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JPRS 82378

3 December 1982

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 368

19990607 139

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CHINA REPORT  
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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BAN YUE TAN' DISCUSSES EDITORIAL, PROPAGANDA WORK

HK230421 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 21, 10 Nov 82 pp 3-7

[Article by Liao Jingdan [1675 0064 0030]: "Work Hard To Publicize the Spirit of the 12th CPC Congress"]

[Text] Editor's note: Comrade Liao Jingdan, adviser to the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee gave a speech at the second meeting of correspondents convened by the editorial department of the BAN YUE TAN on 7 October, in which he emphasized the issue of publicizing the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress. Excerpts of his speech are published here. [end of editor's note]

Since the establishment of the BAN YUE TAN, it has achieved results; it should be said that it has achieved a lot. It has played a positive role in relaying the spirit of the central authorities, publicizing the party's line, principles and policies and teaching people how to do ideological and political work. Over the past few months, I visited some areas in the southern provinces and solicited the opinions of the propaganda departments there and the opinions of some of their comrades. They all considered this journal helpful. The CPC Central Committee shows a lot of concern for this journal and central leading comrades often enquire into affairs related to it.

Now that the 12th party congress is already over, we should carefully study the way to run our journal better in the light of the spirit of the congress. I am going to talk about the problems we discussed recently in the propaganda committee of the CPC Central Committee, and my personal understanding, in order to provide something for our comrades to refer to.

#### 1. We Should Conscientiously Publicize the Strategic Goal Put Forward by the 12th Congress

Concerning this problem, most of our comrades think that it is a good thing to have a long-term goal for our struggle. However, there are some people who lack confidence, though they are very few. We do have to satisfactorily solve this kind of ideological problem.

At present, we should pay attention to the following two ideological problems: first, empty talk and rash action; second, failure to shift the emphasis of our work, pay close attention to it or lack confidence in it. Judging by the present

situation, the main ideological problem that has cropped up is the latter. In my opinion, there is no reason for a lack of confidence in realizing the strategic goal put forward by the CPC Central Committee. Our country now has more than 300,000 enterprises, forming very solid foundations. Moreover, our party has satisfactorily summed up both positive and negative experiences and formulated a strategic goal, clarified the strategic key links and the strategic steps, and thus clearly distinguished between the important and the unimportant and between the urgent and the less urgent. This being the case, we will certainly be able to achieve a good speed of construction and to realize our goal. It should be said that the speed of development we have fixed is not very great. Of course, we do have to make efforts in order to achieve this speed. We must overcome the state of mind of lacking confidence, aspirations and zeal. Comrades engaged in propaganda work should conscientiously pay attention to responses from all circles and sections of people, cite relevant facts to explain to the masses the viability of the goal raised by the 12th congress, and encourage them to become confident in realizing this goal.

## 2. We Must Publicize the Superiority of the Socialist System

During the last few years, some people have seen certain foreign things, blindly believe that the speed of economic development in capitalist countries is quicker than ours and the capitalist system is better than ours. In order to give an answer to this question, BAN YUE TAN has published articles by some of the people who have returned from abroad, in which they cited facts to prove that socialism is better than capitalism. In this field, we still have to do more work.

Our "four modernizations" are none other than socialist modernization. Our prerequisite is socialism. Only by relying on the socialist system can we realize the strategic goal we have set. Some comrades, especially young ones, do not quite understand this issue. They lack experience in this sphere and doubt the socialist system. Leading comrades in some grassroots units also fail to clearly understand it. BAN YUE TAN should continue to publicize correct ideas and deepen its propaganda work concerning this issue.

In carrying out propaganda work, we should strictly maintain our political identity with the CPC Central Committee and no one should go his own way. There may be diversified forms of propaganda, but the content (viewpoints and ideas) must be identical to that of the Central Committee. This is a discipline we should strictly observe. For some time in the past, some people put forth the idea that any question can be put forward for discussion in newspapers including the question of whether we should follow the socialist path or be led by the party. This is going too far.

## 3. We Should Publicize a Chinese Style of Modernization

Our socialist modernizations are carried out on Chinese land and by Chinese people. They differ from those carried out in other countries by other races. China's territory is so large, its population so great and the history of its culture so long that it is impossible for it to succeed by copying the existing practices

of modernizing other countries. The reason why we have actually achieved good results in some spheres, such as in developing the rural economy, is precisely because we have followed our own path. This truth has been repeatedly proved in the practice of our country's communist movement.

Comrade Xiaoping said that we should develop socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics. The principle of independence and self-reliance was, is and will be our basic standpoint. Depending on other people will never do. Should we learn advanced technology from foreign countries, introduce foreign capital and assimilate the advanced elements of economic management in capitalist countries? We can neither follow the old path of economic development of capitalist countries nor the path of developing the economy by depending only on developing processing industries and exporting resources. If we study the problems without taking account of China's actual conditions, we will come to wrong conclusions. It would be dangerous to formulate national policies without taking account of China's reality. Fundamentally speaking, as Comrade Xiaoping pointed out, things in China have to be done by us, the Chinese.

#### 4. We Should Conscientiously Publicize Communist Ideology and Socialist Spiritual Civilization

In order to carry out socialist modernization in a Chinese pattern, we should properly handle the relationship between economic construction and ideological and political work. As Comrade Hu Yaobang said, socialist spiritual civilization is an important characteristic of socialism and a reflection of the superiority of socialism. It is impossible to build socialism without socialist spiritual civilization. We should carefully publicize this viewpoint. What we are doing now is by no means taking class struggle as the key link or making continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We want to build up socialist spiritual civilization centering on communist ideology. This is the orientation of and guarantee for our modernization. We communists will naturally pursue communism. Carrying out modernization at present means turning communist ideology into our people's spiritual mainstay.

The issue of how we are to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization can be said to be an issue that no one has yet solved in the world. It is an issue we have been trying to solve for decades, but we have so far failed to do so. Now we should conscientiously study this issue, not only theoretically, but also through practice. [phrase indistinct] "five stresses and four beautifuls" and the construction of spiritual civilization should be the day-to-day work of our grassroots party organizations and a key job for our ideological, propaganda and theoretical circles. Since it is day-to-day work, we should not discuss it occasionally, when we please, it must be discussed often and given attention.

#### 5. About Party Building

The key to achieving modernization in a Chinese pattern lies in the leadership of the party. The central authorities have called on us to bring about three basic turns for the better. Our people on the ideological, propaganda and theoretical fronts must pay special attention to doing this work well.



Our party enjoys high prestige among the masses. However, the "leftist" practices that we engaged in over the past 20 and more years, especially the 10 years of civil disorder, have reduced our party's prestige. Through years of efforts, especially through the efforts we have made since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the image of our party among the masses has undergone a heartening change and great improvement. However, the masses are not yet completely satisfied. What are they so dissatisfied with? The unhealthy trend in some of our comrades and the failure to play an exemplary role by some of our party members. Our party work style is a vital issue for our party, and one we can never neglect. A party member must fight all his life for communism, solve problems related to his world outlook, be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and observe party discipline and state law. Leading party cadres must take the lead in doing this.

In order to rectify our party work style, we should pay close attention to propagating good work styles and criticizing bad work styles. BAN YUE TAN has published reports on the exemplary role of some leading cadres. Comrades from all localities are also welcome to write reports publicizing the deeds of comrades who genuinely work with a communist spirit and justly handle problems and whose hearts really beat as one with the masses. We must criticize all bad things, but our criticism must be accurate and must be based on facts, not hearsay.

Finally, I Should Like to Say Something About 'BAN YUE TAN'

BAN YUE TAN is a journal that the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee entrusted the XINHUA News Agency to run. The comrades of the XINHUA News Agency and the editorial department of BAN YUE TAN have made great efforts and have really run this journal well. Now, we should run it even better in accordance with the spirit of the 12th congress. Party committees and propaganda departments in all areas should really support this journal. Our aim in publishing it is to publicize current affairs and policies and do ideological and political work satisfactorily. Our comrades the correspondents in various localities should often exchange information with the party committees there and thus enable those party committees to support their work better. BAN YUE TAN should through its correspondents in various localities, strengthen its links with the party committees, cadres and masses there.

BAN YUE TAN is a party journal. Party committees and propaganda departments should make full use of this journal. In my opinion, every party branch should take out at least one subscription. Comrades in various party committees can contribute to it and put forward their opinions. They can also tell the journal's editorial department what kind of articles they would like to see published in the current period. Moreover, they should organize people to read and publicize this journal.

I have visited some provinces and talked with some comrades. Propaganda networks have been set up in some, but not all areas. I think that these networks must be set up. Those areas where networks have been set up should operate them well and

those areas which have no networks as yet should create conditions for setting them up. Since we now have so many nonparty and party newspapers and journals, we must organize people to read them and discuss what they have read. The lower levels should let BAN YUE TAN know the actual state of affairs there, especially the ideological situation. The editorial department should fully utilize information from the lower levels so as to carry out propaganda and explain situations and policies with the aim of solving the ideological problems of the masses. Only by so doing can they do political and ideological work well. Now that we have the guidance of the spirit of the 12th congress, we will certainly be able to run this journal well and make it play an even greater role as long as we rely on party committees at all levels and on the masses, strengthen our investigation and study and run this journal by relying on the support of the whole party and the masses!

CSO: 4005/147

## PARTY AND STATE

### REFLECTIONS ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, TWO CIVILIZATIONS REPORTED

Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Xia Shuzhang [1115 2579 4545]: "Develop Socialist Democracy and Build the Two Civilizations"]

[Text] The question concerning the building of an advanced socialist democracy occupies an important position in the documents of the 12th Party Congress. It is not only one of the fundamental goals and fundamental tasks we wish to attain or accomplish in the new historical period but also a necessary condition indispensable to the guarantee and support for the building of the two civilizations. I wish to discuss below some reflections on my study of this very question of developing this socialist democracy and building the two civilizations.

Socialism is the great, fine cause shared by all the people. The nature of this cause determines that only by mobilizing to the maximum the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the masses of the people can we build well the two civilizations. This makes it imperative for us to build an advanced socialist democracy. Through the socialist democratic system and democratic life, once the vast ranks of the masses of the people have strengthened their sense of responsibility as masters of the house, exerted their huge enthusiasm in building the two civilizations, invoked their spirit of initiative in proceeding with such building efforts, and consciously brought into play and dedicated their wisdom and talent thereto, they are bound to be able to bring about the situation of all converging in the endeavor with common goal and exertion and thereby greatly accelerate the processes of building the two civilizations.

The building of an advanced socialist democracy should first of all be reflected in our political life; this goes without saying. But, it is not necessarily confined within such limits. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Our socialist democracy must be extended to the various aspects of our political life, our economic life, our cultural life and our social life as we develop democratic management in various public agencies and enterprise units and develop self-government by the masses in their basic-level social life." This entirely tallies with the requirements of building the two civilizations and helps facilitate the improvement, enhancement and healthy development of various kinds of work. Speaking merely of promoting what is beneficial and

abolishing what is harmful, if the various realms of our socialist democracy are fully developed and democracy becomes the method for the masses of the people to educate themselves, then unhealthy and devious practices are bound to decrease until they disappear altogether and socialist forthrightness is bound to increase and enhance itself. Actually, the democratic self-cultivation, outlook, atmosphere, and habit of socialism itself also all belong to the realm of socialist sprititual civilization.

Speaking from the point of view of our own wishes, it is a case of the faster, the better with the building of our socialist democratic system and democratic life. But it requires, after all, the undertaking of a long-term and great deal of work and cannot possibly achieve immediate perfection overnight. We should entertain a positive attitude and make our untiring efforts. While we extend socialist democracy to all aspects, we must at the same time emphasize making efforts to perfect the party's democratic centralism and foster a democratic workstyle, as well as reforming the political system and leadership system of our state. This will play a significant promotive role in all other aspects. Because that will help set an example for the people to be able to better exercise state power and for state organs to more effectively lead the building of the two civilizations; then all other apsects will likewise advance alongside.

Speaking of socialist democracy, we cannot but correctly understand citizens' freedoms, rights, and duties. Under the premise of causing no damage to state, social and collective interests, nor other people's freedoms and rights, the citizens' legitimate exercise of their freedoms and rights is protected; the citizens should also perform their own duties toward the state and society. But, the development of socialism resolutely disallows any measures and conduct that would harm the consolidation of our socialist system or sabotage our socialist production and construction and absolutely refuses to grant freedom to those hostile elements who endanger socialism so that they could thereby engage in destructive activities. According to the will and interests of the people, we can only exercise dictatorship over such hostile elements.

In order to institutionalize and legalize socialist democracy, our development and building of socialist democracy must also unite closely with our development and building of our socialist legal system. Without a wholesome socialist legal system, socialist democracy cannot possibly develop smoothly with any guarantee. In the process of building our two civilizations, especially in respect to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization, we must draw a clear line between socialism and non-socialism or even anti-socialism. The socialist legal system is precisely the sharp weapon of an inviolable nature which serves to protect our socialist cause (including socialist democracy). Hence, it is a very important task to continue to strengthen our legislative work in order to ensure that our various laws will become gradually complete and improved and that the people will always have laws to follow; it is also important to reinforce our propaganda and education in our socialist legal system and endeavor to help everybody learn about the law and obey the law.

The principle which socialist democracy follows is democratic centralism, that is, the system of a combination of centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under the guidance of centralism. Only by giving full scope to socialist democracy can there be correct centralism, and only under the guidance of centralism can socialist democracy be realized.

When we discuss the question of developing our socialist democracy, we also must at no time forget China's actual conditions. "Our construction of modernization must proceed from China's reality. Whether revolution or construction, we must always pay attention to learning and borrowing from foreign experiences. But wholesale plagiarism and transfer of other countries' experiences or other countries' models can never achieve success. In this regard, we have had many lessons. Uniting the universal truth of Marxism with our concrete reality, following our own path, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics--this is the fundamental conclusion we have derived from summing up our long historical experiences." We should profoundly understand the spirit of this passage of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's speech.

In a situation in which we are practicing a policy of opening to the outside world, we must also maintain our clear-headedness in developing our socialist democracy and building our two civilizations, believe deeply in the incomparable superiority of our socialist democracy, and resolutely resist corrosion by the corrupt ideas and the bourgeois lifestyle from abroad. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put it very well: "The Chinese people have their own sense of national self-respect and self-pride, taking as they do ardent love for their motherland and dedication of all their strength to the construction of their socialist motherland as their greatest honor and damage to the interests, dignity and reputation of their socialist motherland as their greatest shame." When examined in our real life, if anyone should fail to pay attention to the national dignity of his socialist motherland and personal dignity of himself as a citizen of the socialist New China while prating about democracy, then what kind of merchandise his democracy is and what is his own spiritual state can be easily imagined.

Here, we must return to what we have been saying all along: discernment by the masses and resistance against non-socialist, anti-socialist merchandise still depends on developing and building an advanced socialist democracy. In his speech at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Ye Jianying said: "Once the wisdom and strength of the masses are concentrated, things will become easy to handle; what used to be difficult will become easy, what used to be dangerous will become peaceful, and failings in our work will also be reduced. Our party's historical experiences have repeatedly proved this point." The guarantee for, and promotive role of, developing our socialist democracy and building our two civilizations lie precisely in this.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### SHENYANG CADRES DECLARE SUPPORT FOR NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 82 p 1

/Report: "Broad Masses of Party Members and Cadres in Shenyang Municipality  
Declare: 'United Around the Party Central Committee; Strive Toward the New  
Goals'"/

/Text/ On 12 September, the good news of the birth of the new Party Central Committee's leading organ spread all over Shenyang. The broad masses of party members, cadres, and people were elated and they expressed wholehearted support. The party committee secretary and mayor of Shenyang Municipality, Wang Danbo /3769 0030 3134/, and the municipal party committee secretary, Liu Cenghao /0491 2582 3185/, said: The formation of the central leading organ has realized the close cooperation and supersession between old and new cadres in our party's leading level, symbolized the party's strength and the prosperity of our communist cause, and fully reflected the will of the broad masses of party members and people. They indicated that a veteran fighter of the party must do his best and spare no effort to pass on experience earnestly. In addition, he must (1) do his utmost to fulfill his duty, (2) have no reservations, (3) initiate conditions, and (4) bear his responsibility. The deputy director of the Shenyang Railway Branch Bureau, Wang Qingyi /3769 0615 5030/, said: Since its Third Plenary Session, our Party Central Committee has gradually formed a strong collective of cooperation between old and new, and the 12th Party Congress has given this leading nucleus even more spirit and fighting strength. Some highly prestigious and respected veteran cadres with rich experience remain as the mainstay of the leading nucleus. This is an important safeguard for our political stability as well as a reliable backing for middle-aged and young cadres in doing their work boldly, thus increasing our confidence in realizing our magnificent goals. The 38-year-old vice mayor, Li Changchun /2621 7022 2504/, who has recently taken up his post, and the deputy director of the No 1 Industry Bureau of the municipal party committee, Ouyang Geng /2962 7122 1649/, said: The large group of middle-aged and young cadres entering the new central leading organ shows that the Party Central Committee and the older generation of revolutionaries strongly stress the training and selection of successors. We must modestly learn from the veteran comrades and continuously increase our ability in practice. The party committee secretary of Shenhe ward, Lu Bo /4151 3134/, said: The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries has established an example for realizing cooperation and succession between old and new. Practice has proved that our undertaking can prosper only by doing well in cooperation and succession between old and new.

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING DELEGATES VIEW 12TH PARTY CONGRESS AS SUCCESS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 82 p 1

/Report: "Representatives of Our Province Return From the 12th Party Congress With Pride and Enthusiasm"/

/Text/ Representatives of our province who attended the 12th Party Congress returned on a special plane at 9:40 am yesterday. Shenyang airport was astir with jubilant crowds.

As soon as they disembarked, leading comrades of the party and government and representatives from various circles received them with warm handshakes and greetings. The representatives were full of cheer, pride, and enthusiasm. They were entrusted by the broad masses of party members and people of our province to attend this historical congress, and now they had returned with serious tasks. How could they not be elated! Comrade Xu Shaofu /1776 1421 3940/, who was newly elected as a member of the Party Central Committee, told reporters with excitement: "This party congress is a successful and victorious one which has initiated a completely new situation. Our Liaoning representatives have been encouraged; they are full of confidence and strong determination. Together with the party members, cadres, and people of our province, we must make our own contribution to realize the magnificent goals of the new period.

The welcoming party at the airport numbered over 200 people, including leading comrades of the provincial party committee, standing committee of the provincial people's congress, provincial government and provincial people's political consultative conference: Shen Yue /3088 6390/, Zhang Zhengde /1728 2973 1795/, Luo Dingfeng /5012 1353 2800/, Ge Xifan /5514 6932 5672/, Zhang Qingtai /1728 1987 3141/, Liu Wen /2692 2429/, Tang Hongguang /0781 1347 0342/, Chen Beizhen /7115 0554 6591/, Xie Huangtien /6200 5435 3944/, Wang Jiyuan /3769 4764 0337/, Peng Xiangsong /1756 4382 2646/, Zhang Yan /4545 1484/ and Niu Pingfu /3662 1627 3940/; and leading comrades of the Shenyang Municipal Party Committee: Zhu Weiren /4281 4850 0088/, Wang Danbo /3769 0030 3134/, Deng Zhongru /6772 0112 0320/, Liu Cenghao /0491 2582 3185/ and Li Ke /2621 2688/.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### EDITORIAL PRAISES WORK OF 12TH NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 12 Sep 82 p 2

/Editorial: "Carry On the Cause and Forge Ahead: Advance on the Crest of Victory--Use the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress To Unify Our Ideology and Actions"/

/Text/ The 12th CPC National Congress, victoriously concluded yesterday, will go down in history as a historic conference carrying our cause forward and forging ahead into the future. This congress affirmed the guiding principle of fighting to create a new general situation in socialist modernization construction in the days ahead, adopted a new party constitution which strengthens the leadership and building of the party, and elected party leading organizations which realize the cooperation of new and old cadres and a succession of the new to the old and which have become a fighting command headquarters filled with even more vigor and vitality. The great significance and profound influence of this national congress have filled the great numbers of Shanghai CPC members and the people of Shanghai with boundless inspiration and extraordinary confidence. We firmly believe that the fighting principles affirmed by the 12th Party Congress can certainly be realized, enabling our party, our socialist cause, and our country, with its many nationalities, to grow and flourish.

The task which lies before party organizations at every level and the membership of the entire CPC is to do a good job of studying, disseminating, and implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. In his opening address to the congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping gave a general exposition of the historical position, the tasks to be set forth, and the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. We should use the opening address as our general guiding ideology; combine it with the actual conditions in Shanghai, our present tasks, and our ideological awareness; and conscientiously study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, using its spirit to unify our ideology and our actions, to carry on and to forge ahead, advancing on the crest of victory.

Carrying on means making a scientific summary of the historical victories achieved since the smashing of the "gang of four", and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. In just 4 short years since the Third Plenary Session, the Central Committee has led the



entire party in thoroughly shattering the shackles imposed by protracted "leftist" mistakes, in completing the arduous task of setting our guiding ideology to rights, and in realizing a great historical turning point. These 4 years of earth-shaking transformations have been 4 years full of difficulties and great victories. Our party has correctly summed up historical experiences. It has reaffirmed the Marxist ideological, political, and organizational line. Under the guidance of this correct line, it has brought the protracted social disorder to an end, realized a stable and unified political situation, passed through the most difficult economic period, and put the national economy on the sound track of steady development. It has brought about a betterment in the people's lives, while vigorous creative forces have appeared on all the frontlines. This great victory has not been easily won! As many comrades have said: "Now the line is correct, the situation is stable, the ranks are strengthened, popular feeling is unified, the economy is enlivened, and the work is more solid." The great achievements and profound changes since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee show that our party has matured and gained great fighting powers; herein lie our confidence and our hope. We should treat the victorious summaries of the documents of the 12th Party Congress as our most precious treasures and our richest textbooks, and conscientiously study, digest, and apply them. We must relate them to our own work and thinking and, by reviewing the summaries, really understand how the scientific principles--upheld by the party--of combining Marxist theory with practice, and of Marxism's recognition of the people as the makers of history, are the keys to continued victories in our cause, thereby raising our level of consciousness in implementing the correct line and guiding policies of the party since the Third Plenary Session.

