private benefits for themselves or to realize the interests of their own small groups, thus seriously sabotaging our party workstyle or even embarking upon the road of crime. This again teaches us from the negative side and puts emphasis on how important it is to maintain our status as "an ordinary member." As a party member, one must strictly abide by this rule: apart from the individual interests and office and power of work permitted within the realm of established regulations and policy prescriptions, no one is allowed to seek any private gains or special privileges. If our party members cannot do this, then they would likely depart from the masses and lose their fighting stamina, and they can thus hardly speak of struggling for communism.

From this "ordinary" aspect, a Communist's qualities and characteristics can of course be made manifest. But there is also a "particular" aspect, which is also very important. Stalin said: we Communists are made of special stuff. The new Party Constitution prescribes that Communists must "endure hardship first and enjoy life later, work selflessly for the public interest and absolutely are not allowed to use public office for private gains or enrich themselves at the expense of the public." In their daily work and production and labor, Communists must set themselves as examples to endure hardship first and give scope to their role as models and guides; in rescuing and salvaging missions, Communists must go to the hardest and most dangerous sectors to shoulder the most difficult tasks; in the battlefield, Communists must charge ahead and bravely destroy the enemies. Wherever the difficulty is the greatest and the danger the most pronounced, there are always Communists there. "It is only when waves sweep across the vast sea that a heroic helmsman shows his true talent." Today, on the posts of construction of our socialist modernization, Communists should naturally step forward to the furthest forefront of bringing about a new situation in order to grab the heaviest load and endeavor to serve as the shock troops of bringing about the new situation... All of these are their special qualities and their special demonstrations. This is also to say that Communists should show their particularity in respect to fulfilling their duties, in respect to enduring great hardships and sustaining great travails, and in respect to making self-sacrifices. Coal miner Wang Guifu [3769 6311 4395] of the Tong nationality, a delegate to the 12th Party Congress, has, for the sake of the safety of the comrades around him, been seven times buried by coal ore and rocks, yet seven times he stood up again at the foot of the "god of death." Some urged him to work less strenuously; he answered: "Communism is something for those who are afraid neither of hardship nor of death to follow; the four modernizations need coal; we Communists must not just resort to empty talk." What is demonstrated in Wang Guifu is precisely the special quality of a Communist.

Another idea of Lenin about the construction of the party in power in his days was that "if a party member is so designated only in name, then even if he is given us for nothing, we still don't want him." Prior to the 12th Party Congress, when the revision of the new Party Constitution was discussed, Comrade Deng Xiaoping already stressed: our Party Constitution requires every party member to be a qualified one. The new Party Constitution passed by the 12th Party Congress embodies this spirit; it makes even stricter demands on party members. This is reflected in the two aspects of their "commonality" and "particularity." When we study the new Party Constitution we should do a good job in linking with reality and pay attention to comparing our demonstrations in both of these "commonality" and "particularity" in order to see if we are qualified.

Communists who have sworn to struggle for communism for the rest of their life must make demands upon themselves strictly according to the prescriptions of the new Party Constitution. With such a great contingent of Communists serving as vanguards to bring along with them hundreds and thousands of the masses, we are bound to be able to open up an overall new situation in the construction of our socialist modernization.

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY, GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES IN FUJIAN REPORTED

Conference Reviews Spiritual Civilization Drive

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Inspection Corps for Socialist Spiritual Civilization Construction Holds Summing-up Conference--Gets Handle on Ideological Construction, Strives for Victories in Dealing with 'Dirt, Chaos, and Shortcomings': Comrade Zhang Gexin [1728 2706 1800] Makes Summing-up Report; Comrade Cheng Xu [4453 1645] Gives Speech"]

[Text] Activities organized by the provincial party committee and the provincial government in inspecting the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization have, after more than a half month, come to a satisfactory close yesterday.

In the afternoon of the 1st, the provincial inspection corps for socialist spiritual civilization construction, after listening to reports by the constituent groups, held a summing-up conference. Provincial party committee secretary Cheng Xu, chief of the general office of the provincial inspection corps and deputy provincial governor Zhang Gexin, chief of propaganda department of the provincial party committee Huang Ming [7806 2429], deputy chief of the general office of the provincial inspection corps Wang Zhongxin [3769 0112 5450], Wang Yiping [3769 0001 1627], Li Mintang [2621 2404 0781], Shen Buchao [3947 2975 6389], Yuan Fengting [5913 7685 1656], Li Yi [2621 3015] and all members of the inspection corps, and leading comrades of the various departments, commissions, offices, divisions, and bureaus directly under the jurisdiction of the provincial government as well as Fuzhou Municipality all attended the conference. Comrade Zhang Gexin made a summing-up report; Comrade Cheng Xu also gave a speech.

Comrade Zhang Gexin said, the inspection activities this time closely relied on party committees at various levels and adopted the approach of combining those above and those below, combining general units and local units, combining points and areas, and combining the abstract and the concrete while going down to the basic level, carrying out actual inspection, going down to the midst of the masses, and perceiving the local situation; altogether, more than 550 units were inspected. The extent of the inspection was rather broad, as it touched on the various fronts, various trades. In the process of the inspection, they were energetically supported by leaders at the various levels and warmly welcomed by the vast ranks of the cadres and masses.

He said, the activities of inspection this time were carried out while the various localities were conscientiously studying and propagating the spirit of the 12th Party Congress; the timing was very good, and the orientation was clear. They were also supported and assisted by various circles so that good results have been achieved. The principal achievements include: 1. Through such inspection activities, the spirit of the 12th Party Congress was broadly propagated, and the understanding of the vast ranks of the cadres and masses was enhanced as to the building of our spiritual civilization. 2. Through inspection, encouragement of the advanced workers, discovery of problems, and spurring of the backward workers a promotive and propelling effect was brought about in the entire undertaking of building our spiritual civilization. 3. Through inspection, experiences were exchanged, people's vision was broadened, the confidence in doing a good job in building our spiritual civilization was also enhanced. 4. As we went down to the basic level, we were able to listen to appeals by the masses and reflect the wishes of the masses and thereby bring the party and the masses and the party and the cadres into a closer relationship.

Comrade Zhang Gexin gave a basic appraisal of the building of our socialist spiritual civilization in our province during the past year. He said, throughout the year, the provincial party committee and the provincial government under the leadership of the party central committee paid great attention to the building of our spiritual civilization and got a firm handle on it. Because the provincial party committee paid such attention and party committees at various levels and the vast ranks of the masses of the people all pitched in their common efforts, the situation with the building of our spiritual civilization in our province is just fine, and it has achieved conspicuous results as well. Especially since the 12th Party Congress, through study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, the building of socialist spiritual civilization in our province has entered into a new stage; all activities are proceeding in an even more broadening and deepening direction of development. Their characteristics are: 1. Through the transmission and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, the consciousness in grasping the building of our spiritual civilization on the part of the party committees at various levels has been evidently enhanced. 2. A new outlook in handling "dirt, chaos, and shortcomings" has emerged; the activities surrounding the "five stresses and four points of beauty" are developing in the direction of institutionalization and economization. 3. In the activities surrounding the "five stresses and four points of beauty," the approaches of providing temporary solutions and finding permanent solutions were combined, and preliminary results have already been achieved in this regard. 4. In the activities surrounding the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, there have surged forth a large contingent of model good people and good deeds in the various localities and they have created not a few goods experiences and good approaches. He said, the inspection work aiming at seven cities this time has now come to a close, but the work to carry out activities surrounding the "five stresses and four points of beauty" and to handle "dirt, chaos, and shortcomings" is by no means finished. We must ride on the East Wind of the 12th Party Congress, grasp the central link of education on the Communist ideology, and continue to push forward the building of spiritual civilization in our province, and welcome the convening of an all-province commendation conference with new achievements.

Comrade Zhang Gexin expressed several opinions about our future work. First, we must conscientiously study the 12th Party Congress documents, further enhance our consciousness in grasping the building of our two civilizations together, and take the building of our socialist spiritual civilization as a regular item of work, really put it on the agenda of the party committee and the government, and earnestly handle it well. Second, we must continue to put emphasis on handling "dirt, chaos, and shortcomings," get new results, and attain new levels. We are planning preliminarily to continue next year to grasp seriously the handling of "dirt, chaos, and shortcomings" as a key operation; we must pose higher demands and aim at greater progress and new breakthroughs. Third, we must strengthen ideological construction, broadly launch our education on the Communist ideology, guide various activities with our Communist ideology, and enhance the ideological awakening and moral level of the vast ranks of the masses and cadres. Fourth, we must ask party committees at various levels to all strengthen their leadership and give full scope to the role of the various functional departments; we must continue to launch the activities of comparison, learning, catching up, helping, and surpassing, spread advanced experiences in ever expanding realms and make them flower, bring them to fruition; we must get a close handle and do a good job in urban construction planning; in the case of the subordinate organs set up in the various localities by the leading organs, of whichever level such organs may be, they should all participate in the various activities in the building of our spiritual civilization organized by the government in the localities in which they are situated, and obey the regulations, covenants and various rules and systems formulated by the local government.

In his speech, Comrade Cheng Xu said that comrades of the inspection corps, guided by the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, have gone down to the seven cities to carry out conscientious inspection and done a great deal of work. In behalf of the provincial party committee, he expressed his appreciation and thanks to them. He said, the provincial party committee has already decided to convene at the end of the year an all-province commendation conference for the advanced groups and activist elements in the building of our socialist spiritual civilization; it was his hope that the various localities, on the basis of their current effort, would continue to demonstrate achievements, find gaps, put forward new requirements in response to existing problems, even more broadly and penetratingly unfold activities of the "five stresses and four points of beauty" with handling "dirt, chaos, and shortcomings" as their key, and welcome the convening of the all-province commendation conference with new achievements. (By staff reporter.)

#### Conference on Political, Legal Work

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Conference on Political and Legal Work Opens: Endeavor to Create New Situation in Political and Legal Work; Strive for Fundamental Turn for the Better in Social Security and Order"]

[Text] The political and legal commission of the CPC Fujian provincial committee has convened during 2-9 this month in Fuzhou an all-province conference on political and legal work. With the spirit of the 12th Party Congress as its

guide, it further conveyed the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work, analyzed the present situation in our security and order, and deployed the main tasks of our 1983 political and legal work. The conference asked the vast ranks of the cadres and policemen on the political and legal front of the province to unify their thinking and their conduct with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and struggle for the creation of a new situation in the political and legal work of our province and the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our social security and order.

First secretary of the provincial party committee Xiang Nan [7309 0589] came to the conference to deliver a speech. Deputy secretary of the political and legal commission of the provincial party committee Bian Qi [6708 0967] conveyed the spirit of the national conference on political and legal work. Standing committee member of the provincial party committee Yuan Gai [5913 2395] made a report entitled "Adhere to the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress, Create a New Situation in Our Political and Legal Work, and Struggle for the Fundamental Turn for the Better in Our Social Security and Order." Comrade Jin Zhaodian [6855 2507 0368] summed up the conference. Responsible persons in charge of political and legal work of the province's various regional, municipal, and county party committees, plus responsible persons of public security, procuratorate, court, judicial and civic departments as well as responsible persons of relevant organs directly under the jurisdiction of the province numbering altogether more than 580 attended the conference.

The conference held that, after the exploitative classes are eliminated as classes, the contradictions that exist in our society are mostly no longer of the nature of a class struggle; class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society. But class struggle will nevertheless continue to exist in certain realms in our society for a long time to come and under certain circumstances may even become radicalized. Today there are still multifarious hostile elements who seek deliberately to engage in activities of sabotage and overthrow of our socialist system from avenues such as our economy, politics, ideology and culture, and our social life. Political and legal organs are important instruments of our people democratic dictatorship; they shoulder heavy tasks in the two aspects of protecting the people's democracy, security and legitimate rights, and resolutely combating the anti-socialist hostile elements and various criminal elements. Political and legal organs must correctly understand and handle the class struggle that still exists in certain realms in our society at the present stage, adhere to the principle of relying on the combination of the vast ranks of the masses of the people and special institutions, resolutely combat the criminal elements who seriously sabotage our socialist economy, resolutely combat counter-revolutionary elements and special agents and spies, resolutely combat the elements of criminal offense who seriously endanger our social security, resolutely combat remnant elements of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who are currently engaged in activities of sabotage, endeavor to win the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our social security and order in the next 5 years, to achieve a good production order, order of life, and social order, and defend and promote the construction of our socialist modernization centering on economic construction.



The conference emphatically studied rectification of problems in our social security and order, pointing out that for over a year security and order in the province's urban and rural areas have shown a conspicuous turn for the better, but that they are still not stable, uneven, and problems in certain localities remain rather serious. Political and legal organs at various levels should take rectification of our security and order as their task of primary importance and grasp it assiduously. Rectification of our security and order should still take cities and townships as its key points, but at the same time proceed forward to strengthen security and order in the countryside. Efforts were requested to achieve the following in 1983: Criminal cases, especially major cases, gradually decrease; counties and communes that implement their measures of comprehensive handling and achieve good social security and order conspicuously increase; the rate of criminal offense by youths and children conspicuously decrease; disasters and incidents in our security and order are conspicuously reduced; and the ugly phenomena which were long ago eliminated in New China but which have now again emerged become basically stemmed off, and unhealthy trends such as smuggling, gambling, and feudal superstitions become basically arrested. In order to realize the above goals, we must under the uniform leadership of the party committee mobilize the whole party to activate and organize the forces of all circles, adopt ideological, political, economic, administrative, and legal measures to bring about an overall implementation of our "comprehensive handling." In the course of such "comprehensive handling," the political and legal departments must serve well as staff to the party committee and give full scope to their own functions and roles: (1) They should keep in line with the 12th Party Congress documents, broadly and penetratingly carry out activities of propagation and education on our socialist legal system. (2) They must resolutely combat various current criminal activities and, in the case of murderers, arsonists, robbers, rapists, bombers, culprits of major groups of burglars and scoundrels and criminal elements of the like who seriously endanger our social security and order, they must continue to implement the principle of meting out heavy punishment according to law; in the case of those among them whose situations are especially vicious and the harms they have done are particularly serious, they should resolutely render the death penalty according to law. In the struggle of combating current criminal activities, they should insist on implementing the party's principle of attacking the minority and winning over, dividing, and reforming the majority as well as its policy of combining punishment with leniency: leniency for honesty but punishment for resistance. (3) They must continue to comprehensively promote and implement various forms of security and protection responsibility systems by bringing into fruition this responsibility system in the departments, units and individuals and also linking it with the staff evaluation, reward and punishment system; they should promote in the countryside village regulations and civic covenants and, through the development of the practice, make them adapt to reality and adapt to the law so that they gradually become norms of socialist morality commonly acknowledged by the masses. (4) They should earnestly strengthen education among the youth and children, strategically handle well the task of educating, assimilating, and rescuing the youths and children who have violated the law. (5) They should energetically strengthen basic-level organization and base work. (6) They should adopt strong measures to timely and effectively handle certain obvious problems of security and order that endanger the building of our spiritual civilization and affect our social

order. They should continue to relentlessly arrest the devious trends of gambling and feudal superstitions and combat the criminal activities of hoodwinking and selling women and children. They should, in the case of party members, CYL members, and cadres who take the lead in resorting to gambling and feudal superstitions, solemnly handle them and, in the case of gambling ring-leaders, professional gamblers, witches, warlocks, and peddlers of human beings, punish them according to law. (7) They should strengthen their work in educating the criminals subject to labor reform and personnel subject to labor education.

The conference pointed out: the serious criminal activities in the economic realm are an important reflection of the class struggle under the new conditions in our country. Combating such serious criminal activities in the economic realm is also an important task of the whole party for a long time to come. We must, while insisting on opening up to the outside world and enlivening our economy domestically, further enhance our perception, concentrate our forces, and seriously handle the criminals who viciously sabotage our economy. We must unswaveringly carry this struggle through to the end.

The conference also studied the building of the ranks of our political and legal workers, how to handle well our tasks of civic administration and judicial administration, and questions of the like. The public security, procuratorate, court, judicial, and civic departments also convened their respective business meetings.

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PARTY AND STATE

JIANGXI RESOLUTION SETS ELECTION GUIDELINES

OW040321 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Dec 82

[Text] The following is a resolution adopted by the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress on 29 December 1982 regarding the number and election of deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress:

In accordance with the relevant stipulations prescribed in the People's Republic of China law governing the election of deputies to the National People's Congress and various local people's congresses, and in the light of the guidelines set by the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress regarding the number of deputies and election of deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress, the 14th session of the Standing Committee of the Fifth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress has adopted the following resolution regarding the number and election of deputies to the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress:

1. In accordance with the principle that the number of rural populace represented by each deputy should be five times higher than the number of urban populace, one deputy shall be elected for every 75,000 people in rural areas and one deputy for every 15,000 people in cities and towns. The number of deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress will be 960.
2. In order that deputies from various quarters are rationally represented and that there is a proper proportion for the deputies from all circles and quarters, the number of deputies shall be allotted by the province to various prefectures, municipalities directly under the provincial government and the liberation army; the prefectures shall then redistribute the quotas to various cities and counties. The number of deputies from the least populated county shall not be less than three.
3. Of the total number of deputies, approximately 22 percent shall be female, and there shall be a proper proportion of middle-aged and young. The number of deputies representing the national minorities and returned overseas Chinese shall not be less than 1 percent.
4. To ensure a proper representation of various areas and quarters where there is a relatively concentrated number of representative personages, and to ensure their representation at the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, a quota

will be allotted to the relevant municipalities and counties by the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, in accordance with the situation, and election shall be carried out on the basis of this quota.

5. The election of deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress shall be carried out according to the election law.

6. In accordance with the explanation by Yang Shangkun, vice chairman and concurrently secretary general of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, that the term of current people's congresses of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government will expire this winter and coming spring, and that, to enable uniformity in the term of office of the National People's Congress and the people's congresses of various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government, various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government must convene new people's congresses before the end of April 1983 to elect the deputies to the Sixth National People's Congress, all municipalities and counties must convene their people's congresses to elect the deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress 10 March 1983, considering that a great deal of preparatory work has to be done before the National People's Congress.

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PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON NEW CONSTITUTION'S BASIC POINTS

HK050524 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by Wang Shuwen [3769 0647 2429]: "The Basic Characteristics of the New Constitution"]

[Text] On behalf of the will of the billion Chinese people, the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC solemnly adopted the new constitution. This is a great issue in the political life of the people throughout the country. We are happy and inspired by it. Now, I would like to give some opinions on the basic characteristics of the new constitution.

The Characteristics of the Time in the New Constitution

According to the constitutional theory of Marxism-Leninism, a constitution, as a major part of the superstructure, must base itself on particular social relations. Only so, can it meet the economic and political needs of the ruling class. Lenin once divided constitution into "the documental constitution" and "the real constitution." The former meant the constitutional documents formulated by the state and the latter the economic and political relations which exist objectively. "The real constitution" determines the nature, contents and characteristics of "the documental constitution;" and in turn "the documental constitution" must truthfully reflect "the real constitution" so as to meet the needs of the objective practice. This exposition by Lenin has provided an ideological weapon for us in studying the characteristics of the constitution. We have, since the founding of the PRC, formulated four constitutions, the characteristics of which were determined by different "real" constitutions, that is, different economic and political conditions.

The constitution of 1954 was a constitution of the socialist type and also a very good one. However, as China was still in a transitional period at that time, it was thus determined that the constitution was only a transitional one. The constitution of 1975 was formulated during the "cultural revolution" when the political life of the country was abnormal. The constitution of 1978 was formulated shortly after smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. Due to the limitation of the historical conditions at that time, it could not totally get rid of the influence of the theory of "the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee shook off the tight yoke of the "leftist" mistakes which were prevalent for quite a long time in the past and corrected the party's guiding thought. The new constitution, in accordance with a series of important documents since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, has reflected the bringing of order out of chaos in our country in its guiding thought, restored the true color of the four basic principles and upheld and developed them.

Therefore, the general characteristics of the new constitution lie in that under the new historical conditions, it has inherited and developed the basic principles of the constitution of 1954 and affirmed and consolidated, in the form of a fundamental law, the triumphant achievements made by our country in socialist revolution and construction since the formulation of the constitution of 1954, especially the great historical changes in our country, the new victories on various fronts and the new achievements in the reform of the economic and political systems since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. They are the summation of the victorious record and the crystallization of wisdom of the historical experiences of the Chinese people in their protracted revolution and construction and the products of the new historical period in our country.

#### The Characteristics of the Content of the New Constitution

The characteristic of the content of the new constitution is that it has sought truth from facts by proceeding from our practical conditions and the real situation in the new period. In order to carry out it, we, while formulating the new constitution, not only drew experiences from other countries in formulating a constitution but also paid attention to summing up the historical experiences in our country. The new constitution has summed up the historical experiences of the Chinese people in their heroic struggle over the past 100-odd years, the historical experiences of the 30-odd years since the founding of the PRC and particular--the new experiences since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the course of summing up experiences, we paid attention to summing up both the positive and negative experiences and particularly the bitter lesson of the "cultural revolution." The new constitution has scientifically summed up the protracted historical experiences of our country. Therefore, it is a constitution bearing Chinese characteristics and meets the needs of the socialist construction for modernization.

The new constitution is a socialist constitution bearing Chinese characteristics. The stipulations made by it on the basic problems in all fields of the national life adhere to the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. On the state nature of our country, the new constitution provides in Article 1 that China "is a socialist state of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." Essentially, the people's democratic dictatorship is the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the people's democratic dictatorship can more explicitly indicate the class status of the country and the extensive base and democratic nature of the political power. On the stipulations of the socialist

economic system, the new constitution, proceeding from the practical situation in our country, stipulates the development of diversified economy on the premise of adherence to the guiding position of the state-run economy and the state and collective ownership in land. On legislation, the previous constitution of our country, in the light of other countries' experiences, stipulated that the NPC was the sole institution to exercise the legislative power of the state. But the new constitution has changed it such that now the NPC and its Standing Committee exercise the legislative power of the state. All these stipulations bear Chinese characteristics and meet the practical needs of our country.

The new constitution is also a general rule which corresponds with the requirements of socialist modernization. Through summing up both positive and negative experiences in our country's socialist revolution and construction and to meet the needs of resolutely shifting the major work of the country to the economic construction of socialist modernization in the new period, it explicitly stipulates in the "preamble" that "the basic task of our country in the coming years is to concentrate its efforts on socialist modernization" and "achieve step by step the modernization in industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and build our country into a socialist country with a high level of democracy and culture." To guarantee the fulfillment of this fundamental task, the new constitution makes, from the aspects of both cultural and ideological construction, many important stipulations on building a socialist spiritual civilization. It is one of the major characteristics of the new constitution to treat as a basic content of the constitution the building of a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, which is unprecedented in our country's history of formulating constitutions.

#### The Characteristics of Form in the New Constitution

The characteristic of the new constitution also lies in its rigid legal form. As far as legal form is concerned, the new constitution has not only made great improvement compared with the constitution of 1978 but also has made new developments compared to the constitution of 1954.

Just as in general laws, a constitution must have a rigid legal form so as to bring into play its role of supreme legal authority and function. When talking about legal forms, Marx and Engels pointed out: "Individuals who occupy a dominant position in this relationship must organize their forces in the form of a state; they must also provide their own will which was decided by these specific relations with a general form of expression of the will of a state, i.e. law." The will of a ruling class can become the will of a state through the supreme institution of state power; and only when this will is expressed in legal form, can it be understood, mastered, applied and observed by people and enjoy authority among the people. Therefore, the rigid legal form of a constitution is of very important significance to upholding the dignity and authority of a constitution. In order to give the new constitution a rigid legal form, we, in the process of formulating the constitution, paid special attention to the following two points.

1. A constitution must have all the intrinsic characteristics of general 3, that is, the will of the ruling class as expressed in a constitution has the coercive power of a state and general binding force. The standard of a constitution has its own characteristics different to those of general laws. As a constitution must completely stipulate basic problems in all fields of the life of a state, only stipulations of principle are made usually and specific stipulations are to be legislated on later. Usually, means of punishment are not explicitly stipulated for violation of a constitution but are specifically stipulated by general laws, such as criminal law, civil law and administrative law. But a constitution must provide standards, that is, on the basic problems of the life of a state, it must explicitly stipulate what should be earnestly carried out, what must be prohibited, what is legal and what is illegal, thus drawing a clear demarcation line between observance and violation. One of the defects of the constitution of 1978 is that it was not so rigid, concrete and explicit, hence lacking proper standardization. Substantial revisions and additions have been made to it in formulating the new constitution. For example, on the term of office of the NPC, the new constitution has changed the stipulation of willfully prolonging and shortening the term of office of the NPC to the stipulation that "should exceptional circumstances prevent such an election, the election may be postponed and the term of office of the sitting NPC may be prolonged; such postponement and prolongation must be approved by a majority vote of more than two-thirds of all the members of its Standing Committee. The election of the delegates to the next NPC must be held within one year after such exceptional circumstances come to an end." The new constitution also explicitly stipulates, for the first time in our country's history of formulating constitutions, that a constitution enjoys the supreme legal authority, no law, administrative stipulation or local rule must go against the constitution and all organizations and individuals must take the constitution as the standard to carry out their activities and take up the responsibilities to uphold the dignity of the constitution and guarantee its implementation. All this has provided security for the implementation of the constitution.

