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JPRS 84384

22 September 1983

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 459

19990617 156

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Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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22 September 1983

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GENERAL

XINHUA NOTES INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO DOWNING OF KOREAN AIRLINER

UN Secretary General 'Deeply Saddened'

OW020917 Beijing XINHUA in English 0746 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] New York, 1 Sep (XINHUA)--U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar said today that he was "deeply saddened by reports of the serious loss of civilian lives" during an incident in which a South Korean jetliner was reportedly shot down by Soviet fighters Wednesday.

A spokesman for the general-secretary said in New York that the U.N. leader was "following closely" the airplane affair.

The South Korean airliner, a Boeing 747 with 269 passengers aboard, was believed to have been downed by Soviet fighters when it flew astray into Soviet air space on a flight from New York to Seoul with a refueling stop in Anchorage.

At the United Nations, a U.S. mission spokesman said tonight that the United States is requesting an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council on the incident. The council is expected to meet tomorrow.

The Soviet News Agency TASS announced this evening that an "unidentified" plane had violated Soviet air space on the night from August 31 to September 1 and was given warnings, but it did not mention if the Soviet fighters had taken any action against the plane.

Meanwhile, U.S. President Ronald Reagan said tonight "the Soviet statements to this moment have totally failed to explain how and why this tragedy has occurred."

In a statement read by his spokesman and broadcast over U.S. television, Reagan condemned the incident as an "appalling and wanton misdeed," a "horrifying act of violence," and demanded a full explanation from the Soviet Union.

He added that he would hold a National Security Council meeting to discuss ways in which the United States could join South Korea and Japan in the protest.

In Ottawa, Canadian Deputy Foreign Minister Jean-Luc Pepin today called for an explanation of the "unprovoked attack." "The Soviet Union against an unarmed civilian airliner is totally incomprehensible and is unacceptable," he said.

Pepin indicated that at least four and possibly 11 Canadians were among the 269 people on the plane.

In London, a statement issued by the British foreign office today described the loss of the South Korean airliner as "deeply disturbing" and "wholly inexplicable."

Meanwhile in Paris, the French Foreign Ministry expressed its "sharpest indignation" at the incident in a statement released this evening.

"In addition to the lack of security of civil air transportation, this incident puts into question the principles which govern international relations and the respect for human life," the statement said.

#### Australian Government 'Appalled'

OW021415 Beijing XINHUA in English 1324 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Canberra, 2 Sep (XINHUA)--Reacting to the shooting down of a South Korean civilian aircraft yesterday with heavy loss of life, Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke said that "The Australian Government is absolutely appalled at the barbaric act that has been perpetrated" by the Soviet Union.

Speaking in Hobart today, he said, "There are absolutely no circumstances whatsoever in which action of this type can begin to be justified."

In a news release issued here this afternoon, Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden said that "It is with concern and shock that we have learned of the circumstances of the loss of Korean Airlines Flight 7 on 1 September."

Hayden said that "This incident is of grave concern to every nation because of its consequences for the safety of air navigation ... my department is seeking an explanation of this event from the Soviet ambassador and from the Soviet Foreign Ministry."

Leader of the opposition Andre Peacock said in a press release that "the opposition is appalled at the shooting down of a South Korean Airlines aircraft and the tragic loss of life caused by this barbaric act.... We totally support the government's demand for an immediate explanation from the Soviet Foreign Ministry and from the Soviet ambassador to Australia."

### S. Korea Demands Soviet Apology

OW021950 Beijing XINHUA in English 1832 GMT 2 Sep 83

[Text] Beijing, 2 Sep (XINHUA)--South Korean authorities today demanded that the Soviet Union present a formal apology for downing a South Korean airliner, compensate for the losses and punish those involved in the attack, according to foreign reports reaching here today.

The South Korean authorities said that "the inhuman and barbaric act" of the Soviet Union must be condemned in the name of humanity.

The South Korean authorities were also quoted as saying that "the Soviet Union deserves impeachment of peace-loving people of the whole world for its unpardonable and most barbarous act in inflicting an armed attack on an unarmed civilian plane not engaged in any hostile action."

The South Korean authorities also announced that they have cancelled plans to send a delegation to the Soviet Union to attend an UNESCO meeting there from September 5-12 in protest over the attack by Soviet fighters.

South Korean newspapers today also condemned the shooting down of the South Korean airliner by the Soviet Union.

### New Zealand Issues Condemnation

OW030350 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 3 Sep 83

[Text] Wellington, 3 Sep (XINHUA)--The New Zealand Government yesterday accused the Soviet Union of shooting down a South Korean airliner with 269 people aboard and condemned it as a "cold-blooded and barbaric act of international lawlessness."

Foreign Affairs Minister Warren Cooper told parliament that "an attack on an unarmed civilian aircraft in time of peace demonstrates a callous disregard for the lives and safety of innocent people and will undoubtedly arouse the anger of peoples across the world."

Cooper said the government was deeply concerned about the incident. The Soviet Union should "explain this act of international lawlessness and bring those responsible to account," he said.

The Soviet charge d'affaires Vladimir Azarouskin was "invited" to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and given a copy of Cooper's press statement on the shooting.

### Canadians 'Shocked and Saddened'

OW031126 Beijing XINHUA in English 1100 GMT 3 Sep 83

[Text] Ottawa, 2 Sep (XINHUA)--Canadian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Allan Maceachen said here today that his country was shocked and saddened on learning of the shooting down of a South Korean Boeing 747 by a Soviet military aircraft.



Speaking at a press conference, he said the Canadian Government deplored the destruction of this unarmed civil aircraft and the killing of passengers, including a number of Canadians. "These actions are flagrant and unacceptable violation of the norms and practices of international civil aviation and international law," he said.

"All Canadians are deeply outraged," Maceachen said. "And no one can believe that business (with the Soviets) can go on as usual after such an incident." External affairs officials of Canada, he said, are studying a number of possible actions to protest the downing of the plane.

Any new initiatives with the Soviet Union "are on hold," he said, including a trip he was planning to make to the Soviet Union at year's end.

A number of people demonstrated in front of the Soviet Embassy here today to protest against what they called an "incomprehensible and unacceptable shooting" of the plane by the Soviet Union.

#### Asian Countries Condemn USSR

OW031230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1214 GMT 3 Sep 83

[Text] Beijing, 3 Sep (XINHUA)--The Philippines, Thailand and Bangladesh were shocked at the shooting down of a South Korean commercial airliner by the Soviet Union and condemned this act as horrifying "barbarism."

Philippine President Marcos expressed his "utmost distress" over "the most unfortunate tragedy" and called for an "appropriate inquiry" into the incident. In a statement in Manila today, he expressed condolences over all the victims including 26 Filipinos. "Our government is extending all assistance to the families of the Filipino victims in whatever means required," he said.

Describing the incident as "horrifying," Thai Deputy Prime Minister Phichai Rattakun said that there was no reason for the Soviet fighter plane to fire a missile at the commercial aircraft of South Korea. He appealed to the whole world to denounce the Soviet act.

Two Thai military leaders--the supreme commander and the chief of general staff of the Thai Armed Forces--condemned the incident and pointed out that the Soviet Union should bear the responsibility.

Over 70 representatives of travel agencies and airlines based in Bangkok held a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy Friday to protest the Soviet shooting of the South Korean civil aircraft.

A number of social and political organizations in Bangladesh criticized the Soviet act. The National Democratic Party said in a statement that the act was in violation of international norms and rules. The Bangladesh Islamic Party termed the incident as an example of barbarism.