Forging ahead means advancing on the crest of victory and creating a new overall situation for the construction of socialist modernization. In accordance with the overall tasks of the new historical period, the Party Central Committee has set forth the great strategic goal of striving to double and redouble China's total annual industrial and agricultural output value in the final two decades of this century, beginning in 1981--a goal which presupposes the continuous improvement of economic results--and has also determined the key strategic priorities and steps. It was emphasized that, on the one hand, we must insist on economic construction as the focus of the work of the entire party, and we must insist on implementing the entire series of effective principles and policies for economic construction that have been set forth since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. On the other hand, we must work hard to realize the four important political and ideological guarantees for upholding the socialist system and accelerating construction of the four modernization. It was emphasized that at the same time as we build a high level of material civilization, we must also work hard to build a socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core. Socialist spiritual civilization should be seen as an important characteristic of the socialist system and as a major aspect of its superiority, and should be put forward as a long-term strategic principle. At the same time, in order to guarantee and support the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization, the building of a high level of socialist democracy is proposed as one of our fundamental goals and tasks. Socialist democracy should be extended to all

spheres of our social life. All of the above is a powerful demonstration that the correct guiding ideology and series of principles and policies for the construction of socialist modernization set down by the Party Central Committee have clearly outlined a magnificent blueprint with a correct course and a realistic pace for the entire party and people. Many comrades have enthusiastically said: "The Party Central Committee has issued mobilization orders for the march to the 21st century," and, "The true golden age of our nation has arrived." Starting from the real conditions on all frontlines, and through study of the 12th Party Congress documents, we must seek a profound understanding of the guiding ideology and principles and policies, a correct understanding and management of the relationship between economics and politics and the relationship between building a material and a spiritual civilization, and be farsighted while keeping our feet on the ground. We must integrate the conditions in our own systems and departments and analyze the many advantageous conditions for creating a new situation; we must also conscientiously analyze the difficulties which really exist; we must have the lofty aspiration of climbing to the top of Mt. Tai; and we must have a strictly scientific attitude, study the art of "mountain climbing," taking the present and concrete work as the starting point and advancing with firm and steady steps. We should raise high the banner of communism and, using the communist ideological system as our guide, manifest a spirit of self-sacrifice, audacity, and creativity, greatly boost our own spiritual state, and fully mobilize and scientifically organize the activism and creativity of the great numbers of cadres and masses. These are the most important means of bringing about an all-round upsurge of China's socialist economy, and they are also the most practical actions for us to take in implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

Stepping up party building is the fundamental guarantee for realizing the great historical task of carrying on the cause and forging ahead. In the magnificent cause of constructing socialist modernization, history has entrusted our party with a sacred responsibility, and the people of the entire nation have placed their hopes on our party. The new party constitution adopted by the party congress is the crystallization of the party's historical experience and wisdom, and it contains the guiding principles for strengthening party building. In order to conform to the characteristics and needs of the new historical period, the new party constitution sets more exacting demands on party members and cadres, and lays down some important new rules for enhancing the fighting capacity of party organizations and upholding and improving party leadership. In our study of the report and of the new party constitution of the 12th Party Congress, we must be soberly aware that throughout the socialist period, the leading position of the party in the life of the state determines that its activities vitally affect the interests of the masses. If they are not suited to the characteristics and needs of the new historical period, and if we do not strengthen party building and uphold and enhance party leadership, the danger that party members, and especially party cadres, will become isolated from the masses can easily arise. "The style of a political party in power determines its very survival." In accordance with the unified plan of the Party Central Committee, we should develop further the Yan'an rectification spirit, combine study and implementation of the report and the new constitution of the 12th

Party Congress with study and implementation of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," and carry out education throughout the entire party in the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, in the ideal of communism and the party's line, principles, and policies, and in essential knowledge concerning the party and the requirements for party membership. We must make all party members understand clearly the character, position, and role of the party. They must understand what is required to meet the standards of a party member in the new party constitution: The Communist Party member is a vanguard fighter of the working class imbued with communist consciousness, and is at all times an ordinary member of the working people. He must serve the people wholeheartedly, must dedicate his life to the struggle for communism, must never seek personal gain or special privileges, and must resolutely resist and oppose unhealthy tendencies. We should also understand clearly that the key to strengthening party building lies in the leading groups at all levels. Because the Shanghai party organization was badly damaged during the "gang of four's" 10 years of domestic disorder, serious impurities in organization, ideology, and style are still found in some departments. The consolidation and building of good leading groups constitute an important and urgent task. We must conscientiously clear out persons who rose to prominence by rebellion, who are seriously factionalist in their thinking, who beat, smash and loot, who oppose the line followed by the Party Central Committee since its Third Plenary Session, and who have seriously violated laws and discipline. We must not be lax in this work; every level must be responsible for carrying this through to the finish. Those young and middle-aged cadres who possess both integrity and ability and who can make breakthroughs in their work should be promoted to leadership posts without hesitation. We must pay close attention to the role played by old cadres in helping and guiding those who are younger and in passing on experience to them. This is an item of the highest priority for party building, and is a most important political and organizational guarantee for keeping to the socialist road and concentrating forces on promoting construction of modernization. As long as we can do a good job of consolidating the party organization and workstyle and can really make party organizations at all levels into strong leadership cores, our party can certainly shoulder its heavy historical responsibilities victoriously and lead the Chinese people in creating a new situation in socialist modernization construction. Then the party shall certainly present a sublime appearance and a new face to the Chinese people.

"Suddenly one night a spring breeze comes up; one thousand, ten thousand pear trees blossom." Summing up the past and looking into the future, we are filled with the joy, confidence, and strength of victory. Party organizations at all levels and the great numbers of party members and cadres throughout Shanghai should quickly mobilize and launch an upsurge in study, dissemination, and implementation of the documents of the 12th Party Congress. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, they should raise high the great banners of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, rouse their spirits, firm and indomitable, hold firm to the four basic principles and the correct line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and struggle hard to create a whole new situation in the construction of socialist modernization.

## PARTY AND STATE

### SERIOUS STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 1

/Article by staff correspondent: "The Great Historical Significance of the 12th Party Congress Discussed and Emphasis Given to Cadres Taking the Lead by Earnestly Studying the Documents"

/Text/ On the morning of 18 September, the Shenyang Municipal CPC Committee convened a general meeting in the Liaoning gymnasium to relay and publicize the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. Eleven thousand party members and cadres above the level of party branch secretary on all fronts participated in the general meeting. Leading cadres in the various democratic parties in the municipality were also invited to attend the general meeting.

At the meeting, Li Tao /2621 3446/, delegate to the 12th Party Congress and first secretary of the municipal CPC committee, passed on and publicized the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. First of all he introduced the grand event of the 12th Party Congress and elaborated on the great achievements and significance of the 12th Party Congress. He publicized the major spirit of the documents of the congress and called on party members throughout the municipality and the masses to unite organizationally as one, to ideologically uphold the various correct policies set forth at the congress and to struggle to implement its magnificent goals.

At the meeting the municipal CPC committee gave mobilization and planning talks for organizing party members, cadres and the masses to study and publicize the documents of the 12th Party Congress. They stressed earnest study of the congress documents and made it known that the implementation of the spirit of the congress would have a bearing on the major problem of opening up new prospects on all fronts during the next 20 years. They emphasized that it is necessary to carry out central tasks for the future. First of all it is necessary to swiftly pass on the spirit of the 12th Party Congress to party members and the masses. Leadership at all levels must take the initiative in work on studying and publicizing it. They must personally offer guidance. From now on party members and cadres above the level of county youth league branch must set aside 1 to 2 days every week to carefully read the documents of the 12th Party Congress so that they will understand the spirit and substance of each and every word. Propaganda departments must write propaganda outlines on the gist of the documents of the congress. They must

conduct guidance training courses and lectures on special topics. They must promote the spirit of the 12th Party Congress in simple terms among the broad masses of party members, workers, peasants and residents. Next, they must adopt various means to train party members and cadres in rotation. From early October to just before Spring Festival, the municipal CPC committee must conduct study groups at the party school of the municipal party committee on the documents of the 12th Party Congress of the municipal CPC committee. By stages and groups they must train in rotation 400 leading cadres above the level of county youth league. All units above the county level must also give full play to the role of party schools and cadre schools and in a planned way train in rotation members of leading groups in subordinate units. If they do not have party schools, they must adopt the method of "small gatherings" and hold study groups in stages for those exempt from production for other duties work and train in rotation party members and cadres above the level of branch secretary. Qualified units may also run training groups in rotation for party members exempt from production work for other duties. As for rural party members, it is necessary to adopt the method of having speakers and propagandists go to rural areas to conduct lecture tours and rotation training after the autumn harvest.

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CSO: 4005/52

## PARTY AND STATE

### BETTER PARTY STYLE SAID ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVING NEW SITUATIONS

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 82 p 2

/Article by Li Tao /2621 3447/: "Basic Improvement in Party Style Is An Important Guarantee for Achieving New Situations"

/Text/ In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang solemnly proposed to the entire party that "within the next five years, it is necessary to bring about basic improvements in the financial and economic situations, in social atmosphere and in party style." Of the three "basic improvements," improving party style is the key. Only by improving party style so that party organizations at all levels truly become a steadfast core of leadership and every party member becomes a qualified party member who meets the demands of the new party constitution, is it possible to take on the heavy responsibilities entrusted to us by history. Only then can we make a contribution to fully opening up new prospects in modern socialist construction.

In practice we have come to realize that only if /party/ groups are resolute and dare to uphold principles and the struggle and only if they can set an example by using appropriate methods can we fully achieve basic improvements in party style. In the past year or so while focusing on correcting party style, we have basically solved the following several problems.

Beginning with the municipal CPC committee, the leadership has taken the initiative and each level has taken charge by regarding restoring and giving full play to the superiority of the party's work style as a major task. Last year when carrying out the notices and announcements of the State Council and the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline on putting a halt to unsound practices in the economic sphere, the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee adopted the form of a meeting on democratic life. They carried out earnest investigations of unsound practices such as purchasing products in plants at ex-factory prices, underpaying for food bought during travel in the countryside, using influence to buy good cigarettes and alcohol, seeking people to arrange work for certain cadres who have been returned to civilian life and writing notes for relatives asking for housing. Furthermore, principal comrades of the municipal CPC committee made self-criticisms on behalf of the standing committee in the municipal conference for county, district and bureau leaders. They announced that

starting with the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee and municipal CPC committee organs they would eliminate the procurement of a commodities in shortage. In February of this year at the plenary meeting of the municipal CPC committee, we earnestly launched criticism and self-criticism. We set aside a certain amount of time to listen to everyone's criticisms and suggestions regarding the work of the standing committee and their ideological work style. On eight occasions during the month of June, we investigated and summed up all aspects of work and problems within the standing committee during the first half of the year. In July we held 5 and a half days of meetings on democratic life which stressed investigating the "Leftist" influence in the guiding ideology of economic construction and the influence of the trend of bourgeois liberalization in the economic, ideological and cultural spheres. It also stressed those areas which had been neglected in the establishment of basic level party organizations as well as problems such as insufficient study, investigation and research of ideological work style. Next, they convened and enlarged standing committee meeting at which leading comrades in leading groups in county, district and municipal organs gave reports. They heard criticisms and suggestions of participating comrades on the work, ideology and work styles of the standing committee. For many years the standing committee of the municipal CPC committee did not report to others on the situations in rectifying incorrect work styles. They took the lead in restoring and giving full play to the three great work styles of the party. After the meeting, departments under the municipality and all county districts looked into the practices of the municipal CPC committee of their own accord and carried out thorough rectification of the work styles of leading groups. Those who at first just went through the motions earnestly set about making up for their missed lessons. To date, of the 113 organs under municipal and county district control, the rectification of the work style of 101 units has already been remarkably successful and has won the favorable support of the masses.

They have supported coordinating primary work to rectify work style. They have solved problems without launching movements. Correcting party style involves solving problems such as impure ideology and organization, unsound party practices and straightening out the economy. Consequently, while we are in the process of rectifying party style, we must stress confronting reality and, starting from actual conditions, we must correct whatever problems exist. We must not engage in formalism nor must we practice "arbitrary uniformity." That means we must not engage in movements and that we must create public opinion and the right atmosphere for solving problems in a practical manner. Since last year leading groups in organizations under county district and municipal control have generally focused on four approaches. The first is to coordinate the implementation of the "Guiding Principles" and to resolutely halt all unsound practices. The second is to coordinate carrying out the spirit of the national symposium on ideological and political work, to deal with the disorganized and lax state of affairs in leading groups and to determinedly solve problems such as not daring to deal with and control scoundrels, evil deeds and unsound tendencies. They have had to deal with those who "try to never offend anyone" and who stress "the art of using connections" as well as those whose revolutionary will is weak and lack organization and discipline. The third is to integrate the struggle

to combat major crimes in the economic sphere, to link up the investigation and handling of major cases with the rectification of work styles in leading groups and to conduct instruction on resisting corrosive influences. The fourth is to combine enterprise reorganization and work experiences, to check this against the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session, to earnestly eliminate the influence of the "Left" and to increase consciousness of maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee. In addition to correcting unsound practices and launching a struggle to combat economic crimes, the party organization in the municipal First Bureau of Light Industries also stressed the problem that the 1981 output value of the entire bureau increased 10.8 percent over 1980 while actual profits only increased 0.5 percent and profits remitted to the state decreased by 10.8 percent. They again straightened out their guiding ideology, conscientiously investigated phenomena such as emphasizing output over quality, obsolete products over new products, expansion over tapping existing potential, production over management, etc. They resolutely focused on overall enterprise rectification by viewing improving economic benefits as the crux of the problem. They achieved remarkable results.

They have strengthened communist ideological instruction and given top priority to enhancing party character. The various unsound practices within the party are in fact the manifestation of impure party character. They are the manifestation of flagging communist ideology. Only by giving priority to enhancing party character, supporting the use of both positive and negative examples to conduct instruction on the ideals of communism and conducting instruction on party laws and regulations as well as instruction on resisting the corrosive influences of capitalist ideology, only then is it possible to ensure that each party member becomes a staunch and sober-headed Marxist. Consequently, in the process of correcting unsound practices, we must stress upholding the truth, correcting mistakes, taking up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and focusing on the truth rather than saving face. We must link up the problems confronting us with examining thinking and revealing party character. We must combine this with summing up experiences and lessons for the education of cadres within and outside the party and the masses. Last year we concentrated on the three negative examples in the cases of Han Liansheng /7281 6647 3932/, Gai Diankui /5556 3013 7608/ and Yu Zhiyou /0060 1807 0645/. At the same time we also focused on the three positive examples of the Shenhe District Bureau of Public Health, the Huanggu No. 51 Grain Management Office and the municipal hospital for infectious diseases. This was reported in an inner party notice, announced in the newspapers and broadcast on the radio. Exhibitions were also held. Party organizations at all levels throughout the municipality were called on to discuss these cases earnestly. The reverberations within and outside the party were strong. For a short while this became the center of discussion. From these several cases, the vast numbers of party members and the masses came to recognize that unsound practices have contaminated the body of the party. They realized that by covering up and protecting illegal and disruptive activities such as not resolutely correcting these unsound practices but letting them go unchecked, more and more party members and cadres would become stuck in mire and party character would deteriorate. Thus, they raised the level of their awareness of the importance of correcting party style.



Party style was simultaneously rectified and improved, party discipline was strictly observed, no one assumed that some practice "will not be repeated." We deeply feel that unsound practices within the party, particularly the unsound practice of leading cadres who use their position to seek personal gains, seriously damage the party's image and affects the relationship between the party and the people. To correct unsound practices, it is necessary to uphold rectification and change. We must not merely go through the motions. Merely making self-criticisms and admitting mistakes is not enough. The key is whether or not there is change. If there is no change, then we have not really solved the problem and mistakes may continue to be committed. Therefore, we must not be excessively lenient nor can we permit "bureaucrats to shield each other." We must not think that unsound practices will "not be repeated" nor must we "examine ourselves for a while and then rest easy for the rest of our lives." We must stress "calling upon the real constitution" and reverse the influence of unsound practices through real actions. We must also totally and thoroughly correct party style in a practical manner.

After more than a year of practical work experience in rectifying party style, there have been definite successes. One positive result has been that the work style of linking theory with practice has been restored and developed. Guiding ideology has been corrected and there has been an increase in awareness of maintaining political unanimity with the Central Committee. The phenomenon of "intestinal obstruction" has been corrected and party principles and policies have been implemented relatively smoothly. A second positive result has been that various unsound practices such as using one's position to seek personal gain have largely disappeared. The relationship between the party and the masses has improved. A third positive result has been that the work style of criticism and self-criticism has been restored and given free rein. The disorganized and lax state of affairs has been surmounted. The party has improved its fighting capacity and inspired revolutionary enthusiasm. The fourth positive result has been that the improvement in party style has encouraged noticeable improvements in socialist practices and social order. It has promoted the establishment of a material and spiritual civilization. Between January and July, the gross output value in industries throughout the municipality increased 8.3 percent over the same period of last year and profit remitted to the state increased 13.6 percent. From this it can be seen that only by earnestly continuing to focus on problems can basic improvements in party style be achieved. Of course, we have only just begun our work. We must truly work towards basic improvements in party style and make an even greater effort. We must respond to the calls of Comrade Hu Yaobang and beginning the second half of next year, we must carry out party rectification in a planned and steady manner. We must strive to make a contribution to opening up new prospects on all sides in modern socialist construction by successfully rectifying and establishing our party and by bringing about basic improvements in party style.

PARTY AND STATE

PLA LIAONING COMMAND RESOLVES TO MODERNIZE, STANDARDIZE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Sep 82 p 1

/Report by Nan Jinghong /0589 2529 1347/: "Leading Comrades of the PLA Liaoning Provincial Command Are Determined To Follow the Guidance of the Party Central Committee To Speed Up Modernization and Standardization of the Armed Forces"

/Text/ On 13 September, leading comrades of the PLA Liaoning Provincial Command warmly greeted the birth of the leading Party Central Committee organ and resolved to closely unite around the Party Central Committee to strive and struggle to realize the magnificent goals of the 12th Party Congress and speed up the modernization and standardization of the armed forces.

Political Commissar Ma Ying /7456 3841/ said: The leading central organ produced by the new election is a collective leadership formed by those in our party who are authoritative, influential, and talented in leadership--which is entirely in accord with the desires of the party and people. With this strong leading nucleus, our party will have a bright future and there is hope for our country. Deputy Political Commissar Chen Kai /7115 0418/ said: Among the newly elected leaders of the Party Central Committee, there are highly prestigious and respected veteran cadres who will lead, and middle-aged cadres in the prime of life who will work on the front line. They have the whole revolutionary situation in mind, and they also give consideration to the long-term construction of the party. They reflect the unity of old and new and of the succession, and they are a leading group which will move gradually toward the transition of revolutionization, rejuvenation, popularization of knowledge, and specialization. In terms of organization, this can vigorously safeguard the continuity of the party's policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The adviser of the PLA Provincial Command, Zhang Xihe /1728 1585 0735/, said: The chairman and deputy chairman of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee are veteran commanders with outstanding meritorious military service who have made major contributions to building the army in the past as well as in the present. Having these veteran comrades take the responsibility of providing leadership for the Military Commission is a reliable guarantee for the acceleration of our army's modernization and standardization.

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CSO: 4005/50

## PARTY AND STATE

### WRONGS RIGHTED THROUGH LEGAL CHANNELS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Chun Xia [2504 1115]: "Belief in Justice and the Legal System"]

[Text] Exceeding all her expectations, Wang Jinglan [3769 2529 5695] gained requital for all the injustices and humiliations that she had suffered, and justice was upheld, thanks to the support of society and the protection of the law.

What does this affair tell us?

It tells us that in our socialist society, the large majority of party members are clear about what to love and what to hate and abhor evil as a deadly foe. They profess morality and law and have a strong sense of justice. Look at people like Lu Suzhen [7120 4790 3791] and Zhang Yunxiu [1728 0061 4423], Wang Jinglan was a complete stranger to them, but not only did they give her clothes, food and shelter, but also hurried hither and thither on her behalf to have her take recourse to legal procedures. While we promote the socialist spiritual civilization, we must greatly encourage healthy trends, and we must bravely step forward and courageously put a stop to any immoral acts that violate the common practices of society, break the law and disturb discipline.

It also tells us that in our society, acts that offend public decency, corrupt public morals and violate the law will not only not be tolerated by a just public opinion, but will also not be permitted by the socialist legal system. There are some moral degenerates who always believe that the legal system cannot touch them and therefore do as they please without any scruples at all. However, there is no unbridgeable gap between moral depravity and unlawful criminal behavior. Quite a number of people start out with moral depravity and gradually go the road of unlawful criminal behavior. We advise those who now defy the socialist morality and who flout law and discipline to turn over a new leaf and not follow in Yang Wenlong's [2799 2429 7893] footsteps.

The story also tells us that whenever a dispute arises in our society, reliance must be placed on the organization and trust be placed in our legal system. Especially people who have suffered grievances must fight through

the proper channels to resolve the conflict. Lightly extinguishing a flame of life cannot solve the problem. It would also be wrong to risk "killing the fish and destroying the net" or adopting measures that would intensify the conflict. All such measures are undesirable. Just think of it, if Wang Jinglan would not have approached the factory organization at the Shanghai Textile Mill No 2, or would not have had recourse to legal procedure, the result would certainly not have been as it is today.

In brief, every single party member, every cadre and every citizen of our country shall consciously observe and uphold socialist morality; all must study and abide by the law and strive with all their strength for a radical improvement in the moral atmosphere of the entire society. This is demanded by our construction of a socialist spiritual civilization, as it is also the duty of every individual.

9808

CSO: 4005/80

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE CONTINUES TO PASS ON SPIRIT OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 p 1

[Text] The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Held a Meeting Over Several Days To Transmit the Spirit of the 12th National Party Congress--Party Cadres To Make Further Contributions to the Achievement of the Grand Objectives--Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767] Relays Six Aspects, Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403] Raises Demands for Effective Study of Documents.

The Shanghai Municipal Party Committee held meetings on the 22nd and 23rd of its enlarged standing committee for the study and transmission of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, followed yesterday by a meeting of party members and responsible cadres of the whole municipality for the study and transmission of the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, who was Shanghai's chief delegate to the 12th National Party Congress, transmitted, comprehensively and in great detail, the fundamental spirit and the major content of the 12th National Party Congress. He called upon the party members and responsible cadres of the whole municipality to take the lead in making a thorough study of the documents from the 12th National Party Congress, to conscientiously carry out the policies and tasks determined at the 12th National Party Congress and to make greater contributions to the realization of the program and objectives decided upon at the National Party Congress, in order to bring about a turn for the better in the three fundamental aspects, the financial and economic conditions, the general atmosphere of society and the work style of the party.