2. We must correctly handle the relationship between the form and contents of the constitution. A constitution must not only meet the needs of the continuous development of social relations but also have a relative degree of stability. In this aspect, the new constitution has first of all laid stress on its own perfection and made complete stipulations on the fundamental system and task of the state. In the meantime, the new constitution correctly handles the relationship between the party's leadership and power the relationship between democracy and dictatorship, democracy and the legal system, the relationship between the state, the collectives and the individual and the relationship between the citizens' rights and obligations. Identity has been sought not only in content but also in provisions and stipulations so as to prevent confusion. Finally, the new constitution has also paid attention to its stability. Proceeding mainly from present realities, it also takes into account the prospects for development and meets both practical and long-term needs, hence becoming a constitution of prolonged stability.

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PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON IMPLEMENTING NEW CONSTITUTION

HK301446 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by Chen Yunsheng [7115 0061 3932]: "On the Implementation of the Constitution"]

[Text] The official promulgation of the new constitution is a matter of primary importance in the political life of the people in our country. However, we should not rest content with its promulgation. On the contrary, we should see to it that the new constitution is implemented in an all-round way. Practice has proved that it is not easy to work out a good constitution, nor is it easy to ensure the implementation of it, because "all laws will not automatically be observed." Just like laws and decrees, the constitution will not be abided by automatically. Therefore, certain relevant stipulations are included in the new constitution to ensure its implementation.

1. The stipulation of "constitutionality" is provided. The so-called "constitutionality" means that all state laws, administrative and local laws and regulations, other legal documents, the resolutions, decisions, orders and directives of the state organs, political parties and other social and people's organizations must not run counter to the principles, spirit and specific stipulations of the constitution. Any violation is called an "unconstitutional act" in the science of law. Any laws and orders which run counter to the constitution are void. "Constitutionality" is included in modern constitutions in general. Generally speaking, it is applied to two aspects: first, the supreme legal authority and most powerful legal effects of the constitution are explicitly defined; second, the relations between the constitution and the laws are also specifically clarified. According to statistics, of 142 written constitutions in effect in the world, 122 constitutions stipulate "constitutionality" through various expressions and manifestations and 95 constitutions explicitly define their supreme legal authority or legal effects. Our new constitution explicitly defines its "constitutionality" from the following two angles. First, the "preamble" explicitly defines: "The constitution affirms the achievements of the struggles of the Chinese people of all nationalities and defines the basic system and basic tasks of the state in legal form; it is the fundamental law of the state and has supreme legal authority." In the constitutional history of our country, this is the first constitution which clearly and accurately defines its nature and supreme legal authority in the constitutional documents. It is necessary to do so in

order to uphold the authority and dignity of the constitution. Furthermore, Article 5 in the general principles stipulates: "No law or administrative or local rules and regulations shall contravene the constitution." This clearly explains the relations between the constitution and law. The provision on the functions and power of the NPC Standing Committee points out: the NPC Standing Committee has the power to "annul those administrative rules and regulations, decisions or orders of the State Council that contravene the constitution or its statutes: and to "annul those local regulations or decisions of the organs of state power of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government that contravene the constitution, its statutes or administrative rules and regulations." This has clearly defined the relations between the administrative and local rules and regulations and the constitution. There is no doubt that all these stipulations are important to upholding the supreme authority of the constitution and guaranteeing uniformity in the state legal system.

2. The stipulations on the state organs which supervise the implementation of the constitution are included in the new constitution. According to the 1954 and 1978 constitutions, it was the NPC itself which exercised the function and powers of supervising the implementation of the constitution. Such a stipulation had its merits and strong points. However, there were some objective restrictions. First, the number of NPC deputies is comparatively large, and it is inconvenient for them to hold meetings very often to discuss problems. The work of supervising the implementation of the constitution cannot be carried out frequently and in an all-round way. Furthermore, the NPC holds a meeting once a year. In every meeting, it has to examine and discuss many problems. Therefore, it is impossible for the NPC to devote more time and efforts to specially discuss the problem of the implementation of the constitution. In view of the above-mentioned facts, the new constitution stipulates that the NPC Standing Committee has the power to "interpret the constitution and supervise its implementation" and that it has the power to annul those administrative rules and regulations and local regulations, resolutions, decisions, orders and so forth which contravene the constitution. This has shown that the power to supervise the enforcement of the constitution which was formally exercised by the NPC is now jointly exercised by the NPC and the NPC Standing Committee. This is a new development of the constitution which merits people's attention and is an important reform in our country's constitutional system. This has demonstrated that in order to ensure the implementation of the constitution, our country has officially appointed an organ which can carry out constant and specific supervision work and which has supreme authority.

3. Stipulations concerning the revision of the constitution have been provided. It is stressed that the procedure for revising the constitution should be strictly followed. The revision of the constitution is an important issue in the constitutional theories, because it is not only connected with the authority and dignity of the constitution, but also with the continuity and stability of the constitution. At present, there are stipulations concerning the revision of the constitution in the constitutions of most countries in the world. A socialist constitution should maintain its stability and nimbly reflect the development and changes of politics, economy and culture. According to this spirit, it has been stipulated that the constitution can be revised.

However, strict restrictions are imposed in this respect: revisions to the constitution are to be proposed by the NPC Standing Committee or by more than one fifth of the deputies to the NPC and adopted by a majority vote of more than two thirds of all deputies to the congress. This not only ensure the solemnity of the revision of the constitution but also enables the revisions of the constitution to conform with the interests and common desires of the people throughout the country.

4. Stipulations concerning the observance and implementation of the constitution are included in the new constitution. First of all, the "preamble" of the new constitution clearly points out: "The people of all nationalities, all state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings in the country must take the constitution as the basic norm of conduct, and they have the duty to uphold the dignity of the constitution and ensure its implementation." Article 5 in the "General Principles" stresses: "All state organs, the armed forces, all political parties and public organizations and all enterprises and undertakings must abide by the constitution and the law. All acts in violation of the constitution and the law must be looked into. No organization or individual may enjoy the privilege of being above the constitution and the law." In addition, the constitution also stipulates that it is the duty of residents to enforce the constitution and the law and that they should abide by the constitution and the law. All these stipulations play an important role in strengthening the people's concept of the legal system, upholding the dignity of the constitution and ensuring the implementation of the constitution.

One thing which merits our attention is the fact that party organizations at all levels and all party members abiding by and implementing the new constitution in an exemplary way will play a decisive role in ensuring the enforcement of the constitution. We believe that the history of "defying laws human and divine" during the 10 years of turmoil will never repeat itself. In his report delivered at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang particularly stressed that we should educate and supervise the broad masses of party members so that they take the lead in observing the constitution and the law. This has been regarded as an important principle and has been included in the new party constitution. It is absolutely necessary and completely right to do so in order to fully ensure the implementation of the constitution.

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PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' DISCUSSES LEADERSHIP METHODS

HK200639 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Guo Shaoming [6753 4801 2494]: "Universal Law for Knowing the World--New Understanding of 'From the Masses, to the Masses'"]

[Text] The formula of "practice, knowledge, more practice, and more knowledge" summarized by Comrade Mao Zedong in his work "On Practice" and the formula of "from the masses, to the masses" summarized in his work "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" all deeply expose the universal laws for people to know the world. //The process of knowing the world by individuals and the process of knowing the world by the whole of mankind and all masses have something in common. That is the cyclical process of practice, knowledge, more practice, and more knowledge. But the process of knowing the world by individuals as relatively independent individual entities, and the process of knowing the world by mass entities are not entirely the same. The former inevitably has its own particular expression. That is, "from the masses, to the masses."// [Slantlines denote boldface]

It was Comrade Mao Zedong who explicitly exposed the law of knowledge of "from the masses, to the masses." This is the deepening of and development to the Marxist theory of cognition achieved by him. This law of cognition vividly shows that as far as the theory of cognition is concerned, there exist inseparable internal relations between dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

To correctly understand and effectively transform the world, we must not only observe the law of "practice, knowledge, more practice, and more knowledge," but also observe the law of "from the masses, to the masses." This requires us (especially leaders and theoretical researchers) to constantly go deep among the masses to conduct practical investigations. Comrade Mao Zedong laid particular stress on learning from the masses, saying: "The masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant; without this understanding it is impossible to acquire even the most rudimentary knowledge" (preface to "Rural Surveys"). He also earnestly instructed leaders at all levels to learn from Confucius' habit of "asking the reason for everything." ("Oppose Book Worship") "not feel ashamed to ask and learn from people below," "listen carefully to the views of the cadres at the lower levels, be a pupil before you become a teacher; learn from the cadres at the lower levels before issuing orders," ("Methods of Work for Party Committees" ) and "listen attentively to the voice of the masses." ("On Coalition Government") Comrade Mao

Zedong particularly stressed that "without investigation, you have no right to speak," [Preface to "Rural Surveys"] and "in the same way, without conducting correct investigations, you have no right to speak." ("Circular issued by the General Political Department on the Investigation of Population and Land Status") All these expositions not only deal with concrete methods of work, but also enlighten the whole party to consciously apply the Marxist theory of cognition, adhere to the law of cognition of "from the masses, to the masses" and do our utmost to keep subjective in line with objective so as to carry out all work properly.

It must be realized that "from the masses, to the masses" is a road of cognition which all people, not merely leaders, are taking. We know that all knowledge of human society originates from direct experience derived from social practice. However, it is impossible and also unnecessary for everybody to personally take part in all practical activities in order to realize the objective world. The scope of activity of a single person in the arena of social practice is limited. If one understands the world by depending only on one's own direct experience, one will certainly have little and narrow knowledge. Therefore, if any one intends to know more about the work, he must, through books and other channels, exhaustively absorb the indirect experiences of our predecessors and contemporary people from China and foreign countries. However, these indirect experiences are transformed from the direct experiences derived by the masses in social practice. In the final analysis, "from the masses, to the masses" is from social practice, to social practice. It is thus evident that the process of "practice, knowledge, more practice, and more knowledge" and the process of "from the masses, to the masses" are somewhat different yet closely integrated.

In the history of mankind, whoever has established a new scientific theory or discovered or created new things, it has been through the process of "practice, knowledge, more practice, and more knowledge" and the process of "from the masses, to the masses." This was true when Marx and Engels established Marxism. On the one hand, Marx and Engels actively took part in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and accumulated abundant direct experience. On the other hand, they comprehensively and exhaustively learned indirect experience and absorbed knowledge from their predecessors and contemporaries. First, they earnestly studied and inherited the best of the excellent ideologies of their predecessors, such as classical philosophy in Germany, their classical political economy in Britain and utopian socialism in France. Second, they earnestly absorbed the latest achievements of natural science of that time, such as cytology, the law of conservation and conversion of energy and Darwin's theory of evolution. Finally, they also paid close attention to summarizing the indirect experience of the mass practice which they had not directly participated in. For example, they did not take part in the struggle of the Paris commune. But they paid close attention to the process of the struggle from the beginning to the end. After the event, they scientifically summarized the experience of the struggle, thus enriching and developing the Marxist theories on proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marxism is "from the masses, to the masses." It guides social practice and continues to develop through the process of being tested by practice. It can thus be said that the process of knowing the world by every individual is even more manifested in

"from the masses, to the masses." Of all the knowledge mastered by a person the knowledge from personal direct experience usually accounts for a minority (by no means less important) and the knowledge from the indirect experience of the masses (including perceptual knowledge and rational knowledge) usually accounts for the majority.

Our party's 60-year history has shown that by correctly conducting investigations and research, we can correctly understand the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction, the lines, guiding principles and policies formulated by us will more exactly correspond with China's national conditions, we will practice less subjectivism and one-sidedness and the revolution and construction will develop in a relatively smooth manner. Otherwise, we may suffer setbacks. Since the third plenary session, the party Central Committee has, consciously adhered to the practice of "from the masses, to the masses," thereby emancipating minds, seeking truth from the facts, bringing order out of chaos, solving many major problems left over by the history and formulating a series of correct lines, guiding principles and policies for building modernization. Our party has promptly summed up the creative experience of the vast number of peasants and supported and advocated the implementation of various systems of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output in agricultural production, thus greatly arousing the enthusiasm of peasants and stimulating agricultural development. We must adhere to the line of cognition of "from the masses, to the masses," respect the initiative of the broad peasant masses, pay attention to discovering new experience created by peasants in practice, and summarize and promote them. We must extensively listen to the voice of peasants and correctly understand and solve various new problems arising in the process of implementing the responsibility systems in production. Along with the development of agriculture and the raising of business management skills, various new demands for combines will certainly arise. We can only, according to the desire of peasants and the principle of benefiting production, voluntary participation and mutual benefit, promote economic combines of various forms. In the past, under the guidance of "leftist" ideology, it very often happened that people could not do what they wished, but were forced to do what they were unwilling to do. Consequently, things went contrary to people's wishes and agriculture developed slowly. This was not only a mistaken work method, but also ran counter to the law of cognition of "from the masses, to the masses." We must always remember this bitter lesson and strictly observe the law of "from the masses, to the masses." Thus, we can do a good job in the countryside, do a good job in industrial, commercial and other fields, and create a new situation in socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/335

PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI GOVERNOR REPORTS ON WORK OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

OW311209 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Dec 82

[Text] In order to vigorously develop the work of education, science, literature and art, public health, physical culture and sports, news and publication and radio and television broadcasting and constantly raise the scientific and cultural level of the people, Governor Zhou Zijian in his report on the work of the Anhui Provincial People's Government pointed out: The funds appropriated for educational, scientific and cultural work in the next year will account for 39.11 percent of the total amount of the provincial budget, increasing by 7 percent as compared with the funds appropriated for those tasks in 1982.

Governor Zhou Zijian said: Education is the foundation for building socialist modernization. We must further strengthen our leadership, take effective measures and create an atmosphere of paying attention to educational work by everyone. We should mobilize all forces, increase our investment in increasing our knowledge and promote the development and improvement of educational work. Science and technology are the keys in realizing the four modernizations. In the next year, we should organize all forces in the field of scientific research to study and tackle important problems in economic construction in a planned manner and strive to win new achievements and breakthroughs. We should vigorously promote and apply scientific and technological achievements which have been proved to be quite effective, are needed for production and in society, and are able to raise economic results throughout the province.

We should make cultural and art work serve the people and socialism in various forms and constantly enrich the people's cultural life. We should pay attention to and strengthen the work of protecting historical relics, vigorously unfold a patriotic health campaign, effectively do a good job in preventing diseases, continue to strengthen the organizational building of basic public health units in urban and rural areas and strive to raise the quality of medical work. We should actively unfold physical culture and sports activities at schools and mass physical culture and sports activities, further raise the level of sports technology and strive to achieve good results at the fifth national sports games next year.

We should firmly implement the directives issued by the party Central Committee and the State Council on doing even better the family planning work and

unfold propaganda and educational work on family planning in a more extensive and penetrating manner. During the period from New Year's Day to the spring festival, we should unfold "family planning propaganda month" activities with special emphasis in the rural areas. We should implement in an all-round way the contract system in both production and bearing children [shen chan sheng yu shuang bao he tong zhi] and the responsibility system in family planning. We should pay attention to both production work and family planning and promptly change the situation in certain places, especially in the rural areas, where families with several children are still quite prevalent.

Governor Zhou Zijiang pointed out in his report: The development of socialist modernization cannot but rely on the positive and hard work of the broad masses of intellectuals. Governor Zhou Zijiang said: We must resolutely break away from all prejudice against an attitude of despising the intellectual and show better concern and care for them. We should do our best to create better working and living conditions for intellectuals and encourage them to dedicate themselves to the building of the motherland and serving the people. In implementing the party's policy toward intellectuals, the most important thing is to promptly correct the serious situation in some localities and departments where talents are not properly used and the leadership does not choose the right persons for the right jobs. We should give full play to the special skill or knowledge of scientific and technological personnel.

We hope that the broad masses of intellectuals, cadres and people in the whole province will all learn from Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu, model Communist Party members and outstanding representatives of the intellectuals. We should learn from them their attitude toward work and their total dedication of their talents and energy to the motherland and the people.

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PARTY AND STATE

ANHUI PROVINCIAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS HOLDS MEETING

OW011113 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 27 Dec 82

[Excerpts] The Fifth Session of the Fifth Anhui Provincial People's Congress held a meeting on the afternoon of 27 December to hear a report by Hu Kaiming, vice chairman and concurrently secretary general, of the Standing Committee of the Anhui Provincial People's Congress, on the work of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's Congress; a report by Chen Zhenya, president of the Anhui Provincial Higher People's Court, on the work of the provincial higher people's court and a report by Liu Lianmin, chief procurator of the Anhui Provincial People's Procuratorate, on the work of the provincial people's procuratorate. The participants also heard a report by Xia Deyi, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress, on the total number of deputies to the Sixth Anhui Provincial People's Congress and his explanation of matters relating to the election of deputies.

Today's meeting was presided over by Yang Chengzong, executive chairman of the session and vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress. Other executive chairmen of this afternoon's meeting included Zhang Zuoyin, Xia Deyi, (Xu Shuqi), (Bai Luke), (Zhang Jian), (Yu Wenping), (Li Jianhua, (Du Weiyou), (Yu Haiwen) and (Chen Hailou).

Comrade Hu Kaiming said in his report: We must conscientiously implement the guidelines of the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, unite with the people of the whole province, heighten our spirit, work hard and make active contributions to the implementation of the new constitution and the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and the creation of a new situation for promoting socialist modernizations.

The members of the provincial CPPCC committee attending the Fifth Session of the Fourth Anhui Provincial CPPCC Committee attended this afternoon's meeting as observers.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON METHODS, ART OF LEADERSHIP

HK070322 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by Hu Erren [5170 1422 0117]: "Not Only Solving Problems, but Also Stabilizing the Situation"]

[Text] One of the important experiences summed up in the process of carrying out the system of contracted responsibility with payment linked to output is resolutely discarding the past wrong practice of implementing policies and principles through political movement and through criticizing people, and restoring and developing the party's fine tradition of not only clarifying thinking but also uniting comrades and not only solving problems but also stabilizing the situation. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has been adhering to the Marxist ideological line in formulating and implementing the new agricultural policies. It has stressed the principles of investigation and study, of proceeding from realities, of upholding truth and correcting mistakes, or valuing the masses' opinions and giving play to their initiative and creativity, and of setting examples and popularizing advanced experiences step by step on the basis of voluntariness. In intraparty life, it has adhered to the party's principle of democratic centralism and developed intraparty democratic life. All important decisions have been made after repeated deliberations and consultations. While emphasizing the principle of minority submitting to the majority, attention has also been paid to the opinions of the minority. While emphasizing the principle of lower levels being subordinate to the higher levels, attention has also been paid to the opinions of the lower levels. While emphasizing iron discipline, attention has also been paid to convincing people by reasoning. This lively political situation of stability and unity is a reliable guarantee for our national economy to flourish day by day.

One of the focal points of our rural work to bring order out of chaos since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is to resolutely correct the long-standing "leftist" mistakes. There have been various obstacles in the process of implementing and perfecting the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. This is certainly an expression of severe struggles. However, the CPC Central Committee has not raised the question of struggle in this respect, nor has it adopted the method of struggle to solve problems. For example, it has not adopted such

methods as "opening the way through mass criticism," "promoting work through mass criticism" and "carrying out two-line struggles." To those people who have lagged behind in their understanding and have hesitated in action, and even to those who have stubbornly resisted the responsibility system, no debates have been held to criticize them. No one has been criticized at meetings or by newspapers. At the same time, attention has been paid to preventing such practices as precipitate action, egalitarianism, giving compulsive orders and coercion on the strength of one's power. Under the principle of doing a solid job step by step and giving guidance according to different kinds of work, positive education has been carried out and examples have been set. These measures the CPC Central Committee has adopted during the great agricultural reform have not only helped agricultural production achieve remarkable successes, but have also set a very good example in normalizing intraparty political life.

People's processes of cognition vary. Some people understand things more quickly and profoundly than others. The cognition process of a person or an organization, or an ordinary organization or higher leading organs of the party, can become clear and correct and be gradually completed only after going through a procedure of practice--cognition, practice again--cognition again, and making repeated comparisons and revisions. The new agricultural policy which the CPC Central Committee formulated after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has also gone through a procedure of being substantiated and perfected in light of actual conditions and of pooling the wisdom of the masses and upholding truth and correcting mistakes.

In particular, during the period of bringing order out of chaos when the ideological line had just been corrected after long-term twists and turns, there were naturally more differences in the understanding of some major issues. Sometimes, these differences could even be antagonistic. Under such circumstances, it is not easy to unite understanding and take concerned action. We can not unify understanding by labeling people something and by means of struggle as was done in the past, or by just taking oversimplified and overhasty measures. Instead, we must restore and carry on our party's fine tradition of doing painstaking and meticulous ideological work. We must be good at combining theory with practice and settling questions by persuasion and education, and be good at using the method of setting examples, summing up experiences and popularizing advanced experiences step by step to help people raise their level of understanding. Therefore, the rural policies formulated by the central authorities have fully considered the possibility of allowing the lower levels to adopt flexible measures in light of concrete conditions. The principles of the agricultural policy put forward by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are very clear. However, in practice, they can be carried out in various ways. Those who have lagged behind in understanding and the less advanced are granted time to improve their understanding, and the advanced are enthusiastically encouraged. Various methods can be practiced and compete with each other at the same time under the general principles, and comrades holding different views can prove themselves to be correct with facts or criticize other comrades after making a thorough investigation and study.

The system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output is a new thing. At the beginning, it was adopted in a small number of areas and supported by a small number of cadres. It then advanced amid blame and suppression. When this system was affirmed by the central authorities and leaders, the minority gradually became a majority. Since the people who support this system have been the "minority" in the past, they understand that the minority at a meeting is not necessarily the minority of the masses and that sometimes truth is in the hands of the minority. Having experienced the bitterness of the minority being suppressed, they have paid attention to not adopting the method of blame and suppression against the minority which still lags behind in understanding. At party meetings, the principle of the minority being subordinate to the majority is stressed, but attention has also been paid to valuing the opinions of the minority. In implementation, principle of the lower level being subordinate to the higher level is stressed, but attention has been paid to allowing the lower level to adopt flexible measures. The leading comrades in some areas are even allowed to hold on to their opinions and continue to act accordingly. We have visited Jiangxi's Jian and Gannan prefectures and Anhui's Chuxian Prefecture. The secretaries of these prefectural CPC committees are all firm and active in carrying out the system of assigning households full responsibility for task completion. However, though this responsibility system has been adopted by the majority of the production teams, the prefectural CPC committees have not popularized it by compulsion. Instead, they have repeatedly stressed the importance of suiting measures to local conditions and have adopted measures to prevent precipitate action and egalitarianism and to permit and protect those counties which do not adopt this system. The prefectural CPC committee secretaries have told secretaries of the counties which do not adopt this system that the prefectural CPC committee will not criticize or suppress them, and hopes they will do the same toward the lower level. In these areas, more than 90 percent of the production teams have adopted the system of assigning households full responsibility of task completion. However, no cadres have been dismissed from office or criticized for not practicing this system. As for the few production teams which do not practice this system, instead of pressuring them, measures have been adopted to encourage, protect and help them. This is why although there are different views, the people are not divided into different factions and there are no splittist activities in which people suppress and fight each other. As a result, production has been greatly developed, unity between cadres and the masses has been enhanced and the poor and backward situation over the past decade as well as the situation of splits and factionalism have been changed. The policy of not only clarifying thinking but also uniting comrades and not only solving problems but also stabilizing the situation, which was put forward by the CPC Central Committee, has displayed its might during this great agricultural reform.