## Latin American Nations Deplore Downing

OW031632 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 3 Sep 83

[Text] Beijing, 3 Sep (XINHUA)--The governments of Panama, Chile, Mexico, and Brazil have all issued statements denouncing the Soviet downing of a civilian South Korean airliner.

A statement issued by the Panamanian Government on September 1 said the Soviet action, which contravenes the basic norms of the international law, is unpardonable.

The Mexican Foreign Ministry in a statement yesterday expressed "deep regret" over the incident and called for an investigation.

The Brazilian Foreign Ministry's statement dated September 1 described the incident as very serious.

A statement issued by the Chilean Foreign Ministry said the incident showed that the Soviet Union is flouting the international community and international law.

## Philippines Makes Formal Protest

OW040818 Beijing XINHUA in English 0806 GMT 4 Sep 83

[Text] Manila, 4 Sep (XINHUA)--The Philippine Government yesterday formally protested against the shooting down by the Soviet Union of a South Korean commercial jetliner and demanded reparations to the families of the Philippine victims, the press here reported today.

The protest was contained in a note delivered by Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo to Soviet charge d'affaires Nikolayev Bulygin, who was summoned to the minister's residence yesterday afternoon.

Romulo conveyed to the Soviet official "the Philippine Government's distress over the loss of lives, including those of about 27 Filipino nationals on board the Korean airlines commercial jetliner which was shot down over the Sea of Japan."

In view of the incident, Romulo's note said, the government "requests that a thorough investigation be undertaken and if responsibility is determined, that adequate reparations be awarded to the families of the Filipinos who perished in the tragic incident."

In a message to the president of South Korean Airlines yesterday, Roman Cruz, president of Philippine Airlines, also condemned "this barbaric, cruel and uncivilized act against a civilian commercial aircraft carrying innocent passengers."

## Thai Government 'Greatly Disturbed'

OW051658 Beijing XINHUA in English 1637 GMT 5 Sep 83

[Text] Bangkok, 5 Sep (XINHUA)--The Thai Government is profoundly shocked by the Soviet Union's shooting down of a civilian airliner which resulted in the loss of 269 innocent people's lives, the Thai Foreign Ministry said today.

The release, which was conveyed to Soviet Ambassador [Yuriy] Ivanovich Kuznetsov by the Thai Foreign Ministry here this afternoon, said: "Thailand is greatly disturbed by this unjustified action of the Soviet Union particularly in view of the tragic loss of lives of eight innocent Thai nationals."

"In this connection," the release stressed, "the Thai Government demands that the Soviet Union give immediate and detailed clarification of the incident and Thai relatives of the victims be given just compensation."

Emerging from the meeting with the Soviet ambassador, Suthi Prasatwinitchai, director-general of the Political Department of the Thai Foreign Ministry, told reporters that he had informed the Soviet envoy that due to the present bad political atmosphere, his government had decided to postpone indefinitely the visit of Zaytsev, director-general of the Southeast Asian Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who is scheduled to be here this month.

## Japan Releases Tapes

OW061900 Beijing XINHUA in English 1609 GMT 6 Sep 83

[Text] Tokyo, 6 Sep (XINHUA)--Japanese State Minister Masaharu Gotoda made public today some of the tapes of Soviet radio communications in connection with the downing of a South Korean commercial airliner, demanding again for Soviet "frank confession of the facts."

On the tapes made by the Japanese self-defense force and showed at a press conference this morning were recorded such words: "target: blinking navigational light"; "fired"; "target downed."

Mr. Gotoda said the tapes provided evidence that the South Korean jetliner was down by the Soviet Union. One can but infer that a Soviet Mig-23 fighter fired a missile without prewarning, he added.

He also refuted a Soviet denial that the jetliner did not have its navigational lights on.

Mr. Gotoda indicated that Japan would, together with the United States, produce the tapes at a U.N. Security Council meeting to be held tomorrow.

## Ban on Flights

OW080204 Beijing XINHUA in English 0106 GMT 8 Sep 83

[Text] Beijing, 7 Sep (XINHUA)--Robert Tweedy, president of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations, said today that pilots of five nations have already joined the federation's call for a 60-day ban on flights to Moscow in retaliation for the Soviet downing of a South Korean airliner last week, according to a UPI dispatch from London.

Tweedy said the world ban on flights to Moscow is rapidly gaining momentum and as of 15:00 GMT the pilots of Britain, France, Norway, Sweden and Denmark had decided to heed the call made yesterday by the federation.

He said the ban will begin Monday but British pilots intend to stop their flights to Moscow as of Friday. While most of the members of the federation do not have service to the Soviet Union, some are taking alternative measures, he said. Australia, for example, will refuse to fly Soviet diplomats.

CSO: 4000/255

GENERAL

RENMIN RIBAO DESCRIBES FRENCH POLICY IN CHAD

HK261210 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Aug 83 p 7

["New Analysis" by Xin Shufan [6580 2885 5603]: "Conflicts in Chad and the French Policy"]

[Text] In the present armed conflicts in Chad, the attitude and action of France are conspicuous. While announcing that it has no intention of engaging in direct military intervention, France has yet continued to strengthen military deployment in Chad to show its military existence in this country. It was reported that since 9 August, when France sent its first group of military personnel to Chad, the number of French soldiers and other military personnel in this country has reached 2,500. Several days ago, six "Puma" planes and four "Mirage" planes, as well as some high-ranking commanders appointed by France, also arrived in Chad. At the same time, France has tried hard, through frequent diplomatic consultations, to seek a political solution to the conflict in Chad.

The armed conflict in Chad burst out again 2 months ago. On 24 June, with the support of Libya, the anti-government Goukouni forces attacked and captured, at one swoop, Faya Largeau, a northern strategic point, and some other cities. The forces of the Chadian legal government and President Habre soon launched a counterattack. They recaptured the lost land and inflicted heavy casualties on the main force of the anti-government troops at Faya Largeau.

At the beginning of August, the situation in Chad became more complicated. The Goukouni forces, supported by Libya, again attacked and occupied Faya Largeau, and continued to advance southwards along two routes. The eastern route was directed at two strategic points--oum chalouba and ka la yi te [0595 2139 0122 3676]--in northeast Chad, and the western route was directed at Koro Toro, some 680 km away from Ndjama, the Chadian capital. The government forces were forced to retreat on the area between Salal, which is some 350 km north of the capital, and Biltine, some 650 km northeast of the capital. Very soon, the anti-government forces occupied one-third of the Chadian territory.

In view of the intensified war situation in Chad and in order to support the legal Habre government, France then took a new and important step. In

addition to providing the government forces with weapons and materials, it also dispatched troops to Chad. However, it emphasized that the troops were sent in accordance with an agreement on military cooperation signed between France and Chad in 1976, and that they would only carry out the task of "training and deterring" and checking the anti-government forces' further advance toward the south. They would not be involved in actual combat.

Judging from the attitude and action of France, we can see that it has adopted a policy different from those of the superpowers. While clearly expressing its support for the Chadian legal government, it takes a cautious attitude toward the problem of military intervention. This is based on some considerations in the political and economic fields.

Since the French Socialist Party came to power in 1981, it has repeatedly declared in an earnest manner that in Africa, it will carry out a policy which is different from the policy of military intervention of all the previous governments. It advocates that France "should exist" in Africa but "should not interfere in" African affairs and "should not play the part of military police in Africa," so that the African countries will no longer rely on the United States or the Soviet Union, but follow the "third road"--to move closer to France. Obviously, what France has done over the past 2 months in the conflict in Chad is to preserve the image of the left-wing political power so that it can continue to enjoy the confidence of the people both at home and abroad.