Comrade Chen Guodong set forth the enormous achievements and great significance of the 12th National Party Congress and in particular informed on the way the agenda of the Congress was carried out and how elections to the three central committees were conducted. He also put forward demands as to how the documents from the 12th Party Congress should be thoroughly studied in Shanghai and how the spirit of the 12th Party Congress must be fully implemented. Comrade Chen Guodong said that the entire Congress was strictly conducted according to democratic procedures and fully displayed the principle of democratic centralism. All delegates freely spoke their minds at the meetings and were completely at ease, which enlivened the atmosphere at the meetings. The entire Congress was solemn, but also simple, it showed

unison and intensity as well as a vivid liveliness, really a great congress of unity and of victory. The course of the congress itself revealed the greater maturity of our party. Comrade Chen Guodong furthermore pointed out that the 12th National Congress of the party was a general mobilization for an all-sided initiation of socialist modernization. The documents from the 12th Congress constitute a development of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Shanghai's party members and responsible cadres must conscientiously study the 12th Party Congress documents, strive to digest them better, with a deeper understanding and take in hand the organization of the study of these documents by all party members as an item of topmost importance, making every effort to do this work effectively. The vast number of party members and cadres in Shanghai must oppose arrogance and shatter complacency. They must rouse themselves spiritually so as to make greater contributions toward the all-sided initiation of the new phase of socialist modernization.

Comrade Chen Guodong's communication was divided into six parts: 1. The general condition of the Congress. 2. The huge achievements and great historical significance of the Congress. 3. The correct program for an all-sided initiation of a new phase. 4. The correct program for party building in the new period. 5. Effecting cooperation between young and old and replacements in the highest level of the party leadership. 6. Struggle to realize the three basic improvements. Comrade Chen Guodong also transmitted the important speech made by Comrade Hu Yaobang at the First Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee regarding the present and next year's work disposition of the party.

At yesterday's meeting, Comrade Xia Zhengnong [1115 1767 6593] transmitted the speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the first plenary session of the Central Advisory Committee. Wang Yaoshan [3769 1031 1472], chairman of the preparatory commission for the discipline inspection commission of the Municipal Party Committee, transmitted the speech of Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] at the first plenary session of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission.

At yesterday's meeting, the second secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, Hu Lijiao, made a rousing appeal for a penetrating study of the 12th Party Congress documents and put forward certain demands. He said: Leading cadres in the departments, commissions, offices, districts, counties, bureaus and party committees at all levels must first of all take the lead in the conscientious study of the 12th Party Congress documents, must gain a deep understanding of their spiritual essence, must combine this study with the study of the important literature that has appeared since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and must consciously implement the spirit of the 12th Congress documents in everyone's actual work. The party committees at all levels must effectively take in hand the work of transmitting, studying and propagandizing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress in accordance with the uniform setup of the Municipal Party Committee and take up this work as the item of topmost importance and central task.

Yesterday's meeting was attended by over 3,400 persons, namely the Shanghai delegates and alternative delegates to the 12th Party Central Committee, members of the Central Advisory Committee, of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the Shanghai delegates and alternative delegates to the 12th Party Congress, responsible cadres of the municipal party committee, of the various departments of the municipal government, municipal commissions, office party organizations, wards, counties, bureau party organizations and party committees, universities and colleges, scientific research units of bureau rank and the large number of responsible cadres from the party committees, the Shanghai garrison and from the Shanghai offices of central government departments and commissions and of the offices of various provinces and municipalities.

9808

CSO: 4005/80

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI'S XIONG COUNTY PROGRESSES FROM CHAOS TO ORDER

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 82 p 1

[Text] Shijiazhuang, 15 Oct [XINHUA]--The party committee of Xiong county, Hebei, vigorously upheld the party spirit education of the broad party members and cadres, and a new prospect of progress from chaos to order emerged throughout the county.

The county was divided into two seriously hostile sides during the "Cultural Revolution" and held deep grudges against each other. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the mistake of magnification was made in the investigation movement, further aggravating the hostilities. By the spring of 1981, the county party committee and the party organizations of the various levels were basically paralyzed; no one reported for work in most of the organ units; work and production were suspended in the majority of the 18 county plants; the post and telecommunications office provided no telephone or mail service; the responsibility system in agricultural production was disregarded. The cadres and masses felt concerned and uneasy, saying that "if the situation continues, Xiong county will be ruined." In May last year, the Baoding prefectural party committee reorganized the leading teams of the Xiong county party committee. The county party committee mobilized the party organizations of the various levels throughout the county to stress party spirit education and eradicate factionalism, thereby making an obvious improvement of the situation. Last year, a good harvest was reaped in spite of the drought. For the first half of this year, the total industrial output value more than doubled that of last year for the same period. The masses joyfully remarked about the great hopes for the county.

Before the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the standing committee of the county party committee was divided into two factions with serious ideological divergences, forming groups within groups and cliques within cliques. When it was most chaotic, more than half of the standing committee members abandoned their work posts, placing the county in a state of anarchy for a prolonged period.



In face of the situation, the new county committee secretary Li Guijun [2621 2710 0971] first solved the factional issue in the leading teams of the county committee. At the first standing committee meeting after the election of the new county committee at the county party congress, he and the members of the standing committee, referring to the "Guiding Principles," studied and formulated the "Eight Stipulations" for the standing committee, demanding that its members maintain unity with the Party Central Committee in politics, enhance their enthusiasm, work hard, uphold the party spirit and eliminate factionalism, refrain from forming small cliques, resist the influence of factionalism, etc. They demanded that the leading teams serve as examples in strengthening the party spirit and eradicating factionalism and in enforcing party regulations and party laws and enhancing unity.

On the basis of improved understanding and concerted action, the county party committee gathered the leading county, commune and brigade cadres for eight successive sessions of party spirit education, guiding them to examine their own factionalism, refrain from blaming others, unite and look forward, gradually emancipate themselves from the fetters of "drawing the line according to individuals," and rally along the correct line pointed out by the Party Central Committee. On the basis of ideological rectification, the county party committee also made the necessary organizational readjustments of the commune and brigade leading teams and the units directly under the county, and firmly removed those persisting in factionalism from the leadership posts. Meanwhile, they boldly promoted and employed a group of middle-aged and young cadres who were strong in party spirit, upright in work style and qualified in both ethics and ability. To date, the county has readjusted the leading teams of 17 communes and 28 units of department and bureau levels and reinforced and reorganized the leading teams of 123 brigades out of the total 221 in the county.

The county party committee also adopted the method of centralized training and integration of theory and practice and conducted a systematic party spirit education of the party members and cadres throughout the county. The secretaries of the county party committee and communes personally lectured the students. Among the 10,000 plus party members in the county, 83 percent participated in the training. In conjunction with the classes, the county party committee organized all the party members to examine, from the top to the bottom, the manifestations of (current) factionalism, its dangers, its sources and the progress of its solution in the "four-investigation" activities. By means of the "four-investigation" activities, the party's style and organizational discipline were rectified. In the course of party spirit education, the county evaluated and selected 58 advanced party branches and 674 superior party members, setting off a fervor to learn from and surpass the advanced.

6080

CSO: 4005/133

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANGHAI CIRCULAR URGES STUDY OF PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Municipal Party Committee Issues Circular To Require Party Organizations and Propaganda Departments at Various Levels To Grasp Well the Foremost Matter of Studying Documents of the 12th Congress--Heighten Consciousness, Exert Spirit Through Study and Propaganda, and Struggle to Bring About a New Situation"]

[Text] The Shanghai CPC Municipal Committee recently issued a "Circular on Studying and Propagating the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress Documents" to point out that studying and propagating the 12th Congress documents is a central task at present and for some time to come; it required party organizations and propaganda departments at all levels in the municipality to follow the provisions and demands of "Arrangements for Studying and Propagating the 12th Congress Documents" approved and transmitted by the party Central Committee to the Propaganda Department, to take Comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening address at the 12th Congress as the overall guiding ideology, and to grasp that the organization of the municipality's party members, cadres, and masses of the people to study the 12th Congress documents is the foremost matter.

The municipal party committee's circular said, through study and propagation, all must give full scope to the huge mobilizing and organizational role of the spirit of the 12th Congress so as to enable the municipality's party members, cadres and masses of the people to heighten their perception of the combative program put forward by the 12th Congress, exert their spirit, forge a common mind and common effort, struggle hard, work earnestly, and endeavor to accomplish fully the various tasks determined by the 12th Congress.

The circular said, in promoting the study of party members and cadres, the key lies in grasping well the study of leading cadres at various levels, especially leading cadres above the county level. The period of study before the end of June of next year is divided into two stages. In undertaking the study in the first period, the requirement is to organize well the transfer of the spirit of the 12th Congress and the study of the 12th Congress documents so as to achieve an overall understanding and mastery of the fundamental spirit of the documents. All party members and cadres who

are capable of reading must consciously, seriously, and repeatedly read those documents and carefully reflect on them. Then they should peruse them passage by passage and seriously discuss them. During such study, they must stay in line with the ideological realities of party members and cadres of their own respective systems, regions, and units, especially with questions of ideological perception regarding the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee, and proceed to provide positive guidance from and read pertinent parts of those documents. Through the consultation, discussion, debate, and even necessary criticism and self-criticism between comrades, they must correctly master the spirit of those documents, deepen their understanding of the ideological line, political line, and organizational line since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, distinguish right from wrong, practically solve some problems and unify the ideological perception of party members and cadres under the guiding ideology, principles and policies determined by the 12th Congress. In undertaking the study in the second period, they must, on the basis of the heightened perception and unified thinking of the first period, unite with the reality of the work of their own respective systems, regions, and units to look back at, and sum up, the problems brought about by Shanghai's unpenetrating and uncomprehensive transmission of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They must also study and implement the various measures and approaches of the spirit of the documents of the 12th Congress in their work, so as to make the thinking of comrades of the whole party consistent, also make their actions and steps consistent. During the aforesaid two periods, all party members must follow the requirements of the spirit of the 12th Congress and the new party Constitution and, through study, discussion, and meeting on organizational life, conscientiously launch criticism and self-criticism, reinforce their party concept, strengthen their cultivation of party character, and overcome mistaken ideas and unhealthy practices which run counter to the spirit of the 12th Congress. They must make sure that the work and party work style on various fronts all show conspicuous progress so as to make relevant ideological preparations for future party rectification.

The circular said: Among the masses of the people propagation and lecturing activities must be launched in a well prepared manner, so that the spirit of the 12th Congress becomes known to every household and every individual. Responsible persons of party committees at various levels must take the lead to submit guidance reports. The municipal party committee propaganda department has from late September onward begun to hold guidance lectures on the study of the 12th Congress documents for the sake of training part of the propagandists. Propaganda departments of party committees at various levels also wish to train their own propagandists. In the process of studying and lecturing on the spirit of the 12th Congress documents, they must restore or establish the ranks of the party's reporters and propagandists.

The circular required newspapers, journals, broadcasting stations, television stations and their news and publishing units, as well as literary and art units of municipalities, regions, and counties, plus departments of the ideological front to take, now and during a period to come, the organization of the study and propagation of the 12th Congress documents as their central task and actively launch their propaganda activities.

The circular required party committees at various levels to strengthen their leadership over the study. Responsible comrades of party committees at various levels must all conscientiously participate in the study and guide such study. Apart from doing a good job in the study of the leading groups themselves, they must also grasp well the study of the lower level.

The circular ultimately said: Present work and production tasks are very heavy; efforts must be made to ensure fulfillment of this year's plans and to achieve overfulfillment. Leaders at various levels must have practical measures and grasp this well in a down-to-earth manner. They must, through this study and propagation of the 12th Congress documents, mobilize the enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses, and struggle to bring about a new situation in our socialist modernization.

9255

CSO: 4005/82

## PARTY AND STATE

### CONVENING OF SHANGHAI CPPCC COMMITTEE IN DECEMBER REPORTED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 14 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Enlarged Meeting of Municipal CPPCC Standing Committee Decides: Fifth Meeting of Fifth Municipal CPPCC To Be Convened in December"]

[Text] The municipal CPPCC yesterday held its 23rd standing committee enlarged meeting and decided: the 5th meeting of the 5th municipal CPPCC committee is to be convened in December 1982.

At the morning meeting yesterday, committee members first of all discussed and passed the "Arrangements for Organizing Personalities of Various Circles To Study the Documents of the 12th Party Congress" made by Qin Renqiu [7221 0117 4428], deputy chairman of the municipal CPPCC committee. The meeting held that since the convening of the 12th Party Congress, the municipal CPPCC has already organized persons of various circles in the municipality for a preliminarily study of the various important documents of the congress; Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], first secretary of the municipal CPPCC committee and Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], both, lectured to extra-party persons of various circles on the spirit of the 12th Congress. Today, we must adhere to the study style of combining theory with reality, opening up our minds, studying hard, in order to understand comprehensively and profoundly the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. At the meeting, committee members recalled the study situation of the previous period; Tan Jiazhen [6151 1367 2823], Su Yuanfu [5685 0337 1788], Ruan Xueyu [7086 7185 2810], Sang Hu [2718 1721], Jiang Xuemo [5592 7185 6206], and Shou Jingwen [1108 6651 2429] made statements during the discussion. The attending members all indicated that they wish to continue to peruse carefully and discuss profoundly the 12th Congress documents, unify their thinking and their understanding, and make contributions to the realization of the goals of struggle determined by the 12th Congress.

In the afternoon, members also listened to reports made by members of the CPPCC National Committee in Shanghai and part of the CPPCC municipal committee members on their inspection of the municipality's factories, countryside, scientific research, administrative and judicial units and conditions of the people's livelihood. Han Zheyi [7281 0772 0001] deputy mayor, attended the meeting and offered explanations to the various proposals made by the committee members; this was highly welcomed by the committee members.

Zhao Xingzhi [6392 5887 4249], Zhang Chengzong [1728 2110 1350], Li Gancheng [2621 1626 2052], Song Richang [1345 2480 2490], Zhao Zukang [6392 4371 1660], Lu Yudao [4151 0060 6670], Long Yao [7893 6460], Liu Liangmo [0491 5328 6206], Wang Zhizhong [3769 5268 0022], Yang Xuanwu [2799 1357 2976], Xu Wensi [6079 2429 1835], deputy municipal CPPCC committee chairmen, and responsible persons of various democratic parties and groups such as Liu Qingji [0491 7221 1015], Wu Ruo'an [0702 5387 1344], and Zhou Gucheng [0719 6253 1004] attended yesterday's meeting.

9255

CSO: 4005/82

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPROVING PARTY WORKSTYLE, CHECKING UNHEALTHY PRACTICES STRESSED

Guangzhou NANFAN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Hong Gang [3163 6921], Secretary of CPC Longchuan County Committee: "Strive for the Realization of a Fundamental Turn for the Better in Our Party Workstyle"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang proposed in his report at the 12th Congress that during the 5 years from this congress to the next, we must "strive for the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our financial and economic situation, the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our social customs, as well as the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle." Looking back at our practice since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, I have come to understand profoundly that the three fundamental turns for the better are mutually connected, and the key lies in the fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle. Only after a turn for the better in our party workstyle is achieved can there be any turn for the better in our social customs. And when a fundamental turn for the better is achieved in both our party workstyle and in our social customs, it would be possible then to better organize, and give scope to, the enthusiasm of the masses, and a fundamental turn for the better in our country's financial and economic situation would no longer be hard to achieve either.

Concerning the great significance of improving our party workstyle, we have during the past few years already achieved through education in both the positive and the negative aspect a more and more profound understanding. In the year before last, the problem of an unhealthy party workstyle in our county was very serious. This was saliently reflected in the following: some party organizations proved to be feeble and lax in their leadership work, and a part of our party members and cadres turned out to be very irresponsible in their work; this helped abet anarchism and individualism; some leading cadres took advantage of their office and power to make private gains, illegally build private housing, move households from the countryside, and arrange jobs for their children, etc. These unhealthy practices have seriously affected the party's prestige and credibility, created tension in the relationships between the party and the masses and between the cadres and the masses, and also abetted unwholesome practices in society, with appropriation of water field in the countryside for the construction of private housing

becoming a prevailing trend. At the beginning of 1981, the county party committee, following the spirit of the directive of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline on "further implementing the 'Guiding Principles' and resolutely rectifying unhealthy practices" transmitted with comment by the party Central Committee, took the county's most salient practice of illegally building private housing--a practice to which the reaction of the masses has been most vehement--as a breach, and, under the support and assistance of the party committee at the superior level, put special emphasis on handling the question of leading cadres taking advantage of their office and power to illegally build private housing and also succeeded in investigating and repatriating more than 50 people within the agricultural population who had seized the opportunity of land requisition at the time housing was being built to illegally move into the county seat. In the wake of this, it also made the following ruling: when the family members of cadres above the level of deputy section and bureau chiefs and deputy secretaries of commune party committees move into the county seat and townships, their cases must be collectively examined and approved by the leading group of the county party committee; no individual of the leading group of the county is allowed to issue a sanction slip alone; recruitment of workers must all follow established policy and regulations and be subject to collective examination and approval by the county's worker recruitment leading group; no leader is allowed to issue a sanction slip or approval individually. At the beginning of 1982, we again called together cadres above the level of deputy section and bureau chiefs and deputy secretaries of commune party committees to seriously study the speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang at the forum on questions of the ideological front and adopt measures to put emphasis on solving the problem of the leading groups' feebleness and laxity. Through a series of undertakings, there resulted a conspicuous turn for the better in the county's party workstyle, which greatly enhanced the party's prestige and credibility, strengthened the fighting stamina of party organizations at various levels, provoked the cadres' revolutionary spirit, reinforced organization discipline, made relationships between the party and the masses and between cadres and the masses closer, improved social customs and social order and security, and promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production. This made us deeply realize that the question of party workstyle is a life-and-death question for the party in power, and hence our consciousness and sense of responsibility in waging struggle against unhealthy practices were also heightened.

During the past 2 years, we deeply felt that in order to rectify unhealthy practices within the party, the party organizations and leaders must have a high degree of revolutionary career-mindedness and sense of responsibility. Whether, in the face of such unhealthy practices prevailing within the party, they are going to look intently but see nothing, fear difficulties, and let those practices run their own course or they are going to face the problems squarely, adhere to principles, break through difficulties, and resolutely seek to correct them, is one of the important criteria for testing whether the revolutionary career-mindedness of the party organizations and leaders is strong enough or not. At the beginning of 1981, in the face of a part of the leading cadres taking the lead to take advantage of their office and power in building their private housing and thereby bringing about a confusing situation seriously affecting the party's prestige and credibility and



the efforts of our economic construction, the county party committee, after repeated discussions, decided to resolutely adopt the latter attitude; this made it possible for the problems to be eventually basically solved.

In rectifying unhealthy practices within the party, party organizations and leaders must be contagious enough to adhere to the truth, insist on principles, place the interests of the party and the people in the position of first importance, refrain from calculating personal gains or losses, and firmly struggle against those unhealthy practices. The handling of those who took advantage of their office and power to build private housing first of all affected part of the members of the standing committee of the county party committee, and the area of its involvement proved to be broad, as it touched on a due part of the middle-level cadres, whose relationships with colleagues around them were complex and rumors about whom were rampant. For instance, there were allegations that "the investigation and handling of housing construction represented a struggle between the housing-construction faction and the non-housing-construction faction," that "it was a struggle for power," that "it signaled an abandonment of economic construction, with the parties involved not placing emphasis where it belongs," that "this housing construction problem can hardly be really solved," and some even wrote threatening letters and letters of false accusation, etc. Under such circumstances, should we place the interests of the party and the people in the position of first importance, adhere to principles, and carry forward this struggle intended to rectify unhealthy practices, or should we be afraid of offending people, afraid of losing votes, afraid of losing our "official posts," and be fearful of taking any step forward or stopping halfway? The county party committee holds that, however heavy the pressure may be, however great the attendant difficulties might seem, however complicated the struggle might turn out to be, and however great individual sacrifices might eventually result, we can only advance and not retreat on the matter of rectifying the unhealthy practice of seeking to build one's private housing at public expense. Under the support and assistance of the party committee at the superior level, this struggle has ultimately won victory.

In rectifying unhealthy practices within the party, we must first get a handle on our leading groups. "When the upper roofbeam is not set straight, the lower one is bound to be slanted"; "when those above set a forthright example, their administration will run smoothly without their issuing any particular orders; should they fail to do so, those below will not follow them even if they issue specific orders." We deeply feel that in order to rectify unhealthy practices, we must first get a handle on the standing committee of the county party committee itself, and demand that each member of the standing committee set a personal example in following party discipline, state law, and established regulations. As regards the several members of the standing committee of the county party committee who did build private housing, in the meetings on organization life they were subject to the application of the weapons of criticism and self-criticism, the attendant launching of active ideological struggles, and the proceedings of solemn adjudication. During the past 2 years, members of the standing committee were all able to set personal examples with respect to the resolutions, rules, and regulations formulated by the county party committee in resolutely following them and

taking the lead to carry them out. Under the impetus of the county party committee, leading cadres at various levels have all been able to set personal examples; there has been progress also in people's observance of law and discipline.

In attempting to rectify unhealthy practices within the party, we must improve the organizational life of the whole party, launch criticism and self-criticism. We must grasp the matter on a long-term, continuous basis, and we must grasp it in a purposeful, planned manner according to different characteristics and principal contradictions of each individual period and the actual conditions of each individual unit. We are determined under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, to resolutely follow the requirements of the new party Constitution, continue to rectify the party's workstyle and organization, and endeavor to gradually realize a turn for the better in our party workstyle.

9255

CSO: 4005/85

## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES PUNISHED FOR ILLEGAL HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 31 Oct 82 p 1

[Article: "Liaoning's Fu County Severely Punishes Leading Cadres for Illegal Construction of Private Homes"]

[Text] Reporters Li Yan [2621 1750] and Zhang Heping [1728 0149 1627] report: The party committee of Fu county, Liaoning, earnestly investigated and handled the leading cadres who had seriously violated law and disrupted discipline in housing construction.