It is unavoidable that some leading comrades in some departments and areas have fallen behind the development of the situation in implementing the spirit of the central authorities and in carrying out the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output. What merits our attention is that when one makes a mistake, one should correct it as soon as possible and prevent it from becoming a big mistake. The new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress has summed up experiences and lessons in

this respect. In articles 10, 14, 15 and 16, in particular, there are many clarified stipulations in the concern. The party constitution stipulates that the activities of the party leaders are subject to supervision by the party and the people, that no party member is allowed to make a decision on major issues on his own, that no leader is allowed to decide matters arbitrarily on his own and that the minority is subordinate to the majority, while giving serious consideration to the differing views of the minority. As to the principle of subordination of the lower level to the higher level, the new party constitution emphasizes that "lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher party organizations." Only thus, the party constitution points out, can "democracy be given full play within the party, a high degree of centralism be practiced on the basis of democracy and a sense of organization and discipline be strengthened, so as to ensure unity of action throughout the party's ranks and the prompt and effective implementation of its decisions." In other words, no lower level party organizations are allowed to take an attitude of disregarding organization and discipline and to implement the party's decisions according to their likes and dislikes. On the other hand, the new party constitution also stipulates: "If lower party organizations consider that any decisions of higher organizations do not suit actual conditions in their localities or departments, they may request modification. If the higher organizations insist on their original decisions, the lower organizations must carry out such decisions and refrain from publicly voicing their differences, but have the right to report to the next higher party organizations." This means that the lower party organizations must firmly implement the decisions of higher organizations, but not implement them blindly and mechanically. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and especially since the 6th plenary session, the Marxist level of the cadres of our party as well as the prestige of our party have been greatly raised. When the cadres at the lower level implement the decisions of higher organizations, they are able to consider whether they are in conformity with Marxism and the guidelines of the party Central Committee. They have paid attention to keeping pace with the Central Committee in the political field. This is a good thing. Many cadres at the lower levels have acted in this way in implementing the policy of the Central Committee on the production responsibility system. At the conference for agricultural secretaries and the conference on rural ideological and political work, Comrade Wan Li said: "In the past, the peasants dared not utter a sound of complaint even when they were bullied. Now it is different. They dare to resist any person who tries to repeat the past 'leftist' errors or do anything evil. When the commune members in some places began to practice the system of assigning households full responsibility for task completion, some cadres tried to 'correct the deviation.' But the commune members asked them: 'Why should we obey your orders, since you do not follow the policy of the Central Committee?'" This gives us much food for thought. The basic principle of our party's democratic centralism is not only the subordination of the individual to the organization, of the minority to the majority and of lower organizations to higher organizations, but also the subordination of the whole party to the Central Committee. Although lower organizations are subordinate to higher organizations is not in conformity with the guidelines of the Central Committee, they certainly have the right to air their views and report to the next

higher party organization or even to the Central Committee. The stipulation of "having the right to report to the next higher party organization" was added to the new party constitution when it was discussed at the 12th CPC National Congress. This was necessary.

As early as 1930, Comrade Mao Zedong taught us in his "Oppose Book Worship": "We say that the instructions of the higher leading organs are correct. This is not because they are given by the 'higher leading organs,' but because the 'contents of the instructions' conform to the objective and subjective situation and are needed in the struggle. The formalist attitude which is built on the mere sense of 'higher organs' and which implements the instructions blindly without investigating and discussing the actual conditions is incorrect. Due to such formalist practice, it has always been very difficult for the party's line and policies to be grasped by the masses. Implementation of the instructions of the higher organizations mechanically and completely without any objections in appearance is not real implementation, but the best way to oppose or resist them." So, we must not implement the instructions of higher organizations "blindly and without investigating and discussing actual conditions." In short, we must not act blindly according to the instructions of higher organizations and books, but must act realistically in light of actual conditions.

Our party is a big party, and our country is a large country. The situation in various districts and various aspects is very complicated. There are great differences between them. Thus, we need a Marxist party to exercise centralized and unified leadership. We need the whole party to keep pace with the Central Committee in political affairs, and on this basis, to give full play to the initiative and creativity of various aspects. As was pointed out by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report at the 12th CPC National Congress: "Our economic work and all our policies, principles, plans and measures must be based on unified planning with due consideration for the interests of the state, the collective and the individual so that the initiative of the central authorities and various localities, departments and enterprises as well as the initiative of the laborers can be fully and scientifically organized and mobilized and be brought into full play."

At two conferences held in 1981, central leading comrades urged various localities and departments to actively and independently carry out their work, and emphasized the importance of giving play to their initiative and creativity. They pointed out: Those the Central Committee has not yet requested be done, you can start doing if you feel sure. If the decisions of the Central Committee do not suit the conditions in your district, you can make some changes and then carry them out. If the decisions of the Central Committee are not correct, you can air your views to controvert...one is to propose, one is to do, one is to change and the other is to controvert. Of course, according to organizational principles, in such cases, lower organizations must first report to higher organizations or to the Central Committee to exchange views and ask for instructions. In this way, a lively situation in which everyone is trying to overtake the others in friendly emulation will surely be created.

In 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out to the whole party: "Our purpose is to create a 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, so that we can better carry out socialist revolution and construction, facilitate overcoming difficulties and build our modern industry and agriculture more quickly, and so our party and state can become more consolidated and powerful to meet all difficulties." Now, as a result of the efforts made over the past 3 years or so since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this new situation has finally been created. Since the system of contracted responsibilities with payment linked to output was adopted, not only a flourishing scene but also a lively political situation of stability and unity have emerged in the countryside.

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PARTY AND STATE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' STRESSES INVESTIGATION, STUDY

HK061050 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 82 p 1

[Commentary: "A Basic Link in Creating a New Situation"]

[Text] The "Collected Works of Mao Zedong on Rural Investigation" compiled by the Document Research Office of the CPC Central Committee has been published. By conscientiously studying these collected works and the theory and practice of investigation of Comrade Mao Zedong, we will be able to vigorously push ahead with the thorough implementation of the party's ideological line and greatly enhance the consciousness of leading cadres at all levels in going deep into the realities of life and among the masses to carry out investigation.

Going deep into the realities of life to conduct investigation is the fundamental prerequisite for a leading organ and a leader to properly carry out their jobs and be qualified to speak on related questions. Experience shows that all correct principles, policies, opinions and methods are the products of thorough investigation into the realities of life, whereas those statements which are not based on real and conscientious investigation are of no value, and the work style which is divorced from reality and the masses will only lead to subjective and impractical direction. We always liken the brains of leading organs and leaders to a "processing plant" which depends on the sufficient supply of "raw materials" to give products. In fact, these "materials" are the rich realities of life and the live practice of the masses. Fundamentally speaking, investigation is the application of dialectical materialist theory of knowledge in terms of method of leadership, and concrete implementation of the party's ideological line of proceeding from the actual situation and being practical and realistic.

The theory of investigation is an important contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong to Marxism-Leninism and a component part of Mao Zedong Thought. In 1930, Comrade Mao Zedong clearly put forth the principle of "no investigation, no right to speak" and emphasized that "the victory of revolutionary struggle in China depends on our Chinese comrades' understanding of the circumstances of China." In 1931, in further emphasizing that "those who have not carried out correct investigation have no right to speak either," he enhanced his idea of "no investigation, no right to speak." On the eve of the Yanan rectification, he once again put forth to the whole party the task of systematically and meticulously studying our surroundings, and made the



task of promoting investigation and study throughout the party a basic link in opposing subjectivism and changing party style. In a series of his works, Comrade Mao Zedong profoundly elaborated on the basic understanding, the importance and the methods of investigation and study, and on the question of how to conduct correct investigation and study. The reason why Comrade Mao Zedong could so perfectly apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the Chinese revolution, correctly handle all contradictions under extremely complicated circumstances and guide the revolutionary cause to smoothly develop was closely related to his style in attaching great importance to investigation and study. It can be stated that without investigation and study it would not have been possible to apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution; and, similarly, without investigation and study, there could be no Mao Zedong Thought.

At present, comrades on various fronts and in various departments throughout the country are enthusiastically responding to the 12th CPC Congress' great appeal of creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and have started creating a new situation in their own departments, areas and units. How can we actually create a new situation? Here, the basic link is that our leaders at all levels must go deep into the realities of life, carry out investigation, timely, industriously and meticulously study new circumstances, and have a good understanding of the new features of our country's socialist construction if we are divorced from investigation and study and ignorant of the new circumstances and problems we constantly face, we will never be able to obtain a correct knowledge and exercise correct leadership, even if we have a strong will to emancipate our minds and create a new situation.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has completed the redressing of guiding ideology by redefining a correct political line, and our country's socialist construction, in particular socialist construction in rural areas, has undergone drastic changes. However, some departments have not yet systematically summed up historical experiences, and some cadres' guiding ideology in work and their working method still cannot keep in line with the new situation. In order to create a new situation in our own departments, we can never carry on our old practices which were prevalent before the third plenary session and the "Great Cultural Revolution." The only way to create a new situation is to go deep into the realities of life, carry out investigation, study new matters, sum up new experiences and find new methods.

Going deep into the realities of life to conduct investigation is a necessary procedure for leading organizations and leaders at all levels as well as intellectuals, in particular those intellectuals who are engaging in such work as propaganda, philosophical and social scientific research, and so on. Generally speaking, these comrades are relatively well-prepared in theoretical understanding and professional qualifications. However, their real working experience and their understanding of the reality of society are relatively poor. They should "give full play to their strong points and overcome their shortcomings." In other words, they should strengthen their understanding

of objective reality, go deep into the realities of life to make investigation, and, on this basis, discover the scientific explanation and theoretical interpretation of economic, political, cultural and other problems emerging in socialist modernization. This is a Marxist theoretical work and Marxist study style which Comrade Mao Zedong advocated for years. We should try to work in this way and integrate our own jobs with our grand pioneering socialist modernization.

In his report to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The correct attitude for Marxists in the face of difficulties, the revolutionary style for communists striving to create a new situation is to throw themselves enthusiastically into the great work of socialist modernization and, going among the masses and digging into the actual work, forge ahead in the struggle with added vigor, indomitability and indefatigability." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party's Central Committee has set itself a brilliant example for us in carrying out thorough investigation and working out new policies. In fulfilling various tasks put forth by the 12th CPC Congress, our leading cadres at all levels and the vast number of intellectuals should take the correct attitude and the revolutionary style that the CPC Central Committee requires of them. This is an arduous and glorious mission which our era entrusts to us and which we are in duty bound to accomplish.

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PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES CPC-CYL RELATIONS

HK031103 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Dec 82 p 4

[Article by reporters Yu Guohou [0060 0948 0624] and Zhang Yan [1728 4291]:  
"The Young Generation Turns Its Heart to the Great Party--Sidelights of the  
11th CYL Congress"]

[Text] Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Hu Yaobang and other veteran proletarian revolutionaries attended the opening ceremony of the 11th CYL Congress. On behalf of the CPC Central Committee, Comrade Hu Qili delivered a congratulatory speech of profound hope on young people to encourage the delegates to the congress. Over the past few days, the delegates have recalled the history of the development of the youth movement and their own growth, and in this process, they have profoundly felt that, like seedlings of cereal crops moistened by rain and dew, the growth of youths depends on the guidance of the party's correct line while the broad masses of CYL members turn their hearts to the great party.

The Party Is Concerned With the Youths and the Youths Love the Party

"The party guides the youths politically, encourages their confidence, and is the source of their strength; their feelings toward the party have become more profound." These words express the common feelings of the delegates to the 11th CYL Congress.

Sun Jiazheng, Jiangsu Provincial CYL Committee secretary, said: We CYL cadres have an intimate knowledge of this aspect. Following the downfall of the "gang of four," young people were, on one hand, greatly encouraged; but, on the other hand, they were deeply influenced by "leftist" ideology for a long period and depressed by a new personality cult. Under such situation, the party led us in the discussion of the criterion of truth and this move helped young people differentiate between right and wrong and raise their understanding. Following the measure taken by the CPC Central Committee to correct systematically the wrong slogan of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," the CYL organizations were resolute in abolishing the use of the wrong slogan: "Class struggle is the main subject of young people" and in leading the revolutionary zeal of young people in the direction of the modernization program. Thanks to this move, a new and vigorous situation has been created in the works of young people. When young people were under the influence of the thinking of bourgeois liberalism and the

influence of capitalism from outside, the party lost no time and advocated persisting in the four basic principles and guided young people in getting rid of "left" and "right" interference. Later, when some people put forth a theory that communism was "distant and indistinct," the party again reminded us that, first of all, communism is a movement and it is by our side. Young people were profoundly reminded and consequently raised their communist consciousness considerably. How should young people grow and behave under the new historical conditions? Again, the party came to the fore and put forth the goal of educating young people as socialist new people with ideals, morality and culture and who observe discipline. It is exactly because the broad masses of young people have accepted the leadership of the party and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that they have been able to uphold a correct political orientation and constantly temper themselves.

The party has guided young people along the bright future while the young people themselves have borne in mind the source of their happiness; consequently, they love the CPC even more ardently. Liu Diyi, propaganda minister of the Beijing Municipal CYL Committee, and Tian Hong, deputy CYL Committee secretary of Shanghai Teachers College, told the reporters that in schools, factories and rural areas, the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has become the main trend in the development of the thinking of young people. This study is characterized to find truth through comparison. Unlike the study during the "cultural revolution" that was characterized by following the trend and maintaining an outward show, now, the study has the purpose of finding the truth of revolution and forming a correct outlook of life. Since last year, Qinghua University has on its own accord set up almost 150 Marxist-Leninist groups with 1,500 people joining in the study. To our delight, such enthusiasm in the study among young people has been gaining momentum since the 12th Party Congress. In Harbin, the number of youth spare-time study groups has grown to 3,500, while the number of young people joining Marxist-Leninist groups in Fudan University has increased by 300 percent. As a result of constant improvement in people's ideological consciousness, more people have applied for party membership. Statistics of the Shanghai Municipal CYL Committee show that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, more than 16,000 youths across the city have joined the party while 320,000 other youths have joined the CYL.

#### "Hopeful Investigation Group" Has Found the Road of Hope

A report made by the "hopeful investigation group" of university students in Shanghai has caused a sensation throughout the city and drawn the attention of the delegates to the 11th CYL Congress. During the summer vacation this year, more than 400 three-good students, fine student-cadres and student representatives in the city were organized by the Shanghai Municipal CYL Committee and the Shanghai Municipal Higher Education Bureau. They carried out wideranging study and investigations on many aspects in factories, rural areas, coal mines and markets in 12 provinces and municipalities. They covered miles of roads and returned with successes. During their visit to the museum for wood and clay figures of warriors and horses buried with the dead in the ancient capital of Xian, these students were invited by a professor

who has voluntarily taken a job in northwest China from Shanghai to see bronzes that were made 2,000 years ago with excellent craftsmanship. With earnest wishes he hoped these young people would "value the weight of the wares and recall the long-standing history and brilliant culture of the Chinese people." In Chongqing, these students visited the "Office of U.S.-China Cooperation" where they saw a poster written by the enemy which read: "Youthful vigor will not return; therefore, think carefully." They said it would not be possible to endure cruel physical and mental tortures without strong confidence. These students came to understand that the martyrs were intellectuals with talent and aspirations and that they were conscious revolutionaries. They also understood that the communist movement is a lofty cause with strong vitality and, therefore, it has drawn so many Chinese young people to sacrifice themselves for it. In the Longkeng people's commune in Zunyi, they were informed that peasants have been able to double their income. They could not but ask: Why is it possible for such a great change to happen when the land and the people are the same? It is because the party's policies accord with the national conditions and with the desires of the people. When we say that the line of the Zunyi meeting guaranteed the victorious fulfillment of the long march and the war against Japanese aggression, we can no doubt also say that the correct party line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee will eventually guide the victory of the modernization program. Young students do not have enough social experience; yet, they are willing to consider reality independently and accept correct ideology. The investigation group has studied and understood the brilliant history of the civilization of the Chinese people and found the hopes of the cause of the party; it has become aware of the achievements made in the construction of our country and has seen the hopes of the modernization program; it has understood the broad masses of workers and peasants and seen the hopes pinned by the people on the students of the 1980's. It is hoped that in the socialist motherland, the broad masses of the people will carry out their creativity vigorously. To open up the road of hope depends on the party's correct leadership. Such is the conclusion of the investigation group after comparing facts and reference materials and after its own consideration.

The "hopeful investigation group" is an epitome. There are countless investigation groups of various types across the country carrying out study and investigations in rural areas, factories and schools. Each youth is investigating society every day and he is considering things. It is true that some youths have become doubtful in their confidence of the party and socialism; but through the education of the party and CYL organizations and their own study, they have clarified their confused thinking and consequently once again vigorously taken a big stride. We were told by Shanghai Municipal CYL Committee Deputy Secretary Fan Hongxi that several years ago a student of Fudan University declared in a speech: "I am not a communist and I do not believe in Marxism." But through investigation and self-judgment, this student said not long ago. "We can determine whether a political party is good or not from its program, line and policies. The line and policies of our party represent the desires of the people and are protected by the people. In China, only the CPC is in a position to arouse the enthusiasm of the people and shoulder the heavy tasks of realizing the modernization program." He said that he truly supported the party's four basic principles and expressed his determination to contribute his strength for the modernization program.

The Party Has "Self-Purifying Strength" and Youths Are Fully Confident in the Improvement of Party Work Style

Having witnessed the progress made by the party in rectifying its work style and in cracking down on criminal activities in the economic sector, a number of CYL members have created a new expression: "The party has self-purifying strength." Young people are fully confident that party work style will be basically improved. Fudan University CYL Committee Secretary Zhu Dulin and Gansu Provincial Mining Office CYLC Committee Secretary He Yunlong said that since its birth, the communist movement has been characterized by contradictions and struggles and that to consider the cause of the party as smooth sailing and the party as the purest can only be interpreted as a lack of understanding of the communist movement. The CYL is the reserve army of the party. It is not enough just to see the unhealthy style in the work of the party; we must correctly analyze the reason and the method for solving this problem and adopt a correct attitude. A university graduate in Shanghai said in making a graduation speech: "After all, the number of party members who are under qualified is limited; the question is whether the party has the ability to purify itself. The CPC has such ability and this is the reason why the party can overcome decadence and continue to progress."

Many delegates said that it is the work of the party and the CYL to strive to basically improve party work style. The CYL is the assistant of the party and a reserve army, and therefore, it has such obligation. In fact, many youths have made contributions through their own deeds in improving the party work style. The Shanghai Boiler Plant CYL Committee launched the movement of "studying from the fine communists around you" among young workers throughout the factory. The committee found that there were many fine communists. This situation has inspired young people to love the party and encouraged communists to put strict demands on themselves so as to become qualified party members. The factory party committee lost no time in calling on each communist to do a good job for young people and lead communists and young people to learn from each other. This measure has enabled young people to love the party even more ardently. Thus, with common ideological foundation, communists and young people are becoming closer.

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PARTY AND STATE

HUNAN REPORTS WORK OF PROVINCIAL LAWYERS

HK131422 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Jan 83

[Text] According to incomplete statistics, in 1982 lawyers in our province handled 328 cases involving disputes over contracts of an economic nature and cases of a nonlitigation nature and recovered some 3.4 million yuan, being payment for goods. They safeguarded the lawful rights and interests of the state and the collective.

Lawyers have done a lot of work to improve the economic laws and regulations which were sabotaged during the 10 years of internal disorder, to help with the fulfillment of contracts between enterprises and to make people keep their word and bear responsibility for economic dealings.

In 1982, the Liling County Legal Advisory Department was entrusted by eight commune-run enterprises, including the (Bangsha) Ceramic Plant and the (Wulipai) Art Ceramic Plant, in the county with the work of settling the dispute over the contract between the above-mentioned units and the chemical fertilizer plant of the Daqing oilfield on processing 600,000 plates for cement production. Due to the fact that the amount of goods delivered by the ceramic plants exceeded the amount stipulated in the contract, the chemical fertilizer plant refused to pay for the goods. After investigation and study, lawyers ascertained where the responsibility lay and recovered some 353,400 yuan in cash for the units which had entrusted the case to the department, so that three units, including the (Jingjie) Cement Plant, which had stopped production, could quickly restore production.

At present, our province has a total of some 100 legal advisory departments and approximately 300 full-time lawyers. As they have worked hard to safeguard the normal economic order, they are praised by the people.

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PARTY AND STATE

'GONGREN RIBAO' ON PROMOTING 'COMMUNIST' SPIRIT

HK040348 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Liao Jingdan, adviser to the CPPCC Propaganda Department: "Rooted in the Times and Push the Times Forward"]

[Text] As an ordinary woman worker, Comrade Zhao Chune has for decades been cautious, conscientious and hard-working, with her heart and soul devoted to the public interest and willing to help others. When she was alive, she was respected by the people around her; after her death, she became the model which hundreds of millions of people admire and emulate. This fact itself has answered the questions of what is the spirit of the times and why it is necessary to promote the communist spirit.

Historical activity is the people's cause. The growing profundity of historical activity will certainly imply the enlargement of the contingents of the masses. Since Marxism came into existence, when the working class has become a class-for-itself from a class-in-itself, in particular when the working class and laboring people have acquired political power and when the socialist system has been well established, the enlargement of the contingents of the masses can only mean a situation in which hundreds of millions of people have become the master of their own fate and the conscious creators of history. In the past, this was unthinkable. Comrade Zhao Chune has proven that she profoundly understood the inner link between herself and society and the inner link between her labor and the development of society. She has not proven this with long essays or abstruse theories but by vivid practice. She had a high level of historical consciousness and a high sense of historical responsibility. At her post, she wrote the glorious history of her life with the sweat from her labor and created happiness for others. She was willing to be a small stone on the way to the beautiful communist future. On one hand, she was earnest, down-to-earth, conscientious and meticulous. She started with the little things her job required her to do and the little things a Communist Party member should do. On the other hand, she had a wide field of vision and lofty values. Her life and personal experience was combined with the understanding and grasp of the law of development of history. Everywhere in our society we can see this spirit of being rooted in the times and pushing the times forward in people with different occupations, ages, sexes, experience and attainments. Regardless of whether they are ordinary laborers, young fighters, kids with red scarfs, personnel of organs of the



state who occupy important positions, scientists or artists, without this spirit, it would be very difficult for them to make remarkable achievements. Some young comrades wish to become specialists in this field or in that field. This is nothing bad in itself. However, all magnificent ideals can only be realized in association with the footsteps of the needs of social development. If we blindly indulge ourselves in making plans for accomplishing the achievements which are yet remote, if we live in solitude for this reason, despite ordinary labor, and fail to understand the principle that the Changjiang River and the Huanghe River cannot be formed without small streams and that the Taishan Mountain cannot be formed without handfuls of earth, it is true that we have great ambition. However, if we do not make solid efforts, our wishes will not be fulfilled. The realm of socialist construction is extremely extensive if we consciously make the communist spirit the motive force in study, labor and work, heroes who make history will emerge in great numbers in different professions and posts.

Marx, Engels and their comrades-in-arms lived in a capitalist age; Lenin, Stalin and their comrades-in-arms conducted revolutionary activities in an imperialist state; Comrade Mao Zedong, the older generation of communist and countless revolutionary martyrs fought in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal age. They were the people who have created and developed the communist theory. In addition, they were the people who practiced the communist theory. In their ages, there was already the communist morality, but today, in the socialist society, at the preliminary stage of the communist society, how can it be said that it goes beyond the times to promote the communist spirit? The existence of Zhao Chune and the existence of fine Communist Party members and advanced models on thousands of fronts tell us that the communist spirit has become the living fact in our society. They unify and bring along the masses to advance with them, they deserve to be called the banner of the healthy development of the work in various departments and on various fronts. Without these people who take the lead throughout the country, without their high sense of careers, their sense of responsibility and devotion and without the power of these examples, socialism cannot victoriously advance today and there will not be a magnificent communist future. The promotion of the communist spirit is not in the first place a theoretical question but a question of practice. This is not a question prompted by a sudden impulse but a question fully based on reality and the necessary demands of history itself.