Meanwhile, the inexplicable contradictions among various tribes and between different regions in Chad harbor the root for greater chaos caused by the war. France believes the best way is to support the legitimate government and to avoid being too involved in civil strife for fear of not being able to extricate itself from the mud pit in which it might get stuck.

Furthermore, France does not want to cause trouble with Libya again. Since coming into office, the French Socialist Party has made sustained efforts to improve its relations with Libya. Now, the relations between the two countries have been restored to a certain extent. Libya is one of France's oil supplies, and also is the major purchaser of French-made weapons and industrial goods. France imports 1.3 million tons of crude oil from Libya every year, and the total amount of trade between the two countries is up to \$1 billion. Therefore, France hopes that the conflict in Chad will not lead it to a direct military and diplomatic confrontation with Libya.

Just as pointed out by the French newspaper "Le Monde," all this has made France take a prudent attitude because it "does not want to have a showdown at an early date and to impair its relations with all parties concerned in the conflicts. But it wants to prevent the armed conflict from becoming more serious."

Nevertheless, the result of the war in Chad will also have an important bearing on France. Chad was a French colony in the past. It maintains a special relationship with France, as do other former French colonies in

Africa. Some French newspapers have pointed out that if France will not take any action when the Libya-backed anti-government troops are moving southward in an attempt to swoop down on the capital city, then the black African countries will be sceptical about the French "umbrella," and those African countries which have concluded defense accords with France will shake their faith in France. Thereby it will affect France's special position and traditional interests in black Africa.

The French Government has granted the Chadian Government emergency aid worth \$45 million; in addition, French troops in Chad have already been deployed on the east and west battlefronts in the central part of the country. News reports from foreign news agencies note that "the number of French troops now stationed in Africa is as large as that during the Algerian war 30 years ago," and that "French troops are now, in fact, in a position to cope with any attacks." However, by taking this military existence as a backing, France is mainly trying to prevent superpowers from interfering in the negotiations on a settlement of the Chad issue so as to protect its special position and traditional interests in black Africa.

Lately, France has repeatedly stated that "it hopes that the conflict will be ended through negotiations," and it has taken a series of measures. On 23 August, President Mitterrand decided to send his special envoy to Ethiopia to explain French policy to the executive chairman of the OAU and to find a peaceful solution to the Chad issue. At the same time, the French special envoy in Libya also maintained constant contact with the Libyan authorities. This is another diplomatic action paralleled to the one mentioned above. With the OAU mediation as well as Libya's tacit consent, France obviously intends to act as a go-between in ending the serious conflict. The development of the event will make France face a severe test for its policy in Africa.

CSO: 4005/1159

## EASTERN EUROPE

### BRIEFS

HONECKER-SCHMIDT MEETING--Berlin, 5 September (Xinhua)--Erich Honecker, leader of the German Democratic Republic, met this morning with Helmut Schmidt, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD--[word indistinct]] and former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, who was on a private visit here. They exchanged views on the world situation and practical questions in the relations between the two countries. It is reported that the two statesmen reaffirmed their stand expressed at their Werbellinsee meeting earlier, that no more war should be allowed to start on German soil. Schmidt shared Honecker's notion that their two countries bear great historical responsibility. Schmidt arrived here on 3 September at an invitation of the government and the religious community of GDR. He has already visited Potsdam and Wittenburg. [Text] [OW052000 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 5 Sep 83]

CSO: 4000/256



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EDUCATION EMPHASIZED, MADE STRATEGIC PRIORITY

Beijing BEIJING SHIFANDAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY, SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITION] in Chinese No 1, 15 Jan 83 pp 1-6

[Article by Yu Guangyuan [0060 0342 6678]: "Education Must Strive To Take Precedence"]

[Text] Not all important work can be ranked as strategic priorities in China's economic development. Work that is so ranked is the most crucial of very important work and is key to determining success or failure in attaining strategic objectives. The 12th Party Congress designated only a very few fields as strategic priorities, and education was one of these. There is ample reason for its designation. Accomplishment is attained through human effort and without sufficient numbers of skilled people who have received excellent educations, progress in China's socialist construction and the realization of the four modernizations are impossible. China's educational work is backward.

There are objective reasons for this, yet the fact that subjective factors have received insufficient stress is itself a major problem requiring immediate solution. The designation of education as a strategic priority will cause a revolutionary change in people's perceptions of education's place in socialist construction. In light of this designation, we must ponder and find an answer through our practical work to the question of what kind of changes ought to be made in our work. We must place even greater emphasis on educational work but must not be content with the average notion of emphasis. Instead, we must continue to stress our work until that stress is appropriate to education's status as a strategic priority. Only then can it be said that we have truly grasped the guiding ideology of the 12th Party Congress, which designated educational work must be universal, and that includes

educational workers themselves. The designation of education as a strategic priority has greatly increased educational workers' responsibilities, and it is therefore incumbent upon them to shoulder their heavy tasks even better. In educational work one does not just look after oneself. Instead, educational workers must be attentive to developments in all fields of socialist construction and better acquaint themselves with the demands on education raised by each socialist undertaking. They must also study and propose all types of suggestions and plans to improve their work so as to promote rapid progress in educational undertakings.

The report to the 12th Party Congress defined education as one of our strategic priorities. This is most correct.

Under the general policy of achieving steady increases in economic results, we must strive to quadruple gross annual national output value in industry and agriculture by the end of this century. We know that in order to achieve this strategic objective there is plenty of work to do, including much that is very important. And among all of that very important work, which areas are today of key significance in the realization of our strategic objective? None other than agriculture, energy and communications, education and science. Thus these areas have been ranked among a handful of strategic priorities, which are not your average variety of very important work but rather are the most important among many, many important work projects.

There is ample reason for making education a strategic objective. The special significance of education's role stems from the fact that the greatest tasks in this new era in our country's history require human endeavor to fulfill; accomplishment is attained through human effort. If there are insufficient numbers of well-educated and skilled people, the rapid development of our various socialist undertakings and the realization of our four modernizations will be impossible. In economic work, for example, people must go out and invent, create and use advanced technology; and they must go and institute advanced management techniques. All the various socialist undertakings are erected on the foundation of science, so we need people to go forth and study scientific problems and spread scientific knowledge. Our objectives in education, therefore, are to train generation after generation of new people who are well-rounded and fully developed morally, intellectually and physically, so that they can shoulder the heavy tasks of modern socialist construction.

From the viewpoint of history, it is certainly not the case that advanced countries were always advanced and backward ones, always backward. Not a few late developers were subsequently able to catch up with those countries that had once been more advanced than themselves. This illustrates that although a country may temporarily be backward, it can still draw on the

many successful experiences and lessons of failure of the advanced nations, thus avoiding many detours en route. In terms of its rate of development, a backward nation can certainly be faster than an advanced one, and it might even catch and overtake the latter before long. And here the strengthening of educational work assumes great importance.

Economically developed nations in the world all greatly emphasize education. They call expenditures in education and science intellectual investments, which can require 7, 8 or even more than 10 years to begin producing results. Thus education must strive to take precedence. For even in economically backward countries, the emphasis on education is now increasingly widespread. Steady development of man's intellect and constant improvements in intellectual investments have by now become a worldwide trend. If China is to realize the four modernizations, educational work must progress first. Naturally, investments in education do not yield results as fast as those in industry and agricultural production. Yet if one fails to have vision, to set his resolve and to exert great efforts in education, it will be impossible for a backward country to approach and surpass advanced ones.