Since February, the county party committee, under the supervision and help of the Party Central Committee and the provincial and municipal leadership, assigned more than 40 cadres to form an investigation group to first investigate 24 leading cadres who had serious problems in housing construction and encountered most complaints from the masses. Utilizing his functions, Ning Desheng [1380 1795 3932], member of the standing committee of the county party committee and chief of propaganda department, illegally used more than 23,000 yuan of public funds 3 times, bought private housing at a high price, embezzled more than 1,200 yuan, resorted to vile means and created an evil influence. By decision of the county party committee and approval of the municipal party committee, he was expelled from party membership and dismissed from his post, and his salary was reduced by one grade. The five members of the family of Assistant Chief Ma Junfeng [7456 0193 1496] of the county communications bureau lived in three rooms, yet he seriously violated fiscal and economic disciplines, made illegal investments and found new houses among his subordinate units for each of his two sons. He also committed other acts in violation of law and discipline. After discussion, the county party committee decided to expel him from party membership and recommended his removal from administrative duties and reduction in pay by one grade. On ground of helping to find ways of production and solicit jobs, Li Jicai [2621 4480 6299], assistant instructor of communications unit of the county public security bureau and party branch secretary, tricked the engineering team of the county labor service company to build a large 4-room 98-square meter tile-roofed house for him, and he also embezzled

6,154 yuan of collective assets. Even now, he persisted in a vile attitude and refused to admit his guilt. The county party committee decided to expel him from the party and dismiss him from his post, and the county people's court sentenced him to 2 years imprisonment and 2 years probation.

To prevent the offenders from "one self-examination and a lifetime of comfort," the county party committee decided that they must vacate the illegally constructed houses and the houses assigned to them, which were to be placed under the county's disposal, and return and repay all the embezzled funds and moneys owed within a time limit. To date, 53 houses illegally built by 12 cadres have been confiscated and more than 32,100 yuan returned and repaid to the public.

6080

CSO: 4005/133

## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMENTARY ON PARTY SCHOOL TRAINING OF CADRES

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Zhong Wen [6945 2429]: "Party Schools May Also Operate Day Schools"]

[Text] The party committee for organs directly under the Fujian Provincial Government recently issued a notice to all units under its jurisdiction to select 300 party cadres at the sectional level to attend the fourth term of the day school classes of the party school. According to reports, the day school of the party school had already operated three terms. The men attending these classes had been released from work for 4 1/2 months' study, and 590 party cadres at the sectional level have been trained in rotation. The nine party schools operated by the Shanghai municipal party committee have most recently also adopted the system of training party cadres in rotation in different ways, some as resident students and some as daytime students.

It is certainly a good method to train cadres in rotation at the party schools without requiring them to live at the schools, but rather as daytime students, so that they may eat and sleep at home and attend classes at the schools. In the last few years, various localities have operated party schools, but only a small number of cadres could be trained in rotation at these schools because there were too few schools, and school facilities, equipment teaching personnel and operating funds were limited. Throughout the country there are now about 20 million cadres. The vast majority of them, especially the middle-aged and young cadres, are urgently in need of this training by rotation. Obviously, it is an arduous task to train all these cadres.

It is reported that since the Third Plenary Session, the training of cadres is viewed as an important item of work by all departments and committees of the central authorities and by party committees at all levels. In the last 3 years, almost 5 million cadres of various ranks and types throughout the country have been trained by operating various classes in rotation and in short-term classes. This is not a small achievement, but at this speed it will take until the end of the eighties or the beginning of the nineties to have all cadres undergo training in rotation, let alone the fact that due to the unequal development of cadre training by rotation in different localities

and departments only an even slower pace of cadre training by rotation will take place in certain localities. In the face of these conditions, it is no wonder that some cadres count by the fingers: though they can't tell what year and month it will be their turn to enter training at the party school, when the time will finally come, it will probably not be far away from their time of retirement when they will stop working.

It is indeed most heartening that the 12th National Party Congress set up the universal training of cadres by rotation as an important strategic measure. The large number of cadres who lost much valuable time during the 10 years of turmoil are particularly gratified by this attitude. To meet the needs arising from our endeavors to create a new overall situation of socialist modernization, there is really not a moment to be lost in training cadres by rotation.

If we now want to speed up the pace of cadre training by rotation, one of the problems to be solved is the contradiction between having an effective instruction and the limitations of our instructional facilities. It may not be amiss here to sum up for once our past experiences in operating the schools, to develop potentials, to open up new channels and employ a variety of forms, so as to enable many more cadres, who are in need of such studies, to have an opportunity to enter the study programs by rotation at an early date, also to improve the situation of insufficiency in theoretical preparedness and deficiency in specialized professional knowledge and to enable the broad masses of our cadres to take a big step forward in raising their political-theoretical, professional and cultural level. Apart from having them attend party schools, cadre schools, political night schools and correspondence schools, it will be possible to institute a great variety of other feasible forms of instruction in rotation, in line with local conditions and starting out from the existing realities. Operating day school programs at the party schools may, after all, be one good method to adopt.

9808

CSO: 4005/80

## PARTY AND STATE

### ANHUI PARTY SCHOOL STUDIES 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] Reporter Jiang Zhimin [5592 1807 2404] reports: In conjunction with the work of the party school, the teachers, staff and workers of the party school of the Anhui provincial party committee spoke enthusiastically of their impressions of studying the 12th Party Congress documents and resolved to contribute to the improvement of the cadre quality and the training of large groups of personnel for the socialist modernization construction.

By conscientiously studying the congressional documents, the teachers, staff and workers of the party school further recognized the important task of the school to cultivate and rotationally train cadres and to properly conduct their regular training in accordance with Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the requirements of the new party constitution, in order to adapt to the needs of the modernization construction. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the school conscientiously implemented the party's lines, principles and policies, held 54 successive sessions of training classes for the party members and cadres, training more than 8,600 cadres of all types, and made contributions to the cultivation of revolutionary, youthful, knowledgeable and professional personnel throughout the province.

On the basis of studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the school is in the course of adopting positive measures and stepping up the various preparatory tasks for cadre training. The school party committee has made plans and decided to further adjust the structure of the cadre and teaching ranks and boldly promote and give important posts to superior young cadres. After conscientious discussions, the various teaching and research sections have drafted new teaching plans and scientific research subjects. The logistics department is in the course of accelerating the maintenance and construction of school buildings in order to create a favorable environment for studying. To help the broad cadres properly study the congressional documents, the school, beginning 4 October, will hold short-term training classes and give make-up training, by groups and by periods, to cadres of the departmental level and above in units directly under the province.

PARTY AND STATE

CYL STRESSES IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Nov 82 p 3

[Article: "Nei Monggol's Secretary of CYL Central Committee Secretariat Stresses Communist Ideological Education of Young People"]

[Text] Huhhot [XINHUA]--On 25 October, Secretary Wang Jiangong [3769 1696 0501] of the CYL Central Committee Secretariat said in his speech at the seventh congress of the Nei Monggol autonomous region that, only by educating and arming the young people with the communist ideology will the CYL develop its effect and make contributions in the building of a socialist material and spiritual civilization.

He said that, when educating them with the communist ideology, the broad young people must first be made to establish a firm belief in communism. We must, in accordance with the proletarian norms and requirements, start from the ideological reality of the young people and conduct a pinpointed and effective education on life philosophy, the ideal future and moral character. Meanwhile, we must resist the corrosion of the bourgeois ideology and launch struggles against it. We must guide the young people to integrate lofty ideals with the spirit of doing solid work, plant their feet on the ground, do their jobs well, "begin with oneself," and concretely add bricks and tiles to the communist mansion.

He said that the communist ideological education of the young people needs forms which are perfect and adjusted to the characteristics of the young people. Therefore, political-ideological work must be improved as well as strengthened, and developed as well as upheld. In recent years, some good forms in ideological education were found and some new experiences summarized, such as the "three-love" education," the "five stresses and four points of beauty," etc. He hoped that everyone would summarize more new experiences in future practice.

He appealed to the young comrades to enhance their fighting will and their spirit.

6080

CSO: 4005/132



## PARTY AND STATE

### PEASANTS EDUCATED IN PRODUCTION RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 82 p 2

[Article: "Party Organizations Must Stress Ideological Education"]

[Text] The introduction of the production responsibility system in agriculture was a great transformation in production and distribution, and some new ideological and work problems inevitably emerged. From inside the party to outside, from the cadres to the masses, the Dadian brigade party branch promptly emphasized the socialist ideological education, improved the political awareness of the commune members, established a desirable production sequence and social mood, and created good experiences in adapting to the new situation and solving the new problems.

The experiences of the brigade in ideological education centered on one point: In the great transformation of the rural economy, they strengthened party leadership and relied on policies as the guide and on the examples of the party members and cadres to influence the masses in improving their socialist awareness. The tremendous change from unified accounting and workpoints according to work done to contracting by households could not but cause changes in the thinking and feelings of the cadres and commune members, and there were even misunderstandings and deviations. How should the great transformation be regarded? Should they stick to the old ways, ignore the matter, or step forward bravely and exercise positive leadership? In terms of a basic level party organization, it was a severe test. As shown by the conditions in many areas, sticking to the old ways or ignoring the matter would lead to the ideological confusion of the cadres, cause tension between the cadres and the masses, and even disrupt production and unsettle living. Only by closely associating with the masses and exercising active leadership, respecting their opinions and creativeness while helping them improve their awareness, dispel their misunderstandings and correct their mistakes would it become possible to master the initiative of work and guide the sound development of the transformation. It was precisely what the Dadian brigade party branch did, resulting in increases in agricultural output year after year and the basic improvement of the social mood.

The leadership of the basic level party organization should include the ideological and the policy aspects. There are two prerequisites: First, the members of the party organization must be consistent in thinking and action, possess a unanimous correct understanding of the party's various rural policies and implement them vigorously. Next, the socialist ideological education must be strengthened, and the party members and cadres must, by their own examples, actively influence and lead the masses to implement the policies, develop the spirit of unity and mutual help and resist all unhealthy trends. The Dadian brigade created experiences deserving attention in all these aspects. In addition, they also launched some cultural undertakings within their power and actively deployed healthy cultural and recreational activities. By so doing, the peasants assimilated the socialist spiritual nourishment, increased their cultural and scientific knowledge, became educated and scientific producers with awareness, and devoted a greater effort to the building of a socialist new village.

6080

CSO: 4005/132

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### CONSCRIPTION DRIVE IN GUANGDONG REPORTED

#### Conscription Arrangements

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Shen Peng [3088 1756] and Zhuo Qichang [0587 1142 2490]:  
"Conscription Work in Our Provinces Begins on 1 October"]

[Text] Conscription work for the winter season in our provinces will start on 1 October this year. Since the middle of September the province and various regions, municipalities and counties (districts) have convened consecutive meeting on conscription work and made the necessary study and deployment.

The objects and limits of this year's conscription are: In the countryside, youths whose families have plenty of workers and who have a culture level from junior middle school and above are going to be conscripted; in the cities and at the county seats, only graduating senior middle school students are going to be conscripted. In areas where minority nationalities are fairly concentrated and areas where culture is less developed, the cultural level of conscripts may be relaxed, Age standards are: male youths who reach the age of 18 or 19 in 1982; graduating senior middle school students reaching the age of 17 who volunteer may also be conscripted; female youths reaching the age of 17 or 18 in 1982 who are at the same time graduating senior middle school students.

The meetings on conscription work at all levels have seriously analyzed the advantageous conditions for doing a good job this year and determined to grasp as the central link of this year's conscription work the guaranteeing of the good quality of the conscripts themselves. The provincial meeting on conscription work has demanded leaders at various levels to make sure that their perception of the necessity of doing a good job in our conscription work is enhanced, that they proceed from the whole situation, correctly handle the relationship between national defense construction and economic construction, correctly handle the relationship between our long-range interests and immediate interests, and handle closely and handle well our conscription work as an important task in implementing the spirit of the 12th Party Congress. They must continue to implement the six measures on guaranteeing the quality of conscripts issued last year by the provincial

people's government. They must, in conjunction with propaganda, implement the spirit of the 12th Congress with actual conduct, to register for conscription with enthusiasm, and to make their own contributions to the defense of the motherland and the realization of the modernization of our national defense. People's governments at various levels must, in conjunction with conscription, carry out an overall inspection of the implementation of our policy of providing preferential treatment and comfort to the families of our martyrs and military men so as to further implement measures providing such treatment and comfort, and thereby relieve the youths who are about to be conscripted from any lingering worries.

#### Commentary

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 82 p 3

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Do a Good Job in Conscription Work, Strengthen National Defense Construction"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Congress: "We must endeavor to strengthen the building of our People's Liberation Army, build our army into a strong, modern, and regular revolutionary force, and further enhance the self-defense capability of our army under the conditions of modern warfare." To do a good job in our conscription work this year is an important measure in realizing this great goal. Leaders at various levels must conscientiously study the spirit of the 12th Congress, proceed from the long-range interests of the party and the state, correctly handle the relationship between economic construction and national defense construction, and earnestly do a good job in this year's conscription work.

The central question in our conscription work is to guarantee the quality of our new conscripts. In order to adapt to the needs of our military modernization and antiaggression warfare in the future, the newly conscripted soldiers must not only be politically reliable and physically healthy, but also equipped with a higher level of cultural knowledge. The key to whether or not we can guarantee the quality of our new conscripts lies in leadership. Leading comrades at all levels must bring into full play the mobilizing, inspiring, and organizational role of the documents of the 12th Congress. They must organize the vast ranks of the youths and masses to study the spirit of the 12th Congress. At the same time they must widely launch education on loving the party, the motherland, and the people's army, and launch civilized conscription activities with the communist ideal, morality and discipline as their central ingredients so as to whip into shape a social custom of "one person joining the army, the whole family sharing the glory." These things will enable the vast ranks of the masses and youths to recognize clearly their historic responsibility, handle correctly the relationship between individual and revolutionary interests, and register consciously with enthusiasm for conscription in the interest of implementing the fighting task put forward by the 12th Congress.

On the basis of doing a good job in our ideological education, party committees and governments at various levels must clearly define the duties of various departments, coordinate the forces of various departments. Propaganda departments must do a good job in their propagation and agitation work; public health departments must do a good job in inspection; public security departments must do a good job in political examination; communications and transportation departments must do a good job in transporting the new conscripts, so that they all endeavor to accomplish the conscription task in time and with quality and quantity well preserved.

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CSO: 4005/74

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### GUANGZHOU PLA LEADERS DISCUSS SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Nei Fei [0656 5360 7378] and Wu Shibin [0702 0013 2430]: "Adhere to Struggle Between the Two Lines Amidst Building of Spiritual Civilization: Leading Comrades of Party Committees of Military Units Stationed in Guangzhou Keep in Line With Reality, Seriously Study Discourses in Documents of the 12th Congress Concerning the Building of Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] During the last few days, leading comrades of party committees of the military units stationed in Guangzhou have been seriously studying and discussing discourses in reports delivered at the 12th Congress concerning the building of our socialist spiritual civilization; keeping closely in line with the fact that currently some people have distorted our socialist spiritual civilization. They have been carrying out analyses and thereby unanimously concluded that in building our socialist spiritual civilization we must oppose the "Left," on the one hand, and at the same time guard against the Right.

Everybody said, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report at the 12th Congress: While building our advanced material civilization, we must at the same time build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization. This is a question of strategic principle concerning the building of our socialism. In the process of launching the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization today, the fine social trend of stressing ideals, morality, culture and discipline is gradually taking shape. But certain comrades still have some problems in their ideological perception and these need to be solved. Of these, a more salient problem is that the remnant poison of the "leftist" ideology is still not cleansed away. Comrades were of the opinion that, at present, we must pay attention to three questions in stressing spiritual civilization: One is to guard against using the "leftist" method to carry out a "class analysis" of our spiritual civilization. Generally speaking, socialist spiritual civilization and bourgeois spiritual civilization are fundamentally different; we must make a Marxist class analysis of them. But this by no means suggests that every ingredient of a spiritual civilization shares a class character. We must never employ the class viewpoint and method of class analysis abusively, or even take a "production automation line" as something of a class character. We should, instead, critically inherit the fruits of the bourgeoisie in man's ideological history and in our

material civilization. The second is to guard against using the "leftist" method in treating the role of spiritual civilization. The report to the 12th Congress pointed out: the building of our spiritual civilization and the building of our material civilization are conditional on each other and goals for each other. Socialist spiritual civilization, of course, constitutes a huge reaction to material civilization, but this by no means implies that poverty is better than wealth, or that building spiritual civilization requires no material civilization. In trumpeting "spiritual omnipotence" and "politics impacting on everything," the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques seriously suppressed the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of the masses of the people and sabotaged our socialist construction. This lesson has been most profound and we must never follow the regressive track again. The third is to guard against adopting the "Leftist" approach to treating science and culture. Cultural construction is an indispensable component part of our spiritual civilization. The cumulation of scientific and cultural knowledge is not only indispensable to the building of our material civilization but also helpful to the formation of our scientific world view. "Only by enriching one's mind with the entire wealth of knowledge created by man can one become a communist" (Lenin's words). Those who think that culture has nothing to do with the elevation of people's ideological perception are very mistaken in their viewpoint.

During their discussion, the comrades also mentioned that only by relying on conscious, assiduous efforts on the part of the whole party, the whole army and all the people of the country in carrying out their difficult tasks can our socialist spiritual civilization develop, and it definitely cannot develop spontaneously, simply because of the foundation provided by the development of our material civilization. To treat spiritual civilization from a rightist view and to delegate the role of spiritual civilization is also wrong. The comrades said: Only by perceiving clearly the dialectical relationship between the two civilizations and, while building an advanced socialist material civilization, at the same time striving to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization can we strengthen our political and ideological work, heighten the political consciousness of the masses of the people, resist corrosion by the ideas of capitalism, guarantee the correct direction of development of our material civilization, and reinforce our cultural construction, elevate the scientific level of our whole nation, foster large contingents of professional talents and dexterous laborers, and thereby accelerate our pace in building our material civilization.

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CSO: 4005/74

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### MEETING STRESSES IMPROVING PUBLIC SECURITY

OW091035 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 8 Nov 82

[Excerpts] The Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee held a meeting for all Shanghai cadres who are also party members at the cultural square on the afternoon of 8 November.

Hu Lijiao, second secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, made an important speech entitled "Firmly Implement the Principle of Comprehensive Treatment and Strive To Achieve Fundamental Improvements in Public Security" at the meeting. He emphatically pointed out: It is necessary to involve the whole party and seek the cooperation of all quarters to firmly implement the principle of comprehensive treatment, to strive to achieve fundamental improvements in public security in Shanghai and to create a sound environment for safeguarding and promoting the smooth progress of the socialist modernization drive focused on economic construction.

Wang Jian, member of the municipal CPC committee Standing Committee and deputy leader of the municipal CPC committee's leading group for political and legal affairs, presided over the meeting. Yang Di, vice mayor and director of the municipal public security bureau, relayed the guidelines of the recent national conference on political and legal affairs.

In his speech, Comrade Hu Lijiao said: Following the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Shanghai has achieved marked improvements in public security thanks to the efforts of the whole party. From January to September this year, the number of criminal cases in Shanghai was 31.3 percent less than in the same period last year. The number of serious offenses was 20.8 percent less. The whole society is becoming more stable. However, we should realize that achieving fundamental improvements in public security is no simple task. Class struggle exists in certain areas. Enemy activity still presents a serious threat and the public security situation is complex. We must never lower our guard.

Comrade Hu Lijiao said: To do a good job of comprehensive treatment in public security, the following measures should be taken:



1. Party committees at all levels should persist in simultaneously building material and spiritual civilization and list comprehensive treatment as a major item on their daily agenda for discussion.

2. All plants, enterprises, government offices, schools and shops should pay serious attention to implementing the responsibility system in security work and ensure good security and order within their respective units. In future, efforts should be made to help, on a selective basis, the few units where security work is in a mess, in coordination with enterprise consolidation. These units should be urged to improve their situation within a limited time. When, in the course of performing their duties, the departments of political and legal affairs discover problems and loopholes in the security system of the units concerned, they should issue a notice of judicial suggestions (Sifa Jianyi Tongzhishu). The units concerned should earnestly study the notice and carry out the necessary consolidation and make the necessary corrections. The leadership should be held responsible when incidents of grave consequence occur as a result of dereliction. Party committees at all levels should pay particular attention to the movements of remnant elements of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionaries cliques. They should look into the facts concerning those remnant elements currently engaged in sabotage activities, obtain conclusive evidence about them and resolutely attack them without mercy.

3. Leading persons should take the lead successfully conducting education for teenagers in selective units.

4. It is necessary to attach great importance to the correct handling of all kinds of social contradictions that fall in the category of contradictions among the people.

In conclusion, Comrade Hu Lijiao said: We now have the policy and principles, what is needed next is solid work. The comrades of the party committees at all levels and all trades and professions should unite and make concerted efforts to achieve fundamental improvements in public security and contribute their share to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/150

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL ROLE OF PLA STRESSED

OW092337 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 9 Nov 82

[Text] Stating our task in the modernization of national defense, Comrade Yang Shangkun pointed out: There is no doubt that the political awareness of China's People's Liberation Army is rated top in the world. Henceforth, we must raise our army's political awareness to an even higher level. His remarks have aroused a warm response from the broad masses of commanders and fighters. This shows that the party has regarded our army as a gigantic force, with a high level of political awareness in the nation's political activities and in socialist construction. However, there are some people who have ignored the party's explicit viewpoint on the army. They seek to continue to play down the role of the army so that it will take a secondary role in developing various political activities in the party and the nation. For example, on the eve of the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress, it was suddenly announced that the number of army deputies in this supreme legislative organ of the state would be reduced. Now among some 2,500 NPC deputies, there are only 490 army members, 14 percent of the total number of NPC deputies. Now plans are being made to reduce the number of army deputies by half. The aim of this action is obvious. Proceeding from their ulterior motive, some people are trying hard to limit the number of army comrades to study important issues regarding our domestic and foreign policies. For example, the Fifth NPC Session will discuss and adopt the new PRC Constitution, but the number of army deputies attending this important session will be reduced.

Recently, the number of army representatives in various party organs at the central and local levels has been significantly reduced. About one-third of the members of the 11th CCP Central Committee were from the army, while only one-fourth of the members of the Central Committee elected by the 12th CPC National Congress are from the army. Doubtless there are people trying to weaken the army's influence in various party organs at the central and local levels. They have even tried a thousand and one ways to prevent our leading comrades in the army from discussing and deciding on major issues regarding China's domestic and foreign politics. For example, Geng Biao, Wei Guoqing and other comrades in the army were not invited to participate in discussions on the sale of U.S. arms to Taiwan and Sino-U.S. relations several months ago. At the same time, some people have used ugly tricks to make people believe that the leading comrades in the army are incapable of solving major political problems.

However, history has proved that, for several decades, army leaders such as Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, He Long, Chen Yi and Wang Kecheng had all assumed leading posts of the party and the state and directly participated in deciding on major issues which would affect the fate of the party and the state.