The idea that the promotion of the communist spirit will hinder the implementation of the policy of distribution according to work is an entirely groundless misunderstanding. The "communist wind" in 1958 left a lingering fear in many comrades' hearts. However, the "communist wind" itself precisely emerged under the condition that communist ideology was abandoned. The socialist principle of distribution according to work is precisely one which is necessarily determined by the objective course of social development at a preliminary stage of communism. Without the guidance of communism, we cannot even talk about proceeding from reality at present and proposing and implementing the policy of distribution according to work. Simultaneously, without the policy of distribution according to work, our socialist society cannot continue to advance toward the communist goal. If we do not treat the policy of distribution

according to work with communist ideas, [word indistinct] socialist nature will certainly [words indistinct] of historical movement are valuable in that they do not limit their field of vision and action with the current social policy. On the contrary, they make the implementation of the current policies the only way for one to follow in marching toward an advanced stage of communism, fully promote the spirit of devoting themselves and taking pride in contributing more labor to society and the people. The implementation of the policy of distribution according to work should not become the party members' highest goal of struggle. Marx said: At an advanced stage of communism, people will not regard labor as a means to earn a living but as the prime want of life. Lenin held that: Communist labor is labor without a fixed amount, labor without considering the pay and labor on a voluntary basis. Around us, there are many people who in varying degrees have such an attitude toward labor. Our workers, peasants, fighters, cadres and intellectuals continue to work for society when they have finished their 8 hours of work and fulfilled the quotas. Can we not see such people everywhere? Such people even include the comrades whose understanding of the relationship between the system of distribution according to work and the communist spirit is for the time being rather erroneous and the comrades who have certain doubts about the relationship. They do not haggle over every jin or every liang. They do not ask for proper payment when they have done a little bit more or sacrificed a little rest time. In his "A Great Beginning," Lenin called voluntary labor "the actual beginning of communism." We should admit that in the glorious process of our socialist cause, in many comrades around us, in particular in the advanced models, this communist young shoot not only exists and plays a great role but is also becoming more and more sturdy every day.

In discussing the spirit of the times and in discussing what is communist spirit and why is it necessary to promote it, we should not proceed from concepts but from reality, the concrete and living reality which we can meet every day in our cause of socialist modernization and which continuously pushes the cause forward. Lenin said: "Pay more attention to the extremely ordinary but vivid facts of life, the facts of communist construction which have been examined by life--all of us, our writers, agitators, propagandists and organizers should tirelessly repeat this slogan." The activities of advanced models such as those of Zhao Chune's are such facts. To discover and propagate such facts and help them grow healthily is the bounden duty and responsibility of every comrade who is engaged in different forms of propaganda work.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON MAO'S RURAL INVESTIGATIONS

HK171230 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Zhou Dezhong [0719 1795 0022]: "Seeking Truth From Among the Masses--Reading 'Mao Zedong's Collected Writing on Rural Investigations'"]

[Text] "Mao Zedong's Collected Writings on Rural Investigations" has come off the press recently at a time when the whole nation is implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. When the book "Rural Investigations" was published in Yanan in 1945, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the purpose of publishing the book was to provide the masses with a method for carrying out investigations and not to keep in mind those reference materials and conclusions. Today, in our study of the book "Collected Writings," we must mainly study Comrade Mao Zedong's theory and practice in carrying out investigations so as to further correct our ideological line, go deep into reality, step up study and investigations and create a new situation in carrying out the socialist modernization program.

#### Gain the Right To Speak Through Investigations

Comrade Mao Zedong said in May, 1930: "No investigations, no right to speak." This advocacy has been followed by our party for a long period as a leading method and working method and it represents a concrete utilization of the leading method that is based on the theory of cognition of dialectical materialism. People's understanding is based on the reflection in their brains of things in an objective world. But the situations of the objective world will not enter people's brains by themselves. We will not be able to have correct understanding once we are divorced from the masses and reality and rack our brains behind closed doors. If we want to express our views and work out policies without a correct understanding, we will only just speak blindly and consequently the principles and policies can only be subjective and harmful to the people. As early as during his youth, Comrade Mao Zedong had already understood that in order to carry out revolutionary struggle in China it was necessary to be acquainted with the conditions of the country. On 14 March 1920, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a letter to his friend in which he explained his reason for temporarily having no intention of carrying out investigations abroad. He said: "If we want to make some contributions in the world today, we must in no way depart from the 'China' arena and we cannot but carry out on-the-spot study and investigations on the situations of this arena." ("Materials of Xinmin Xuehui," p 63). He held that since more than

80 percent of the population in China lived in rural areas, it was very important for the Chinese revolution to study and investigate the problems of peasants. It was worth appraising to be able to hold such a view at that time.

A feature of the rural investigations by Comrade Mao Zedong is that he correctly combined the investigations with the aim of solving the actual problems of the Chinese revolution. For example, in the spring of 1927, Comrade Mao Zedong carried out investigations for 32 days in Hunan Province in his effort to deal with the blames imposed on peasants' revolutionary struggles by those within and outside the party. As a result, he wrote the famous "Report on Investigation of the Peasants Movement in Hunan." Because of the "right" opportunist line pursued by Chen Duxiu, the great revolution failed in the same year. Comrade Mao Zedong gradually understood the importance of armed struggle and agrarian revolution and he was aware that the Chinese revolution must take the road of encirclement of cities by rural areas. As there was no precedence of this road, no doubt there would be many particular and complicated problems in following it. All these problems would not be resolved by solely relying on "experiences from books." The revolution would win victory only through combining Marxist universal truth with the practice of the Chinese revolution and constantly summing up experience. Comrade Mao Zedong witnessed that "many comrades are talking nonsense with their eyes closed" and he was deeply grieved over the failures of the revolution. Directed against the shortcomings of "leftist" dogmatists such as paying no attention to investigations and having blind faith in "experiences from books," he wrote an important article in 1930, "Oppose Bookishness", and incisively pointed that "the victory of the Chinese revolutionary struggles relies on Chinese comrades to understand the situations in China." He himself went deep into rural areas to carry out social investigations and probe into the law of the revolutionary movement in China. We can see from the "Collected Writings" that Comrade Mao Zedong carried out investigations with specific goals. For example, "Investigations of Xinwu" was aimed at understanding the problems of rich peasants and the commercial situation in China; "Investigations of Xingguo" was aimed at further understanding rural areas in China and particularly the situations of various classes during the agrarian struggle; "Investigations of Changguo Village" and "Investigations of Caixi Village" were aimed at summing up the experiences of the works carried out by Chinese-Soviet organizations at grass-root levels. A series of the investigations carried out by Comrade Mao Zedong have formed a reliable foundation for the strategic policies during the period of the Chinese democratic revolution and a solid foundation for closely combining Marxist-Leninist universal truth with the practice of the Chinese revolution.

#### Go Deep Into Reality and Respect the Creativity of the Masses

According to the Marxist theory of cognition, our leading bodies and the brains of leading members are nothing but processing factories and the raw materials of these factories come from the actual struggles of the masses. The broad masses of people are the creators of history, the main body of practice and the main body of cognition. Our party's leading and working method of "from the masses to the masses" also represents the Marxist theory of cognition. Investigations mean "from the masses," that is to say, this work is aimed at

summing up the experiences of the masses, soliciting their opinions and seeking truth from them. Usually there are two methods for carrying out investigations and collecting fact-finding materials. One is to read investigation materials written by others and the other one is to go into reality and carry out investigations ourselves. The "Collected Writings" reflects the latter method and from this book we can see how Comrade Mao Zedong carried out his investigations.

First, widely contact the masses, be willing to become their pupils and collect firsthand materials. The book "Collected Writings" shows that the targets of Comrade Mao Zedong in carrying out investigations included peasants of various strata, including those who were deeply acquainted with the situations of the old society such as rural cadres of various levels, merchants, scholars, turnkeys and private advisers to banks and grain shops. Comrade Mao Zedong said with deep feeling that the only way to gain a relatively overall knowledge of rural areas and become acquainted with the many things "that are never heard of before" was to be modest and willing to [words indistinct] pupils of the masses.

His experiences also told us that it is not easy to make investigations among peasants. Peasants may not tell you the truth if they do not know what your intention is, and in order to make them tell the truth, you must discard the distance between you and them and make friends with them. He took the situations in making "Investigations in Wingguo" as an example. He said that on the first day, he met several peasants and could only have a chat with them. Later, he invited them to dinner and while they were sleeping at night he helped cover them with wide and warm cotton padded quilts. This was followed by a change in the attitude of the peasants who began to smile and talk naturally. It was only under such situations that all were able to discuss things frankly like members of the same family.

Second, it is necessary to take part in labor to a certain extent and be concerned with the life of the masses. In April 1929, Comrade Mao Zedong led his army to Xingguo County and during his stay there, he often led army men to help peasants in some villages plowing land. And after investigations, he wrote "agrarian law" for the county. Later, he carried out investigations in Xinwu County in May 1930, and in November 1933, in Changgang Village of Xingguo County. By this process, he and the comrades accompanying him also helped peasants to do farmwork.

When he was carrying out rural investigations, Comrade Mao Zedong did not simply want something from the cadres and the masses. He was concerned with them and he showed profound proletarian feelings toward them. For example, in November 1933, when he finished his investigations of Changgang Village, he convened a meeting attended by the representatives of the cadres throughout the village. In this meeting, he urged cadres to mobilize the masses to take part in the war, to do actual work, to be concerned with the well-being of the masses and to solve their problems in both production and life such as salt, rice, housing, clothes and giving birth. Once Comrade Mao Zedong was walking over a small bridge in Changgang Village and he found that the bridge was damaged. He at once informed Soviet cadres to lose no time in repairing it. It is because

he was concerned with the safety of the masses that the latter were willing to talk heart-to-heart with him and such a relationship was of great value to his investigations.

Today we have many more channels for carrying out investigations than during the period of the revolutionary war. The methods used in carrying out investigations have also been improved considerably while some others are quite advanced. It is no doubt that we must resort to various channels and make full use of various methods, including modern technology, so as to acquire various facts and information that are needed in working out policies. But it remains an important channel and method for the leadership at various levels to correctly acquaint themselves with reality by directly going into reality to contact the cadres and masses in various trades, make friends with them and to share the new things and experiences that are created by the masses in their practice.

#### In Carrying Out Study and Investigations It is Necessary To Get Rid of Subjectivity, Lopsidedness and Superficiality

Comrade Mao Zedong said in April 1921: "Without correct investigations, there is no right to speak." These words represent a supplementary development of his correct theory of "no investigation, no right to speak." "Correct investigations" mean to understand the world correctly and they represent an important question in the theory of cognition. Following his arrival in Yanan, Comrade Mao Zedong summarized the rich experiences of the Chinese revolution and wrote "On Practice" and "On Contradictions," which systematically and profoundly expounded mankind's law of understanding. He said in "On Contradictions": "In carrying out study, it is imperative to get rid of subjectivity, lopsidedness and superficiality." Such an incisive summary is an answer to the question of how to carry out "investigations correctly."

To avoid subjectivity, it is first necessary during investigations to provide the correct images of the objective materialist world. That is to say, we must first guarantee the truthfulness of investigation materials and understand the world as it is; there should be no subjective views whatsoever. To use the words of Lenin, it means to "investigate objectively." Such is the basic requirement of the theory of cognition of dialectic materialism. If we shy away from an objective attitude in carrying out investigations and try to seek a foundation from among the masses according to certain subjective stereotypes and collect what is in line with these stereotypes and discard what is not, such subjective investigations are even more dangerous than not doing them. We can see from the "Collected Writings" that Comrade Mao Zedong paid a great deal of attention to this question. For example, when he said in "Investigations of Xinwu" that when peasants were forced by moneylenders to pay debts, they were compelled to "sell their daughters and sons so as to pay the debts," he made a particular comment. He said: "Readers, I am not exaggerating this case; nor do I intentionally describe the crimes of the exploiting class in Xinwu County. All my investigations are carried out meticulously and there are no words of exaggeration. I previously doubted if the words 'selling wives and sons,' that are used in others' articles, were precise. Therefore this time I particularly asked peasants in Xinwu whether there have

really been such cases?" (p 150) These cases were confirmed and consequently Comrade Mao Zedong wrote down the cruelty of pressing peasants for payment of debts. It shows that his attitude toward using or discarding investigation materials was very strict. Consequently, his investigations of rural areas have historical value.

To avoid lopsidedness means that in carrying out investigations it is necessary to systematically and meticulously analyze various contradictions, summarize them, point out the nature of the problems and put forth a method for solving these problems. For example, in order to study the whole situation of the agrarian struggle in the central Soviet areas, Comrade Mao Zedong selected Xinwu, a typical county surrounded by the three provinces of Fujian, Guangdong and Jiangxi. He meticulously and systematically studied and analyzed the situations of various social sectors of the county prior to the agrarian struggle such as politics, economy, culture and social habit, the attitude in the process of the struggle and basic changes following the struggle. Such a method has enabled readers not only to understand in an overall way the situations of the rural society in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China but also to easily judge whether the policy of agrarian struggle was correct or not and whether this policy was in line with reality in rural areas. With regard to the policies for industry and commerce in urban areas, in his article "The Struggle in Jinggang Mountain" Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the "ultra-leftist policy of attacking the petty bourgeoisie, pushing them to the side of local tyrants and gentry and consequently forcing them to surrender and oppose us." "Investigations of Xinwu" showed that this county with a population of only 2,000 to 3,000 was "a town with shops and often markets." The commodity economy of this county was backward; the biggest grocery had only 3,000 yuan in capital with annual interest of 900 yuan and it could only buy 113 dan rice. The smallest shop had only a little more than 100 yuan in capital with earnings just enough to feed a couple. There were many such towns in various southern provinces of the country. The existence of medium and small-scale commerce and handicraft industries did not constitute an obstacle in the development of the social productivity; they represented an indispensable economy in the life of cities and rural areas. Most of the people in this economic sector supported the revolution; only few were reactionary. It was apparent that the policy of the party was to win over protecting them and not to attack and deprive them of their rights. Taken as a whole, the "Investigations of Xinwu" was a powerful criticism of "leftist" dogmatism.

To guard against superficiality means to find the nature of things through contact with various complicated social phenomenon in the process of carrying out investigations, that is to say, to find the law of the movement of things' inner contradictions. If, during the investigations, we regard the phenomenon as nature, fail to differentiate the true phenomenon from the false ones and make conclusions by contacting superficial phenomenon, such "incorrect investigations" will naturally fail to acquire correct understanding. For example, during the agrarian revolution, the question of how should rich peasants be treated was a subject of argument within the party. One view held that rich peasants were exploiters and therefore they should be treated in the way we treated landlords. Comrade Mao Zedong held that rich peasants were both exploiters and laborers. The proportion of rich peasants' economy in rural areas in China was less than 10 percent. They were not reactionary politically. Therefore to treat them with a policy different from the one used in

treating landlords and to treat them as belonging to the middle class would not affect the interest of poor peasants and hired farmhands; on the contrary, it would cause the rich peasants to unite more firmly. Therefore Comrade Mao Zedong suggested that in distributing land it was necessary to emphasize toward rich peasants the policy of "taking from those who have too much and give to those who have too little and taking from the fat to pad the lean." That is to say, it was necessary to confiscate part of their land so as to weaken their economy but at the same time it was necessary to enable them to remain productive. History proved that such a view has grasped the nature of the question of rich peasants in China and it was in line with the law and need in the development of the Chinese revolutionary movement.

In short, "Mao Zedong's Collected Writings on Rural Investigations" has provided us with rich science and experiences as how to use Marxist theory of cognition in guiding investigations. An important reason for Comrade Mao Zedong in making mistakes in his later years was that he ran counter to the theory and method that he advocated in carrying out investigations. Anyhow, these writings are the valuable wealth of the party. We must conscientiously study these articles and use them as guidance in carrying out investigations in the new era of the socialist modernization program so we will be able to fulfill even better the great task put forth by the 12th Party Congress.

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PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' DOUBTS SOME CPC CONGRESS, NPC PRINCIPLES

OW061030 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 3 Jan 83

[Text] It seemed first as if 1982 was going to be a year of new hope. The 12th Party Congress and the 5th NPC session laid down many correct principles and concrete tasks that held out realistic prospects for us and brought hope for a splendid future. But, frankly speaking, some principles could not but raise doubts. The most important thing now is to earnestly implement those principles, policies and tasks that are correct in order to make radical improvements in all fields of work. Those principles that are in doubt should be carefully restudied in order to make necessary revisions.

No one should be allowed to ignore the correct principles of the 12th Party Congress and the 5th NPC session and pursue his own erroneous principles. But this danger actually exists. Consider the following facts for instance: On the one hand, the 12th Party Congress again emphatically pointed out that it is necessary to continue to observe the correct guiding principles concerning the party's life and that we should not break with these principles and commit the same mistakes of the past. On the other hand, it laid down the task of carrying out all-round consolidation of the party's workstyle and party organization and of party members in the next 3 years, along the pattern of the Yana rectification campaign. But we must realize that the Yanan rectification campaign, the work of the bloody executioner Kang Sheng, involved considerable sacrifice on the part of our party, government and military cadres. It was one of the serious mistakes in our party's history. Obviously a policy patterned after the Yana rectification campaign is very wrong and should be immediately rectified.

Another fact is: China's new constitution and other laws adopted by the NPC clearly state that no one is allowed to engage in slanders. However, due to the personal directives issued by some leaders of the central authorities, many unjust and false cases have not been reexamined. Despite the repeated requests of senior party and army leaders, comrades Gao Gang and Rao Shushi, who had been persecuted because of frameups, have still not had their reputation cleared. The taboo of the Lin Biao case imposed by the gang of four still prevails. Despite popular dissatisfaction throughout the army, nothing has been done to reexamine the verdicts on Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Quopeng, Qiu Huizuo and other important army leaders. What is more, some people today continue to slander army cadres out of vicious motives, saying that they are connected with the so-called Lin Biao case, thereby fabricating new unjust cases.

Next, it should be pointed out that the people are pinning much hope on the improvement of their livelihood as mentioned in the Sixth Five-Year Plan formulated by the Fifth NPC session. But now some leaders of the central authorities are giving private directives on certain important economic and financial issues. These directives hamper the accomplishment of the people's welfare programs.

We still remember how many years back the Eighth Party Congress' grand and concrete economic construction plan was undermined by the great leap forward. Furthermore, the economic readjustment plan formulated by Premier Zhou and Comrade Chen Yun was smashed by the cultural revolution. All in all, these bitter historical lessons remind us that only if all leaders strictly implement the party's correct resolutions and firmly abide by state laws and only if we fulfill all the present plan can we continue to cherish, in future years, the new hope that emerged in 1982 instead of turning it into disappointment.

CSO: 4005/335

PARTY AND STATE

XIAN PLANT OFFICIALS FAIL TO CONDUCT SELF-CRITICISM

HK110824 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 83 p 3

[Commentator's article: "For How Long Will the Case Still Be Stalled?"]

[Text] A woman technician, Tang Anhua, in the Xian asbestos plant was retaliated by some plant leaders because she exposed and criticized the unhealthy tendency of the leaders. This case was reported by GUANGMING RIBAO and XIAN RIBAO, respectively, and this newspaper also reported it on 23 December 1980. At that time, we hoped that those leaders in the asbestos plant would correct their mistakes and also hoped that the senior leadership of the plant--the party organization and responsible people of the Xian Municipal Bureau of Building Materials Industry, would adhere to principle and seriously deal with this case in which a technician was unjustifiably retaliated upon and repressed. However, after 2 years passed, this case in which the rights and wrongs are easy to judge has not yet been properly dealt with; moreover, some leaders in the asbestos plant and the building materials bureau even accused the newspapers of framing up a "misrepresented case" against them and demanded that the newspaper "rehabilitate their reputation." What on earth is true--did they retaliate and repress Tang Anhua or did the newspapers frame up a misrepresented case against them? Recently, the Xian Municipal CPC Committee has made a realistic conclusion on this case and required the responsible leaders concerned in the party organization in the building materials bureau and in the asbestos plant to make thorough self-criticisms and to properly deal with the relevant problems in this case.

We notice that the date in which the Xian Municipal CPC Committee made the above decision was 22 October 1982, while today it is already 9 January 1983. Another 2 months' time has passed. But the relevant leaders in the building materials bureau and the asbestos plant still fail to carry out the decision. We wonder how long they intend to stall the case.

The party's central leadership has repeatedly instructed the whole party that the policy toward intellectuals must be seriously implemented. Retaliating and persecuting intellectuals constitutes a violation of both party discipline and state law. If people can realize and correct their previous mistakes, then they can be forgiven. But if they obstinately stick to a wrong course and refuse to correct their mistakes, or even try to reject the directives issued from their seniors by stalling tactics, then their mistakes will become more and more serious. We hope that those leaders in the Xian Municipal Bureau of Building Materials Industry and in the asbestos plant will not take the second road.

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PARTY AND STATE

'ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE' ON TAIWAN ECONOMIC RECESSION

HK030414 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1014 GMT 24 Dec 82

[Article by Wen Hua [2429 5478] and Da Ye [1129 2814]: "Sketches of Taiwan Society Which Is Pounded on by Economic Recession"--ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE headline]

[Text] At present, Taiwan is being severely pounded on by economic recession. Export trade remains undeveloped, production has decreased, unemployment is increasing, prices are raising, theft is rampant and there is a growing feeling of insecurity in the whole society. Pounded by economic recession, the whole society is shrouded in an atmosphere of low-spirit, perplexity and unease and an economic depression. Some aspects of the present Taiwan society are as follows:

Export Trades Face Difficulty in Processing Industrial Region

Since 1966, Taiwan has established Kaosiung, Nantsu and Taichung as export commodities processing industry areas where manpower is concentrated and the industry is equipped with simple technology. These areas have to a great extent made "great contributions" to absorbing foreign investments and increasing export trade. However, in recent years, affected by the international economic recession, the "wind has changed," and businesses are facing difficulties. The previous superiority of competitive cheap labor is gone forever and new technology-intensive industry has not yet been set up. Taiwan newspapers sigh with emotion and say: "There are many difficulties in upgrading technological levels and it is difficult to promote economic prosperity again as happened previously in the processing industry areas."

The present difficulties can be seen from the following examples:

1. It is difficult to increase the number and size of factory buildings as land area is limited;
2. It is difficult to accumulate funds for new machinery and equipment, and old machinery and equipment bring extremely unsatisfactory economic results;
3. Western markets are facing an economic recession and Taiwan industrial products are not competitive because their production cost is high;

4. There is frequent movement of staff and workers and the quality of the labor force is not high;
5. Red tape is irksome and productivity is very low;
6. Bank interest rates are too high for manufacturers and exporters.

In order to overcome these difficulties, the economically competent authorities urge the processing industrial sectors to take quick action by "turning labor-intensive industry into technology- and capital-intensive industry" in order "to upgrade the industry level in the sector." But now this hope is slim because tens of thousands of workers have been dismissed and sent away and even those who are still working in the factories look worried and feel gloomy.

#### Unemployed Workers and Semi-Employed Workers Exceed One Million

According to statistics of the Taiwan "Executive Yuan Treasury Department," the employed population in Taiwan totals 6.8 million people. According to a labor force investigation report published on 26 October by a manpower planning team under the "Executive Yuan and Economic Affairs," Taiwan's unemployment rate in August broke the post-1975 record and the number of unemployed workers totaled about 180,000, accounting for 2.7 percent. According to the report, the "situation of low-level employment is very serious," its number "makes up 13 percent of the total employed population," that is, about 870,000 persons. So-called low-level employment means semi-employed workers who work less than 5 hours a day. The total number of unemployed and semi-employed workers in Taiwan is put at over 1 million people.

According to a recent report by CHUNGKUO SHIH PAO, because of serious unemployment and semi-employment, and in order to make a living, people are forced to seek part-time jobs or sideline occupations. Long queues at stalls which appear like "locusts" are set up along the streets. During the 1974-1975 economic depression, unemployed workers could find a job somewhere because there were "10 construction projects" in urban sectors and "construction was accelerated in rural sectors." But now both the urban and rural sectors are pounded by the economic recession. As employment is unavailable anywhere, people are forced to set up stalls and seek sideline occupations in order to eke out a living.

#### "Sinister Forces" Activity Is Rampant

According to Taiwan newspapers, with the worsening economic situation in Taiwan, sinister gang organizations are accelerating their activities. They are fighting each other, competing for spheres of influence, running casinos, clandestine restaurants and dance halls. Camouflaged in the name of companies and supported by violence, some vigorously run futures commodity trading smuggling, manufacture drugs, engage in smuggling people and collect protection fees, and others are engaged in running prostitution rings and other illegal activities. Today, the urban sectors in Taipei are favorite places for the gangsters and are a mirror of secret clique organizations in Taiwan. Their organizations have become more and more diverse and it is becoming more and more difficult to maintain public order. The notorious organizations are the "Four Seas Gang," "Bamboo Union Gang" and "Flying Eagles Gang." These sinister organizations extort

money, rape women, loot other's belongings and kill people and endanger public security. All organizations constantly fight each other and murder each other in order to compete for the casino business. They turn the whole society into an unpeaceful place, where winds carry the offensive smell of flesh and the rain of blood. The "Four Seas Gang" is particularly notorious. They run wild nearby the schools, occupy spheres of influence, idle away their time in seeking pleasure and commit all types of crimes. They solve all problems by means of violence and the police officers have no way out. In order to attain their objective, they adopt malicious measures and quick action so that the common people in Taiwan are overcome with the fear of becoming involved in illegal societies.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL CONGRESS ACCEPTS KONG FEI'S RESIGNATION

SK131249 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Jan 83

[Text] According to our reporter (Zhao Zhirun), on 13 January, the Standing Committee of the Fifth Autonomous Regional People's Congress sponsored its 15th plenary meeting, at which participants approved a resolution on the resignation submitted by Comrade Kong Fei, chairman of the autonomous regional people's government, and a resolution on assigning Comrade Bu He to take over the chairman's work on an acting basis and on dismissing comrades Yun Shiyang and Ba-tugen from their post of vice chairman of the regional people's government.