More than any time in the past we now recognize the importance of developing education. With that frame of mind let us turn and examine for the moment the present state of education in China. I am sure we all feel that over the past 33 years, even though our education has greatly developed in comparison to that of old China, it is still just as backward, just as feeble and just as unsuited to the needs of our economic development.

Statistics from the third national census reveal that one-fourth of all adults are illiterates or semi-illiterates, the absolute number of which totals 230 million people. And Lenin long ago stated, "A communist society can never be built from a country of illiterates." This situation certainly can not be permitted to continue in China and must be corrected as soon as possible.

According to 1981 statistics, China had over 140 million children enrolled in primary school. This figure comprised 94 percent of the age cohort, a vast increase over the approximately 20 percent enrolled before Liberation. But by the same token, there were still 6 percent, or approximately 9 million school-age children, who could not attend primary school. If we do not solve the problem of this 6 percent, nearly 20 million more illiterates will have been produced by the time all of the children born between 1962 and 1974--at an average of over 24 million a year--complete school and enter society. This obviously is no small figure. Among those already enrolled in school, some 60 percent will complete the fifth grade with certainty. And of these less than 30 percent are actually able to graduate from primary school.<sup>1</sup> According to incomplete figures for 25 provinces and municipalities across the country, only over 600 counties (including cities and districts)--only 27 percent of the total--have basically achieved universal primary education.<sup>2</sup>

In addition, primary education still suffers from such problems as poorly qualified teachers and poor classroom conditions, which are especially glaring in the vast countryside. In the entire nation nearly half of all rural primary schools not only have unacceptable buildings, they do not even have regular desks and chairs. Some individual schools do not even have sufficient quantities of such essentials as chalk. In some areas, in order to resolve the employment problem for workers' and staff members' children, many older teachers have retired, so that they could be replaced by their own incompetent children, many of whom themselves were victims of the 10 years of domestic turmoil, when "classes were suspended so revolution could be practiced." Such a trend serves to lower even further teacher qualifications that were never high to begin with.

China's preschool education is even more backward than its primary schools. The national rate of enrollment for kindergartens in 1981 was 21.6 percent, while the urban rate was 47.71 percent. Thus even in cities, where the rate was higher, over half of all preschool-aged children were unable to enroll in kindergarten and receive a more standard education. Only 4.58 percent of current kindergartens and nurseries are demonstration facilities which are operated by education departments and which have better qualified teachers and better facilities. The conditions in the rest are all very poor. One example of such conditions is the average amount of space for each child in these facilities, the worst case of which provided only 0.3 square meters per child.<sup>3</sup> It is also common to see many illiterates, old and weak people or temporary employees among the attendants and teachers in these facilities, while there are generally few staff personnel with specialized knowledge. This phenomenon of the "three abundances and one shortage" directly affects implementation of the curriculum for preschool children formulated by the Ministry of Education as well as the standard of preschool education.

From this it is apparent that the problems in China's primary education still have not been entirely resolved. And now that many economically advanced countries have extended the length of their compulsory education to 10 to 12 years, China not only has yet to make primary education completely universal, even the rate of advancement from primary to junior middle school is also very low. With the exception of some large and medium cities, where primary school graduates by and large can all enter junior middle school, nationwide only 68.3 percent of higher primary school graduates enter junior middle school. According to 1981 statistics, China had only over 50 million students enrolled in middle school (excluding technical and spare-time schools), for an average of only 5.03 percent for the general population.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, in 1975 the rate for the United States was 9.62 percent, Japan 8.18, West Germany 6.38, France 9.52 and Canada 11.56.

In 1981 31.5 percent of China's junior middle school graduates entered senior middle school.<sup>5</sup> And since vocational education is not well developed, 80 to over 90 percent of these students were enrolled in regular senior middle schools. By contrast, Japan's rate was 94.3 percent: out of over 1.67 million junior middle school students, there were 1.58 million entrants into senior middle and all types of vocational schools.

The backward state of China's higher education is even more striking. In terms of enrollment sizes, the 1981 rate of senior middle school graduates entering institutions of higher learning was 5.7 percent, the number of students enrolled in such institutions was 1.279 million, and the rate of enrollment was less than 1.3 percent of the general population. In contrast, institutions of higher education in the United States had enrollments of 11.2 million in 1975, or 5.2 percent of the general population; the Soviet Union had 4.9 million students, or nearly 2 percent; in 1977 Japan had 2.36 million, or over 2 percent.

In addition to being behind in enrollments, our secondary and higher education similarly suffer from such problems as low-quality teachers, poor classroom conditions (especially laboratory equipment), outmoded teaching materials and rigid teaching methods.

Education's prolonged backwardness has brought about conditions wherein "at present the technology and management of many of our enterprises have fallen behind; large numbers of workers and staff members lack requisite scientific and cultural know-how and operating skills; and skilled workers, scientists and technicians are in serious shortage."

From 1981 statistics we learn that there were a total of 5.71 million scientists (excluding social scientists) and technicians of all types in China's state enterprises, an average of only 0.5 percent of the general population. In rural areas there were less than 330,000 scientists and technicians employed in state enterprises, or only 0.04 percent of the agricultural population. On average there were only over 5 agronomists for every 100 production teams.<sup>6</sup> Even if we had included technicians employed in collective enterprises, the above totals would not have increased very much.

Despite the fact that statistics on scientists and technicians in foreign countries are compiled according to somewhat different standards than ours, the following figures are nonetheless instructive. In 1976 the United States had over 1.6 million "scientists and engineers" and 9.6 million technicians, a total of over 11 million. The total number of scientists and engineers in the Soviet Union was 9.5 million, and there were 1.3 million technicians. In West Germany many companies practice a "three-thirds" system: one-third workers, one-third technicians, and one-third management personnel.

The serious shortage of scientists, technicians and skilled workers impedes the spread of advanced domestic and foreign technology in China. Yet the point that was especially emphasized in the report to the 12th Party Congress was that "henceforth there must be a planned drive to achieve widescale technological transformation; to disseminate every type of existing technological fruit that has economic benefits; and to adopt alertly new technology, equipment, skills and materials." But before we can achieve these objectives we must vigorously develop education and train large numbers of young talents. The reason is simple. In order

to create new technology, equipment, skills and materials and to disseminate advanced technology already at hand, we also need people with a certain level of education. It is inconceivable that a person with only an elementary school education, an illiterate or a semi-illiterate could employ advanced technology in his work.

The facts cited above compel us to admit that China's educational work is backward. There are objective reasons for this state of affairs: education is conditioned by our level of economic development. But we all realize this point, and I do not intend to dwell on it. What I would like to point out here is that it has been 33 years since the founding of the nation, and still we find our educational work in this present state of affairs, and that the subjective factor of whether or not educational work has been sufficiently emphasized is a major problem. In the past educational work was never accorded its proper place. For example, the proportion of China's state outlays for investment in education falls far too short of many countries. The relative rise in the status of educational work was something that occurred after the "Cultural Revolution." The recent decision by the 12th Congress to rank education as one of the strategic priorities ought, and indeed is certain, to cause a revolutionary change in people's perceptions of how to treat the role of education in socialist construction.

Here I would like to pose a question: Now that the party Central Committee has designated education a strategic priority, what kind of changes should there be in our thinking and work? Another way of phrasing the question would be to ask ourselves: How must our thinking and our work change before we can say we have truly grasped the spirit of the 12 Congress' designation of education as a strategic priority and to have thoroughly implemented the 12th Congress' provisions on this issue? I believe this question is one we ought to ponder seriously as we study the documents from the congress. And when we have completed our study we ought to strive to put the results into practice.