In short, the PLA has played a decisive role in determining the fate of the state and the people. Any effort to play down the role of the army today would definitely harm the people's interests. Those army comrades who are concurrently working for the party and for government organs at the central and local levels should try their very best to bring their role into full play in all fields. The broad masses of commanders and fighters must carry forward the army's glorious, revolutionary traditions and become the most active force demonstrating the highest level of political awareness and scoring the most remarkable achievements in developing the various political activities of the party and the state.

CSO: 4005/150

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

SHANGHAI GARRISON LEADERS--The Shanghai garrison command has scored gratifying results in greening work. Some 96,000 trees have been planted in the barracks areas this year. In addition, more than 150,000 trees were planted in support of the local tree-planting drive. Today, the leading organ of the Shanghai garrison held a meeting to commend those who distinguished themselves in tree-planting and afforestation activities. The meeting also drew up the 1982-1985 afforestation plan. Present at the meeting were leading comrades of the Shanghai garrison command Wang Jingkun, Zhang Chen, Yao Xiaocheng and Jia Defa who presented awards to 18 advanced units and four advanced individuals. [Excerpts] [OW160637 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 82]

NANJING DRAMA TROUPE--The (?deputy political officer's diary) group of the (Qianjin) modern drama troupe of the Nanjing PLA units successfully completed its performance in Beijing in celebration of the 12th CPC National Congress and returned to Nanjing on 7 November. On 8 November afternoon, the members of the group were received by Du Ping, member of the advisory commission of the CPC Central Committee; Xiang Shouzhi, commander of the Nanjing PLA units; (Zhang Ning), deputy commander of the Nanjing PLA units; Wang Jingmin and Li Baoqi, deputy political commissars of the Nanjing PLA units; and Zhang Yuhua, Duan Huanjing, Zhong Guochu, Wang Wenmo and Hu Darong. During the reception, the responsible comrades of the Nanjing PLA units encouraged the group to modestly listen to comments from various persons, make further careful revision of the drama, constantly perform it among PLA units and play a still better role in building spiritual civilization in the PLA. [Excerpts] [OW100208 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 9 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/150

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURAL

### RESULTS OF BIRTH RATE SURVEY IN RURAL HUBEI

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 5, Sep 82  
pp 36-38, 31

[Article in "Population Survey" column by Wuhan University Population Research Office, Xianning Prefecture Family Planning Office, Jingzhou Prefecture Family Planning Office, and Yichang Prefecture Family Planning Office: "Survey of Birth Rate in Rural Areas of Hubei Province"]

[Text] Joint Survey, Level, and Writing

In July 1981, the Population Research Office of Wuhan University Economic Department, together with personnel sent by the family planning organizations of the concerned prefectures, counties, and communes in Hubei Province, formed a joint survey team, which went to 15 production brigades in the five counties of Chongyang, Xianning, Qianjiang, Jiangling, and Yidu in the three prefectures of Xianning, Jingzhou, and Yichang to conduct a model survey of the birth rate in rural areas. The survey lasted 4 months. The principle for our selection of survey points was: for natural conditions, we chose points in mountainous areas, hills, and plains; for crop variety, we chose areas that produce paddy rice and cotton; for production responsibility system, we chose the forms of assigning output quotas to individual able-bodied laborers and of contracting production to households; for population average, we chose cultivated land and communes and production brigades with high, middle, and relatively low average incomes; and for family planning, we chose advanced, ordinary, and backward communes and production brigades. Our way of conducting the survey was: based on a unified survey outline, we went directly to the masses of commune members and adopted the method of conducting polls and holding individual talks, in which question-and-answer forms were filled in. We now present a brief introduction to the results of our survey and research.

#### I. The Marriage Question

Marriage rate. In four communes and brigades in the three counties of Jiangling, Qianjiang, and Yidu, taking the average population of 1980 as the base, the marriage rate was 18.14 percent. In the years 1979 to 1980, taking as the base for calculation marriageable women from 19 to 25 years old, the annual marriage rate was 305.46 percent. From the population age structure in 1979 of these communes, we found that women began to marry at 18, the peak ages for

marriage were 22 and 23, and by the time they were 25 they had basically stopped getting married. The totals by age of marriages by marriageable women are as follows: 18 years old, 5.3 percent; 19 years old, 35.5 percent; 20 years old, 54.2 percent; 21 years old, 171.9 percent; 22 years old, 393.5 percent; 23 years old, 717.8 percent; 24 years old, 886.3 percent; and 25 years old, 965.3 percent.

2. First marriage rate. The ages for first marriage have not changed much since liberation; after 1971, the late marriage policy caused a distinct rise in age of first marriage. Before liberation, the average age of first marriage was 18.16, from 1949 to 1970 it was 19.38, and in 1971 it had risen to 22.54. It is worth pointing out a trend that has appeared in the ages of early marriage, viz, because the new marriage law stipulates that a woman's earliest age to get married is 20, in the rural areas there is a daily increasing number of people applying for marriage certificates at the age of 20. Therefore, education on late marriage must be vigorously strengthened.

## II. The Birth Question

First question: first marriage to first birth. From a survey of 645 married women who gave birth, the following figures were obtained: in these prefectures, 11.6 percent of the women gave birth in year 0 (first year of marriage); 51.3 percent in year 1 (second year of marriage); 18.6 percent in year 2 (third year of marriage), and 8.2 percent in year 3 (fourth year of marriage). Within 4 years after getting married, 90 percent of the women had had their first birth, and about half of them had given birth in the peak period of the second year of marriage. The average interval between first marriage and birth was 2 years.

Second question: average number of years between births. For women in rural areas to give birth to only one child is something that has occurred only over the last 2 or 3 years. Before this, married women did not stop giving birth after their first child. Then, what is the situation with regard to the intervals between births? The figures obtained from our survey were:

Births	0→1	1→2	2→3	3→4	4→5	5→6	6→7
Average Interval in Years	2.02	2.95	3.23	3.15	3.14	4.02	5.30

The above table tells us that, on the basis of an average 2-year interval between first marriage and first birth, the average interval for each birth from the second to the fifth was about 3 years, for the sixth birth was 4 years, and for the seventh birth was 5 years.

Third question: birth rate.

### 1. Birth rate by age.

First of all, it must be explained that the figures here for birth rate by age were not calculated for a certain year's birth rate of women of child-bearing

age by age group. It is not a time index, but the birth rate over a certain period of time in which women who gave birth were in various age groups. One can say that it is an historical time index.

From the table below we can see that the fertility of child-bearing women is highest in the two age groups between 20 and 30, accounting for 77.47 percent of 1,385 person-times; the number of their pregnancies is 79.7 percent of the total number of pregnancies; and the birth rate (to speak precisely, the pregnancy rate) was 2.99395. If a woman of normal child-bearing capacity gives birth during these 10 years, on average she will give birth to three children.

#### Six Production Brigades in Qianjiang, Jiangling, and Yidu Counties

##### Birth Rate by Age of Child-Bearing Women

Age Group	Number of Women Giving Birth		Number of Children Born		Birth Rate by Age
	Number	Proportion	Number	Proportion	
15-19	80	5.78	86	4.26	1.07500
20-24	558	40.29	832	41.29	1.49104
25-29	515	37.18	774	38.41	1.50291
30-34	174	12.54	252	12.51	1.44828
35-39	52	3.75	64	3.18	1.23077
40-44	6	0.43	7	0.35	1.16667
TOTAL	1385	100.00	2015	100.00	

Notes: 1. Some women who went through these several-age groups bore children during each age group, and possibly had more than one birth; some women only gave birth within one or two age groups. 2. The number of children born is really the number of pregnancies. The data includes statistics for a very small number induced abortions, and they differ very little from the number of live births. 3. The number of births by age groups was calculated on the basis of the number of women giving birth, and within each age group only those women actually giving birth were counted, and therefore all birth rates are larger than one.

2. Total birth rate or lifetime birth rate

Nine Production Brigades in Xianning, Qianjing, and Yidu Counties

Total Births By Age Group

Mother's Year of Birth	Age Group	Number of Mothers	Approximate Years Mothers Began to Give Birth	Total Number of Children		Average per Mother	
				Births	Survivals	Births	Survivals
1957-61	20-24	126	1977-81	177	160	1.4	1.3
1952-56	25-29	299	1972-76	652	591	2.2	2.0
1947-51	30-34	188	1967-71	906	594	4.8	3.2
1942-46	35-39	116	1962-66	536	448	4.6	3.9
1937-41	40-44	50	1957-61	205	165	4.1	3.3
1932-36	45-49	71	1952-56	385	310	5.4	4.3
1922-31	50-59	164	1942-51	946	717	5.7	4.4
1912-21	60-69	166	1932-41	914	588	5.5	3.5
1902-11	70-79	110	1922-31	507	297	4.6	2.7
1901 and Before	80-	54	1921 and Before	346	264	6.4	4.9
TOTAL		1344					

Notes: 1. For the ages of 20 to 49, the total number of children born is actually the number of pregnancies, because it includes a small number of induced abortions.

2. The total number of surviving children in the 35 and older age group means the number supported to the age of 15. In some age groups, there is a fairly large difference between the number of births and the number of survivals, the reason for which awaits further research.

3. The hypothesis that the mother's average age for beginning to give birth is 20 can be extended a little for mothers who began to give birth before the 30's decade.

4. The total number of children by age group only pertains to a given group and has no relation to the number of children in the age groups before and after it.



The above table tells us that there are several significant questions:

First, in the half a century before liberation, the total birth rate or lifetime birth rate on average was 5.5 and 3.8 children could be supported; after liberation, from 1952 to 1961 this figure was 4.9 and 2 children were supported; from 1977 to 1981 the figure was 1.4 percent and children were supported.

Theoretically, the children born by mothers who began to give birth after the 60's decade started can only be calculated in the total birth rate and not in the lifetime birth rate, because they have not yet finished their child-bearing age and some are still in their peak child-bearing age. However with our country's birth policy of universally advocating that a couple have only 1 child, on average the women in the 25-29 age group have 2 children and usually do not again give birth; even if the women in the 20-24 age group are in the peak child-bearing age, on average they have 1.3 children, and there is very little possibility of their again giving birth. In this sense, we can regard the total birth rate as the lifetime birth rate. Even if a small number of the women were to give birth, this would not matter very much and it would not affect the birth trend.

Second, the period before and after liberation, and before the decade of the seventies, was basically a period when births occurred naturally, and the lifetime birth rate was comparatively high and a woman would bear an average of five children during her lifetime. After family planning was put into practice at the beginning of the 1970's, the unchecked growth of the population was brought under control and there was a distinct drop in the birth rate, and there was a big drop at the end of the 1970's. If we were to take the mothers in their 20's in the above table and put them in a subgroup, we could more clearly see the trend in the history, present state, and change in the number of children born to four generations of mothers. This is that the first and second generation of mothers (in the decade before liberation and the decade after liberation) on average gave birth to 5.5 children, the third generation of mothers (the first generation after liberation) gave birth to 4.8 children, and the fourth generation of mothers gave birth to only 2 children, already close to the population replacement level.

Fourth, of the women now in their birthing period, i.e., women aged 20-29, 850 mothers gave birth to a total of 2,861 children, 2,268 of which were born alive, and every mother on average gave birth to 3.36 children, 2.66 of which were born alive.

### 3. Population Reproduction Rate

This is an index for using the birth rate to study the scale and speed of population reproduction.

Population Reproduction in Nine Production Brigades in  
Xianning and Three Other Counties

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number of Mothers</u>	<u>Total Number of Girls Born</u>	<u>Total Number of Surviving Girls</u>	<u>Gross repro- duction Rate</u>	<u>Net Repro- duction Rate</u>
20-24	126	72	70	0.57	0.55
25-29	299	292	283	0.97	0.95
30-34	188	310	301	1.80	1.60
35-39	116	241	223	2.07	1.92
40-44	50	102	86	2.04	1.72
45-49	71	183	158	2.58	2.23
50-59	166	430	267	2.59	1.60
70-79	110	236	133	2.59	1.21
80-	54	146	111	2.70	2.06

The above table tells us that before liberation the gross reproduction rate was as high as 2.5 and the net reproduction rate was 1.7; and that the corresponding figures for the postliberation decade of the fifties were 2.4 and 2, for the sixties 1.9 and 1.7, and for the seventies 0.85 and 0.83. The scale of population reproduction is gradually shrinking. However, there was not much difference in the gross reproduction rate in the fifties and the preliberation period, and the net reproduction rate was even higher than that before liberation; the trend toward a decrease began in the sixties. The women of the sixties have not yet finished their child-bearing period, and the women of the seventies are now in their peak child-bearing period. The calculations made for the reproduction rate of these two periods are not exact. But under our country's current birth policy, these women usually do not again give birth, and therefore the calculations made for their reproduction rates conform to reality. If we calculate the gross and net reproduction rates for four generational subgroups, then the gross and net figures for the first generation of mothers at the beginning of the century were 2.3 and 2.5; for the second generation, 2.6 and 1.7; for the third generation (the first postliberation generation), 2.0 and 1.8; and for the fourth generation (the second postliberation generation), 0.86 and 0.83. Even if the population still increased in the seventies, the trend in population reproduction was already downward. This shows that our country's strategic policy decision to control population growth has been highly successful.

### III. Ideological Questions About Birth

In a search for the people's current thoughts and attitudes about the birth question, we carried out investigation and research on birth ideology in the rural areas:

1. In the depths of their thoughts, the peasants still hold a strong desire to have more children. In a survey of 728 persons, 5 percent wanted only 1 child, 51 percent wanted 2 children, 28 percent wanted 3, and 15 percent wanted 4. In mountainous areas, where traditional thinking and ideology is fairly strong, 27 percent wanted 2 children and 72 percent wanted 3 or 4.

2. Under the circumstances in which the state advocates one child per couple, people still prefer boys to girls. Of the people surveyed, only 2.2 wanted a girl, 36.7 percent wanted a boy, and 61.1 percent had no preference. But in the mountainous areas, 77 percent wanted a boy. In order to study the effects of the idea of preferring boys to girls, we inquired into the people's ideas after a girl had been born, and found that 61 percent of the people who had one girl wanted another child. This idea of not giving up until a boy is born is an important reason for the exceeding of the birth control plan.

3. For the younger generation who are about to enter marriageable age, the ideal ages for marrying and giving birth are: of 266 women surveyed, about 15 percent wanted to get married at the legal marriage age of 20, 58 percent wanted to get married before they were 22 years old, and the ideal marriage age was thought to be 22 or 23. Therefore, there is a distinct trend toward marrying at an early age. With regard to the ideal number of children after marriage, 14 percent of the 210 women surveyed wanted 1, 83 percent wanted 2, and 3 percent wanted 3. Of them, 46 percent wanted a boy in the first year after getting married, 29 percent in the second year, and only 25 percent in the third year.

The peasants' idea that they should have a lot of children is complex, and is a composite reflection of social and economic, thinking and ideological, and tradition and habit factors. In order to clarify what factor plays the leading role in the peasants' idea of having many children, we made a survey of the reasons for this idea. Of 808 persons surveyed, 21 percent wanted to increase the labor force, 51 percent wanted to raise sons who would take care of them when they were old, 25 percent wanted successors to their ancestral line, and only 3 percent took delight in raising sons and daughters. From this data one cannot draw the conclusion that now, in the rural areas because the production responsibility system is being practiced, it stimulates the peasants' unbridled pursuit of labor power by having more children so as to make the family prosper. On the contrary, the peasants' thinking gives more consideration to having a comparatively large number of children who will support them in their old age. One must take up the question of whether it is necessary to raise sons to support one in one's old age.

At present there is a contradiction between the peasants' idea of still wanting more births and the state's policy of advocating fewer births. In order to guide the peasants' thought on births onto a track that is in line with the state's policy on births, it is necessary to do patient, painstaking work and further to perfect the birth policy.

9727

CSO: 4005/124

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON JAPAN DURING MEIJI PERIOD

HK101516 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Lu Wanhe [0712 8001 0735] and Xiong Dayun [3574 6671 0061]: "Japan's Experiences and Lessons in Learning From the West During the Meiji Restoration Period"]

[Text] Generally speaking, Japan's intense efforts to learn from the West during the Meiji restoration period were fruitful. At that time, a group of enlightened scholars who were "well versed in both Eastern and Western learning," with Yukichi Fukuzawa as their representatives were called Japan's "encyclopaedic school." ("History of Modern Japanese Thinking," Vol 1, compiled by Shigeki Toyama and others) They actively propagated empiricism, positivism, utilitarianism and other European and American bourgeois ideas about freedom, democracy and natural rights. These things were subject to class limitations, but they chiefly aimed at opposing feudalism, thereby promoting Japan's modernization at that time. The Meiji government listed "seeking knowledge throughout the world and breaking away from the evil customs of the past" as one of the five articles of the "charter oath." It also put forth the slogans of "enriching the country and increasing its military power," "promoting the production industry" and "developing civilization and enlightenment." In November 1871, a large mission led by Tomomi Iwakura (being the emperor's minister of state and the No 2 man) visited Europe and the United States. After a tour of 1 year and 9 months, their scope of vision was greatly widened and their Samurai minds were conspicuously imbued with ideas of the bourgeois statesmen. The members of the mission, including Koin Kido, Toshimichi Okubo, Hirobumi Ito and Fujima Tanaka, were the leading figures of the bourgeois reform taking place during the early years of the Meiji period. However, the bourgeois civilization had its corrupt aspects. As soon as feudal Japan which had long been in seclusion came into contact with the outside world, it was dazzled and committed some faults and errors due to inexperience. It acquired some experience in overcoming these faults and errors.

#### Opposing the Pursuit of Outward Appearance, Learning Useful Things

Recalling the conditions during the early years of the Meiji period, Chomin Nakae, a famous Japanese democrat, said: "I was dazzled by the achievements of civilization accumulated by the foreign countries in the past centuries. At first, I

was astonished, then, infatuated, and eventually, went mad." (cited from "State Power and Thinking of the Meiji Government" by Shiro Konishi and others) Toshimichi Okubo also said at that time: "Judging by the current situation, we should take in whatever we can. There will surely be someone to correct our drawbacks in 10 or 15 years." (Yudo Ishizuka: "A Study of the History of the Emergence of Capitalism in Japan") These remarks reflected Japan's eagerness to learn from the West at that time. "Civilization" and "enlightenment" were fashionable terms for a while. But some people did not understand what these terms meant. Yuichi Kato said in his book "Civilization and Enlightenment" published in 1873: "Recently I heard people say that eating pork was civilization, walking with an umbrella in hand was good civilization, going into a room with one's shoes on was not good civilization and blowing one's nose with a piece of tissue paper was very good civilization, and so forth." Eating pork and beef wearing Western-style suits and hats became fashionable. Some people even suggested replacing the Japanese language with the "civilized" English. Others even proposed transforming the Japanese race. In his book "Improving the Japanese Race" written in 1884, Yoshio Takahashi said that "in the interest of the country and ourselves, we should leave our strong points to our descendants by inheritance," and the Japanese should marry Westerners so as to improve the Japanese race. (cited from "Modern Japan's Understanding of Asia" by Hiroshi Kawahara)

The clear-headed leaders of the Meiji government and the enlightenment scholars who had a good knowledge of the Western countries sternly criticized the above-mentioned naive ideas and wrong opinions. The "Meiokusha" (1873-1879, founded in the 6th year of Emperor Meiji's reign), an academic society formed by the enlightenment thinkers led by Yukichi Fukuzawa, released an article entitled "On the Method of Promoting Enlightenment" in the 3d issue of "MEIROKU magazine" published by the society, criticizing the evil practice of pursuing outwardly beautiful things. The article emphatically pointed out: the key to real civilization and enlightenment lies in learning the modern sciences and emulating the scientific spirit of the European countries and the United States, "verifying material objects, conducting research on real images and studying scientific hypothesis," and these mean astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, economics, philosophy and other natural and social sciences of the modern bourgeoisie. (Fumizo Hashikawa: "History of modern Japanese political thinking") Yukichi Fukuzawa held that "civilization" should be divided into two kinds: one kind is external civilization, such as clothes, foods, drinks, machines, houses, and rules and regulations, which are visible. Of course, there are many things to be learned about them. But Yukichi Fukuzawa stressed the other kind of civilization, that is, internal civilization, which he called "civilized spirit" and "popular customs." He held that this spirit was intrinsic in Western civilization and was the base for creating external civilization. He emphasized emulating the worthy "spirit" of the West and opposing the pursuit of outwardly beautiful things. He said: "Civilization means a peaceful life, a noble ideal, ample food and clothing, and good morals." Thus he combined material civilization with spiritual civilization and opposed exclusively pursuing material civilization. This was a sensible viewpoint, although he was a bourgeois thinker.

Some leaders of the Meiji government also noticed the trend of pursuing an outward appearance. While making an investigation tour of the European countries and the United States with the "Iwakura mission," Koin Kido (one of the three leaders of the Meiji restoration) seriously compared Japan's conditions of learning from the West with the actual conditions of these countries. He came to this conclusion: Japan's "enlightenment" did not mean "real civilization" and "real enlightenment" which reflected "progress in essence." Instead, it was "skin-deep" and "half-mature enlightenment," "enlightenment shown in following the fashion" and "enlightenment shown in decoration." He said: Learning from the West should not be separated from Japan's conditions, otherwise "in learning new things, we may probably lose our values." Japan's conditions are greatly different from those in Britain and France and are similar to those in Russia and Germany. In view of the widespread individualist thinking at that time, he proposed strengthening education in "the habits of loyalty, justice, benevolence and courtesy" and following the example of Russia and Germany in establishing the "fundamental law" (the constitution). Being weak and poor at that time, Japan had no alternative but to strengthen centralism in order to lay the foundation for modernization. Kido's propositions were aimed at serving the emperor and comprised the aspect of opposing democracy. However, they also were thought-provoking.

#### Opposing Worship of Foreign Things and Toadying of Foreigners, and Increasing the Nation's Self-Strengthening Power

To show its worship of the West, the Meiji government carried out diplomatic activities in the Rokumeikan Social Hall (1883-1889). Though not long in duration, these activities had a very bad influence.

To seek Japan's national independence, the Meiji government had on many occasions asked the United States, Britain and France to revise the unequal treaties, but met with refusal. After taking the post of foreign minister in 1880, Kaoru Inoue continued to seek a revision of the unequal treaties. On the one hand, he criticized his predecessors' mistakes of "stressing the importance of customs duties at the expense of legal rights" and "stressing the importance of economics at the expense of politics." On the other hand, he held that in order to get the foreign countries' consent to write off the "extraterritorial rights," it would be necessary for Japan to be completely Westernized, to formulate laws and systems recognized by the foreigners and to "build itself into a country with Western civilization in Asia." (Kyosaburo Nobuo: "History of Japanese Diplomacy," Vol 1) He was even prepared to consent to the proposal of letting foreign countries examine and approve Japan's laws, appointing some foreigners to be judges, and even assigning lawsuits involving foreigners to the courts where foreign judges were in the majority.