Bu He, acting chairman of the regional people's government, addressed the meeting. He said that the assignment of acting chairman of the regional people's government represents the greatest trust shown to him by the party and the people. He pledged, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and the regional CPC committee, to exert all-out efforts in work so as to make contributions to building Nei Monggol into a rich region with unity and highly-developed civilization.

Ting Mao, chairman of the regional people's congress standing committee, presided over the meeting. Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the regional people's congress standing committee, including Wang Yilun, Gao Zengpei, Liu Chang, Sun Lanfeng, Zhang Rugang, Han Feng, Qi Junshan, Se-yin-ba-ya-er and E-qi-er-hu-ya-ke-tu. Attending the meeting as observers were Kong Fei, chairman of the regional people's government, Chen Bingyu, vice chairman of the regional people's government, (Zun Gang), vice president of the regional higher people's court, Han Shijin, chief procurator of the regional people's procuratorate, and responsible comrades currently working in the office of the regional people's congress standing committee.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ARTICLE ON STUDY OF MAO'S 'ON PRACTICE'

OW100347 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Dec 82

[Article by (Chen Rusheng) of the Central Party School: "Adhere to the Unity of Theory and Practice"]

[Excerpts] "On Practice" is an outstanding philosophical work of Comrade Mao Zedong on the Marxist theory of knowledge. It expounds a series of philosophical points of view and is a component part of the quintessence of Mao Zedong's philosophical thinking.

At present, our country is in a new historical period. The building of socialist materialist and spiritual civilization and the realization of the four socialist modernizations is an unprecedented great cause and an extremely profound revolution. In this great struggle, there will certainly emerge many new situations and new affairs which are unfamiliar to us and require our knowledge. There will certainly emerge many new contradictions and new problems which have never been encountered by us but require our solutions. Consequently, they require us to enhance and improve anew our ideology, workstyle, method of work and art of leadership. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 21th CPC National Congress, in order to change China from a country with a backward economy and culture into a modern and powerful socialist country in the new historical period, besides other requirements, we must resolutely inherit and study the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, acquire a deeper understanding of the actual work in all fields, make systematic investigations and study and be good at conducting appropriate criticism and education and waging necessary struggles against erroneous tendencies. Provided we persist in doing this, we will certainly be able to accumulate new experiences, break new ground in theory and push forward Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions and in new fields of practice.

To restudy "On Practice" will help us profoundly understand the party's ideological line and is extremely conducive to our cause.

"Our conclusion is the concrete, historical unity of the subjective and the objective, of theory and practice, of knowing and doing; and we are opposed to all erroneous ideologies whether 'left' or right, which depart from concrete history." [Quote from "On Practice"] In the history of our party, "leftist" and "rightist" political mistakes have emerged many times, causing tremendous



losses to the cause of the party. Concerning this, Comrade Mao Zedong exposed the deeply rooted cause that produced "left" and "right" mistakes with his theory of knowledge, pointing out that they were all characterized by the separation of the subjective and the objective and by the divorce between knowledge and practice.

The dialectical materialist theory of knowledge maintains that the unity of the subjective and the objective, theory and practice, and knowing and doing is a concrete, historical unity. "Concrete unity" means conditional and relative unity instead of unconditional and absolute unity. Such unity is a unity within a certain scope and at a certain historical stage. It depends on certain times, locations and conditions for change. For example, "fixing output quotas on a household basis" is a production responsibility system which was produced within a certain scope and under certain conditions and which embodies a concrete unity. A concrete form of production responsibility system is applicable only within a certain scope and under certain conditions; beyond such scope and conditions, it cannot play any role. Therefore, to popularize a certain concrete production responsibility system, it is imperative to adapt it to the local conditions, and the practice of "demanding uniformity in everything" should never be used.

By "historical unity" we mean unity that coincides with the objective reality at a certain stage of historical development. It is not realized at the present time, but in the course of development. For example, taking class struggle as the key link was correct at the time before the basic completion of the transformation of the ownership of means of production because it reflected the objective demand in the social development and grasped the major contradictions in the society at that time. However, if we persist in taking class struggle as key link when the situation is fundamentally changed, we will run counter to the unity of the subjective and the objective and of theory and practice.

Therefore, to avoid or reduce mistakes in knowledge, we must adhere to the unity of theory and practice at all times.

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PARTY AND STATE

YOUTH PAPER ON 'MAO ZEDONG'S WRITING ON RURAL SURVEYS'

HK131019 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 25 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Zhou Dezhong [0719 1795 0022]: "An Important Way To Grow in Wisdom and Ability--Reading 'Mao Zedong's Writing on Rural Surveys'"]

[Text] Today we need to survey. In future, our children and grandchildren will also need to survey, and then we can acquire new knowledge from continuous recognition of new happenings--Mao Zedong.

The publication of "Mao Zedong's Writings on Rural Surveys" is a matter of profound and lasting significance. The "Writings" includes four articles by Comrade Mao Zedong on surveys, 11 rural surveys and two land acts. Although these articles were written some 40 to 50 years ago, a time unfamiliar to us, they are true and moving. They bring us back to the period of land reform after the failure of the 1927 revolution, giving us a picture of the heated Sino-Russian land scramble and the construction of bases. They enable us to see how Comrade Mao Zedong, in order to find out the law of Chinese revolution, went to the rural areas to conduct in-depth surveys, to aggregate people's strategic ideologies on guiding the Chinese democratic movement. He also summed up his relatively systematic theories formulated from the surveys. The "Writings" is an important piece of literature on putting Marxism-Leninism into practice. Its contents are so rich that we can study and learn from different perspectives such as the history of Chinese revolution, the history of the Communist Party, economy, philosophy, sociology and linguistics.

One of the major qualities of the "Writings" is the fact that Comrade Mao showed with his own writings and surveys: All revolutionary parties, and revolutionary cadres must learn from the masses, and learn from practice, before they can acquire a proper understanding of the proper formulation and implementation of strategies, to make the revolution a success. Mao's Thought is compatible with the theories of Marxism-Leninism. It is suitable for the present, for the past and will be glorious forever. In the great struggle to establish a new situation of socialist modernization, the Central Committee of the party has high hopes on the younger generation, expecting us to grow up rapidly and play important roles in strengthening China, perform brilliantly on all fronts, and accomplish brilliantly the targets set by the 12th Party Congress. Marxism tells us that nobody's wisdom or ability is inborn, but accumulated through a

long period of perseverance and study. There are two important ways to grow in wisdom and ability: One is to learn from good books as they are in the crystallization of human wisdom; another is to get the most practical and most live knowledge by learning from the masses and learning from practice. Conducting surveys is a major way to learn from the masses with a goal in mind. In the past 2 years, many university students conducted social surveys in the rural areas, factories and shops and obtained substantial perceptual knowledge. From these, they came to understand the current favorable situation, and comprehend deeper the historical change since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. As a result, their consciousness to persist on the four basic principles was enhanced and their confidence in communism increased. The young cadres and youth in the rural areas, who have a better environment and conditions to learn from the masses, during the course of studying theories, culture, science and technology, should also acquire the skills to conduct surveys and enhance their own ability. In this respect, the "Writings" benefit us to a great extent.

Comrade Mao Zedong said, "First, no one has the right of speech without first conducting surveys. Second, no one has the right of speech without conducting proper surveys." His remarks epitomize Marxist epistemology and methodology.

How could we "conduct surveys properly"? Comrade Mao Zedong told us, "To do this, the first thing is to get down to the earth instead of just looking up to the sky. No one can understand a Chinese affair in his lifetime without the determination and interest to look down on earth." Comrade Mao Zedong earnestly practiced what he advocated. He identified himself with the masses wherever he went, asking their names, family affairs and personal experience. He asked about the classes of their village and countryside. He explained to the masses the principles of class exploitation, and the ideologies and policies of the Communist Party. He told cadres how to care about the masses' living and how to persuade them to join the Red Army, how to help the masses engage in mutual aid production so as to safeguard and establish revolutionary bases. As he had real care for the masses, they in return, were willing to tell him the real situation.

To grasp basic Marxist points of view and combine them with practice, the process of carrying out in-depth analysis and summing-up is the prerequisite to conducting proper surveys. In view of the complicated social conditions and the discrepancies in the political, economical and cultural aspects, Marxist is the only weapon which enables us to see through the existing phenomena and recognize clearly the nature and law of matters. For instance, what are the causes of the poverty and remoteness of Chinese rural areas then? Politicians of different classes hold different views. But no one in the party has made any in-depth analysis on classes nor conducted any coordinated surveys. Only Comrade Mao Zedong has made an effort to make use of the Marxist theories and conducted a series of detailed surveys on the economic situation, living conditions and political stand of the different classes in the rural areas. He incontrovertibly maintains that poverty is caused by the long-existing feudal system of exploitation. He concludes that China needs an earth-shaking agrarian reform and the peasants long for a revolution as forceful as a hurricane. Take another example: How to proceed with the agrarian reform and construction of revolutionary

bases? How to carry out armed struggle and how to defeat counterrevolutionary "encirclement and suppression"? Or whether we should follow the approach of encircling the cities from the rural areas, etc. Opinions varied within the party on such major questions. Those opposing leftist dogmatism insisted on pinpointing the losses brought to revolution by book worship. Comrade Mao Zedong insisted on looking thoroughly into the Chinese national condition, summing up the experience of the masses and applying the basic principles of Marxism innovatively to the Chinese environment. The party has won a national revolutionary victory and properly formulated the lines, policies and strategies of the Chinese democratic revolution after conducting many surveys and having examined the findings by repeated practice which led them to understand the errors of dogmatism.

Since the third plenary session, our rural areas have undergone a series of rapid changes. With the implementation of various forms of production responsibility system which focused on joint and contract production, the peasants' enthusiasm for production and economic reforms was mobilized. With the increasing number of different economic joint ventures such as specialized units and focal points, agricultural production developed rapidly. Our rural areas have shifted from self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient production to specialized and socialized production and followed the path of socialist modernization with comprehensive development in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery. We must persist in using Marxism as a weapon and getting rid of the long-existing leftist bondage. We must go into the rural areas and conduct in-depth surveys, solving new problems so as to grow in wisdom and ability, exploit a good situation and create new conditions for socialist construction.

Proper surveys also require a proper attitude and method. If surveys are parochial and biased, or if they are conducted hastily and cursorily, they may fail to differentiate what is primary from what is secondary, or they may even fail to tell right from wrong. As stated in the "Writings", Comrade Mao Zedong has various ways to conduct surveys. Some of the surveys were written after firsthand experience was gained and summed up. Some were his personal reports on investigation meetings whose discussion items had been outlined and whose participants had been selected in advance. Some were in-depth surveys on other people. The surveys were based upon practical situations. Our present material and technological conditions are different from those in the past. Surveys are further strengthened by various forms of media and scientific data. But can such conditions replace the practice of learning from the people? The answer is no. No matter how advanced our science and technology is, it is still an important way to conduct direct surveys on the masses of the people, to understand their thoughts and demands, to get firsthand and all-round information so that our wisdom can grow forever.

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PARTY AND STATE

FORESIGHT, EARNESTNESS IN NEW SITUATION NEEDED

SK061254 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Be circumspect, Farsighted, Earnest and Down-to-earth-- On How To Create a New Situation"]

[Excerpts] Since the 12th CPC Congress, comrades on all fronts of the municipality, with soaring political enthusiasm, have studied documents, tried to understand their spirit, discussed goals and prospects and offered suggestions for creating new situations in their own units. Entertaining lofty ambitions and with high spirit, leading comrades at all levels have also deliberated, and studied plans and measures for creating a new situation. They said: To create a new situation, it is essential to have farsighted and circumspect strategic view and the down-to-earth spirit of working diligently and steadily to make solid progress. What they said should not be taken lightly. All enterprises and leading comrades of all departments should use their brains and work out ways to lead the masses of their enterprises or departments to create a new situation.

The strategic objective of quadrupling the national industrial and agricultural output value by the end of this century as set forth at the 12th CPC Congress is at once one in conformity with our country's reality and fully based on scientific data and one with high aims and lofty aspirations which cannot be achieved without hard work. Leading comrades at all levels should not only see the importance and possibility of the objective but also see the arduous tasks it embraces. They should see that plenty of work remains to be done, difficulties overcome and problems solved if they are to turn the possibility into reality. Some comrades are skeptical about the strategic objective of quadrupling. They would neither use their brains to think and understand the inspiring strategic objective and program for action set by the 12th CPC Congress, nor mobilize the masses to formulate specific plans and measures for creating a new situation. They either wait passively, or make empty calls for the quadrupling goal. How can a new situation be opened up with such a mental outlook? The central authorities have pinned hopes on Tianjin and the masses throughout the municipality have an unprecedented high enthusiasm for working for the four modernizations. In such an excellent situation, should we pluck up our spirit, be farsighted and circumspect, work in a down-to-earth manner, seize every opportunity to lead the masses in creating a new situation and promote the work in all fields? Or should we remain indifferent, keep to conventional ways of doing things and lose opportunities? Should we not conscientiously consider and take these questions seriously?

In order to create a new situation in our municipality's socialist modernization, leading comrades on all fronts should take into account the strategic objective for the municipality as a whole when they are making arrangements or plans for their work. Our 1980 industrial and agricultural output value was 20.5 billion yuan. In order to quadruple this figure or more by the end of this century, how should we formulate our plans, what should be the focus of development and what measures should we take? This is an important question which we should conscientiously think over. The basic direction of our future economic development is "enter foreign markets and promote domestic integration," this is to say, we should use foreign capital, import raw and semi-finished materials, process them into finished products and try to put them on foreign markets. We should also use advanced technology and ways of management to promote domestic economic and technological integration. The key to the task lies in our efforts to transform our enterprises with advanced science and technology to improve their technical standard and upgrade their products. Therefore, we should have circumspect long-term plans for our industrial development, exploitation and conservation of energy, and other fields of work, such as water sources, harbor and navigation, foreign trade, training of qualified personnel, family planning and population control.

There are only some 6,500 days left from now till the end of this century. Every comrade should have a strong sense of responsibility and urgency. They should make every day count, quickly unify their thinking in line with the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress and bring the work in various fields to the orbit defined by the congress. Our municipality is now studying the program for development for the quadrupling goal, and is formulating the specific objective. All fields of the municipality should bear in mind their specific conditions and tasks to conduct earnest investigations and study, sum up experiences, work out their own plans for development in line with the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress and strive to fulfill this year's industrial, agricultural and other fields of tasks so as to create favorable conditions for next year's new start.

CSO: 4005/335

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING RIBAO' STRESSES INVESTIGATION, STUDY

HK310714 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Dec 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Where Should We Make a Start in Creating a New Situation?"]

[Text] At present, comrades working on all fronts and in various departments in Beijing Municipality are making plans and arrangements for next year's work. Our common aim is, in accordance with the correct programs and policies adopted by the 12th CPC Congress, to do our best to create a new situation in our work.

What is meant by creating a new situation? It means that we should go deep into the realities of life, conduct investigation and study, master the new situation and solve new problems to carry our work forward to a new stage, effect a new breakthrough and take on a new look. Going deep into the realities of life and conducting investigation and study are our key tasks. We should start with investigation and study in order to create a new situation in work. This is our priority task.

The task of a communist is to transform the world. To transform the world, we should, first of all, know it. To make a correct strategic decision in view of the new situation, we should proceed from reality and have detailed and reliable data. Why is the situation in our country becoming better and better following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee? The main reason is that on the basis of conscientiously summing up historical experiences and lessons and profoundly understanding the present situation in China, our party has succeeded in formulating a line, guiding principles and policies which are in accord with our national conditions. A correct approach in work enables the masses to go all out and accomplish their tasks smoothly. With regard to the situation, we should, first of all, talk about the favorable situation in the rural areas in which the responsibility system in agricultural production is now in the ascendant. Where did this responsibility system in agricultural production come from? It was not a subjective conjecture of a certain leader who was confined to his house. It was initiated by the broad masses of peasants after smashing the "leftist" fetters which shackled them for a long time. Our party promptly discovered this newborn thing and carried out in-depth investigation and study and summed up experience in order to popularize it. Thanks to our great efforts exerted over the past few years, we have brought about the present flourishing situation. With regard to Beijing Municipality, a new situation and new problems have occurred on all fronts and a number of socialist

new things are coming to the fore one after another. The situation demands that we go deep into the realities of life to carry out investigation and formulate policies and measures which conform with reality in order to solve these problems and popularize the new experiences. Some comrades have felt "empty-headed while sitting in the office". Actually, they should not feel empty-headed. If we separate ourselves from reality and the masses, those "leftist" staffs which have fettered our minds for a long time will continue to do mischief. As a result, we will turn a blind eye to new things and new experiences or even reject them completely. Under such conditions, how can we avail ourselves of the present good opportunity to create a new situation? We are now in a historical period which serves as a link between the past and future in which many old things should be transformed and many new things and new problems are occurring. Practice has proved that those comrades who go deep among the masses to carry out conscientious investigation will promptly emancipate their minds and employ practical and effective methods. Those who fail to do so will be affected by their rigid way of thinking. Du Liniang, a leading female character in the Kunqu opera "The Peony Pavillion" says: "Without going to the gardens, how can I enjoy the beauty of spring?" Only by going deep into reality to study and deal with those living in the new situation and new things can we breathe fresh air. In history, our party Central Committee has always attached importance to and advocated the practice of instituting investigation and study. Since the 12th CPC Congress, leading comrades of the central authorities have repeatedly stressed this problem and have gone to various provinces, municipalities, counties and even grassroots units. They have set a good example for us. Are we busier than the leading comrades of the central authorities? Why can we not go out to conduct investigation and study?

Some comrades have been working in the same units for several years, a dozen of years or even several decades. They always think that they are "completely familiar with" their own units and that "problems are always there and they remain the same whether investigation and study are carried out or not." This is a main obstruction in the mind which hinders us from carrying out conscientious investigation and study. Generally speaking, when a comrade stays in a place for a long time, he is, of course, quite familiar with the situation there. However, the situation that "living in a mountain without knowing its true features" occurs very often. Nothing exists in isolation. All units are closely connected with various quarters of society. If the whole society is changing, will a specific unit not be affected? How is it affected? What is the trend of development? Where do the contradictions lie? Can we find any law governing them? Should we not carry out investigation and study to solve these problems?

A small number of comrades have a strong desire to do their work well. They are diligent and conscientious all day and busy attending meetings. They read documents and handle numerous problems, big and small. Once the issue of carrying out investigation is raised, they always say that they have no time to assume the task. Actually, we should know that "ten thousand years are too long, seize the day, seize the hour!" Since communists are carrying out revolution, are we not busy? Although we are busy, we should put our finger on the right spot. At the present new historical stage, in which we are getting rid of the old and creating the new, we should, first of all be busy with conducting investigation



and study. While being busy with specific work and routine duties, comrades should concentrate their efforts on key tasks and resolve to devote a certain period of time to personally carry out investigation and study in order to truly have firsthand data and solve important problems. Otherwise, they will achieve nothing, even though they are busy all day. In such a way, are they not making a vain effort?

A few comrades are in low spirits, taking the attitude of "getting by," "the less trouble the better." When documents are sent to them from the higher levels, they repeat what the documents say to the masses; they simply make circles on them or "pass the buck." They devote their main effort to dispute over trifles. When serious problems occur, they cudgel their brains, sitting with some other people in the house. Even if they immerse themselves among the masses, they only see a mountain of difficulties and problems. Therefore, they feel particularly gloomy. Such a passive and lazy attitude and bureaucratic work style will do people great harm and hold things up. The so-called doing work means that we should solve problems. To solve problems, we should, first of all, carry out investigation and study. Without carrying out investigation and study, how can we solve any problems?

While immersing ourselves among the masses to conduct investigation and study, sometimes we may "look at the flowers while on horseback" and sometimes we may "dismount to look at the flowers" to make careful and detailed investigation. Sometimes, we have to "grow flowers personally" to transplant them. Carrying out investigation and study means that we should pay attention to both favorable and unfavorable conditions and that we should adopt measures, exert great efforts and quietly immerse ourselves in hard work to overcome unfavorable factors. Although there are numerous problems, we can solve them one by one. Although the problems are serious, we can settle them bit by bit. Of course, this does not mean that we should exert equal efforts or attend to big and small matters all at once. On the contrary, we should brace our courage and dare to "crack the hard nut." We should get to those key places where the problems are numerous and the difficulties are most serious to grasp the main problems in order to score one or two most brilliant victories and conscientiously sum up experiences.

Investigation and study are not only a work method, but also the theory of knowledge of communists and a problem connected with the implementation of the party's ideological line. Social practice is the source of the people's knowledge. If we separate ourselves from the present social practice and rich and varied and specific perceptual knowledge, we will not be able to understand things correctly. Even a second Zhuge Liang is not able to give wise advice and suggestions. He might even offer wrong advice to make a mess of something. If we fail to make investigation and study, we will be utterly ignorant about the new situation and new problems. Although we have a strong desire to emancipate our minds and create a new situation, we will not succeed in our work. Our party always advocates the work method and mass line of "getting the opinions of the masses and referring them back to the masses." We should go deep among the masses to pool their experiences and wisdom and put them in practice in light of actual conditions. Doing so repeatedly, we will further deepen and enhance our knowledge and practical experience. In such a way, we will be able to create a new situation gradually.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Get yourselves moving and go down to various parts and places within the range of your work. Like Confucius, you must 'ask everything.'" Such remarks are still important to communists who are creating a new situation today. Historical experience has proved that at every critical stage in revolution and construction, as long as we carry out conscientious investigation and study, truly understand the law and characteristics of things and adopt practical measures, our revolution and construction will develop and succeed. If we fail to do so, we will suffer setbacks or failure in our revolution and construction, the 12th CPC National Congress has set our objectives of struggle for the next 20 years, and the 5th session of the 5th NPC has formulated a magnificent blueprint aimed at quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural production--the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Now is the time for us to fully display our talents. Let us get moving and go deep into reality and life seething with excitement and make careful and diligent investigation and study our priority task. In such a way, the new situation in work will be before us!

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PARTY AND STATE

JIANGSU TO PUT COUNTIES IN MUNICIPAL JURISDICTION

HK050531 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 83 p 1

[Report by reporters Zhu Weiqun [2612 4850 5028] and Sun Jian [1327 0256]:  
"Jiangsu Adopts Administrative System Under Which 63 Counties Are Directly Placed Under the Jurisdiction of 11 Municipalities"]

[Text] On the eve of the new year, Xu Jiadun, first secretary of Jiangsu Provincial CPC Committee, secretaries Han Peixin and Zhou Zi, Lu Yunlai, member of its Standing Committee and other leading comrades went separately to Yangzhou, Nantong, Lianyungang, Zhenjiang, Suzhou and other places to investigate and study the problem related to structure reform, including merging prefectures with municipalities and placing counties under the jurisdiction of municipalities, and solicited opinions in order to speed up the progress of structure reform in the province.

Comrade Xu Jiadun, who was working in Yangzhou on the eve of the new year, told this reporter that placing counties under the jurisdiction of municipalities and counties and to further promote economic development. During the new year, in order to imbue our work with a new atmosphere and score new economic achievements, we must satisfactorily grasp structure reform, which is a key link. Xu Jiadun and the local cadres are making preparations for forming the new leading group of the municipal CPC Committee and selecting and promoting into the leading group young cadres who have fine political and ideological quality and are professionally competent and of a higher educational level. After structure reform, Jiangsu Province will cancel the original 7 prefectures and place 63 counties directly under the jurisdiction of 11 big and medium-sized municipalities. The formation of the new leading groups of all the municipal CPC committee will be completed before the spring festival.

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PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI'S GAO YANG INSPECTS WEIXIAN COUNTY

OW061215 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0221 GMT 5 Jan 83

[By XINHUA correspondent Wang Qin]

[Excerpts] Shijiazhuang, 5 Jan (XINHUA)--Over the past few years gratifying changes have occurred in the once backward County of Weixian in Hebei Province. The county's total agricultural output value (excluding forestry, animal husbandry and sideline productions) in 1982 was expected to exceed 100 million yuan, or four times the total agricultural output value of 25.71 million yuan in 1978. The average per capita income for the county's commune members also quadrupled from 42.4 yuan in 1978 to 177 yuan in 1982.