Naturally, the first thing we must do is to heighten our realization of the importance of education. In this regard, I believe that now that the party Central Committee has made educational work a strategic priority, we can no longer be satisfied with your average notion of emphasis on educational work. If we agree that a strategic priority is not your average type of important work, then our stress on education--which is now a strategic priority--can not be merely your average sort of stress. The stress on education must be raised to the standard befitting a strategic priority. Of course, our stress on education work must not dwell on words alone. Rather, it must be suitably displayed in action. We must vigorously solve all the existing problems in our educational work and make its progress such that the 12th Congress will become a watershed unveiling a new prospect and creating a new breakthrough. I believe that only when we have made this distinction can be proudly proclaim that we have truly grasped and implemented the crucial provision of the 12th Congress designating education a strategic priority.

The efforts we devote to educational work must be multifaceted. The demand to develop all types of educational undertakings was clearly stipulated in the report to the 12th Congress. This demand is based on the needs of our socialist construction and on realistic possibilities. This demand is not overly great, but given the present foundation of our work, our task will be formidable. We shall have to go all out in order to complete that task. The 12th Party Congress was succeeded by the fifth session of the Fifth NPC. In his report on the Draft Constitution, delivered to the first meeting of this session on 26 November 1982, Comrade Peng Zhen made an important statement about educational work:

The expansion of education must include both rendering it universal and improving its standards so as to make workers, peasants and cadres more knowledgeable; to broaden the ranks of intellectuals; and to develop specialized talent of all types. This is not only the foundation for the growth of science and culture as a whole and a condition for raising the people's political consciousness, it is also an indispensable prerequisite for developing material civilization. Receiving education is a right to which citizens are entitled but is also their duty, which includes primary education for school-age children; proper types of political, cultural, scientific, technical and professional education for working adults; and pre-employment training. China's general cultural level is rather low. In order to expand education more rapidly, we must rely upon both regular schooling and all forms of spare-time education. The state certainly must use sufficient resources in managing educational undertakings and at the same time mobilize all social forces--including organizations in collectives, state enterprises and other public groups and individuals who have received state approval--to rely upon the support of the broad masses and to adopt many forms of educational undertakings.

Comrade Peng Zhen's report not only described the significance of expanding, and the rights and duties of citizens to receive, education, it also clearly indicated that reliance on both regular education and all forms of spare-time education is a necessary method that can expand education more rapidly. Most encouraging was the statement, "the state certainly must use sufficient resources in managing educational undertakings," which is not to say that a slight increase in funds for education constitutes sufficient emphasis. At the same time, Peng's report also mentioned mobilizing all types of social forces, adopting many forms of undertakings and relying on the broad masses to manage education so as to lay a broad path for the development of China's education.

It is very obvious that if China's education is going to be able to become a strategic priority and to perform its proper function, it must receive universal attention from every locality, every relevant department and indeed the entire society. Only when everyone universally stresses educational work can we vigorously promote its rapid development in every field. Thus we must conduct extensive and long-term propaganda to publicize the important strategic position of educational work in order to deepen everyone's understanding.

At this point I would like to discuss in depth a particular belief, one that we educational workers should not entertain now that the party and the state have emphasized education's great importance. That belief is that we educational workers' understanding of the importance of our work is not at issue and that the problem lies with the responsible members of other departments, of other places or with other members of society. I believe this viewpoint is incorrect. It was the 12th Congress that elevated education to the eminent position of being a strategic priority. But does that mean that all of us educational workers long ago possessed a level of understanding as lofty as that contained in the congress documents? Furthermore, if you want to know whether or not someone has sufficient understanding of the importance of educational work you must observe his actions. The decision of the 12th Party Congress to make educational work a strategic priority has greatly increased the weight of our responsibilities. Our first duty is to improve the work in our own posts, where there are very arduous, complex and detailed tasks. Meanwhile, educational workers today should earnestly ponder and study the problems of how to improve their work and how to develop education, so they can contribute all types of suggestions and programs to the party and state for reference in policymaking.

Here I must call to all educational workers' attention the fact that the purpose of our work is not just to look after ourselves. One can find no rationale merely from the viewpoint of the Ministry of Education for the designation of education as a strategic priority. Education serves the strategic objectives of realizing our country's comprehensive socio-economic development. Thus when we examine the problem of how education should expand, we should look at it from the vantage point of the overall situation and of the material and spiritual civilizations that serve to build socialism; we can not discuss education only on its own terms. Thus we educational workers must be attentive to developments in all areas of socialist construction, acquaint ourselves with the conditions and problems in all fields, make special efforts to understand some of the demands of education from each field and thereby arrange our work on the basis of practical reality. We should realize that the potential for developing education is by no means small but that we have not yet fully tapped it. Thus conservative thinking is intolerable.

Although the demands socialist construction places on general education are relatively easy to comprehend, there still exists questions regarding the profundity of our understanding and what we must do in order to do our work right. Specialized training is a much more complex area in



which educational workers must study many more things. Fortunately, the Ministry of Education has experts in every field, and all other relevant departments cooperate in joint studies of problem areas. Although the tasks are burdensome, we can still maintain a deep and comprehensive understanding of these types of demands and provide appropriate plans.

Here it would not hurt to cite a few examples.

We must study the demands of education raised by agriculture, which is ranked together with education and science as a strategic priority. Educational workers must have a comprehensive and complete understanding of the specialized talent needed by all fields and disciplines under general agriculture, which encompasses the horizontal definition of agriculture (the sum total of narrowly defined agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery) or the integrated definition (which, in addition to the horizontal definition, also includes the agricultural service industries and the primary stages of the agricultural processing industry). Such demands are both qualitative and quantitative, but they can be met through the joint efforts of the leadership and experts.

Another example is the many areas in China that are rich in natural resources, presently await development and exploitation, but in the process must also receive adequate protection. One such an area is Xishuangbanna. In order to develop such a place, we must train large numbers of people. Yet previously, when we sent countless young graduates to Xishuangbanna, we did so to subject them to reeducation by the poor and lower-middle peasants, not to have them go to train cadres to develop Xishuangbanna. Consequently, the young graduates did not form a stable population there, and by now they have basically all left the place. If, instead of this measure, a university exclusively servicing the development of Xishuangbanna had been established, the situation would have been far different. If such is the case for an underdeveloped area like this, then advanced areas need to establish even more schools designed to meet specific local needs and to train specialists for local development so as to expand agricultural and industrial production and the entire national economy. The spirit of Peng Zhen's speech was to encourage the initiative of each province, municipality and autonomous region to establish even more new schools at all levels and of all types suited to the needs of local economic development.

It will not be difficult to achieve this objective if we fully acquaint ourselves with the concrete needs of each locality, and if the comrades of educational departments then cooperate with the comrades of each locality to study a concrete method to meet those needs.

We could cite many more examples in other fields, but the principle would be the same; thus further discussion is unnecessary.

The training of skilled talent for special purposes is essential. When the need for skilled persons in a certain field is very large, it is incumbent on us to be able to supply the numbers needed. There are also

some specialized skills for which the demand is not great, perhaps even very small. But if there is no means of arranging training for much skills, some work will be impossible to conduct. Thus it is necessary that comprehensive arrangements be made in the training of specialists.