Kaoru Inoue and others even emphasized making friendly contacts with foreigners. They cherished the illusion of winning the foreigners' favor by giving banquets and dance parties. Guided by this idea of toadying foreigners, they spent a huge sum of money on a luxurious guesthouse designed by a British architect.

They called it the Rokumeikan or the deer bleating hall. The term "deer bleating" was quoted from a poem entitled "Deer Bleating" in the Chinese classic "Book of Songs." The poem begins thus: "The deer is bleating, grazing on the green. I have honorable guests, whom I welcome with fanfare." The last line of the poem reads: "I have good wine to entertain my honorable guests." The politically elite often held Western-style dance parties and banquets in "Rokumeikan" for the purpose of seeking revision of the unequal treaties. Hence the term "Rokumeikan diplomacy." To make a success of the dance parties, the Japanese Government sent more than 70 men and women of good families to learn ballroom dancing from the English. For the purpose of dressing themselves up as Western women, some Japanese women tried to make their waists look slender by tightening their girdles so uncomfortably that they fainted as a result of cerebral anemia. In 1887, a grand masquerade was held under the auspices of Prime Minister Hirobumi Ito. It was attended by 400 people, including almost all of the political elite. They wore outlandish clothes and acted like buffoons. Home Minister Aritomo Yamagata wore the uniform of a member of the "Kiheitai" troop unit which fought during the civil war to topple the Shogunate. Commissioner of police Tsuyo Mishima dressed like a general of a Japanese legend. Shedding his lofty airs of prime minister, Hirobumi Ito masqueraded as a nobleman of Venice. Interior Minister Sanetomi Sanjo's wife dressed as a country girl. The party lasted from 9 p.m. to 4 a.m. the next day, causing a sensation throughout Tokyo. The Japanese people were utterly disgusted with it, saying that the night's carnival had "thrown the entire capital into envy, laughter, alarm and anger."

History showed that the "good wine" failed to touch the heartstrings of the "honorable guests" and that the "Rokumeikan diplomacy" did not help Japan revise any of the unequal treaties. Kaoru Inoue's deeds of toadying foreigners aroused the strong objections of the Japanese people and persons of insight. Soho Tokutomi gave a loud shout: "Our trouble with diplomatic relations lies not with the foreigners but with ourselves." Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Kanjo Tani released a long article expressing his opinion and resigned in anger. Bo-sen-na-de [3134 2773 4780 1795], a French scholar appointed as a legal adviser, also released a long statement, warning the Meiji government that giving the legislative and judicial powers to foreigners would definitely endanger Japan's independence. The "Rokumeikan diplomacy" ended in failure and Kaoru Inoue was dismissed amid objections throughout the country. History afterward showed that Japan wrote off the unequal treaties chiefly by increasing its strength.

#### Opposing Mechanical Transplanting, Building the Country According to Realities

During the early Meiji period, due to the people's meager capital and the low technical level at home and for the purpose of quickly laying a foundation for modernization, Japan adopted the policy of "the government setting an example" and also the policy of "transplanting technology," whereby foreign advanced equipment and installations were brought in and foreign technicians employed at the state's expense and a number of modern basic industrial enterprises were set up as "models." Generally speaking, these policies were correct and yielded enormous results. However, there also were faults and errors because of inexperience.

1. The policies were made in haste and the strides put forward were too broad, resulting in heavy fiscal burden and impeding development. During the decade from 1868 to 1877, the Meiji government spent an average of more than 24 million yen each year in buying advanced foreign technologies and equipment (Kameyoshi Takahasi: "Development of Japan's modern economy"), and the spending in some years amounted to 50 or 60 million yen. In 1879, the Ministry of Industry spent 65 percent of its total budget to pay the salaries of foreign technicians. The overspending in importing foreign technologies resulted in an imbalance of revenue and expenditure. The government was compelled to issue bonds and banknotes. This was followed by inflation and a financial crisis.

2. The conditions were not investigated sufficiently, advanced technologies were brought in blindly and regardless of Japan's realities, so that some imported machines could not play their role and were even abandoned. For example, in 1879, the Japanese Government bought 10 sets of technically advanced 2,000-spindle spinning machines and handed them over to some private enterprises for the purpose of "setting an example" and popularizing the experience. However, the cotton produced in Japan was of short staple and could not be processed by these machines. Moreover, these weaving machines had to be operated hydraulically because steam engines were not available. The unstable water flow adversely affected their operation. In addition there was a shortage of technical and managerial personnel. As a result, the 10 weaving mills went bankrupt in 10 years and some of them were destroyed by fire. (Toshio Yamazaki: "History of techniques") For another example, during the early Meiji period, a number of farming machines for use in vast fields were imported and a number of experimental farms and farm tools factories were established. However, Japan had a large population but insufficient farmland. Most of the fields were paddy land lying on hills and were tended by individual peasants. The machines imported from Europe and the United States therefore could not be used. Some people even suggested "transforming paddy fields into land for growing mulberry trees, and switch from eating rice to eating meat." (Shoro Takahashi: "Road to a Modern Country") Some farms brought in more than 300 varieties of vegetables and cereals and more than 400 varieties of fruits and trees from foreign countries. They even imported paddy seeds from far-away places such as Java and Saigon and even from the United States. These foreign strains could not be acclimated to Japan and basically could not be popularized. Most of the experimental farms were not well managed. Some of them went bankrupt and others were sold to private citizens.

3. Foreign techniques and technicians were worshipped blindly and Japanese traditional techniques and technicians were despised. For example, the Yawata Steel Mill was designed by foreign technicians and furnished with equipment and installations imported from Germany. It was forced to close down 1 year after its establishment because the home raw materials could not be processed by the foreign machines. It was reopened 2 years later after it had been innovated by Japanese experts.

4. Greater importance was attached to equipment than to personnel, especially the managerial personnel. Eventually, many government-operated enterprises suffered heavy losses due to mismanagement. For example, an investment of 2.13 million yen was made in the Kamaishi Iron Mine and the losses amounted to 880,000 yen.



The Meiji government promptly remedied and corrected these faults and errors and firmly grasped the training of Japanese technical personnel as the central link. It adopted these methods: 1) universities and various types of industrial schools were established to develop general education. Outstanding students were selected and sent to study abroad and foreign experts were discharged in general. 2) when foreign technologies were imported, personnel and equipment were simultaneously grasped with emphasis on personnel. For example, Eiichi Shibusawa (president of the First National Bank) founded the Isaka Textile Company in 1882. Before importing foreign equipment, he subsidized Jobu Yamabe, who was studying in London, in studying mechanical engineering. He appointed Yamabe to be chief engineer when Yamabe came home after completing his study. The company was run with remarkable results. In 4 or 5 years, its half-yearly bonus amounted to 16.5 percent. 3) Japanese technicians were boldly used. In 1885, Sakuro Tanabe, who was graduated from a Japanese university, was boldly appointed to be chief engineer in dredging Lake Biwa and building one of the world's first few hydroelectric power stations there. Japan promulgated its patent laws in 1885. By 1897, patent rights were applied for more than 13,000 articles. Approval was granted to 3,000 articles, most of which were invented by Japanese scientists and technicians who did not have advanced academic qualifications. 4) Attention was paid to improving and popularizing Japanese traditional techniques. The "Gaun loom" was a typical example. It was made by Shinshi Gaun on the basis of traditional Japanese techniques. Simple in structure and easy to operate, it was used in Japan's textile industry at that time. In 1877, it was displayed in the first national industrial exhibition sponsored by the Meiji government. Afterward, it was changed from being operated by hand to being operated by means of a pedal and was further improved to be motivated by water power. This contributed tremendously toward developing Japan's textile industry at that time. In agriculture, stress was put on popularizing Japan's traditional intensive cultivation and small-scale field management and the strong points of the Western agricultural techniques were adopted, thus developing a farming method which combined Japanese and Western techniques. This gave great impetus to the development of Japan's agriculture.

Japan's modernization motivated by the Meiji restoration was a success. There were numerous factors influencing the circumstances at that time. The most important factor was the correct way to study the Western culture. However, hardships, setbacks and defeats were experienced in the course of this study. This experience deserves the attention of those who study modern Japanese history.

CSO: 4005/154

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CRITICIZES JAMES KENNISON ARTICLE

HK180955 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 6

[Article by Zhou Zunan [0179 1415 0589]: "Prejudice Is Stinking"]

[Text] Mr James Kennison has finally become famous!

As his former colleague and a teacher of Zhengzhou University where he once worked, I should congratulate him, for poor Kennison has taken great pains and tried every conceivable means to have his article published in the United States, but has suffered one setback after another. Now, his great article has not only been published but printed in the famous magazine HARPER'S and warmly acclaimed by some Americans. He has finally won the laurels of a writer which he has yearned for day and night. However, we cannot congratulate him, for he has won the fame by insulting and defaming China, and by using lies and deceptions. This is not fame but shame.

Three years ago, when Kennison was wandering aimlessly in the United States, he wrote us a sincere letter, applying to get a job in China. How grateful and happy he was when we accepted his application! After his arrival, we provided him with the best living, working and writing conditions and gave him a good remuneration. Never did we expect that after returning to the United States and being better off, he would have written the article "China Is Stinking" to vilify and attack the new China. Kennison once said: "The most honest people are those who are cheated by others most cruelly." We most honest Chinese have really been cheated by him most cruelly. Also, those honest Americans, the honest readers of HARPER'S have been most ruthlessly cheated by him.

We never conceal the fact that there are some bad and negative things here in China, neither do we hide the fact that material and living conditions here are poor. Mr Kennison should well remember that we sincerely informed him of all these things when he applied to come to China. Just as the famous U.S. scholar Mr J. K. Fairbank said: We must understand China from a historical viewpoint, not an ideological one. Undoubtedly, Zhengzhou is not the most modernized of cities and there are indeed some residential houses in Zhengzhou

whose running water pipes are installed outside. However, why did Mr Kennison not talk about what Zhengzhou was like before liberation? How many houses like the current ones were there in Zhengzhou before liberation? Even today China is a developing country. It was foreign invasion and domestic troubles that hampered China's development. Since liberation, we have vigorously carried out socialist construction, but it is impossible for us to eliminate all the traces left over by history.

If Mr Kennison criticized and pointed out all these negative things out of good will, we would certainly be grateful. For we never conceal any of these things and have taken or are taking a series of measures to overcome and eliminate them. However, Mr Kennison, with the habitual prejudice of the Western bourgeoisie, has associated all these negative things with China's socialist system. He has attempted to use this clumsy trick to vilify and negate China's socialist system; it is this that we absolutely cannot tolerate. If Mr Kennison knows something about Chinese history and looks squarely at the fact that the old China, once a paradise for adventurers, was willfully trampled upon and humiliated by others, he has to admit that the socialist system has brought great changes to China and that new China has made marvelous progress. This is perfectly clear to all Chinese.

As a matter of fact, Mr Kennison knows nothing about American history either. If he recognizes that the material civilization in today's United States did not drop from the skies and does not deny the fact that the community welfare of today's United States is the result of the hard work of millions of American laboring people and of those in its colonies, he should be ashamed to sneer at other countries because they are not so rich. Moreover, Mr Kennison should know very well that not everybody is able to make a fortune or get rich in the United States. It was due to his failure to make a living as a writer in the United States that Mr Kennison had to go abroad to get a job. Because Mr Kennison does not observe China from a historical viewpoint put with an ideological approach, and because of his deep-rooted political prejudice and lust for fame, he quite unscrupulously, wrote the article "China Is Stinking" without the slightest consideration for his own moral quality.

Mr Kennison once bragged that he was as talented as Jack London. Merely by reading his masterpiece we can say that he is not so honest as Jack London was. Having a guilty conscience, Mr Kennison repeatedly vindicates himself in the article: "I have not fabricated or misunderstood any of the evil things I have heard or seen." "I have not exaggerated the facts but have actually avoided mentioning or recalling some painful memories." In this way, he has tried to convince people that what he has quoted in his article is absolutely truthful. This may deceive honest American readers, particularly those who have not been to Zhengzhou or Zhengzhou University, but cannot deceive those who know the truth, including those Americans and other foreigners who have lived and worked here. As a matter of fact, Mr Kennison, wishing to please the public with claptrap, not only filled his article with fabrications and misunderstandings, but told lies and spread slander. Such cases can be found in every line of the article. For example, the article said that the Chinese "treat all decorations as

decadent" and "one will be severely criticized if one decorates one's apartment, therefore, most families dare not run the risk even now"; "there is only one kind of desk lamp in China"; "daily life is controlled by loudspeakers"; "the students' food is rich with water, with no meat or vegetables at all"; the leaders of the foreign languages department "have only graduated from middle school," and "in the university's administrative departments, there was only one person who had attended university, and he for only 2 years"; and "almost everyone fears Friday afternoon as it is the time for political study." Facts have already given fair answers to these careful fabrications and groundless calumnies and it is pointless for us to waste our time refuting them one by one. There is a Chinese saying: It is better to see once than hear a hundred times. We welcome all American readers to come to Zhengzhou and Zhengzhou University to have a look. They may see whether our campus is as miserable as Mr Kennison describes it and what food our university students eat. They may also see how the young people take part in civility and courtesy activities, how they serve the people wholeheartedly and whether the teachers and students fear every Friday afternoon as fabricated by Mr Kennison. Facts will certainly lay bare Mr Kennison's lies and prove that he lacks even the minimum moral integrity and personal worth required of an upright writer

We would like to restate that there are indeed some things stinking in China. They are none other than the decadent rubbish left over by the old system, which we have not yet eliminated, the traces left over by imperialist aggression and the oppression of reactionary forces over nearly 100 years, and those things which have been poisoned by the corruption and infiltration of external ideology. We Chinese people have both the determination and the confidence to thoroughly eliminate all these decadent and stinking remnants of the old times, and to build both socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization without untiring hands. No matter how much Mr Kennison sneers at, jeers at and vilifies us, our determination and confidence are unshakable. In order to satisfy his greedy desires, Mr Kennison spared no efforts to insult us to cater to the needs of the anti-Chinese forces, without the slightest consideration of his own character and conscience. All this has shown that it is not China, not we, but Mr Kennison himself and his ignorance, prejudice, pride and arrogance that are really stinking. We are convinced that the vast [phrase indistinct] will certainly smell the stink emitted by Mr Kennison.

CSO: 4005/154

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

REPORT ON FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM AIDING POPULATION GOAL

HK060340 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 6 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by CHINA DAILY reporter Liu Dizhong]

[Text] Married couples who keep to the single child family programme account for more than 70 percent of the total married population in Liaoning, Xhandong, Jilin, Heilongjiang and Jiangsu provinces and in Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin municipalities, Qian Xinzong, director of the State Family Planning Commission told CHINA DAILY yesterday. [paragraph published in boldface]

The population target of no more than 1.2 billion by the year 2000 can positively be achieved if only another 10 provinces with populations over 30 million can keep their single-child family ratio at the same level, Qian said.

"We are confident that we can achieve this target set for the year 2000 by the party's 12th National Congress," Qian declared.

Speaking on the results of this year's national census, which revealed China's population has come to just over one billion, Qian said this was very close to his estimate and proved that China's family planning has been a success.

He recalled that China has had two birth peaks since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, both resulting from one-sided and metaphysical population theories and policies. "In the nine years from 1949 to 1958, the increase was more than 100 million. The second peak began in 1962 and lasted 14 years, during which the annual increase was more than 20 million.

"By the time the annual growth rate had begun to fall in 1975--no less than 20 million each year--the total population had reached 820 million," he said.

Family planning efforts must not be slackened, especially in the rural areas where 800 million people live, he said, adding that if each rural couple has two children, the total population will reach 1.317 billion by the end of the century.

While the policy of one-couple one-child is maintained in both urban and rural areas, some persons are permitted to have two children if their cases conform to the following exceptions:

--those whose first child has a non-congenital defect.

--remarried couples of whom at least one partner had no child in the first marriage.

--those whose child is adopted.

"People living in remote mountain areas or overseas Chinese settling in rural areas may also have two children," Qian added.

The minister said, more concrete regulations and laws will be drawn up in the course of two years, including stipulations on second births in rural areas, family-planning policies in minority regions, measures to reward one-child couples and to discourage having two or more children plus efforts to encourage late marriage and late child-bearing.

He said that some people worry that a one-child policy will result in fewer working people to support more retired people in the next few decades, a trend that has showed up in some other countries.

No reason to worry about that," Qian explained. "China will still have a labour force (aged 16 to 55) of 700 million by the end of the century, approximately the current level, mainly because its population base is higher and its population structure is younger than some other countries."

As for the census showing that the present proportion of males to females is 51.5 percent to 48.5 or 106.3 to 100, the minister said it is in line with figures released in 1964 (51.3 percent to 48.67) and in 1953 (51.82 percent to 48.76 percent).

Qian said worldwide, males slightly outnumber females--105-108 to 100--although the trend is changing in some Western countries where the average life expectancy of females is longer.

CSO: 4000/14

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QIAN XINZHONG VIEWS POPULATION GROWTH RATE

OW061622 Beijing XINHUA in English 1517 GMT 6 Nov 82

[Text] Beijing, 6 Nov (XINHUA)--Qian Xinzong, minister in charge of the State Family Planning Commission, in a recent interview said to XINHUA that, "If birth control is not practiced in the Asian and Pacific region, a total population of 5 billion can be expected by the year 2015."

"The figure will be 500 million more than the total population of the world now," he added. The population of the Asian and Pacific region stands at 2.5 billion at present.

In a brief account of the third Asian and Pacific population conference held in Sri Lanka in September, Qian Xinzong, who led a Chinese delegation there, said that these countries since the 1970's had been paying attention to family planning. They all recognized the importance of keeping population growth commensurate with socioeconomic development and birth rate has dropped in the past few years. But the absolute increase was still large.

"This is because the base of the region's population is big," he said.

According to the conference, from 1970 to 1980, the population of the Asian and Pacific region had risen by one-fourth and accounted for 56 percent of the world's total.

Qian Xinzong said that China was determined to keep its population within 1.2 billion by 2000. Annual natural population growth should be kept within 11 million in the coming 18 years. The 1981 natural growth was about 14 million. He said, "Our task is to take measures to decrease this 3 million."

He stressed that rural population was the major target. Emphasis of publicity and ideological education on family planning work would be put on rural areas and contraceptives will be supplied there first. The quality of contraceptives would be improved.

He said, "We must teach the peasants to understand that birth control will help them raise their living standard."

Rural production brigades are setting up pension system and old folks' homes. "These help peasants to gradually change their idea that 'sons are the insurance,'" he explained.

The first-born rate in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai had reached 90 percent and in the provinces of Liaoning, Shandong, Jilin, Heilongjiang and Jiangsu, more than 70 percent of newly born babies are the only child of their parents.

He said that if the 70 percent rate can be attained in the 15 provinces whose population topped 30 million, the goal of 1.2 billion by the end of this century could be reached.

According to figures released by the recent national census, it can be expected that people over 65 will account for only around 9 percent by the year 2000. China does not face the problem of an aging population, he said.

CSO: 4000/14



## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

INTELLECTUAL WORK CONFERENCE--A Gansu provincial conference on work concerning intellectuals concluded in Lanzhou on 7 November after 1 week in session. The participants studied relevant passages of Comrade Hu Yaobang's 12th Party Congress report and important instructions and speeches of central leaders on work concerning intellectuals. Comrade Guo Hongchao delivered a report on this work. Comrades Feng Jixin and Li Dengying also spoke. The participants summed up work and looked into measures for improvement. "As a result of study and discussion, the responsible comrades of various areas and departments heightened their understanding of the importance of work concerning intellectuals, and gained a clearer idea of the important status and role of intellectuals in building the four modernizations. A number of leading comrades found out the shortcomings in their work and thinking and became more enthusiastic to do a good job in work concerning intellectuals. Many representatives of intellectuals put forward very good views and suggestions. They also got a clearer idea of the heaviness of their responsibilities. They expressed resolve to work hard to change Gansu's economic and cultural backwardness and help to create a new situation in all fields of socialist construction in the province." [HK090121 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 0420 GMT 8 Nov 82]

CSO: 4005/154

SIGNIFICANCE OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING /CONTENDING/ in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 48-50

/Article by Xu Xing /6079 5887/: "Comments on the CPC 12th Party Congress"

/Text/ The Party Tradition of the "Four-Step Lead"

The 12th National Congress of the CPC opened on 1 September and concluded on 11 September. The First Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee was then convened, at which persons were elected to the various organs of the Central Committee. In his opening speech to the 12th Party Congress Deng Xiaoping said that this plenary session was the first major conference since the Seventh Party Congress. He reached back into the past and explored the roots of the party's historical traditions. His intention undoubtedly was to distinguish this plenary session from the four previous plenary sessions and to make clear the distinctions between them. The reason for this is that the 11th Party Congress belonged to Hua Guofeng and the whatever faction, the 10th Party Congress was controlled by the gang of four, and the Ninth Party Congress was under the influence of Lin Biao.

In principles, the Eighth Party Congress should have gone to Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. At that plenary session, Liu Shaoqi gave a government report and Deng Xiaoping gave a report on revising the party constitution. In his report Deng Xiaoping advocated doing away with the worship of individuals and deleted the provision from the party constitution which made Mao Zedong Thought the guiding ideology of the constitution. Furthermore, at the First Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee, Liu Shaoqi was elected vice chairman of the party and Deng Xiaoping was elected party secretary general. Only 8 months after the Eighth Party Congress began, the contending and blooming movement got underway. During the movement many outstanding elements were labeled rightists. At that time Deng Xiaoping was in charge of the antirightists movement. It was he who gave to the Third Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee the report on rectifying incorrect styles of work. For the most part, this antirightist movement has been criticized as a mistake of magnification and the ensuing Great Leap Forward as a disastrous movement. Consequently, as Deng Xiaoping currently traces back the historical roots of the party's traditions, he has skipped over the Eighth Party Congress and has directly linked up with the Seventh Party Congress, prior to the founding of the nation.

Of course, this "four-step leap" will help the 12th Party Congress shake off the historical grime and increase the significance of its policies and systems currently in force. However, it has unintentionally exposed a frightening fact, which is that since the founding of the nation, not one party congress has warranted affirmation of the CPC.