During a recent visit to the county with First Secretary Gao Yang, this correspondent saw a long line of vehicles along the road with the masses happily delivering new cotton and new grain to the state. After reaping an all-round bumper harvest of grain, cotton and edible oil, the people in the county were discussing how to do a better job in 1983.

In recent years Weixian County readjusted the distribution of crops in light of local conditions. In 1982 the county's cotton acreage was expanded from 1977's 200,000 mu to 330,000 mu. During the same period, the acreage under peanuts also increased from 20,000 mu to 50,000 mu, while the acreage under grain decreased from 710,000 mu to 560,000 mu. Consequently, the gross cotton output soared to over 27 million jin in 1982, or 10 times that of 1979. The gross output of peanuts also soared to 12 million jin, or exceeding 8 times that of 1979. Thanks to an increase in per unit yield for grain, the gross grain output of the county was expected to reach 230 million jin in 1982 despite a decrease in grain acreage. This represented an increase of 50 million jin over the previous year and a new record for the county's grain harvest.

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PARTY AND STATE

HEBEI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEE SESSION ENDS

HK121242 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jan 83 p 1

[Report: "Eighteenth Session of 5th Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee Concludes"]

[Text] The 18th Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th Hebei Provincial People's Congress concluded on 29 December 1982 after a 4-day session.

During the meeting, the committee members seriously studied and discussed the new constitution and Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth Five-Year Plan. They unanimously expressed their will to firmly support and vigorously implement the new constitution and Premier Zhao's report. They also discussed and approved the reports delivered by Vice Governor Guo Zhi and Bureau Director Sun Zhiyuan [1327 1807 6678]. They said that in the past year, the people of the whole province, under the leadership of the party committees and governments at various levels, continued to implement the policy of readjusting, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading and, in particular, being inspired by the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, scored remarkable results in production, construction, commodity circulation, culture, education, science, technology, people's livelihood and various other aspects, and that the overall economic situation had begun to change for the better. They also put forth many useful suggestions on further carrying out and improving the economic responsibility systems, reinforcing the strategic key sectors of agriculture, energy, communications, education, science and technology, vigorously promoting technical development and achieving better economic results so as to create a new situation in Hebei's economic work and invigorate its economy. Some of them pointed out: In our province, economic work has been carried out with poor results, the consumption of raw and semifinished materials has been high and the growth of industrial production has been disproportionate to the growth of profits and taxes. Of course, the causes were numerous, but an important one was that qualified personnel were lacking and the scientific and technical level was low. If the gross output value of industrial and agricultural production is to be quadrupled by 2000, it is necessary to reckon our financial and material resources and, above all, our qualified personnel. Without qualified personnel, everything will come to nothing. We should see the gap between our province and fraternal provinces and municipalities regarding the availability of qualified personnel.

The committee members also pointed out; It is necessary to strictly control the scale of investment in capital construction projects so that it conforms to our national strength. We must carry out these projects in the order of their importance. We must avoid the phenomenon of "a big increase or reduction" in the number of capital construction projects. The five rules contained in Premier Zhao Ziyang's report regarding the control of the scale of investment in capital construction must be resolutely implemented.

The 17th Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th Hebei Provincial People's Congress had already decided that the 1st Session of the 6th Hebei Provincial People's Congress would be held in March 1983. At the plenary session held on the morning of 29 December 1982, Ge Qi, vice chairman of the Standing Committee, explained the questions concerning the number and election of delegates to the Sixth Hebei Provincial People's Congress. Referring to the requirements for the delegates, he said: The delegates to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress shoulder the honorable historical task of creating an all-round new situation in socialist modernization. They must be elected seriously. In order to ensure development of work and make things easy for the delegates in exercising their power, it is necessary to elect those people who support the line, principles and policies set forth since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, who listen to the opinions and suggestions of the masses, who are capable of publicizing the spirit of the laws, decrees, resolutions and decisions adopted by the provincial people's congress, who have the ability to independently peruse and examine the relevant documents of the provincial people's congress and who enjoy the support of the masses. It is imperative to strictly prevent the "five kinds of people" from being elected to be people's delegates.

After that, the committee members seriously discussed the above explanation given by Ge Qi, the draft resolution on the number and elections of delegates to the Sixth Hebei Provincial People's Congress, the draft resolution adopted by the Standing Committee of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress on mobilizing the people of the whole province to seriously study, publicize and implement the PRC constitution. They unanimously adopted these two resolutions.

Vice chairmen of the Standing Committee Wu Qingcheng and Ge Qi, respectively, presided over the plenary sessions held on the morning and in the afternoon of 29 December 1982.

Acting chairman of the Standing Committee Niu Shucui and vice chairmen Zhang Da, Geng Changsuo and Zhou Xueao attended these sessions.

Responsible persons of the provincial higher people's court, provincial people's procuratorate, the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress [as published] and the relevant departments directly under the provincial authorities attended these sessions as observers.

Responsible persons of the standing committees of the people's congresses of various municipalities and counties in Hebei attended the sessions as observers.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI CPC MEETS ON DEVELOPING SOCIAL SCIENCES

HK130234 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 83 p 1

[Report: "Provincial CPC Committee's Propaganda Department Convenes Forum on Theory Work"]

[Text] The provincial CPC committee's propaganda department convened a provincial forum on theory work in Shijiazhuang City from 16-23 December. At the meeting the relevant central documents and speeches by comrades Hu Qiaomu, Deng Liqun and Ma Hong at the national forum on the development plans of philosophy and social sciences were conveyed. The meeting also considered and laid plans for consolidation work in various institutes of philosophy and social sciences in our province and worked out a plan for arranging cadres at their posts in our province to conduct political theory study in 1983.

People attending the meeting included responsible comrades in all prefectural and municipal party committees' propaganda departments, universities and colleges under the leadership of the provincial authorities, various institutes of philosophy and social sciences and other units directly subordinate to the provincial authorities or engaging in propaganda work, totalling 121 people.

The provincial CPC committee attached great importance to this meeting. Gao Yang, first secretary of the provincial party committee, Guo Zhi, secretary of the provincial party committee and vice provincial governor, Xing Chongzhi, vice secretary of the provincial party committee and Xu Chunxing, member of the standing committee of the provincial party committee and director of the provincial party committee's propaganda department, attended the meeting. Comrade Gao Yang delivered a speech with guiding significance on how to properly work out development plans for philosophy and social sciences in our province and a good job in research work.

Meeting attendants pointed out: The central leadership holds that the report at the 12 Party Congress specifies the development of science as one of the strategic priorities and here science includes social sciences. Party committees at all levels should fully realize that without the development of philosophy and social sciences, it is impossible to create a new situation in the cause of socialist modernization. The central leadership requires party committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions to place this work on their work agenda with principal leaders personally in charge of it.

The above directive is very important. We must fully realize the important status and role of philosophy and social sciences in our socialist modernization and seriously work out the plan for our province's philosophy and social sciences research in the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and outline the plan for the period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. It is necessary to place stress on studying theoretical and practical problems concerning modernization development in our province, properly handle the relationship between basic research and applicable study and the relationship between improvement and popularization. It is necessary to pay attention to local characteristics, take into account local needs, give play to local advantages and vest research work with distinct local characteristics.

The meeting attendants emphatically pointed out: Our province now should lay a good foundation, accumulate strength and create conditions for future development on a big scale. When working out plans and undertaking tasks, we must have both revolutionary spirits and a realistic attitude and act according to our capability. We need to strengthen organization work and training work so as to change the backward situation which has lasted for a long time. Because of the weak foundation and poor conditions in our province, it is impossible to form a contingent that can cope with major and difficult research projects for the time being. Therefore, it is necessary to take two steps: Within the next 2 or 3 years, we will not take the strategy for seeking major development, but will replenish and strengthen the existing research organs by providing sufficient personnel for them and improving their work conditions. We should stick to the principle of taking "fighting a guerrilla war" as the main forum but not giving up favorable conditions for fighting a few "mobile wars." That is, research can be handled in the way that with one person or a few people as a core, groups can be formed on the basis of voluntary participation and collectively take on one or a few projects so as to strive for some achievements within a short time. They can be integrated in a certain time period and can jointly deal with a larger project. In this way a contingent which is able to tackle hard projects will be gradually shaped. For this purpose, leading organs should properly handle the following three points: 1) Strengthen political and ideological work so as to enhance the consciousness and enthusiasm of the research personnel. 2) Adhere to the principle of linking theory with reality. Personnel should be required to go deep among the masses and participate in the actual struggles in building the four modernizations. They should study hard and improve themselves by being tempered in the struggle. 3) Strengthen organization and training work. It is necessary to consolidate the organizations of the existing organs and the ideology and style of study of the personnel and to strengthen the organizational and ideological building of the scientific research ranks. Research levels should be raised through training. The scientific research ranks should be expanded through various channels, including training personnel at their posts, cultivating graduate students, inviting part-time research personnel and academic consultants. At the same time, attention should be paid to giving play to various associations and institutes.

Attendants said that they would take the spirit of the 12th Party Congress as their guideline, energetically promote the development of philosophy and social sciences in our province and endeavor to create a new situation in the study of philosophy and social sciences in our province.

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PARTY AND STATE

SHANXI HOLDS CONGRESS SESSION'S MEETING 27 DECEMBER

SK190904 Tiayuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Dec 82 p 1

[Text] On the morning of 27 December, the Fifth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress sponsored its fourth plenary meeting to hear the report given by Jiao Guonai, executive chairman of the session and vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, on the standing committee work; the detailed report given by Hu Xiaoqin, executive chairman of the session and vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, on the quotas for deputies and electoral affairs of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress; and work reports given by Gu Zhen, president of the provincial higher people's court, and by Li Xizeng, chief procurator of the provincial people's procuratorate.

Feng Sutaο, executive chairman of the session and vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over the meeting. Also attending the meeting were executive chairmen of the session, including Zhao Zui, Ma Jie and Pei Yuhui.

At the meeting, participants were briefed by Jiao Guonai on the report on work done in the past year by the provincial people's congress standing committee in regard to hearing and examining the work reports given by the provincial people's government, the provincial higher people's court and by the provincial people's procuratorate; formulating local laws and regulations according to state law; and establishing close ties with the people's congresses at municipal and county levels. Jiao Guonai pledged that the provincial people's congress standing committee, in the days to come, will earnestly exercise the glorious responsibilities authorized by the new constitution and create a new situation in the people's congress work. In their reports, Gu Zhen and Li Xizeng also briefed the participating committee members on their work done in the past year in, according to the law, meting out strict punishment for serious economic crimes, counterrevolutionaries and other serious criminals; carrying out the administration of justice and procuratorial affairs; and consolidating the contingent of personnel who enforce the law. They also put forward new demands in their reports for correctly implementing various laws and the constitution in the days to come.

In his report on deputy quotas and electoral affairs of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, Hu Xiaoqin stated: According to "the electoral law of the

PRC's People's Congress and local people's congresses at all levels"--which facilitates the convening of congresses, the discussion of issues and the disposal of problems as well as making it possible for various nationalities, localities and social circles to have a proper number of deputies--the standing committee of the provincial people's congress earnestly conducted studies and decided to set the deputy quota at 900 persons for the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, 300 less than at the fifth congress. According to the provisions of the electoral law "that each rural deputy may represent five times the number of people represented by each urban deputy," our province stipulates that rural areas can elect one deputy per 55,000 people and that urban areas can elect one deputy per 11,000 people. The population statistical data are based on the figures set by the national census held on 1 July 1982. According to the resolution adopted at the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC in regard to "completing deputy election for the Sixth NPC before the end of April 1983," our province plans to convene the Sixth Provincial People's Congress in the middle or last 10 days of April 1983. The province urges various cities and counties to convene their people's congress before the end of March 1983 so as to elect deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress. Hu Xiaoqin also gave an explanation to the meeting on deputy electoral affairs and other issues concerned.

Attending the meeting as observers were responsible personnel of the provincial people's government; the provincial CPPCC members who were attending the fourth session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee; and responsible persons from departments under the provincial level organs.

From the afternoon on that day, the meeting began holding group discussions on the above mentioned reports and the "draft" resolution on extending the functions of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress and its standing committee until the opening of the first session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANXI EDITORIAL URGES CONSTITUTION STUDY

SK041006 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Study and Implement the New Constitution"]

[Text] After 2-odd years of deliberations, consultations, discussions and revisions, the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC solemnly adopted "the PRC's constitution" and put it into effect. This is another milestone in building socialist legal systems in our country and a big, happy event in the political life of the people of various nationalities across the country. At present, localities throughout the province are adopting various measures to publicize the constitution and to organize the vast number of people to study the new constitution. By publicizing and studying the new constitution, we urge everyone to enhance their consciousness in abiding by, implementing and safeguarding the constitution so as to powerfully advance the program of achieving socialist modernization in our country.

A constitution is the fundamental and general law of a country. In national legal systems, a constitution is above all and has the most authority and legal weight. To maintain long-term order and peace and to have its society flourish, a country should have a constitution suitable to its conditions, to its people's desires and to its law of historic development. Since the PRC's founding, we have had three revisions of the constitution. The constitution revised in 1954 is publicly regarded as fine one that met the needs of the transition period from new democracy to socialism and safeguarded the smooth progress of this historic transition. Owing to historic development, that constitution, however, could hardly meet the need of the current situation. As for the two constitutions respectively revised in 1975 and 1978, they were basically formulated under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology and were rigidly restricted by the historic conditions of that period. It was impossible to totally eliminate the "leftist" guiding ideology from them. Therefore, even now it is impossible for them to meet the great change in our country in politics, economy and livelihood. The constitution currently approved by the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC is based on the four basic principles; is formulated after summing up the historic experience gained in the period since the PRC's founding; follows and carries forward the basic spirit of the 1954 constitution; absorbs the quintessence of legal books and records of all times and all countries; and basically and clearly covers the major issues of our country's fundamental systems in politics,

economy and culture, our country's basic tasks for the days to come, basic civil rights and obligations, and of the establishment and duty scope of the state apparatus. The constitution fully reflects the common will and basic interests of the people of various nationalities across the country. It gives consideration not only to current reality but also to future development. All of this has proven it to be a constitution that meets the need for building socialist modernization and that has long-term stability, as well as general charter for maintaining our country's stability and running our country well in the new period.

To truly bring into play the important role of the new constitution in maintaining the state's stability and running the state well, of us must actively abide by, apply and safeguard the constitution. During the "10-year turmoil," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique wantonly trampled on socialist democracy and the legal system and brought about tremendous disasters to the masses by running wild. Though the dreadful period, now has ended, we should be acknowledged that, owing to historic and practical reasons, the people of our country, including the broad masses of party members and cadres, are still relatively short of legal sense and legal knowledge. This is particularly so of youths. To assure the implementation of the new constitution, it is imperative to first enable the people to know and master the laws. To this end, party organizations at all levels must put the task of studying and publicizing the new constitution as an important one on their schedule. In studying and publicizing the new constitution, stress should be placed on the following aspects: 1) The importance of the new constitution to the national political life, to socialist construction and to the construction of socialist democracy and legal systems; 2) The general guideline of the new constitution includes its basic contents formulated in line with the four basic principles. It covers important provisions on our country's systems of politics, economy and culture, on basic civil rights and obligations, and on the people's congress and the state apparatus; and 3) The entire party and the people across the country should abide by the constitution, safeguard its prestige and wage struggles against any act that runs counter to or damages the constitution. Bearing in mind the actual situation, efforts should be made to adopt various propaganda measures and apply various propaganda ways and means to give a systematic, specific and accurate explanation on the basic contents of the constitution so as to enable the constitution to be known by every household and individual, enabling the vast number of the people to discern the importance of the constitution in national political life and the necessity of citizens abiding by the constitution so as to make them able to gradually foster views and habits of actively abiding by the laws. All of this is not only a vital guarantee for implementing the new constitution, but also a task of conducting deep and extensive education on legal systems among the masses.

In studying and publicizing the new constitution, it is necessary to integrate the campaign with that of studying and publicizing the 12th CPC Congress documents. The new constitution represents the party's correct intention and the unified will performed by both the state and the people; it shows no difference from the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress. The new constitution also fully affirms the new period's general target set forth by the 12th CPC Congress documents

and the congress's basic guidelines on socialist economic, spiritual civilization, democratic and systematic legal construction, so that these target and guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress have been legally authorized. Therefore, we should be no means attend to one study campaign and lose sight of another, on artificially separate the two campaigns. Effort should be made to make overall and concrete arrangements for the two campaigns so as to unify them while mapping out their length, guiding, supervising and inspecting plans for them.

The constitution is drawn up by the entire people under the leadership of the party which therefore, should also itself set an example in the constitution study campaign so as to successfully lead the masses to earnestly implement the constitution. To strictly implement the constitution means to strictly implement the party's policies and principles. On the contrary, acting against the constitution and the law means acting against the party's policies and discipline. Party organizations at all levels should organize party members to earnestly study and publicize the new constitution and educate party members, particularly party leading cadres, to abide by and actively safeguard the new constitution in exemplary fashion. Only by strictly abiding by and implementing the constitution and boldly waging struggles against any act that damages the constitution will party organizations and members at all levels be able to bring into the fullest play the role of the constitution in building China into a socialist country with a highly-developed civilization and democracy along the historical progressive road.

CSO: 4005/335

## PARTY AND STATE

### BRIEFS

TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS URGE REUNIFICATION--The Second Council of the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots held its second meeting in Beijing 25 December. The All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots is a mass organization for over 20,000 Taiwan compatriots on the mainland. Lin Liyun, chairman of the federation, made a summary report on the work of the federation since its inauguration in 1981. She said: The All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots and the Taiwan compatriots associations in various localities have done a lot of work in uniting and making contacts with Taiwan compatriots at home and abroad. Since the reunification of the motherland is one of the three major tasks of the Chinese people in the 1980's, the All-China Federation of Taiwan Compatriots and the Taiwan compatriots associations must make fresh contributions in the coming year toward reunification of the motherland and unity among the various nationalities. [Text] [OW261416 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 25 Dec 82]

HEBEI STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING--The 18th meeting of the Hebei Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee opened in Shijiazhuang on 26 December. The agenda of the meeting is as follows: 1) To convey and study the spirit of the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC; 2) To listen to a provincial government report on the implementation of the economic and social development plans for 1982 and a report on the implementation of the 1982 budget and the outline of the 1983 budget; 3) To discuss the provincial people's congress standing committee's explanation on the number and election of deputies to the Sixth Provincial People's Congress, and adopt a resolution on the matter. Standing Committee acting chairman Niu Shucui presided on 26 December. Vice Chairman Pan Chengxiao gave a report on the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC. In the afternoon Vice Governor Guo Zhi reported on the implementation of the province's plans in 1982, and provincial Finance Bureau Director Sun Zhiyuan reported on the budget.

SHANXI CPPCC MEETING--On the afternoon of 27 December, the Standing Committee of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee sponsored its 30th meeting. Zhu Weihua, vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, presided over the meeting. At the meeting, participating members heard the report given by Liu Xiufeng, secretary-general of the Fifth Session of the Fourth Provincial CPPCC Committee, on the group discussion held under the fifth session; and heard and discussed the "draft" political resolution adopted at the fifth session, the resolution on the work report given by the provincial CPPCC standing committee at the fifth session, the report given by Chen Shunli, vice chairman of the provincial

CPPCC committee, on the examination of motions and the "draft" resolution on examining motions submitted at the fifth session. At the meeting, participating members conducted an earnest and careful discussion on the contents of "draft" resolutions and reports mentioned above and put forward many favorable suggestions for improvement. The meeting decided to submit all "draft" resolutions to the session for approval. Also attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the provincial CPPCC committee, including LI Zhimin, An Zhifan, Yu Lin, Tao Jian, Zhu Jingxin, Ling Daqi, Li Shunda and Wang Dingnam. [Text] [SK191024 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Dec 82 p 1]

JIANGXI PEOPLE'S CONGRESS--Now we will broadcast a resolution on convocation of the first session of the 6th Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress adopted by the Standing Committee of the 5th Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress on 29 December 1982. The 14th Session of the Standing Committee of the 5th Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress has resolved that the first session of the 6th Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress will be held in Nanchang in April 1983. [Text] [OW032146 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Dec 82]

SHANXI PRESIDIUUM ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS--The presidium of the Fifth Session of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress held its third meeting on the afternoon of 27 December. Shi Jiyan, executive member of the session's presidium and vice chairman of the provincial people's congress standing committee, presided over the meeting. After earnest discussions and revisions, the meeting adopted the "draft" resolution on the work report given by the provincial people's government; the "draft" resolution on the reports on implementation of the 1982 provincial plans for the national economy and social development and on arrangements for the 1983 provincial plans; the "draft" resolution on the reports on implementation of the 1982 provincial financial budget and on the 1983 provincial estimated budget; the "draft" resolution on the work report given by the provincial people's congress standing committee; the "draft" resolution on the work reports given by the provincial higher people's court and by the provincial people's procuratorate; and the report given by the motion examination committee on the examination of motions. The meeting decided to submit all "draft" resolutions and reports mentioned above to the session for approval. [Text] [SK191028 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Dec 82 p 1]

JIANGXI'S BAI PROPOSAL--According to a report by this station, Bai Dongcai, first secretary of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, proposed at a recent meeting of the provincial, prefectural and county cadres that the "five stresses" and "four beauties" activities to be carried out this year should be integrated with the education in warmly loving the motherland, socialism and the party. He said: This year, it is necessary to grasp four things well in Jiangxi's urban and suburban areas. 1. Around the spring festival, 1 May Day and 1 October Day, with a stress on complete removal of filthiness and disorderliness and overcoming of shortcomings, grasp environmental sanitation at public places well, consolidate social order and improve the quality of service; 2. Grasp well the all-people civility and courtesy month activities and the all-people voluntary tree-planting activities during March; 3. Conscientiously grasp well the building of civilized plants, villages, stores, schools, neighborhoods and families; and 4. Continue to carry out the activities of learning from Lei Feng, Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, Zhao Chune and Zhang Hua. [Text] [OW131259 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 9 Jan 83]

FORMER KUOMINTANG DIPLOMAT RESETTLES--Beijing, 10 Jan (XINHUA)--Ping Jiesan, advisor to the United Front Work Department of the CPC Central Committee, today met and feted Luo Shian [Lou Che-ngan], a former Kuomintang diplomat, who has returned from France to settle on the mainland. Luo Shian, 82, native of Jianyang County, Sichuan, served in diplomatic posts for more than 20 years, including counsellor of the embassy of the Kuomintang government in Italy, minister-counsellor in Greece, and technical adviser to the Geneva International Labor Conference. Luo Shian settled in France in 1949 and returned to China on 6 January this year. Ping Jiesan welcomed Luo's resettlement in China. Luo Shian said: It is my aspiration of many years to come back home. It is also my greatest happiness that my wish has come true. I have met many relatives and friends in Beijing. I deeply feel the government's concern for me. I should try my best to do more work for my motherland. Luo Shian's good friends Zhu Xuefan and Wu Xiufeng [0702 4423 1496] were present on the occasion. [Text] [OW102020 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1503 GMT 10 Jan 83]

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MAO'S PHILOSOPHIC WORKS SAID TO EXPLAIN, GUIDE LITERATURE, ART

Changchun JILIN DAXUE SHEHUI KEXUE XUEBAO [SOCIAL SCIENCE JOURNAL OF JILIN UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 4, 1 Jul 82 pp 58-64

[Article by Ma Qingfu [7456 3237 4395]: "'On Practice' and Literary and Artistic Creation"]

[Text] The completed form of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art is the result of the specific application of the philosophic thinking in Comrade Mao Zedong's works "On Practice" and "on Contradiction" to the practice of literature and art.

In the thirties decade of the 20th century, the Chinese people were at a high tide in the war of resistance against Japan, and the political party leading this war--the CPC--was undergoing a severe test in its revolutionary practice. In approaching the study of revolutionary theory, two tendencies appeared: dogmatism and empiricism. The tendency toward dogmatism denied the concrete experiences of the Chinese revolution and denied the truth that "Marxism is not a dogma but a guide for action." It accepted uncritically a few phrases in Marxist writings and used them to guide revolutionary action, with the result that the error or putschism was committed. The tendency toward empiricism denied the important role of theory for practice and did not conscientiously study revolutionary theory. It tenaciously stuck to its own narrow, one-sided experiences, with the result that the development of the revolution was adversely affected. In order to correct these two tendencies, in July 1937 Comrade Mao Zedong wrote "On Practice" and closely followed it up by writing "On Contradiction" in August of the same year.