Above I discussed the problems in only one area, i.e., how to arrange well each level of and each type of school and how to plan training programs. There are many, many more problems in other areas. I believe that after educational workers increase their own understanding of the important position of education they will have to study countless problems. They will pose and resolve these problems one by one and thus will promote even better development of China's education.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "A Trial Discussion of China's Population and Education," JIAOYU YANJIU, Vol 3, 1982.
2. He Dongchang, "Shier da zhiming le kaichuang jiaoyu shiye xin jumian de daolu" [The 12th Party Congress Showed the Way to Open a New Phase in Education].
3. Figure provided by the National Women's Federation.
4. "1981 nian zhongguo tongji nianjian" [Chinese Statistical Yearbook: 1981].
5. Ibid.
6. "1981 nian...."

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HIGHER EDUCATION REFORM, DEVELOPMENT SPOTLIGHTED

Current Development

Beijing BEIJING SHIYUAN XUEBAO [BEIJING TEACHERS' COLLEGE JOURNAL, SOCIAL SCIENCE EDITION] in Chinese No 3, Apr 83 pp 1-10

[Article by Gu Mingyuan [7357 2429 6678]: "The Development of Contemporary Higher Education and the Reform in Higher Education in Our Country"]

[Text] The system of modern higher education is the product of modern industrialized society; it has gone through a process that saw its rise and development. In order to study reform in our higher education, it is necessary to take a brief historical look back at the development of contemporary higher education. This would enable us to understand how modern higher education has developed to what it is, what its relationship is with political and economic development, and thereby find the laws of development in higher education as a reference for reforming our higher education.

The Development of Modern Higher Education

Modern higher education had its start in the medieval universities of Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. At that time, handicrafts had already evolved from agriculture, cities had begun to develop, and international trade had also become flourishing. Among the earlier universities was Bologna University of Italy, first established in 1158, rebuilt from a law school. Because Bologna was situated at the hub of communications lines, commercial disputes sometimes developed and litigations were quite numerous; objective needs promoted the establishment of this higher institution. Slightly later, there were Oxford University (1168) and Cambridge University (1180) of Great Britain, the University of Paris (1180) of France and the University of Salerno (1231) of Italy.

In the course of its development from the 12th and 13th centuries to today, higher education has roughly gone through three major stages:

I. Before the Industrial Revolution, The Beginning Period of Modern Higher Education

The universities of this period were run jointly by scholars and students who were enthusiastic about scholarship; their chief task was the inculcation of

scientific and cultural knowledge and exploring of academic studies. The earliest universities were divided into four subjects: theology, jurisprudence, medicine and literature (including philosophy); the liberal arts at the University of Paris in France was, in fact, a preparatory course for university education. The components of teaching were mainly arts, namely jurisprudence, philosophy, theology, classic languages and literatures; the so-called three subjects and four subjects in those days actually meant, in the case of the three subjects, grammar, rhetoric and logic, and, in the case of the four subjects, mathematics, geometry, music and astronomy.

The universities in those days were organized voluntarily; the presidents were freely elected by the professors, and students participated in school management. The University of Bologna was nicknamed "Students' University" as its affairs were entirely put under the charge of students; the university was an independent kingdom free of constraint by the government. Therefore, the universities in Europe still maintain their tradition of self-government even today. Only when the government and the church saw that the role played by the universities was becoming greater and greater did they begin gradually to strengthen their control over them. The church, in particular, controlled the governments as well as the universities.

The main characteristics of the universities in those days were: 1. A university was a place where a few scholars gathered together to learn and study; the atmosphere of free discussion between teachers and students was rather pronounced. 2. The medieval universities enjoyed all sorts of privileges; they practiced self-government internally. The universities were entitled to establish special courts, were exempted from taxation and conscription; they were entitled to grant degrees, and those who received such degrees were then qualified to teach at the universities. 3. The components of teaching in the universities in those days were mainly humanities; natural sciences were still not independently differentiated from philosophy. In what was called the "Dark Ages" in history before the 14th century, the ruler was the feudal church; science was regarded as blasphemy to God. Hence, the universities also did not stress the teaching of the natural sciences. 4. Although the universities objectively trained officials and monks for the ruling class, they were generally speaking seriously insulated from social life and separated from productive labor.

## II. From the Industrial Revolution to the First Half of the Present Century, the Period of Establishment and Development of the System of Modern Higher Education

Modern natural sciences got started in the Renaissance period of Europe, which began at the end of the 15th century. However, it was not until after the 16th century before the natural sciences become independent sciences. Just as Engels said, the publication of Copernicus' (1473-1543) immortal work ("The Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies," 1543) symbolized natural science beginning to break through the constraint of theology and declaring its own independence, thereby making great strides forward. But, until the middle of the 18th century the activities of scientific experiment remained rather small in scale; they consisted mainly of voluntary research activities by the

scientists themselves, individually. Means of conducting such scientific experiments were also limited, and most of the research work was only undertaken on the basis of observing natural phenomena. The relationship between scientific experiment and production was still not very close. Till the Industrial Revolution, science and technology began to be applied to production and also to derive a great impetus from the activities of social production. The development of modern production and science and technology served to promote the development of education; higher education entered into its second stage. This was the period in which the system of our modern higher education became established.

Higher education during this period first gained development in Great Britain. The center of science and technology during the Renaissance period was in Italy; the famous scientists in history such as da Vinci (1452-1519), Galileo (1564-1642), etc., were all Italians. They were the foundation-layers of European science and pioneers of contemporary science; British science and technology were still rather backward at that time. By the beginning of the 17th century, a 30-year civil war broke out in Germany, Italy was broken into many small states, and the newly emergent bourgeoisie of Great Britain came to occupy the ruling position. The bourgeoisie pays great attention to scientific and technological development; many British physicians, pastors, and merchants went to the European continent to study. Among the latter well-known British scientists, almost all of them had studied on the continent except Newton. Britain's industrial development also spurred on its scientific and technological development; from then on, the center of science and technology shifted from Italy to Britain. In 1662, the Royal Society was established in Britain and it played a promotive role in scientific research. Before the Industrial Revolution, Britain had established only six universities and all of them were very conservative: they put into effect religious restriction, with only those who believed in Anglicanism allowed to enroll therein; in teaching, natural sciences were given no emphasis. After the Industrial Revolution, the bourgeoisie demanded removal of the nobility's privilege to receive higher education and simultaneously asked that scientific and technological talents in the service of capitalism be trained. Under these circumstances, there appeared some professional higher institutions. The first such specialized institute of science and technology, the Wallington Institute was built in the middle of the 18th century. During the 19th century there emerged in Britain the so-called "new university movement." The London New College established in 1828 with a spirit of democratic liberalism began to pay attention to the teaching of natural science subjects. The church established King's College in 1831. Five years later, these two colleges were merged to create the University of London. The characteristics of this new university were: 1) it was not restricted by religious belief; 2) it partook of a stronger local character, as it was established mostly with locally raised funds, closely linked to local industries, and designed to train special engineering, technological personnel for the local area; 3) it stressed technological education. But technological colleges were then still a grade lower than universities and they were not entitled to grant degrees. Only the University of London was authorized to grant degrees and it also offered degrees off campus. At the same time, the old universities underwent some reform. In 1852, Oxford and Cambridge set up two royal

committees to proceed with major changes, adding the speciality of contemporary science, with natural science becoming a principal subject. In 1871, the president of Cambridge University, Cavendish, donated funds to establish a laboratory; this small laboratory later played a rather important role in laying the foundation for experimental physics in Britain, or even in the development of British industry. The development of the Industrial Revolution and science and technology in Britain had a great impact on Germany and France. In order to learn from Britain, Germany and France also sent students to Britain and also began to establish their own higher institutions.