It is still fresh in everyone's memory that without exception, each party congress was praised by those in power at the time as being such a significant, successful, and triumphant plenary session. The shouts of a "united meeting" and a "triumphant meeting" still ring in our ears. In the end this was all worthless. Such historical facts are very painful. Because of this, it has not been easy to dispel totally the feeling of dejection in the hearts and minds of the Chinese people that has resulted from "reviewing history." Therefore, as regards the current major plenary session on "setting things right" and "turning back history," the people not unexpectedly have adopted either a wait-and-see, cautious, reserved optimism or a moderate pessimism--both of which attitudes are reasonable.

#### The 12th Party Congress Is a Continuation of the Third Plenary Session

Exactly what kind of party congress was this one? In the overall view, this party congress formally established the Deng-Hu system. This so-called Deng-Hu system actually has as its core group Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Chen Yun, and Zhao Ziyang. Deng Xiaoping is the key figure of this core group, while Chen Yun is the strong mainstay. Hu Yaobang, by relying on the cooperation of his old comrades-in-arms in the CYL, has provided this core group with new theories and new energy for taking action, while Zhao Ziyang has put party policies into practice in the state structure. This is an example of the most sincere cooperation among the first and second generation of leaders concerning "passing on experiences, giving help, and setting an example" that has occurred since the CPC came to power (this does not refer to the founding of the party).

Compared to the whatever faction and the dogmatists, this system is without doubt the most feasible. Furthermore, to a fair degree it coincides with the ideas of the general demand for reforms within the party. Consequently, it has won considerable support within and outside the party. Beginning with the Third Plenary Session in December 1978, they broke through Hua Guofeng's and the others' line of defense. After this they gradually expanded and consolidated their power, and finally at the Sixth Plenary Session in June 1981 they formally removed Hua Guofeng from his position as party chairman. Hu Yaobang took over the leadership. The 12th Party Congress is the final phase of the party power struggle that has been going on since the Third Plenary Session.

#### The Power Structure That Has Emerged From the 12th Party Congress

At present, the power structure of the CPC that has emerged from the 12th Party Congress is as follows:

The Standing Committee of the Central Committee--The makeup is basically similar to that arranged by the Fifth and Sixth Plenary Sessions, except that Hua Guogeng has finally been removed from the Standing Committee of the Central Committee and from the Politburo. His removal brought about a significant change in the state of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee. Deng, Hu, Zhao, and Chen hold four of the six seats and occupy the dominant position. In principle, a committee consisting of an even number of people is totally illogical. Once Hua Guofeng was removed, another person should have taken his place. Most likely it was not easy to reach an agreement on filling the vacancy. In any case, Deng, Hu, Zhao and Chen still retain absolute dominance, so that even if it continues to exist with an even number of people it will not become "something new."

Something else that is not new in the Standing Committee of the Central Committee is that, at the ripe old age of 85 and with signs of senility approaching, Ye Jianying refuses to retire. On the contrary, he still declares that he will "give his all until his dying day." Why does an old man nearing his end want to hang onto his position and leave himself no alternatives? In addition to this old man himself who values highly his position of power, his family is unwilling for him to step down. Furthermore, this can be seen in the fact that certain groups (such as certain elements in the military and in the petroleum faction) hope that he will act as their straw to clutch at, and that he will remain on the Standing Committee of the Central Committee along with Li Xiannian. This will prevent the Standing Committee from becoming too homogeneous.

The Political Bureau--The changes have been rather extensive. Among the committee members who emerged from the 11th Party Congress, quite a few who belonged to the whatever faction were gradually expunged after the Third Plenary Session and replaced by people belonging to Deng's clique. After the 12th Party Congress, Liu Bochong /0491 0130 2110/ voluntarily requested leave due to a long bout of illness. Xu Shiyong /6079 0013 0645/ and Geng Biao /5105 7374/ were put on the Central Advisory Commission. Geng Biao, in his capacity as incumbent minister of the Ministry of National Defense, was forced out of the Politburo and onto the Advisory Commission. This was quite an unusual event. (This year Geng is 73 years old; Nie Rongzhen /5119 2837 5271/ is 83 years old, and yet he was retired and resigned from his position as vice chairman of the Standing Committee, although he is retained on the Politburo. He continues to hold the position of vice chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee and has not been put on the Advisory Commission.) Even more odd is the fact that the 65-year-old Peng Chong /1756 0394/ (some say he is 67) is still a member of the Presidium of the 12th Party Congress. He participated in presiding over the meeting on 8 September, but he failed to be elected to the Politburo or the Secretariat.

In all, nine new people were elected to the current Politburo, including alternate members. They are Wan Li /5502 6849/, Xi Zhongxun /5045 0112 0534/, Yang Shangkun /2799 1424 2492/, Yang Dezhi /2799 1779 1807/, Song Renqiong /1345 0117 4522/, Hu Qiaomu /5170 0829 2606/, Liao Chengzhi /1675 2110 1807/ and alternates Yao Yilin /1202 0181 2651/ and Qin Jiwei /4440 1015 0251/.

Almost all nine of these people belong to the Deng faction. Thus the Deng faction makes up the overwhelming majority on the Politburo and plays a decisive role in consolidating the power of the existing system.

The Secretariat--The Secretariat of the Central Committee, which came into being during the Fifth Plenary Session, originally consisted of 11 people. Later on, the Sixth Plenary Session elected Xi Zhongxun as the 12th person. At present the Secretariat elected by the 12th Party Congress still consists of 12 people, including the general secretary, the secretary, and the alternate secretaries. The number of people has not changed. However, because certain people in the old Secretariat were promoted to be members of the Politburo, six new people were selected. They are Deng Liqun /6772 0500 5028/, Yang Yong /2799 0516/, Chen Pixian /7115 0012 7359/, Hu Qili /5170 0796 4539/, and alternates Qiao Shi /0829 4258/ and Hao Jianxiu /6787 1696 4423/. Both Deng Liqun and Hu Qili are Hu Yaobang's men from the CYL organization. Yang Yong represents the military on the Secretariat. In the past, Yang Dezhi, chief of the General Staff, was the military representative on the Secretariat. This time, because Yang Dezhi joined the Politburo, Yang Yong, deputy chief of the General Staff, took over his position. These two men both belong to the Deng faction.

The former secretary of the Secretariat, Wang Renzhong /3769 0117 6850/, failed to be elected. Last winter there had already been hints that he would fall from power. At that time Xi Zhongxun took over his position and became acting director of the Propaganda Department. Not long afterward, /the post/ was formally assumed by Deng Liqun. This probably was related to the pernicious influence of the "left" in /Wang's/ ideology. However, he is currently still a member of the Central Committee. As a director of the Central Liaison Department, Qiao Shi served as secretary.

#### Changes in the Plenary Session

The three bodies mentioned above are the true policy-making bodies and structures in charge of the day-to-day business of the Central Committee. A plenary session of the Central Committee is required only for endorsing general lines, policies, and major personnel changes. Nevertheless, those in power must control the majority on the plenary session, or else their power would ultimately not be stable. Thus, the 12th Party Congress made every effort to put quite a few oldtimers on the Central Advisory Commission. (It is calculated that there are 48 members from the earlier Central Committee and 12 alternates from the earlier Central Committee.) This has allowed several leading cadres in various departments in state agencies, in various provinces and municipalities, and in the armed forces to be placed on the new Central Committee. According to statistics, of the 210 Central Committee members were reelected, 15 of the original alternates were promoted to positions as full committee members, and 97--or 46 percent--were newly elected to the Central Committee. Obviously, this was quite a major changeover.

The biggest changeover was among the Central Committee alternates. Except for 15 alternates who were promoted to permanent positions, all the rest were replaced. Of these replacements, almost all are unknown personages. As the term suggests, Central Committee alternates were originally used to fill

vacancies on the Central Committee. How could as many as 138 alternates be needed for 210 Central Committee members within a 5-year period? However, in CPC there is an unwritten convention that the position of alternate has consistently been regarded as a high-ranking privileged position. Therefore, those in power frequently take advantage of this fact to use the granting of a position of Central Committee alternate to someone as a favor to win over supporters. One cannot say that the changing of the guard among Central Committee alternates at the 12th Party Congress was totally unrelated to the above-mentioned practice of winning over others.

#### Balance of Power Leans Toward Deng and Hu

From the above analyses, we naturally arrive at a conclusion: The 12th Party Congress not only caused the power structure to be weighted toward the Deng-Hu organization, but it also ushered in a new era in the history of the CPC in which a faction in the CPC has full assurance of a majority. No wonder that Hu Yaobang declared in his report to the plenary session: "In general, the leading power in party and state organizations at all levels is already basically in the hands of cadres who are loyal to the party and the people." Moreover, both Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang drew parallels between the 12th Party Congress and the Seventh Party Congress. (Hu Yaobang even made comparisons with the Zunyi Meeting.) No matter what the publicly declared reason was, there is another reason which is not openly discussed for drawing such a comparison. That is, because this group securely controls the majority in the highest policy-making organ of the Central Committee and in the Standing Committee organ, the will of the highest level of leadership has become even more unified. Thus, it is unlikely that there will be any great dissension that would result in a dispute.

As for the domination of the CPC, such a relatively stable period will last at least for the rest of Deng Xiaoping's life. Stability is beneficial to national economic construction. It may enable leaders to conserve their energy, usually wasted on internal disputes, and allow them to concentrate on economic construction. However, there is also a disadvantage to this stability. The party's control over the nation and its domination over the people may intensify. In other words, one-party dictatorship will only become stronger; it will not weaken.

In fact, this tendency to consolidate had already begun to appear at the end of 1979 and the beginning of 1980. Since then it has intensified. The slogans of ideological emancipation that were advocated during 1978 and 1979 are no longer even mentioned. Those involved in the democratic movements that sprang up one after another among the people from the end of 1978 to 1981 have long been rounded up. Breaths of fresh air such as that daring and courageous "revival of literature and art" which took place between 1979 and 1980 in art and literary circles no longer exists. Contacts between Chinese and foreigners are being monitored more closely. The people's right to know is increasingly being disregarded, under slogans that stress the maintenance of secrecy. There is increased censorship of foreign television. It is more and more difficult for people to leave the country to visit

relatives or study.... There are numerous indications that China is once again heading in a backward direction. They are heading along a path that confines the people and cuts them off from the outside world. They boast about the superiority of socialism from behind closed doors.

#### Essential Features of the Deng-Hu System

The Deng-Hu system is as follows: The Chinese society that they plan to establish is not an open, free, democratic society. On the contrary, it is a stabilized society which is under their strict control. They no longer advocate reform but rather the eradication of disorder and a return to righteousness. This means eradicating the pernicious influence of the internal unrest during the Cultural Revolution, eradicating the legacy of troubles deriving from ultraleftist policies, and restoring the consolidated rule of the CPC.

In order to restore the domination of the CPC, they plan to devote themselves to two areas. The first is to develop economic construction, and the second is to establish a spiritual civilization. They realize that economic development is the foundation for consolidated rule, and that eliminating corrupt phenomena in the party is the basis for consolidating their control. Neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other.

As for the problem of how to develop economic construction, in his report Hu Yaobang issued triple the amount of 20-year promissory notes. In dealing with how to establish a spiritual civilization, he gave a long-winded, empty, theoretical speech. There is really no need to assess the purchasing ability of this kind of promissory note "signed by some great figure." It is more realistic to check on its efficacy through future developments. There are just two points to be made concerning those hollow words, which fall a little short of being considered a "great meaningless speech." The first point is that Hu Yaobang did not thoroughly criticize the degeneration of party style. He only touched upon it, saying that this is a "problem that affects the life and death of the party." How is this problem of life and death to be resolved? He merely said that the Central Committee has already decided that, beginning the latter half of next year, a 3-year overall rectification of party style will be carried out in stages within the party. This attitude is like "having a doctor slowly attend to someone suffering from acute infantile convulsions." Serious remedies are not considered. It is very doubtful whether this method of rectifying party style--in which they cover up "domestic scandals," evade the people, control public opinion, and rely solely on instruction on inner-party ideology to treat 33 years of severe and lingering illness--can produce substantial results. The second point is that Hu Yaobang said the establishment of a spiritual civilization may be divided into cultural and ideological establishment. Hu obviously believes that ideological establishment is a major link in producing a spiritual civilization. This view is just like Zhang Guo riding a donkey with his face toward the tail; he does the reverse of what should be done. One could put it thus: The more established the ideology of the CPC, the less freedom of thought the people have. The spirit behind all their independent thought and bold criticism will be destroyed by "ideological establishment." Consequently,

even though it is not yet a situation of 10,000 horses standing mute, still it's not far from it. What brilliant and splendid civilization of letting a hundred schools of thought contend and a hundred flowers bloom is there to speak of?!

The 12th Congress of the CPC is an important milestone for the Deng-Hu system because they have been able to consolidate their rule. It is also an important milestone as far as the entire party is concerned. They definitely put an end to the spirit of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution and ushered in a new era of stable rule like that of Brezhnev in the Soviet Union. As for the Chinese people, this is a peaceful but not always prosperous dynasty. The people have food to eat, but they do not have their freedom, nor do they enjoy democratic rights.

9864

CSO: 4005/66



## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### PRC'S PLANS FOR SOVEREIGNTY OVER HONG KONG DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 10-11

[Article by Luo Bing [5012 3056]: "Sino-British Talks and the Aspirations of Deng and Hu"]

[Text] The Iron Lady Meets the Iron Man

"The problem of getting Hong Kong back is not something we worry about."

I understand that these were the words of Hu Yaobang.

The words are true. If Beijing wants sovereignty over Hong Kong returned, what right has Britain to refuse?

The problem is when to take it back and in what form. What demands might Britain make? Will China accede to all or some of Britain's demands? And so forth. These questions cannot be answered by a "few words" from Beijing.

This is to say that there is a need for a dialog.

Although the Hong Kong issue was not the sole topic of the Sino-British talks during this visit by Mrs Thatcher to Beijing, it was nonetheless a major element of the dialog.

I don't know if the British dignitaries who sat at the large, round, central table laden with flowers during the dinner party arranged by Zhao Ziyang to welcome Mrs Thatcher drank Mao Tai or brandy or soda pop, but at the rectangular table where she held talks with Zhao Ziyang, Mrs Thatcher surely drank a bitter brew.

Beyond the Summit, a Marathon Is Run

China will certainly take back sovereignty over Hong Kong--the first taste of bitter wine.

The British guests may have suggested that 15 years was too short a time [for the transition], that investors are beginning to halt longer term investments, and that as a result it will be difficult to maintain prosperity in Hong Kong.

They would want a longer period of time before surrendering sovereignty. The hosts very likely made it clear at the time that that would be unacceptable--another bitter drink.

In other words, the Iron Lady of the British capital ran up against the Iron Man of Beijing. On the issue of sovereignty over Hong Kong, the Iron Lady stumbled into a wall.

However, aside from the major principle that sovereignty over Hong Kong must be returned to Chinese hands, other secondary principles and the concrete methods involved are seen as being negotiable. If Deng Xiaoping wants to reassert control over Hong Kong before 1997, it is primarily because of high-level pressure exerted by some within the party (more about the matter of pressure later), and if the British side will make reasonable and sensitive requests, then I believe that fact will circulate rapidly in inner circles and, after Deng and Hu reach an "understanding," they may make some concessions in matters not involving large principles, and the talks need not go on too long. But if matters are not handled in this way, then a marathon dialog will be unavoidable.

Regardless, the talks will not end at the conclusion of this "summit," but will go on at secondary or local levels. Authorities in Hong Kong and in Guangdong will play extremely important roles in this series of marathon or near-marathon talks.

The Chinese Communists certainly have the upper hand in the talks on Hong Kong. The primary reason for this is that China's stand on reestablishing sovereignty after a number of years is just, is reasonable, and can stand on its own merits.

Another reason is that the Chinese Communists had already thoroughly prepared for the talks with Mrs Thatcher and for future talks.

#### A Succession of Chinese Communist Leaders Go to Hong Kong

It is very interesting to recall for a moment the reactions of the news media of the international community and of the United States and European countries to the news of the Chinese Communists' reestablishing sovereignty over Hong Kong. Several months ago, the diplomatic community in Beijing had absolutely no interest in the question of Hong Kong's future. They were already tired of hearing Deng Xiaoping and other important figures saying things such as they "hoped Hong Kong would continue to prosper," and "investors need not worry." When the July issue of CHENG MING first reported that the highest levels of the CPC wanted to reassert sovereignty over Hong Kong in the near future and, at the same time, to preserve Hong Kong's capitalist social system, although some foreign news agencies reported the CHENG MING report and newspapers in Britain, France, the United States, and Japan printed it, the news was not given prominence and the matter did not attract attention. Only in late August and early September did news concerning the future of Hong Kong become a hot item. Some foreign newspaper reporters in Beijing and reporters in London, Paris, and New York coincidentally surged into Hong

Kong at that time searching for information. When Mrs Thatcher was due to arrive in Beijing, they and reporters from every Hong Kong paper swarmed into Beijing. Why did such a change occur?

The major reason is that they didn't really believe that the Chinese would suddenly decide to take back Hong Kong in the not too distant future.

In fact, even before CHENG MING reported that Chinese Communist decision, the PRC had given documents to XINHUA NEWS AGENCY in Hong Kong outlining the decision to reestablish sovereignty over Hong Kong and the principle of "one country, two systems."

Afterward, high-level cadres involved with Hong Kong businesses streamed into Hong Kong one after another. Among them were Lin Yixin [2651 0001 1800], Lin Xiude [2651 0208 1795] and Liang Weilin [2733 1218 2651]. They passed on the directives of the Party Central Committee to all of China's Hong Kong operatives and carried out the work of explaining.

It is said that there is more than one Chinese Communist document on the Hong Kong matter. A speech by Hu Yaobang at a Guangdong-Fujian work forum is one of them. Beijing friends informed me of the major elements of this important internal CPC document. The heading of the document is in black, which is to say that the topic is black, meaning that it is given to the average cadre to read; this makes it clear that this high-level CPC policy on Hong Kong is semipublic. (Editor's note: This material is appended. It was supplied by one of our ardent readers.)

#### The Words of Deng Xiaoping in Documents Headed in Red

One document is headed in red, indicating that it is given only to high-level cadres to read. It contains excerpts of the views of Deng Xiaoping concerning the Hong Kong matter. The statement to the effect that what foreigners can handle (managing a city), Chinese can also handle--a statement attributed to a tycoon from Zhongnanhai which has been circulating overseas--is a "grand line" of "Master Deng." Deng Xiaoping also uttered the following words:

Hong Kong is an inseparable part of our nation's territory, as is Taiwan. That we did not take it back in the past was primarily for reasons of developing trade. But now, after a few more years, we very likely will take it back, making it a district under our direction (a special administrative area).

Beijing friends have told me that all cadres throughout the nation understand the policy and principles of the Party Central Committee with regard to the Hong Kong-Macao issue. I visited some grassroots units to get a feel for the situation, and, sure enough, the leaders of these units spoke clearly and accurately of the policy. The SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO [WORLD ECONOMIC GUIDE], which is published in Shanghai, published an article (on 6 September) on impressions of Hong Kong in which the author revealed his sensitivity to the matter of Hong Kong's future. He wrote: "At present, Hong Kong's economic

development seems to be in the direction of scaling back industry and forcefully becoming a financial center, offering loans to the entire world. This makes it easy to move away on the day when circumstances in Hong Kong and Kowloon change. This is an impression gained from observation." If the author did not understand the intentions of the CPC Central Committee, would he have written this? Would the SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO have printed this article?

Some in the news world cannot handle this question: Why are Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang so determined to reestablish sovereignty over Hong Kong?

Deng Xiaoping's determination stems from his estimation of and emphasis on three pressures, two opportune moments, and one desire.

#### Three Pressures, Two Opportune Moments, One Desire

##### Three pressures:

The first is the demand of cadres with "leftist tendencies." They feel that by not taking back Hong Kong, Deng Xiaoping is purposely relinquishing China's rights and dishonoring the nation, while at the same time allowing the unhealthy winds from Hong Kong to blow into the mainland, corrupting cadres and harming political stability.

The second is the close attention being paid by the Third World. Some countries feel that by not taking back Hong Kong, China is making it clear that her resolute opposition to colonialism is a lie.

The third is the censure of the international communist movement. When the time came, the Soviet Union would intensify attacks on China's attitude toward Hong Kong, and this would influence the international communist movement.

##### Two Opportune Moments

The first is that the Chinese Communists are now entering into a campaign to "make comprehensive breakthroughs in socialist modernization construction," and Hong Kong and Macao should and can be included. The Chinese Communists feel it is possible to maintain the area's prosperity. They do not fear that capital will flee after they regain sovereignty, and if it does, they feel it will return.

The second is that Chiang Ching-kuo is in poor health, and Taiwan's situation might change in the next few years. If the PRC can solve the matter of Hong Kong and Macao and turn them into a model of the "one nation, two systems" form, then it will be helpful in solving the Taiwan problem.

##### One Desire

This is the desire to complete the great task of reuniting the nation. With the return of Hong Kong and Macao to the motherland, followed by the return of Taiwan to the motherland, the great task that Mao Zedong was unable to

to accomplish would be completed by Deng Xiaoping. This would be the great accomplishment of Deng Xiaoping's generation.

I believe that if people understood the feelings of Deng and Hu (especially Deng Xiaoping's), then it would be easy for them to comprehend the policy of the CPC Central Committee with regard to the future of Hong Kong and Macao. The "theoretical basis" of this policy is found in these two words: politics first.

Seen from the perspective of Deng Xiaoping's desires, while smiles will appear and may appear repeatedly in present and future talks between China and Britain (emphasizing that Sino-British friendship and cooperation should be part of China's global strategy), China's stand is completely firm and unshakable.

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CSO: 4005/69

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### PARTY CONSTITUTION, POLITICAL MODERNIZATION DISCUSSED

Hong Kong MING PAO YUEH K'AN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese Vol 17 No 10,  
Oct 82 pp 6-8

[Essay by Liao Guangsheng [1675 0342 3932]: "Abrogation of the Party Chairmanship, and Political Modernization--Comments on the New Party Constitution of the 12th National Congress of the CPC"]

[Text] I. Resistance to Political Development in Modern China

In the context of modern world history, the political development of China has been relatively slow. Every time it has been necessary to learn new ideas and systems, great resistance has been encountered. Most of this resistance originates [either] from political and cultural traditions left over from history or from the power of those with vested interests. The former kind of resistance originates in society, while the latter kind originates with the ruling cliques. Comparatively speaking, the latter kind is more important. The former type of resistance often serves as an excuse for the latter, making resistance even more powerful.