The writing of these two important works indicated a further maturation of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on Marxist philosophy. In 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong published "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art." This was Comrade Mao Zedong's summation of literary and artistic activities for the revolution and was written under the guidance of the philosophic thinking in "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" in August of the same year.

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was Comrade Mao Zedong's summation of literary and artistic activities for the revolution and was written under the guidance of the philosophic thinking in "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." In the "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong expounded a series of viewpoints to the effect that writers and artists must enter the creative process only after becoming deeply involved in life, viewpoints which are in complete accord with the epistemology of dialectical materialism.

Actually, when Mao Zedong was writing "On Practice," he had already considered literary and artistic activities and creation as an important component part of mankind's practical activity. Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that mankind's activity in life was the fundamental practical activity of human society and that it determined all other activities and was the primary source of human knowledge. However, human social practice is not merely productive activity, which is a major form of activity; there is in human social practice, in addition to productive activity, "many other forms." These "many other forms" include "class struggle, political struggle, scientific activities, and literary and artistic activities."

The practice of writers and artists is an artistic activity. Since it is a form of social practice, naturally it inevitably follows the general laws of the process of human practice. If one separates artistic activity from the general laws of human social practice, one will have no way to understand the special laws governing the artistic activities of artists and writers. What Comrade Mao Zedong mainly inquired into in his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art" were the laws of literary and artistic practice and their relationship to revolutionary practice. He began by saying: "You have been invited to this forum today to exchange views and ascertain the proper relationship between our work in the literary and artistic fields and our revolutionary work in general, to determine what is the proper path of development of revolutionary literature and art and how they give better help to other revolutionary activities, so that we can overthrow the enemy of our nation and accomplish the task of national liberation." In Comrade Mao Zedong's view, literary and artistic practice was subordinate to and a part of revolutionary practice.

After the founding of the state, in the fifties decade Comrade Mao Zedong criticized Yu Pingbo's study of "Dream of the Red Chamber," mainly because Yu Pingbo's study showed a tendency toward idealism and separated itself from realism based on materialism. He said: "Our writers do not go back to study the 100 years since the Opium War of 1840, when China produced some social-economic forms as well as their superstructure (politics, culture, etc) that turned to the past against which there were new social forms of struggle, new class forces, new tasks, and new ideas, but rather decided what things should be praised or extolled, what things should not be praised or extolled, and what things should be opposed." All this was a criticism of literary and artistic practice for running counter to the epistemology of dialectical materialism.

In the sixties, Comrade Mao Zedong again criticized some comrades for not understanding the tendency toward the theory of practice, including criticisms

of certain persons for not understanding the tendency toward practice in literature and art. He hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: "At present many of our comrades still do not understand this epistemological truth. If you ask one of them where he gets his ideas, opinions, policies, methods, plans, conclusions, never-ending stream of speeches, and long articles, he feels that this is a strange question to which he has no answer. With regard to the 'leap' phenomenon commonly seen in daily life, in which matter can change into spirit and spirit into matter, he feels that this is also incomprehensible. Therefore, we should educate our comrades in the epistemology of dialectical materialism...." Proceeding from this topic of "literary and artistic practice," this article's idea is to explore below this "strange" question raised by people.

How does literature and art come about? What kind of relationship do they have to life? These have always been important questions for exploration in the history of literature and art. The answers to these questions are varied--some are ideal and some are material--but the most thorough answer is that given by Comrade Mao Zedong from the angle of practice.

In the era of primitive society a long time ago, the origin of literature and art sprang from the concept of deities. For example, in ancient Greece, there was the myth that the Muses had created literature and art. The myth said that the Muses had created literature and art. The myth said that the god Zeus and the goddess of memory, Mnemosyne, conceived and gave birth to nine goddesses who were put in charge of literature and art. They lived in Pieria at the foot of Mount Olympus. Under the leadership of the sun god, Apollo, the nine goddesses were in charge of all literature and art in heaven and the world, and only if inspired by them could poets or artists write or compose great works. In China there was also a myth of the divine creation of literature and art. According to an account in the "Shan Hai Jing" ["Mountain and Sea Classic"]: In ancient times, on a barren mountain dwelt a hero named Qi who was half man, half god and who was the son of Yu [reputed founder of the Xia Dynasty]. This semidivine hero Qi stealthily recorded music in heaven and brought it down to the world, and thus people came to have beautiful, pleasant music.

This concept of gods creating literature and art was a hypothesis put forward at a time when the primitive people's cognitive ability was low, and it was not a scientific report on how literature and art arose. This myth about the creation of literature and art was actually a concept of objective idealism.

An advance as compared with the divine creation of literature and art was the concept that man's consciousness creates literature and art. This concept holds that literature and art are the products of the writer's or artist's subjective consciousness and that the fountainhead of literature and art is their minds. This viewpoint maintains that literature and art are created by the talent and inspiration of the writer or artist. For example, Kant, a German classicist aesthetician, thought that literature and art were "free arts" unmixed with any other interests and pure products of the talent of the

writer or artist, and that this talent was "innate ability" and was not to be acquired by effort. Japan's Kurigawa Hakumura held that art was a pure expression of life, that it was able to completely separate itself from the inhibitions and compulsions of the external world, and occupied an absolutely free state of mind and showed an individual, unique world. He regarded literature and art as the product of the writer's or artist's soul and self-consciousness. Russia's Leo Tolstoy maintained that the essence of art was the transmission of the "emotion aroused once in one's heart from personal experience."

In brief, they all regarded literature and art as an expression of man's subjective consciousness and denied the objective basis from which literature and art arose. This is a viewpoint of subjective idealism.

With regard to understanding literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong gave a completely different answer to those of subjective idealism and objective idealism. Proceeding from the viewpoint of the theory of practice, he held that the literature and art of human society is still a kind of "ideology" formed amid people's practice; this ideology is created neither by gods nor by pure subjective consciousness, and it is also not a manifestation of so-called "absolute rational concepts" but is the "product of the reflection in people's brains of the life of a given society." "Revolutionary literature and art are the product of the reflection in the writer's or artist's brain of the people's life."

From this one can see that Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that what "artistic activities" (literary and artistic practice) mean is the process in which the writer or artist uses literary or artistic forms to reflect the objective world, and the process in which the writer's or artist's subjective world reflects the practice of the objective world. This process of practice obviously is bound to conform to the entire process of cognition of dialectical materialism.

In his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," Comrade Mao Zedong held that revolutionary writers and artists and promising writers and artists must, for a long time and with all their heart and mind, immerse themselves in life and "observe, learn through practice, study, and analyze" life, and "afterward they will be able to enter the creative process." The process of getting deeply involved in life before the "afterward" mentioned here is the first stage of literary and artistic practice, viz, the preparatory stage; the creative process entered "afterward" is the stage in which one uses literary and artistic forms to reflect objective reality and to express one's understanding obtained from getting deeply involved in life, viz, the second stage of literary and artistic practice.

These two stages from life to creation are what Comrade Mao Zedong later said was "the stage from objective matter to subjective spirit, the stage from existence to thought," and also "the first stage in the entire cognitive process."

During the process from life to creation, accompanying his literary and artistic practice, the understanding of the writer or artist will be

elevated step by step, and his works, following the elevation of his understanding, will be revised. One can say that the process from life to creation is one of practice, cognition, again practice, and again cognition...

After the writer or artist creates his work, is his cognitive movement finished or not? Whether a work of literature or art (a kind of ideology, a kind of embodiment of spirit and thought) truly and correctly reflects reality, whether it is able to play a role in transforming the objective world, must still be tested in practice. Works that truly and correctly reflect reality are naturally able to play a role in transforming the objective world, and thus they are good works of literature and art; sham works that distort reality naturally are not able to produce any good results in transforming the objective world, and thus they cannot be called good works of literature and art.

This stage of testing works of literature and art in practice is what Comrade Mao Zedong said was "the second stage in the cognitive process, viz, the stage from the spirit to matter, from thought to existence."

In the stage from life to creation, Comrade Mao Zedong put special stress on "observing, learning from practice, studying, and analyzing." This was because only through "observing, learning from practice, studying and analyzing" can one understand the essence of things. After "observing and learning through practice" all of the people, all of the classes, all of the masses, all of the vivid forms of life and struggle, all of the firsthand materials of literature and art, the writer or artist will have obtained a great amount of perceptual knowledge, but at this time he will still be unable to enter the creative process. This is because at this time the writer or artist "only sees the phenomenal aspect in the process, sees one side of everything, and sees the external relations between things," and is still unable to draw reasoned (i.e., logical) conclusions, or, to put it in another way, is still unable to understand the essence of things. If at this time the writer or artist enters the creative process, he will only depend on some feelings and impressions when creating. In that case, the works he creates will only be those of naturalism.

Waiting until after he has studied and analyzed, the writer's or artist's feelings or impressions are turned over in his mind, and by a cognitive process he leaps to the production of concepts, and in addition judges and makes inferences. At this time the writer or artist draws a reasoned conclusion about reality. This reasoned conclusion is certainly not another phenomenon of things, "not every side of things, not their external relations, but a grasp of the essence of things, the totality of things and the internal relations of things." At this time the writer or artist will be able to enter the creative process. That is to say, when the writer or artist enters the creative process his mind will already be stocked with reasoned conclusions. The reality he will reflect will certainly be neither phenomenal truth nor one-sided truth, but will be the comprehensive truth of the essence of reality.

For the period after the writer or artist enters the creative process, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the laws for making literature and art typical. The so-called period after the writer or artist enters the creative process is that of a process of using literary or artistic forms to reflect the practice of reality and life. What this process needs is typicality, because with regard to literature and art on the one hand and life on the other, "although both of them are beautiful, life as reflected in literary and artistic works can and ought to be on a higher level and of a greater power and better focused, more typical, and nearer the ideal and therefore more universal than everyday life." In order to create "more universal" works of literature and art, the writer or artist should concentrate on day-to-day phenomena that people ordinarily regard as prosaic, and make the contradictions and struggles in works of literature and art typical, awaken and arouse the masses, and impel them to unite and struggle and to change their environment." Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that if there is not this literature and art that is created through typification, then the task of the masses of people's "to change their environment" cannot be completed, or cannot be vigorously and swiftly completed.

Here, typification is the only way for literature and art to reflect reality. Nobody doubts this point.

For the creative process in literary and artistic practice, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the idea of combining revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. This was Comrade Mao Zedong's concrete application of the ideas of materialist dialectics to the creation of literature and art.

The idea of combining the method of realism with that of romanticism was conceived by Comrade Mao Zedong very early. Comrade Mao Zedong began to conceive this idea as early as 1937 when he wrote "On Contradiction." In "On Contradiction," when discussing the identity of contradictions, Comrade Mao Zedong talked about two kinds of change in a contradiction: one kind is a naive, fanciful, subjective and illusory change in a contradiction. Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that many changes in myths and many changes in novels about gods and devils "are still mutual changes among innumerable, complex, and subjective and illusory change, and are not concrete changes manifested by concrete contradictions" and "therefore they are not a scientific reflection of reality." The method of primitive myths and novels about gods and devils is that of romanticism; if the works of literature and art of romanticism are to scientifically reflect reality, they must be combined with realism and this is the idea revealed by Comrade Mao Zedong in this passage from "On Contradiction."

The so-called creative method actually is still the ideological method adopted by the writer or artist when he is understanding and reflecting reality. Realism puts stress on reflecting life according to original real, specific contradictions; romanticism sometimes reflects reality based on fanciful, imaginative changes in contradictions. The combining of the two methods makes realism more idealistic and allows romanticism to avoid an unscientific reflection of reality, and is beneficial for making literary and

artistic creation typical. Comrade Mao Zedong's advocacy of the combining of the two methods of creation was useful. The purpose of Mao Zedong's advocacy of the combining of the two methods of creation was to promote literary and artistic practice, and it was not to advocate dogmatism in literary and artistic creation. In 1942, in his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The world outlook of Marxism can only include, not replace, the methods of creation." In fact this was a criticism of dogmatism in the study of creative methods. For many years afterward, there appeared more than once metaphysical viewpoints in the creations of the creative methods. The appearance of these metaphysical viewpoints were caused precisely because of the close relationship between the creative method of realism and the creative method of romanticism in the history of literature and art was overlooked.

In fact, creative methods are manifold: revolutionary realism, revolutionary romanticism, and also a "combination of the two," all of which can reflect today's great era. If we divide realism into historical stages, we can regard revolutionary realism as the historical development of realism, and it has discriminatingly carried on the militant tradition of criticizing realism; revolutionary romanticism can also be regarded as a progressive historical development of romanticism. We cannot run counter to the laws of the development of literature and art by rigidly saying that the creative method, but should permit the writer, based on his own style, to adopt the creative method he himself thinks is feasible. In this way we will be able to promote the genuine flourishing of socialist literature and art.

At present, in some creative works the creative method of romanticism is used. Proceeding from life and, through creating works that typify the original appearance of things that are real and faithful to reality, the writers profoundly bring to light the essential contradictions in life, answer the questions that reality poses to people, reflect the aspirations of the people, and are welcomed by the broad masses. Isn't this socialist literature?

Naturally, we equally welcome the fact that some writers use the creative method of revolutionary romanticism. Showing great foresight, they lay particular stress on using fanciful, imaginative ways to express their own feelings, convey their own ideals, and reflect the great era.

In the process of literary and artistic practice, Comrade Mao Zedong prominently stressed the three questions below:

First, when discussing literary and artistic practice, Comrade Mao Zedong prominently stressed the utilitarian goal of literature and art. This was consistent with the entire philosophic thought of Comrade Mao Zedong. In "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong said that there are two most striking characteristics of the dialectical materialism of Marxist philosophy: one is its class nature, openly declaring that the purpose of dialectical materialism is to serve the proletariat; the other is its practical nature, stressing that theory stands in a dependent relationship to practice, that practice is the foundation for theory, and that theory must also turn around and serve practice.

Comrade Mao Zedong's theory on literature and art is the same, i.e., it possesses two characteristics: one is its class nature and the other is its practical nature, which, proceeding from the interests of the revolution, puts special stress on the utilitarian goal of literary and artistic practice. In his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," Comrade Mao Zedong publicly pointed out: "In the world there is no such thing as transcendent utilitarianism. In a class society, if it is not the utilitarianism of this class then it is the utilitarianism of that class. We are utilitarians of proletarian revolution. We take as our point of departure the unity of the present and future interests of over 90 percent of the broad masses of the population. Therefore, we are revolutionary utilitarians with the widest, most far-reaching goals, and are not parochial utilitarians who only see the partial and the immediate."

Starting from the utilitarian aims of the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong demanded that literary and artistic practice be beneficial to the masses of people. He criticized certain works that were partial toward the minority of people and were not for the needs of the majority of people (or even were harmful to the majority of the people); he raised the demand for the combination of popularization and elevation with popularization being primary, because what the people needed at that time was not for us to "add flowers to a piece of brocade" but "offer fuel to a person in snowy weather."

Starting from the utilitarian aims of the proletariat, Comrade Mao Zedong raised the slogan "all our literature and art are for the masses of people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants, and soldiers." This slogan reflected the character of proletarian literature and art. It shows that proletarian literature and art are the truly conscious literature and art in the world; starting from this utilitarian aim, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the proposition that there must be literature and art criticism. Comrade Mao Zedong maintained, "One of the principal methods of struggle in the literary and artistic sphere is literary and art criticism;" through literary and art criticism, we can "gradually raise the art of a lower level to a higher level, and change art that does not meet the requirements of the struggle of the broad masses into art that does meet them." "There is almost no writer or artist who does not consider his work beautiful," but whether in the final analysis the work is beautiful or not is only known by testing it; testing is not done for its own sake but for strengthening literary and art criticism in the process of testing, thereby elevating the works of literature and art. This is an important idea of Comrade Mao Zedong's with regard to literary and artistic practice. The "incomplete truth of theories" can be corrected through the test of practice; if a work does not correctly reflect reality, it also can be corrected through the test of practice. Revision of a work is the process of correcting mistakes. And literary and art criticism is a help in revising a work's mistakes.

Second, Comrade Mao Zedong prominently stressed that literature and art must keep abreast of the developments of the times and must reflect the changes in the times. This is the concrete application to literary and artistic practice of Comrade Mao Zedong's dynamic theory of reflection. In "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong said that "when a certain objective process has already



advanced and changed from one stage of development to another," the true revolutionary guide must propose "new revolutionary tasks and new working programs" corresponding to "the changes in the new situation." "Situations change very rapidly in a revolutionary period; if the knowledge of revolutionaries does not change rapidly in accordance with the changed situation, they cannot lead the revolution toward victory." This was the ideological root of the proposition put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong that literature and art must keep abreast of the times.

In 1942, Comrade Mao Zedong in his "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," raised to literary and art workers who had come from Xiangzijian to the revolutionary bases the slogans "we must integrate with the new masses" and "we must integrate with the times of the new masses." Comrade Mao Zedong put forward these slogans because to come from Xiangzijian in Shanghai to the revolutionary bases in northern Shaanxi was "not only to pass through two areas but also to pass through two historical periods," and the literary and art workers had to keep abreast of the developments of the times and reflect the changes in the times. Because the times are different, the "persons around us" and the "audiences for our propaganda" are different. If a literary or art worker cannot depict the "new persons and new world" of the changed times, but still writes those old stories that the masses are already tired of hearing, and by this "caters to the tastes of readers of the old world, then his work will be divorced from the revolution, divorced from the masses, and divorced from the glorious task that the times have entrusted to the literary and art workers; in that case, his work will be without significance.

This emphasis by Comrade Mao Zedong was the carrying forward and development of the exposition in Marxist thinking on literature and art of the relationship between literature and art and the times. In April 1888, Engels, in a letter to the English woman writer (Hakenaisi), criticized her novel ("City Girl") as "not fully realistic." Why did Engels say that ("City Girl") was not fully realistic? This was because the novel did not reflect the changes produced by the times and lagged behind the development of the times. Engels held that (Hakenaisi) portrayed the working class as passive masses ("they were unable to help themselves, and even did not show (make) any attempt to exert themselves"). In 1800 or 1810, this was a correct portrayal; but by 1877 it was not, because by this time the proletariat already had a 50-year history of struggle and, consciously or unconsciously, were carrying out revolutionary resistance to their environment of oppression. This was a change in the times; this was a "new world" with "new persons." (Hakenaisi) did not reflect the change in the times or the images of the new world and new people, so Engels said that her novel was not fully realistic.

Comrade Mao Zedong's emphasis on literature and art reflecting changes in the times can be traced to Engels' idea. It is of extremely far-reaching significance that Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that literature and art must keep abreast of the developments of the times.

China today is in times that are producing deepgoing changes, and the Chinese people are engaged in the great work of creating the four modernizations. If

a literary or art worker is to reflect these great times and the deepgoing changes produced in them, then he must integrate with the masses of these times. This is because only by integrating with the changing times will he be able to know the laws and characteristics being produced by developments in these times. Will he be able to guide the masses of people to think of something and then do it in the course of the battle for the four modernizations, will he be able to see them marching toward great goals, and, finally, will he be able to create true images of them and reflect the spirit of the times.

If a literary or art worker cannot keep abreast of the developments in the times today, does not integrate with today's new masses, and his body enters the new Long March but his mind remains in the distant past, like a person picking flowers from a fountainhead, "not knowing whether he is in the Han Dynasty, not to mention the Wei and Jin dynasties," then it will not be possible for him to reflect the changes in the times. Thus, it will also not be possible for him to become a faithful spokesman of the masses.

One important point in Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art is this idea that literary and artistic practice must keep abreast of the developments of the times. Those viewpoints that literature and art must maintain a certain distance from the times, those statements that hold that if one gets close to the times one's works will not be "eternal," do not tally with the facts of the literary and art history. On the second day of the fall of the Paris Commune, (Ouren) Pottier created the "Internationale"; in 1906, still 11 years away from the October Revolution, Gorky wrote the novel "Mother"; and Xian Xinghai's "Yellow River Cantata" was created when the flames of the war to resist Japan were spreading far and wide. How can anyone say that these persons lost their vitality because they were closely in tune with their times?

Third, Comrade Mao Zedong prominently stressed the stand, feelings, and world view of the practitioner (the worker in literature and art) and stressed the important guiding role for literary and artistic practice of a correct stand, feelings, and world view.

This emphasis of Comrade Mao Zedong's is also based on his understanding of the essence of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong maintained, "A literary or artistic work is ideologically the product of the human brain reflecting the life of a given society." This reflection includes two aspects--what is reflected and the reflector--and a literary or artistic work is a unity of these two aspects. The life reflected by a literary or artistic work is an object and its objective existence is not changed by the will of man, but whether this objective existence is correct or not, profound or superficial, is determined by the subjective world of the writer or artist. Between the object and the subject, the subject (the writer or artist) plays the active role. People have stands, feelings, and world views, which directly influence their reflection of the objective world. This is the major significance of Comrade Mao Zedong's stress on stand, feelings, and world view in literary and artistic practices.

Comrade Mao Zedong held that no stage in literary and artistic practice is divorced from the correct stand, feelings, and world view. In the preparatory stage of getting deeply involved with life, the writer or artist needs to understand life and to distinguish the true, good, and beautiful from the false, evil, and ugly. This is because only by a profound understanding of life, only by distinguishing in life the true, good and beautiful from the false, evil, and ugly, will one be able to choose a subject matter and distill from it a creative theme. And it will not do to provide guidance from one's understanding of life and distinguishing the true, good, and beautiful from the false, evil, and ugly without a correct stand and world view. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said, "It is not an easy thing to make friends with the workers and peasants. At present some people go to factories and rural areas, and the result is that some of them obtain benefit and some do not. In this there is a problem of stand or attitude, and also a problem of world view." The facts are like this. After getting deeply involved with life, why do some people distill significant themes from this involvement while others feel there is nothing they can write about? One of the reasons is that their stands, attitudes, and world views are different.

The process of entering the creative process is also like this. If one does not stand in the position of the masses of people, one will be unable to get close to and express them well. Comrade Mao Zedong held that if the depths of a writer's soul were still the realm of a petty-bourgeois intellectual, then he would be unable, in good fashion, to get close to the masses, understand and study them. Therefore, he would be unable to portray the masses well, and "if he does portray them, although their peasant garb will be that of the laboring people, their faces will be those of petty-bourgeois intellectuals."

Precisely, because of this, Comrade Mao Zedong more than once put forward the importance of changing one's stand, remolding one's thoughts and feelings, and remolding one's world view.

How is one to change one's stand, and how is one to transform one's world view and nonproletarian feelings? In "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the idea of remolding one's own subjective world while remolding the objective world. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The struggle of the proletariat and revolutionary people in changing the world consists in achieving the following: to remold the objective world as well as their own subjective world--to remold their faculty of knowing as well as the relations between the subjective world and the objective world." ("On Practice") Comrade Mao Zedong said to literary and art workers: "You must shift your stand, you must gradually move your feet over to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society." To this day, these ideas still possess practical guiding significance.

Citing the example of his own change in feelings from his student period to the period after he began to take part in the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong showed the importance of remolding one's world view and feelings. In his

student period, he felt that "the intellectuals were the only clean persons in the world, and the workers and peasants seemed rather dirty beside them." After he began to take part in the revolution and became one with the workers and peasants, his thoughts and feelings changed. He then felt that the workers and peasants are after all the cleanest persons, cleaner than both the bourgeois and the petty bourgeois intellectuals, even though their hands are soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung." With extreme relevance, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "If our writers and artists from the intelligentsia want their works to be welcomed by the masses, they must transform and remold their thoughts and feelings. Without such transformation and remolding they can do nothing well." This passage of Comrade Mao Zedong's to this day still has practical guiding significance for intellectuals engaged in literary and artistic practice.

In brief, in reviewing some thoughts of Comrade Mao Zedong's concerning literary and artistic practice, I feel that his principal expositions and fundamental viewpoints are in keeping with the world view of historical materialism and dialectical materialism, are the application of Marxist aesthetic thought to the literary and artistic practice of the Chinese revolution, and are of far-reaching historical significance and of major practical significance. The study of Comrade Mao Zedong's thoughts concerning literary and artistic practice is of direct guiding significance to the era of the flourishing of socialist literary and artistic creation and of the creation of a high degree of material civilization and a high degree of spiritual civilization.

- Notes: 1. "On Practice," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 259.  
2. "On Contradiction," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 275.  
3. "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art," "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," pp 804-835.