A bourgeois revolution broke out in France in 1789 and overthrew the House of Bourbon. Because of the need in war and the development of industries, the bourgeoisie began to pay attention to higher education. Europe's earliest batch of technological colleges was established precisely because of the need to relatively quickly solve the problem of weapons and grain production. In 1794, France defeated the invaders and in the same year established the Industrial College of Paris in order to train engineers and talents in the fields of mathematics and natural sciences. After Napoleon acceded to power, he carried out major reforms in higher education and at the same time established a batch of professional schools, such as mining colleges, highway and bridge colleges, etc. The French revolution caused science to prosper but, along with Napoleon's defeat, the higher institutions of France also went into decline; by the latter half of the 19th century, France's science and technology already fell behind those of Germany.

Higher education in Germany got started slightly later. The French bourgeois revolution had a great impact on Germany; Germany thus sought actively to learn from higher education in Britain and France. Germany's science and technology as well as economic development quickly surpassed that of Britain and France. The establishment of the University of Berlin in 1810 proceeded under the leadership of William von Humboldt. The principles of "academic freedom" and "unity of teaching and research" proposed by him in running the university have enjoyed a great reputation in the various countries of the world. The University of Berlin enjoyed far greater autonomy than the old universities; not only was it able to control freely the funds allocated by the government, but its president was also elected from among the full professors by the faculty council and not longer appointed directly by the government. The teachers enjoyed considerable rights of "academic freedom" and were free to offer various courses and allow free competition between various schools of thought. The students also enjoyed considerable freedoms and rights; they were free to elect various courses and research subjects. In implementing the principle of unity of teaching and scientific research, the University of Berlin combined lecturing, discussion and research together. This educational ideology at the University of Berlin also affected the higher education of other countries of the world. The development of higher education in Germany was closely linked to the development of its industries. The mining industry and coal industry promoted the development of the entire chemical industry and at the same time also promoted scientific research in chemistry.

The higher education of the United States has been greatly influenced by Britain and Germany. Before the War of Independence, American education was mainly under the influence of British conservatism. After the War of Independence,

it came under the influence of German education. In the process of subsequent development, it gradually formed its own tradition. America's first university, Harvard University, (1636) was established by British emigrants, who later also established Yale University, Princeton University, etc. Prior to the War of Independence (1776-1783), the country had altogether nine higher institutions which were all privately run, with Britain's Oxford and Cambridge Universities as their models; the purpose of running these universities was to train learned missionaries and officials and put emphasis on scholarship, but technology was taken lightly. After the War of Independence, these universities were criticized as "unpatriotic" and their reorganization was imperative. The government demanded to have the management authority of these universities taken back and stopped the churches from running them. Meanwhile, for the sake of exploring the territories and resources of the West, talents of practical skills were needed; the traditional universities could not solve this task, and hence the establishment of new schools was required. It was against this background that President Washington proposed to Congress to have national universities established. Because the government system of the United States is that of local division of power, state universities rose at the historical moment in the 18th century. Such state universities were established by the state governments; they put relative emphasis on the imparting of modern scientific knowledge in order to have these universities serve each state's own local enterprises. The plans formulated by Jefferson for the University of Virginia, for instance, paid attention to the satisfaction of agricultural, industrial and commercial needs, stressing not only theology, jurisprudence and medicine but also the teaching of mathematics and natural sciences and compressed classic subjects.

After the south-north war, many professional and technological colleges were also established because of the requirement of economic development; the earliest among these were the West Point Military and Engineering College (1802) and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (1824). In 1862, President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act (namely, the land grant act) to donate land to the colleges for them to run their schools; hence many agricultural and industrial colleges became established for the training of agricultural and industrial technical talents. From then on, America's higher education shifted from putting emphasis on scholarship and neglecting technology to putting emphasis on technology. Putting emphasis on professional and technological education thus developed into a tradition in America's higher education. But the American universities by no means abandoned scholarship. They energetically developed technological education, on the one hand, and also energetically strengthened scientific research in the universities, on the other hand. The establishment of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 was a most outstanding example; taking the University of Berlin of Germany as its model, it devoted itself to the training of scholarly talents. Its very first president, Daniel C. Gilman, and teachers of the whole university nearly all went to Germany to study at one time or another; they were very profoundly influenced by the German universities. This university placed its emphasis on the graduate school, establishing no undergraduate division at first but, instead, selecting well-grounded and richly endowed persons as graduate students and appointing erudite experts and scholars as professors. Many well known personalities, such as empirical philosopher Dewey and President Wilson came from this university.

To adapt to its economic development, the United States also began in 1902 to establish junior colleges for the training of various professional and technical personnel; they were also called community colleges. These colleges were run locally and linked to local enterprises. Their system of study was short (a 2-year system), and their tuition was cheap. The students would commute from their homes and, after graduation, they would serve in the local private enterprises and public agencies; these colleges were, therefore, greatly welcomed by the local residents.

To sum up the development of higher education in the various countries during this period, we can see the following characteristics: 1. The development of capitalist industries promoted the development of higher education, and the teaching and research in higher education shifted from those of a purely academic nature to those centered on science and technology. Higher education developed close links with modern production and trained various scientific talents and engineering, technical talents for modern production. Compared to the first period, higher education no longer existed independently apart from society but became closely related to society and, therefore, an indispensable part for social development. 2. Higher institutions became gradually subject to government control and incorporated in the plans of state development. National universities and public universities came to assume a dominant position among the higher institutions, and this served to strengthen the planned nature of education. 3. Contents of teaching shifted from classic humanities as the principal components to various categories of natural science. 4. The system of higher education was gradually perfected. Many countries established the graduate student system for the sake of training a higher class of special talents. It may be said that modern higher education became established during this period; this explains that modern education is the product of modern production.

### III. From the Mid-1940's to the Present, Period of Higher Education Undergoing Great Development and Great Reforms

After World War II, the political situation in the world underwent a great change. A number of socialist states, including the People's Republic of China became established; many past colonies and semicolonies became independent and established their new nation-states. Within the capitalist countries, democratic movements swelled; people demanded the democratization of politics and also democratization of education; they demanded equal opportunity for the people of various strata to receive education. All this served to influence the development of higher education in all countries.

The result of World War II was that, on the one hand, the economies of several advanced industrial countries, such as West Germany, Japan, and France sustained serious destruction, and, on the other hand, during the war the new science and technology developed because of military needs promoted the development of the productive forces.

After the war, many military industrial techniques became transferred into civil industries and thereby promoted an unprecedented development of the economies of the capitalist countries; international competition turned from warfare into competition between economic strengths and scientific and



technological forces. Economic development in turn promoted educational development; the "exploration of manpower resources" was put on the agenda of the 1960's as a condition for high-speed economic development.

Apart from political factors, what influenced the development and reform of higher education in the various countries was the sudden, vigorous development of modern science and technology. First of all, scientific knowledge rapidly increased in a short period; it was called the "information explosion." The "information explosion" also brought on the shortening of the cycle of information becoming out of date. Therefore, the techniques of modern production need to be continually renovated; if the engineering, technical personnel and laborers fail to master advanced science and technology, they would be unable to adapt to the requirements of modern production. A high degree of differentiation and a high degree of integration are important characteristics of the development of contemporary science and technology. The categories of natural science subjects in the early days were relatively simple; the differentiation of the subjects in contemporary natural science, on the other hand, becomes more and more refined. But nature is an integrated whole; along with the continued deepening of people's perception, the integration and overall combination of science and technology are now more and more conspicuous. The criss-cross between sciences further produces many marginal subjects. During the past few decades, there have emerged many interdisciplinary subjects, such as environmental studies, energy science, ecology, material science, oceanic science, space science, etc., etc. The high degree of development of science and technology requires higher education to continue to renovate so as to adapt to the demands of the new situation.