From a political point of view, over 100 years of Chinese history tell us that the only way for China to survive is to go all out to make itself strong. To make China strong, it is necessary to enact reforms or make revolution. Whenever reformist or revolutionary ideologies have arisen to overthrow old forces, the new political forces have replaced the old forces and formed a powerful political clique. After a short period of time, however, this new political clique has in turn transformed itself into a conservative political force, obstructing further progress. Therefore, modern Chinese political development has advanced one step only to retreat half a step. The Manchu government of the late Qing period was corrupt, and the Revolutionary Party rose up to overthrow the Manchus, but political power was then usurped by Yuan Shikai, obstructing any further steps in China's political revolution. After 1949, when the CPC established its political power, a new situation opened up in the 1950's; however, since the early 1960's, the CPC ruling clique has acquired vested interests. It does not hesitate to distort Marxism-Leninism in order to protect its leadership powers, and "revolutionary spirit" has withered. Chinese politics has also retrogressed: although a lot of political jargon has been invented, Chinese politics is still basically backward.

Furthermore, the Chinese people have great powers of resistance to new ideas. Modern China's political leadership stratum got its start in the military; these [leaders] are experts at fighting civil wars, inventing stratagems, and political maneuvering. Although their mouths are full of modern democracy, rule by law, or Marxist ideology, in their minds they think only about the political relationships within their own small group, and they are only concerned about their personal safety and political interests. The spirit of ideas such as democracy, rule by law, and Marxism are nothing more than slogans to be shouted at meetings.

For thousands of years the political system has been the weakest link in China's historical and cultural development. Aside from their acquiescence to the "Mandate of Heaven," our ancestors' understanding of national politics was quite limited. For thousands of years the common people dragged out an existence between the "Mandate of Heaven" above and the "sovereign's earth" below. It was not until the last half of the 19th century, while under armed attack from the West, that they began to understand the modern concept of the "nation" and came to realize that a political system must develop in a sound way.

For several decades, China's leaders have been groping for a relatively sound political system. The constitution has been revised several times in the hope that China could attain stable development. The new party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has also been drawn up with this goal in mind.

## II. Conflict Between Party and Government Under the Chinese Communists

After the CPC established its political power in 1949, problems of organizational redundancy and clashes of authority between the party and the government appeared. Prior to 1959, Mao Zedong was concurrently chairman of the party and of the state, and he was able to resolve contradictions between the party and the government. After 1959, Liu Shaoqi became state chairman, and the state chairmanship and party chairmanship gradually became antagonistic roles. Fundamentally, in the Chinese Communist system, the party leads the state organizations and controls the military; the position of party chairman is naturally above that of state chairman. However, the state apparatus is the organ which implements policy and is responsible for administrative work throughout the nation. As an organization it is extensive and tightly knit; therefore it also constitutes a system. The state apparatus attends to routine official business and resolves all kinds of difficulties; therefore it strives for efficiency and seeks truth from facts, and it gradually develops an ideology of paying attention to reality. This working style of striving for realism slowly gets out of line with the Marxist-Leninist ideology upheld by the party. This problem of a contradiction between the party and the government was already apparent before the Cultural Revolution. In 1962 the conflict between the "First 10 Points" and the "Later 10 Points" broke out. In 1964 the "Four Cleanups Movement" also generated disputes between the party and the government. Thereafter, many disputes between the two lines appeared one after another, until an ideological contradiction between the party and the government had been created. Finally, Mao Zedong used the Red Guards to wreck the state administrative system. After

the launching of the Cultural Revolution, the party ruled the country directly and the legal system collapsed completely, which led to a situation wherein there was a party without a government.

Prior to 1949, the aim of the Chinese Communists was concentrated on defeating the Kuomintang and seizing political power. On account of the war, there was no distinction at that stage between the party and the government. Party, government, and military had to cooperate closely for the sake of survival. However, these circumstances had already changed completely by the time political power was established in 1949. After the establishment of political power, it was necessary to maintain stability for a prolonged period. In a period of stability the important issue is economic construction. Only a flourishing economy can maintain an extensive military, improve weaponry, and enable the party to gain the support of the popular masses. In order to maintain a stable society and engage in cultural, educational, scientific, and national defense construction, it is obviously necessary to strive for realism, to make full use of intellectual and expert talent, and to improve administrative efficiency. Specialists in party affairs are not experts at any of these tasks. Therefore, in times of peace, the party and the government must divide up the work; only then can they make rapid progress in these kinds of construction. Unfortunately, Mao Zedong was hoodwinked in his old age and went in the direction of a feudal Marxism-Leninism, concentrating in his own person all the power in the country, and going in for the cult of the individual in a big way. The founding elders and principal officials were subjected to bullying and pressure. Intellectuals were identified with the "stinking old nine" and could only stand in the cowsheds, look up, and sigh, willing but unable to help. After the death of Mao Zedong, the wrath of the masses surged up everywhere, demanding that feudal superstitions be smashed. Finally, the "gang of four" was overthrown and the path of economic development was taken: the destiny of the Chinese people granted them a new lease on life. The two most precious lessons of these more than 30 years are: (1) The party must be institutionalized; power in the party must not be concentrated in one man. (2) There must be a clear distinction between party and government; if party and government do not divide up the work, it will be difficult to make progress in national construction.

### III. The New Party Constitution of the 12th National Party Congress, and the Abrogation of the Party Chairmanship

In early September 1982, the 12th National Congress of the CPC approved a new party constitution which reformed the party organization and also added some important new provisions. There are three important changes which concern party-government relations:

(1) The Central Committee of the CPC will have a general secretary and will no longer have a chairman. The general secretary is responsible for convening meetings of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and of its Standing Committee, and also preside over the work of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

(2) The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws. The party must ensure that the legislative,



judicial, economic, and administrative organs of the state, and the cultural and people's organizations, are able to work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly, and in harmony.

(3) Advisory commissions are set up at the center and at the level of the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the central government. Commissions for inspection of discipline are set up at the center and at all local levels.

Before the CPC established the position of party chairman, overall planning for the party was in the hands of the general secretary. The position of party chairman was only set up after the Zunyi Meeting, and thereafter the general secretary assisted the party chairman in overall planning for the party. During periods of civil war, when there was a party without a government, a party chairman was, of course, absolutely necessary. Since there were no state organs, the party originally provided the leadership for all party, government, and military affairs. The powers of the party leaders were great, and so their positions had to be high. After political power was established in 1949, however, the organs of state took over many party functions, and the civil war had already been brought to an end. Thereafter, the work of the party chairman frequently overlapped with that of the general secretary. On the other hand, responsibility for state affairs had already been assumed by the premier of the State Council and the state chairman, so that the power of the party chairman rested upon nothing. Formally the party chairman was overall leader and his position was higher than that of state chairman. Therefore, after 1959 relations between Mao Zedong and Liu Shaoqi gradually worsened: there was no room for two tigers on one mountain.

The abrogation of the position of party chairman by the 12th National Party Congress is a correct and resolute decision. Like the hero who cut off his own arm, an impediment between party and government has been removed. However, the abrogation of the position of party chairman does not necessarily diminish "the authority of the party." The party is still the source of power. If the authority of the party continues to be unlimited, it can go on disrupting the state administration as before, and the government will become a puppet of the party.

As far as party-government relations are concerned, what is most important is not abrogation of the party chairmanship but limitation of "the authority of the party." When the party interferes in administrative and government activities, the authority of the state organs is negated and the experience and talents of administrative personnel cannot be brought into play. Policy becomes divorced from reality, and the national economy, education, defense, and other areas can no longer develop according to plan. Furthermore, 30 years of experience shows that unlimited "authority of the party" is the most important cause of the wrecking of the legal system. When the party is above the law, there is no way to establish a legal system. Without a legal system, there is no guarantee of the lives and liberties of the people. The new party constitution specifies: "The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws." This puts the "laws" above the party, and demands that the party abide by the law. It goes on to

say: "The party must see to it that legislative, judicial, and administrative organs of the state...work actively and with initiative, independently, responsibly, and in harmony." This provision has clearly been devised with the intention of limiting party interference with state organs.

The new party constitution also sets up advisory commissions at the center and at the provincial level, and commissions for inspection of discipline at the center and local levels. The advisory commissions are to put forward recommendations on the party's principles, policies, and implementation, and to exercise a certain restraint on the Central Committee. The most important duties of the commission for inspection of discipline are to maintain party discipline and to deal with important cases of violation of the party constitution or state laws by party organizations or members. In other words, the commissions for inspection of discipline are to prevent or deal with violations of the law by the party and its members. The central and local commissions for inspection of discipline are clearly important organizations for checking abuses of party authority and violations of the law by party members.

Although we cannot know whether these provisions can really be implemented, the principle of a division of work between party and government in the new party constitution is correct. The principle of a division of work between party and government fully manifests a spirit of striving for progress and of seeking truth from facts. At present, China's younger generation is spiritually undisciplined and ideologically confused. Once they had blind faith in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but a few years ago they awoke from this dream and found everything empty. Even their faith in the Communist Party was shaken. Now that the style of the new party constitution has departed from the usual old phrasemongering and is striving for political stability and an improvement in living conditions of the people, there has truly been a shot in the arm for the Chinese people.

#### IV. Prospects for "Political Modernization"

The political development of a nation is many-faceted. The Chinese Communists spent 30 years before being convinced that the "authority of the party" must be limited and that the party and the government must divide up the work. This is similar to the discovery of the Manchu government in the late Qing period that besides the Emperor there exists a "nation." From the point of view of modern political science, the development of Chinese politics has not surpassed that of nations in the backward regions. Sooner or later the Chinese people, with a population of 1 billion and a superior sense of national self-respect, must seek "political modernization." After the people's standard of living has improved, they will seek corresponding political and social improvements. This is a universally acknowledged law of politics. The advance of industrial, agricultural, national defense, and scientific and technological modernization will lead to increased political demands by the people. In order to fulfill the people's political demands, there must be a sound and flexible political system. The division of work between party and government and the consolidation of the legal system are prerequisites to the achievement of political modernization.

Political modernization means the establishment of a political system which is stable and has widespread popular participation. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in 1978, the Chinese Communists have actively developed a socialist legal system and enacted many laws. The fifth article of the "1982 Draft of the Revised Constitution" specified: "All organs of state and the people's armed forces, all political parties and public organizations, and all enterprises and institutions must abide by the constitution and the law." The new party constitution also prescribes: "The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws." There can be no doubting the importance of consolidating the legal system, but it must be based on a sound political system. Although the new party constitution boldly abrogates the party chairmanship, as a system it is not as thorough as the "1982 Draft Constitution." The "1982 Draft Constitution" specifies with regard to those in important positions that "they shall not serve more than two consecutive terms." For example, the "Draft Constitution" states: "The term of office of the chairman and vice chairman of the People's Republic of China is 5 years. They may be reelected but shall not serve more than two consecutive terms." (Article 79) "The premier, vice premiers, and commissioners of state shall not serve more than two consecutive terms." (Article 87) Eputies to the National People's Congress and members of the Central Military Commission also may not serve more than two consecutive terms. However, the new party constitution of the 12th National Party Congress has no restrictions on consecutive terms at all. Without limitations on terms in office for the general secretary and the members of the Political Bureau Standing Committee, it is highly questionable whether "only one person having a say" and the "feudal patriarchal system" can be prevented.

Although the new party constitution of the 12th National Party Congress no longer mentions the dictatorship of the proletariat, from the structure of the party constitution it can be seen that the party can still control the military through the "Military Commission of the Central Committee," that the party can control the State Council through the Political Bureau; and that the Central Committee Secretariat can exercise remote control over the central and local government organizations. Therefore, at every level the party organizations can still control every corner of government and society; the power of the party can reach everywhere, and it will be difficult for state organizations to avoid falling under party control. It is easy to see that this new structure offers no sure guarantee of the principles of a "division of work between the party and the government," and "limiting the authority of the party." In other words, the 12th National Party Congress has not been able to separate "state" and "party." Or to put it another way, the state has not been liberated from the hands of the "party's founding elders."

Sun Yat-sen divided the period of national construction into three stages: military government, political tutelage, and constitutional government. The new party constitution of the 12th National Party Congress is situated somewhere in between the stages of military government and political tutelage. Only if the "four modernizations" and "socialist democracy" quickly give way to "political modernization" will the Chinese people be able to avoid continued political turmoil and establish a stable society. The abrogation

of the party chairmanship by the 12th National Party Congress is only a beginning: the party and the government have still not completely divided up the work, and the party still controls the government. A look at the elements making up the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau shows that there is still some distance to go between China's political developments and "political modernization."

At Hong Kong Chinese University, 14 September 1982

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CSO: 4005/70

## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### SYSTEMS REFORM BY 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-T'AI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 10, Oct 82 pp 22-23

[Article by Sha Ming [3097 2494]: "Systems Reform of the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] The new systems of the CPC which the people have long been concerned about had been set up by the close of the First Plenary Session of the 12th Party Congress. The Central Committee of the CPC established three committees --the Central Committee, the Central Advisory Commission, and the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. The Central Committee elected the Politburo and its Standing Committee. The general secretary and the Secretariat both decided on the chairman and vice chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee.

In August 1980, when the call for reform had gained strength, Deng Xiaoping gave a speech to the Politburo. In October, the high-ranking research fellow on the Central Committee, Liao Gailong [1675 5556 7127], used this address by Deng Xiaoping as a program to advocate the systematic "Gengshen Reform Plan." This plan was authoritative and was the most radical proposal for managing state affairs put forth to date by the Central Committee. In essence the plan was to democratize the party and state through systems reform.

What systems reform has the party implemented 2 years later at the 12th Party Congress?

#### Decentralization Has Not Yet Been Put Into Practice

Originally we figured that the 12th Party Congress would make changes in the pyramid power structure by putting into practice the checks and balances of the system of decentralization as proposed in the Gengshen Plan. However, the outcome of the 12th Party Congress was quite different.

At the party congress the Gengshen Plan was conceived of as a plan for "electing three committees of equal rank that would restrict and supervise each other and would all be part of the Central Committee." They could be designated the "executive committee," "advisory committee," and "committee for inspection of discipline." Liao Gailong likened the relationship between them to the relationship of mutual supervision and control among the procuratorate, law court, and public security bureau of China's judicial organs. "They form a self-regulating

system for correctly handling contradictions among the people and between ourselves and the enemy and for guarding against the occurrence of degeneration of socialism, revolt, and other unforeseen events." The three committees are all responsible to the Party Congress. When their views do not coincide, they may convene a joint conference. If things cannot be resolved, they may convene the People's Congress.

The current new party constitution clearly stipulates that the Advisory Commission is an "assistant and consultant" to the Central Committee. It "works under the leadership" of the Central Committee and its Standing Committee chairman and vice chairman must "report results to the Central Committee for approval." The Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline is lower down. According to provisions in the party constitution, its tasks are "to assist the party committees in rectifying party style and to check up on the implementation of the line, principles, policies, and decisions of the party." Its subordinate position with respect to the Central Committee and party committees at all levels is very clear. Whether or not it can check up on party discipline independently of party committees is open to question. Power is still concentrated in the Central Committee; yet the Central Committee of over 300 people holds only one meeting a year. The real power lies in the Politburo. Meetings of the 28-member Politburo are convened by the general secretary of the Central Committee. When the committee is not in session, the Standing Committee of the Politburo exercises the functions and powers of the Central Committee. Therefore, Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] said that the Standing Committee is "the leading core for the party's overall day-to-day work." When they exercise their authority, no power can contend with them.

Thus, this is still a pyramid power structure. The new Central Committee of the CPC has the shape of a tripod but without true separation of the three powers. The only difference from the past is that the chairmanship has been abolished and replaced by a general secretary. The general secretary does not have as much authority as the chairman [had]. According to the party constitution, he convenes meetings of the Politburo, and his authority to "preside" is restricted to handling the day-to-day work of the Secretariat.

As for the composition of the Politburo, the heads of the three committees as well as Premier Zhao Ziyang are members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo. We can see that at the top of the pyramid of power are the six members of the Standing Committee of the Politburo: Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang, Li Xiannian, and Chen Yun. Furthermore, Hu, Zhao, and Deng, who wield power over the party, government, and military, have become China's "three-horse carriage" [troika].

All things considered, the democratization of China's government from Mao Zedong's autocratic rule to the rule of the three chiefs has taken a step forward. However, it falls far short of having a true collective leading body and a democratic government with checks and balances, as proposed in the "Gengshen Reform Plan."

## Little Hope Left of Getting a Younger Leading Body

Among the 340 members [as published] of the Central Committee, 211 or 62 percent are new. According to the news spokesman of the 12th Party Congress, Zhu Mu [4281 4476], over 140 of these, or more than two thirds, are under 60 years old. Only 16 members of the Central Committee are over 71 years of age.

Of the nine new people on the Politburo and the Secretariat, one third are 70-odd years old, one third are 60-odd years old, and one third are between 40 and 50 years old. The average age is 64.

These are indications that the leadership of the CPC is becoming younger. However, if we look at the pyramid power structure of the CPC, which is characterized by the centralization of state power, we will see that the limited extent to which younger people have joined the Central Committee has had very little impact on the CPC's exercise of power. Younger people who have joined the Central Committee can be promoted to only a slightly higher position. They must still gain a few years before they can rise to a position where they have the right to make policies and speak out. By then, however, these younger people may no longer be "in their prime."

Consequently, the average age in the nerve center of the party, the Politburo and its Standing Committee, is worth noting. At present, the average age in the former is 72, while in the latter it is 75. Even more amazing is the fact that of the 28 members of the Politburo, 18 are senior cadres over 70 years old! Almost all of the 16 senior cadres on the Central Committee who Zhu Mu claimed were over 70 years old are on the Politburo. The highest level is still a "government of old men."

The 12th Party Congress repeatedly and strongly advocated that senior comrades "enjoy and command universal respect" and have "tremendous prestige and leadership experience"; therefore they can ensure the stability of policies and handle complex international and domestic affairs. Younger cadres should seek instruction from them more often when confronted with serious problems. They must not be bothered with ordinary problems. This is the same as saying that cadres "in their prime" do not yet have the ability to manage affairs, and that the people cannot have confidence in their ability to exercise power. Ye Jianying, the oldest senior delegate at the plenary session, falteringly announced that he would "give his all until his heart stopped beating." Thus it is very difficult to overcome the continued aging at the higher levels.

Ye Jianying's declaration, the tendency toward growth in the direct ratio of power and age, and the ancient tradition of considering qualifications and arranging ranks according to seniority will inevitably make it extremely difficult to reverse the process of aging in the CPC system. Furthermore, there is no end in sight to the system of having life long careers. In his talk after the plenary session, Hu Qiaomu corroborated this. He said that the emergence of leaders who truly enjoy popular confidence "is not possible in such a large party and nation as ours without going through the test of long-term struggle."

## Advisory Commission Is Unworthy of the Title

The organizational system of the Central Advisory Commission was proposed by Deng Xiaoping in 1980. This was unprecedented in the history of communist parties throughout the world. It was Deng's original intention to find a place for a group of senior cadres who were unwilling to retire, and let them play a minor role in checking up on things. It has overtones of being rather like an old-age home for senior statesmen. According to the principle, the chief senior statesmen, Ye Jianying, should take up the post of chairman of the Central Advisory Commission. However, things have not worked out that way. Marshal Ye is old but vigorous and reluctant to give up his post. Li Xiannian is following his every move and nipping at his heels. In order to uphold the reputation of this new organizational system, which enjoys high prestige and respect, Deng Xiaoping himself should head the list of those in command.

Since the group of overage senior statesmen who are a decisive force remain on the Politburo (as many as five members of the Politburo Bureau are over 80 years old), the significance of the Advisory Commission is relatively weak. Furthermore, Geng Biao [5105 7374], Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678], Feng Wenbin [7458 2429 1755], Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938], Wu De [0702 1795], and Chen Xilian [7115 6932 5114] are on the list of members of the Advisory Commission, so that people feel it is not so much an advisory and consultatory organization as an internal united front structure. In general, this is an ornamental and superfluous organization.

On 11 September, RENMIN RIBAO gave an extremely incisive clarification. It said that the installation of the Central Advisory Commission was a new creation of the CPC. "It is also part of the necessary transition of the party's policies on cadres from the system of lifelong careers to the retirement system." They have hit the nail on the head. This shows that the Advisory Commission is purely and simply the product of a policy of compromise. It is a measure of concession adopted by the CPC reform faction against the huge ranks of aging and useless men who dread losing their privileges. They give advice without being responsible and keep an eye on things. This inevitably is the real function of this new creation.

In 1978, the 11th Party Congress elected 333 Central Committee members and alternates. At this session they elected a total of 348 members and alternates. In addition, they elected 132 persons to the Advisory Commission and 132 members of the Commission for the Inspection of Discipline. There are a total of 612 people on all three commissions. The organization has become even more overstaffed and the financial burden even heavier.

## Democratization Is Easier Talked About Than Implemented

The 12th Party Congress has carried out reforms in the system. The strength of the Deng-Hu faction has increased, and the real power of the Central Committee remains in their hands. However, with regard to such problems as democratizing the system and putting younger cadres into positions, they still fall far short of the Gengshen Reform Plan. It is believed that there are three internal reasons for this:



The first reason is that the conservative influence of the leading stratum has been underestimated. From the fact that, although Ye Jianying has repeatedly declared the "necessity for retirement," in the end he still "devotes himself to state affairs," one can see that whether or not someone advances or retires is strongly tied up with the interests of various factions, and compromise is frequently necessary.

The second reason is that, according to the conventions of power struggle, Hu and Zhao, as a new generation of leaders, have not yet put together a strong factional backing. At a time when they are about to present a political challenge in a nation with a high degree of political trickery, perhaps Hu Yaobang's allies in the CYL find it difficult to hold their own. At present, Hu draws his support primarily from Deng Xiaoping's influence and prestige.

The third reason is that centralism is an intrinsic quality of communist parties. In particular, the ruthless domestic and foreign struggles that have been going on for over half a century have caused the CPC to firmly believe that unified centralized leadership and iron discipline will guarantee victory. (After the 12th Party Congress, Hu Qiaomu stressed that the party's first requirement is to have "a high degree of political and ideological unity.") This automatically has a negative effect on democratization. Consequently, [the leaders] lack rudimentary democratic training and understanding. There are a great number of examples in the past and present to show that they have never resorted to democratic processes when dealing with major policies or trying to resolve difficult problems. The one-man one-vote system advocated by the Gengshen Plan has never been carried out. Frequently, the things people are confronted with are either not unanimously endorsed or without endorsement. Thus we can only have limited expectations for the implementation of democratization in the future.

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