(Responsible editor Gu Hong [6253 5725])

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN CHINA'S HIGH LEVELS DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 12, Dec 82 pp 7-11

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "Ups and Downs of China's High Level Personnel"]

[Text] Five-Minute Fervor and No Fervor

A spell of meetings;  
A headful of spirit;  
A bagful of documents;  
A gust of energy upon return [to the unit].

The four lines describe the state of mind of many cadres. In the middle and last parts of November, Beijing's organs of the various levels basically concluded the "study movement" of the 12th Party Congress documents. Though the movement was conducted fairly intensively, and even today (20 November) the red poster "Earnestly Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress" can still be seen on Wangfujing Street, many were not interested in the movement. "A gust of energy upon return," referring to the 5-minute fervor after the meetings, can be considered not bad, as some are basically not even enthusiastic for 5 minutes. Indeed, too many are suffering from the malady of political indifference.

Xia Yan Rejoiced; Huang Gang Grieved

Nevertheless, in the literary world, the dismissal of Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237], director of General Political Department, Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038], director of Culture Department of General Political Department, and Huang Gang [7806 6921], the person in charge of SHIDAI DI BAOGAO [REPORT OF THE TIMES], gave everyone a feeling of warmth in his heart. Obviously, doing more things compatible with popular desire is the best cure for the malady of political indifference.

In recent years, certain writers, including Zhou Yang [0719 2254] and Xia Yan [1115 5888], were much bullied by Huang Gang, known as "Yao [Yao

Wenyuan] the Second." Today, SHIDAI DI BAOGAO is to be reorganized, and the group of writers assigned by "Yao the Second" and the General Political Department and JIEFANG JUNBAO will all be recalled to their former units. Thereupon, Zhou Yang, Xia Yan and a large number of writers "rejoiced" over the "news," feeling an ease of mind. Nevertheless, Huang Gang was not reprimanded by his superiors. When talking with him, Director Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028] of the Party Central Committee Propaganda Department indicated that he made a good showing in upholding Mao Zedong's literary line, but immediately followed by saying that SHIDAI DI BAOGAO needed reorganization and remodeling and that Huang Gang could write articles and do creative work at home. Huang Gang felt unhappy at heart, but put up a cheerful front and indicated that he would obey the decision of the organization. Privately he declared: "Who's right and who's wrong will be seen in the future."

The leftist nature of the "leftist chiefs" is hard to change!

Why Did Chen Yi Submit One Manuscript to Two Publishers?

After the downfall of Wei Guoqing, Liu Baiyu and Huang Gang, those in the literary world promptly shifted their sight to Chen Yi [7115 3085], the person in charge of propaganda literature in the Shanghai municipal party committee. Zhao Yiya's [6392 2496 0068] article, which deliberately countered Deng Xiaoping, was published in both JIEFANG JUNBAO and JIEFANG RIBAO on the same day (28 August). It was Shanghai's Wei Guoqing responding to Beijing's Wei Guoqing. With the downfall of the latter, what would happen to the former? People all surmised that Chen Yi would follow suit. However, Chen Yi was not an ordinary man. He was a quick-change artist. "The Important Issue Is Earnest Studying," published in the November issue of WENYI BAO, was a refutation of Zhao Yiya, and the author was none other than Chen Yi. On 3 November, Shanghai's WENHUI BAO published "Ideal, Ethics, Culture and Discipline," also taking exception to Zhao Yiya, and again written by Chen Yi. The essence of both articles was the same, and even the wording of certain passages was identical. Both articles exhorted people (especially Communist Party members) to put into practice Deng Xiaoping's appeal for "ideal, ethics, culture and discipline." The one goal of both articles was to demonstrate the author's attitude: Please note that I am different from Zhao Yiya. Zhao only wants three things, not "culture," but I want four things and pay serious attention to "culture." Some people in Beijing's cultural circles said that Chen Yi was a chameleon and others called him a close follower. One writer said that a person like Chen Yi who submitted the same article to two different publishers was naturally not for the remuneration, but for propaganda (a person's attitude must also be propagandized). How apt!

Three Confidential Matters

Judging from the reaction of the literary world to the downfall of those like Huang Gang, one can see how people bitterly abhor the "leftwing"

line and leftist chiefs. Nevertheless, leftist chiefs and leftist generals inside and outside the army are certainly not confined to the few like Liu Baiyu and Huang Gang. To date, those who worship Mao Zedong as a deity and revere his words and phrases as standards and who find Deng Xiaoping's lines, principles and policies retrogressive are not few in number. This is particularly true in the army and the departments connected with it. Xi Shiyu [6079 0013 0645], Geng Biao [5105 7374], etc. are all among them.

An old friend explained to me the three secrets of the 12th Party Congress:

When the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Party Congress elected the general secretary, Hu Yaobang was elected, but failed to win all the votes. (It was actually nothing unusual, and it showed that the election was democratic, but the CPC was accustomed to unanimity). This was the first "secret."

Hua Guofeng had a loud argument with the Deng faction inside and outside the assembly hall, and the sound was heard outside the building. He defended the theories of the vagueness of communism and of the unknowability of communism, and his view was not entirely without its market. This was the second "secret."

Xu Shiyu Expressed His Discontent in a Note

Another "secret" was the rather strong resentment felt by Xu Shiyu over the issue of yielding power and position on the part of himself and other old cadres. Making no statement at the meeting, he only submitted a note which read: The old cadres are no longer sought after and kept at important posts. We are constantly told to retire and serve as advisers. I might as well do nothing. The matter became a deadlock for a time. Subsequently, Deng Xiaoping personally talked with him and consoled him. When electing the members of the Advisory Commission, he was elected a vice chairman. Finally he indicated that he would obey the decision of the Party Central Committee.

Had the incident occurred in a democratic country, there would have been completely no need to keep it confidential. The friend who revealed to me the "secrets" meriting no confidentiality said: "In the past month or two, when the forces against the Deng Xiaoping line were poised for action, Hua Guofeng, Xu Shiyu, Wei Guoqing, Geng Biao, etc. all used their own experiences to go on stage. But they failed to get anywhere and were quickly overwhelmed."

"In that case," I asked, "was it because they openly stood up to Deng Xiaoping that the latter resorted to the measure of reorganization?"

"Not that either. To consolidate the political power, Deng and Hu had long decided to launch reorganization at the top level. Nevertheless,

since some individuals ventured out to give a performance, they were made examples."

#### Suggestion to Disband the Railway Corps Aroused Dispute

Reorganization requires criterion. The Party Central Committee made the following decision: Dismissal primarily hinged on whether an individual fell into one of the five categories (those who rose by rebellion, those who entertained serious factional ideas, those who committed beating, smashing and looting, those who resisted the lines of the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session, and those who seriously violated law and disrupted discipline). Anyone belonging to the "five new categories of undesirables" absolutely would not be permitted to hold a leading post. After hearing my old friend explain the "tightening of criterion," I queried:

"I heard that some people, with a view of saving military expenditure, suggested disbanding the railway corps of around 300,000 officers and men, and ran into objections, and that now it has become a stalemate and the problem cannot be solved. Is it true? Are the generals who oppose economy considered as 'resisting the lines of the Party Central Committee?' Should they be dismissed?"

"The Party Central Committee has one rule: Before a matter is decided at the meeting, everyone may express his own opinion. After a decision is reached, all must 'maintain unity with the Party Central Committee' and refrain from dissent. I believe that it applies to the issue of economizing on military expenditures and to other issues. Whether the railway corps should be disbanded has indeed not been decided. Some people have suggested a compromise, which may be more feasible."

"Judged from the various indications in the personnel reorganization in the army, one criterion is fairly pronounced: whether an individual opposes the requirement of culture and scientific and technical knowledge for the troops. If he does, he is considered as 'resisting the lines of the Party Central Committee.' Is it true?"

"True. Whether culture and scientific and technical knowledge are required of the troops is a major issue of the modernization and standardization of the army and of the army building line. Wei Guoqing insisted on the 'leftwing' view on the issue and stressed only 'politics first' and 'politics in command,' thereby causing his dismissal as director of the General Political Department...."

Thereafter, our conversation shifted to the issue of Geng Biao's dismissal.



## Geng Biao's Capital and Backing

In the successive wars before 1949, the now 73-year old Geng Biao rendered meritorious service. He was, for instance, the commander of the Fourth Regiment of the Second Division which stormed Zunyi, Guizhou, during the Red Army's Long March in 1935. The famous "Yang-Luo-Geng Army Group" in the liberation war referred to Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807], Luo Ruiqing [5012 3843 0615] and Geng Biao. After overthrowing the gang of four in 1976, Geng Biao also rendered service by leading his men to occupy and take over Beijing's broadcasting stations and newspapers. These were all his capital for entry into the Politburo at the 1977 11th Party Congress. His bureaucratic fortune went further. After the Third Plenary Session at the end of 1978, he succeeded the deceased Luo Ruiqing and became the secretary general of the Central Military Commission. In March 1981, he was made a vice premier and replaced Xu Xiangqian [1776 0686 0467], who retired for age and infirmity, as minister of National Defense. In May 1982, he became a councilor after the personnel reduction of the State Council.

"One may say that Geng Biao enjoyed smooth sailing in officialdom for more than 3 decades, and he escaped assault in the 'Cultural Revolution.' Why?" My curiosity was insatiable.

"During the 'Cultural Revolution,' Geng Biao, who had served as minister or ambassador to Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Brazil and Burma and as vice minister of Foreign Affairs, not only weathered the storms successfully, but was also sent in 1969 as envoy to Albania, China's only ally, and served for 8 years as director of the Central International Liaison Department. It was because of his strong backing."

Who Backed Geng Biao?

"Who was Geng Biao's backstage supporter?"

"He had many backers." After a pause, my friend continued: "During the 'Cultural Revolution,' his patronage came from Mao, Lin and Kang. His appointment as envoy to Albania, praised by Mao Zedong as 'the light of Europe's socialism,' indicated Mao's high regard of him at the time. Naturally, what was even more important was his common background with Lin Biao and Kang Sheng [1660 3932]. In the war to resist Japan, when Lin Biao commanded the 115th Division of the 8th Route Army, Geng Biao served under him. As director of the Central International Liaison Department, he was responsible to Kang Sheng. Knowing this part of Geng Biao's background, one will not find his 'leftist' tendency odd."

"How did Geng Biao lean to the 'left?'"

"Without mentioning other things, just during his term as director of the Central International Liaison Department, Geng Biao consistently devoted

himself to implementing Mao Zedong's ultra-leftist line in international affairs. One should say that he was also of the whatever faction."

"Didn't Deng Xiaoping give him an important post after the fall of the gang of four?"

"Nevertheless, please note the background at the time. Geng Biao performed his tasks under Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying in the struggle against the gang of four. Of course, Deng Xiaoping also regarded him highly for a time. Therefore, he successively served as an aide to Deng Xiaoping in the positions of secretary general of the Military Commission and member of its standing committee. However, his 'leftist' nature was hard to change. On the military line, he, identical with Wei Guoqing, belittled the modernization and standardization construction of the army and scorned the role of culture, science and technology. Subsequently, he openly competed against Deng Xiaoping...."

Openly Competing against Deng Xiaoping

"What kind of secret was this?"

"It was a semi-overt secret."

"What was overt?"

"The speech at the National Defense Ministry reception celebrating '1 August [Army Day].'"

"What did he say?"

"Same as Zhao Yiya, he only wanted 'three things,' not 'four.' He said: 'We must develop the fine tradition of our army and properly handle the building of a socialist spiritual civilization with ideal, ethics and discipline as the core.' One criticism of Zhao Yiya's article in the army newspapers was overlooking the study of culture and science and technology in the army and disregarding the role of the intellectuals, yet Geng Biao was ahead of him. Close to a month before the emergence of Zhao Yiya's article, he uttered the same words which subsequently caused Zhao Yiya to be criticized and Wei Guoqing to be dismissed from the post of director of the General Political Department. Just from this open fact alone, Geng Biao's problems were not simple."

My old friend called it an "open fact," because Geng Biao's speech was published by XINHUA PRESS in the 1 August issue of RENMIN RIBAO.

Geng Biao's Prerogatives Extended to Hong Kong

Naturally there were things which were not published in RENMIN RIBAO. Same as Hua Guofeng and Wei Guoqing, Geng Biao considered himself loyal.

to "Chairman Mao's revolutionary line" and regarded Deng Xiaoping's practices as capitalist things. It was because of his reliance on his capital and backing that he "rose in revolt" even before Wei Guoqing and competed against Deng. Therefore, Deng Xiaoping replaced him with Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2492], Deng's intimate, as secretary general of the Military Commission. After the 12th Party Congress, Geng Biao fell into a greater disgrace than Wei Guoqing. The latter remains even now a member of the Politburo and of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, while Geng Biao lost all party, government and army posts with real power -- memberships on the Politburo, on the Party Central Committee and on the standing committee of the Military Commission, councilor of the State Council and minister of National Defense. All that is left is the empty title of member of the Central Advisory Commission.

What was not published in RENMIN RIBAO also included Geng Biao's prerogatives. Geng Biao's exercise of prerogatives had long lost its secrecy in Beijing's high level. Let us give an illustration: Geng Biao asked his secretary to telephone the units concerned in Hong Kong and arbitrarily imposed his two relatives on state organs stationed in Hong Kong. His daughter, originally named Lilan [4539 5695], used another name when working in Hong Kong's press service. Slender in built and a spit image of her father, she created a good impression on those coming in contact with her, but people whispered behind her back. Her husband, the son of Fang Yi [2455 3015], was assigned to a civil aviation unit. Those in the know in Beijing criticized Geng's practice of entering by the back door. Subsequently, hearing about the matters concerning Geng Biao and members of his family, Sister Deng (Deng Yingchao [6772 4481 6389]) brought the issue up and demanded the recall of Geng's daughter and son-in-law, much to the discomfiture of Geng Biao.

Zhang Aiping, Peng Dehuai and Liu Shaoqi

On the eve before this reporter completed the article, the standing committee of the National People's Congress decided to appoint Zhang Aiping [1728 1947 5493] councilor of the State Council and minister of National Defense to succeed Geng Biao, and Wu Xueqian as minister of Foreign Affairs to replace Huang Hua.

The 72-year old Zhang Aiping is perhaps the best choice as National Defense minister. This general (title conferred in 1955) has an impeccable background: Joined the Communist Youth League in 1926 and the party 2 years later. Enlisted in the Red Army in 1929 and served in the Third Army Group. Took part in the Long March in 1934. During the resistance war against Japan, served as column political commissar and detachment commander of the Eighth Route Army; deputy commander of the Third Division of the New Fourth Army and concurrently deputy commander of the Northern Jiangsu Military Region; commander of the Fourth Division and concurrently commander of Huaibei Military Region of the New Fourth Army. During the third domestic war, served as deputy commander of Central China Military

Region and member of the front committee of the Third Field Army. In 1949, served as naval commander and concurrently political commissar of the East China Military Region. After the founding of the nation, served as commander of Zhejiang Military Region, commander of the Seventh Army Group, chief of staff of East China Military Region and Third Field Army, deputy chief of staff of the PLA and concurrently vice chairman of National Defense Commission (chairman was Nie Rongzhen [5119 2837 5271]), deputy director of National Defense Industries Office, deputy chief of staff and concurrently chairman of National Defense Commission, vice premier of State Council, and assistant secretary general of Military Commission.

There are three distinctive features in Zhang Aiping's background:

First, not long after joining the army, he served under Peng Dehuai. When the latter was in charge of the front committee of the Third Army Group, he served as director of its political department for a time. Subsequently, Liu Shaoqi also served in the same position.

Second, as deputy division commander and division commander in the New Fourth Army and concurrently deputy commander and commander of the military region, organizationally he served under the leadership of Liu Shaoqi, who was secretary of the secretariat of the Central Plains Bureau of the Party Central Committee. When Wang Jingwei's puppet army besieged Liu Shaoqi's party, Zhang Aiping led his men to raise the siege. In his political life, he was influenced more by Peng Dehuai and Liu Shaoqi than by Mao Zedong. On the army building line, he was fairly close to the view of modernization and standardization vigorously advocated by Peng Dehuai and Luo Ruiqing. For this very reason, he was attacked in the "Cultural Revolution" and dismissed from his post.

Third, the day when Deng Xiaoping reemerged in 1975 was the time when Zhang Aiping again took charge of the National Defense Commission. Assiduously studying national defense science and technology, Zhang Aiping possesses knowledge and understands the professions. He contributed a share in China's test detonation of the atom bomb, satellite launching, missile launching, etc. This old general naturally speaks a common language with Deng Xiaoping. After the fall of the gang of four, poems "extolling the virtues" of Zhang Aiping frequently appeared in RENMIN RIBAO, indirectly indicating his position as a figure on the Deng Xiaoping line.

Zhang Aiping's appointment as National Defense minister (very possibly followed by entry into the standing committee of the Military Commission) will strengthen Deng Xiaoping's power and position over the entire army, further the implementation of Deng Xiaoping's military line and hasten the modernization and standardization construction of the troops. In another aspect, the fall of Geng and the rise of Zhang in the Party Central Committee high level constituted a rather heavy blow on the whatever and ultra-leftist factions.

## Replacement of the Chiefs of Some Military Regions

Around the time of the fall of Wei Guoqing and Geng Biao, the chiefs of several large military regions were also replaced. Commander Wu Kehua [0702 0344 5478] and Deputy Commander Huang Ronghai [7806 2837 3189] of Guangzhou Military Region, Commander Nie Fengzhi [5119 7685 2535] of Nanjing Military Region, and Commander Zhang Caiqian [1728 2088 0578] of the Wuhan unit were all ousted. You Taizhong [1429 1132 1813], former commander of Chengdu Military Region, succeeded Wu Kehua; Xiang Shouzhi [0686 1343 1807], former deputy commander of Nanjing Military Region, succeeded Nie Fengzhi; Zhou Shizhong [0719 0013 1813], former deputy commander of the Wuhan unit, succeeded Zhang Caiqian. Signs of the fall of Wu, Nie and Zhang started at the 12th Party Congress when former members of the Party Central Committee Nie Fengzhi and Zhang Caiqian, together with former alternate member Wu Kehua, were dispatched to the Central Advisory Commission.

The problems of Wu, Nie and Zhang were not all identical, nor were they the same as those of Wei Guoqing and Geng Biao. Wu Kehua, for instance, had connections with Huang Yongsheng [7806 3057 0524] and Ding Sheng [0002 4141] in the past and was dissatisfied with the lines of the Party Central Committee. Guangzhou Military Region Commander Huang Ronghai had long been suspected of being a "new five-category element." Long under the influence of Xu Shiyu, one of the leaders of the whatever faction in the army, Nie Fengzhi refused to endorse the earnest criticism of Mao and made "cynical remarks" about the lines of the Party Central Committee. A well-known "leftwing" general in Wuhan, Zhang Caiqian failed to "maintain political unity" with Deng and Hu. Thus, while the ideological and line tendencies of Wu, Nie, Zhang, Wei and Geng were not completely identical, they all based themselves on "leftism" and regarded Deng Xiaoping and his army building line with the leftwing eye. Thus, their downfall was a matter of course.

People should realize very clearly that the dismissal of Wei Guoqing, Geng Biao, Wu Kehua, Nie Fengzhi and Zhang Caiqian was part of the same plan. Around the time of the 12th Party Congress, Deng Xiaoping made two plans: One was to reduce the ultra-leftist power in the Party Central Committee, the Central Secretariat and the Politburo and its standing committee; the other was to perform surgery in the army and oust the leftist chiefs and generals from key posts, replacing them with supporters of the Deng Xiaoping line.

## Wu Xueqian Is Promoted; Xiang Nan Will Go to Beijing

In the 1 September issue of CHENG MING [CONTENDING], this reporter "announced" the following: With the expansion of Hu Yaobang's power, attention must be given to First Vice Minister Wu Xueqian of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and First Secretary Xiang Nan [7309 0589] of the Fujian provincial party committee. Today, the replacement of Huang Hua by Wu Xueqian as Foreign Affairs minister was anticipated and not surprising in

the least bit, because among Hu Yaobang's former colleagues and subordinates, it is very difficult to find a diplomatic figure like Wu Xueqian. Now 60 years of age, Wu Xueqian served as deputy director and subsequently director of the central committee of the Communist Youth League, and office chief, bureau chief and deputy director of the [International] Liaison Department of the Party Central Committee and became first vice minister of Foreign Affairs last May. One can thus see that he possesses three distinctions: (1) a trusted follower of Hu Yaobang; (2) a certain amount of diplomatic experience; (3) relatively young in years. Of course, his diplomatic experience is extremely limited. But in terms of strengthening the nuclear position of Deng and Hu and implementing the Deng Xiaoping line in foreign relations, he should, in the final analysis, be promoted.

As for the aging and infirm Huang Hua, it is time for him to hand over the job to the next shift. In Beijing, I heard no information or comment on Huang Hua which might irritate Deng and Hu. The fall of Huang and the rise of Wu in foreign affairs probably can be considered as truly making the leaders more "youthful."

Recently, when the news that Wu Xueqian would soon take over as Foreign Affairs minister got around, a "well-informed source" told me that the subject of replacing Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522] with Xiang Nan as director of the Organization Department of the Party Central Committee was discussed at a high-level meeting of the Party Central Committee. Today, the problem has not been solved, mainly because Xiang Nan's work in Fujian is rather outstanding and there is concern over his transfer. As a member of the secretariat of the League Central Committee, he served as Hu Yaobang's right-hand man at that time. His appointment as director of the Central Organization Department will further consolidate Hu Yaobang's position in the party.

#### How Wang Zhaoguo Rode the Helicopter

Elected first secretary of the League Central Committee at the Fourth Plenary Session of the Communist Youth League on 4 November, Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948] is a figure who rose by "helicopter." Had assistant plant chief Wang Zhaoguo not sat in the same car when Deng Xiaoping took the bread train in 1980 to inspect the second automobile plant (in Wuhan) and had plant chief Huang Zhengxia [7806 2973 1115], who was first secretary of the plant party committee, not informed Deng Xiaoping of how Wang Zhaoguo firmly resisted the "counterattack against the rightwing reversal trend" (against Deng), thereby arousing Deng Xiaoping's attention and winning his recognition, most likely it would have been impossible for the now 41-year old Wang Zhaoguo to suddenly join the Party Central Committee at the 12th Party Congress. After Wang Zhaoguo became a member, the Party Central Committee held two views on his work assignment: One was to appoint him vice minister of a machine-building ministry; the other was to make him first secretary of the League Central Committee.

Hu Yaobang strongly supported the latter view. (Reportedly Han Ying [7281 5391] will receive another appointment). Consequently, Hu prevailed. What was interesting was that, before the appointment appeared in the newspapers, Hu Yaobang specially sent Secretary Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539] of the Central Secretariat to go to Wang Zhaoguo's former unit and formally read out the appointment. It indicated the high degree of attention paid by Deng and Hu on cultivating the third generation political power.

### Three "Candidates" for State Chairman

One particularly important personnel issue has not been solved to date. It is the choice for the state chairmanship.

The fifth meeting of the Fifth National People's Congress will pass a new constitution, but who will play the role of the state chairman which will be reinstated in the new constitution?

Information from reliable sources obtained by this reporter is as follows: People of three sides in this stratum each support a senior figure as the state chairman. They are Deng Xiaoping, Peng Zhen and Li Xiannian.

Deng has the largest number of supporters, but he has tactfully rejected the proposal time and again. An old general and some others proposed Li Xiannian, but ran into objections. Li Xiannian enjoys fairly good relations with Yu Qiuli [0151 4428 6849] and Kang Shien [1660 0013 1869] of the "petroleum faction." Yu Qiuli was transferred to the General Political Department to replace Wei Guoqing, and it was recently rumored that Kang Shien, who had a serious demerit recorded against him, would receive another appointment. Their transfer seems unfavorable to Li Xiannian's selection as state chairman. This reporter wrote in the June issue of CHENG MING that the chances of Peng Zhen's selection as state chairman were considerable. Judged from Beijing's current political atmosphere, they remain good.

Naturally, there is still a gap between now and the final selection. A cadre who made an observation trip to Hong Kong remarked humorously in the Hong Kong colloquial: "By that time there may be a long shot."

In the past, people did not pay much attention to the post of state chairman. Today, in view of the provisions in the new constitution, people have realized that the state chairman is not entirely a figurehead with no real power; therefore, the choice has become an issue. At present, Deng and Hu are vigorously adopting organizational measures in the central stratum to reinforce the Deng-Hu regime. Judged from this angle, while the possibilities of Peng Zhen's becoming state chairman are high, the chances of Deng Xiaoping's reluctant acceptance of the post under pressure from his supporters cannot be written off. Let us wait and see!

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