Far before the war came to a close, governments of the various countries already began to consider the carrying out of educational reforms in order to adapt to the needs in postwar development of the situation. For example, Britain passed in 1944 the educational reform act proposed by its Education Secretary Butler; France established an educational reform committee headed by Langzhifang [phonetic] in 1944 and formulated an "Educational Reform Program" in 1947; while the latter program was not implemented, it exercised a great influence on postwar education in France. After the war, the United States, Japan, West Germany, and the Soviet Union all carried many reforms in their higher education and thus enabled higher education to undergo a period of major development and major reform. The main characteristics of this period were:

1. The scale of higher education went through considerable development, advancing from "elite education" to "mass education." In the second stage of development in higher education, while higher education in the capitalist countries had already enjoyed greater development, it developed rather slowly. Even up to the early 1950's, the enrollment rate in higher institutions, except in the United States, had never exceeded 5 percent of the population in the same age range. After more than 20 years of development during the postwar period, the enrollment rate in higher education has generally exceeded 20 percent in the several industrially developed countries. In the mid-1970's, the enrollment rate in America reached 45.2 percent, and that in Japan, 38.4 percent; the higher institutions were no longer places where only a few people received their education.

2. The concept of higher education was expanded, its structure became diversified, and higher education was not included in the course of a lifelong education. Before the war, the task of higher education was to train high-class professional people; those who studied at the higher institutions had to be middle school graduates between the ages of 18 and 25. Because of the popularization of higher education, after the war it was not only to train high-class professional people but also the intermediate and primary grade of personnel and staff; it not only provided training for students but also new professional training to in-service personnel. Hence, the age of students was no longer restricted. New types of universities such as the open university, the broadcasting and television university, began to appear, thereby breaking up the uniform framework and level of higher education, making the structure of higher education diversified, and its level multistratified.

3. To the goal of training of university students and their knowledge structure, higher education preferred requirements different from those of the past. In general, the graduates subjected to higher requirements would have broader and deeper aspects of knowledge; hence, in the offering of subjects of study, higher education also strengthened the teaching of basic knowledge. In their past training of engineering and technical personnel, the Soviet Union and West Germany put greater emphasis on professional knowledge; but after the 1960's they also began to stress that experts must have broader and deeper basic knowledge to enable them to acquire professional flexibility, adaptability and an ability to overcome the quick obsolescence of their professional knowledge.

4. The tasks of higher institutions were expanded. The development of science and technology brought about the necessity of conducting scientific research at the higher institutions. Higher institutions must not only become educational centers but also centers of scientific research (except short-term universities or colleges that provided training in a single technical field). Because, if higher institutions failed to develop scientific research, it would become impossible for them to raise the academic standards and quality of their students. Meanwhile, many projects of scientific research at this stage are inter-disciplinary; higher institutions, especially inter-disciplinary colleges and comprehensive universities, were best equipped with conditions for inter-disciplinary research. Therefore, there appeared in the higher education of many countries a tendency of unity of teaching and research; not only teachers must engage themselves in scientific research, students must do likewise.

A few conclusions: 1. Modern higher education is the product of modern production. Before the Industrial Revolution, although old universities had already been established, the modern education system became established only later; in the meantime, along with the continued development of modern industries, the tasks, structures and contents of higher education all underwent changes. We usually say that a definite education is constrained by the politics and economics of a given society, and it in turn reacts on the politics and economics of that given society. The political system or important political events of a society are bound to influence the development of its higher education, and there is even a direct relationship between higher education and the development of its economy. Because economic development is conditioned by education, if education fails to train technical talents and skilled workers for it, the economy would be unable to develop, and this is so especially in the case of the development of modern industries. At the same time, the scale

and structure of the development of higher education must also correspond to the level of the given society's economic development in order to enable the talents trained by higher education to satisfy the requirements of economic development quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

2. The contemporary development of science and technology is an important factor for reform in modern higher education. Beginning from the 1960's, higher education has been undergoing a period of great change; this change is in progress even today. This is because the rapid, vigorous development of contemporary science and technology has rendered the traditional higher education incapable of responding to needs. Higher education in the 1960's underwent an abrupt increase in quantity; by the mid-1970's, quantitative increase slowed down, and people gave more consideration to how to effect a qualitative uplift in order to adjust to the requirements of scientific and technological development. The fact that the Soviet Union has been experimenting on the integration of higher education and Japan has been experimenting on the integration of the various subjects, etc., all suggests that they are groping for relevant approaches to reform in higher education.

3. The higher education of each country has its own historical tradition. For example, Britain and France honor their academic tradition; West Germany pays attention to unity of teaching and scientific research and stresses engineering and technical education; the United States, on the other hand, carries out general education and vocational and technical education in its undergraduate divisions. However, because the development of modern industries and the development of science and technology are international in nature, modern higher education has become an international phenomenon, and the higher education of all countries must have many things in common in terms of tasks, goals of training, structure and the offering of courses of study so that they can learn from each other. Of course, when compared with capitalist universities, socialist universities are essentially different in terms of political orientation and their requirements for the students are also different. But in terms of form and content in their educational administration, they still have many things in common, and the experiences of other countries can be used as our reference. In the meantime, we can sum up our own experiences and inherit and develop our strong points so as to shape our own traditions.

#### Reform in Our Higher Education

From the history of development of higher education in the various countries of the world, what experiences and lessons should we absorb? How are we going to reform our higher education today? I think we should base ourselves on the conditions of our country and the needs of our modernization and study these questions in conjunction with developmental level of our current politics, economy, culture and education. The history of development of our modern higher education compared to that of the capitalist countries is far shorter; it is not yet quite 100 years. In the beginning, we imitated Japan's educational system (such as the "1903 Educational System" promulgated in that year); later, we again turned to imitating the American educational system (such as the "1922 Educational System" newly promulgated in that year).

After liberation, we carried out institutional and departmental readjustments and reforms with the Soviet educational system as our blueprint. Before liberation, our higher education was very backward and it hardly played any significant role in society; the training of talents mainly depended on sending students abroad to study. After liberation, under the emphasis placed by the party and the government, higher education finally underwent some major development, and many institutions of higher education suited to the needs of our socialist construction were also established. Many comrades are discussing the lessons of our learning from the Soviet Union and our institutional and departmental readjustments in the 1950's. This article is not intended to discuss especially this question; it seems that reaching any conclusion still requires us to go through careful investigation and study. But I feel that one point in particular can really be affirmed, and that is that the educational reforms of the 1950's changed the backward situation of our higher education and established a higher education system with natural and engineering sciences as its key points of development. During the past 30 years, this system has played a great role and trained more than 3 million graduates. If we had not established so many engineering colleges and turned the training of our engineering and technical personnel to comprehensive universities as in the days before liberation, then it would be doubtful whether or not we could have developed such vast ranks of our engineering and technical personnel. Of course, there were also serious defects in the reforms we effected then and, in view of such rapid development of science and technology today, these defects are becoming even more conspicuous. Therefore, further reforms are needed.

In order to reform our higher education, we must conduct some analyses of the political and economic conditions of our society and the present state of our higher education. 1. Ours is a socialist country. Higher education must adhere to the four basic principles, this is the question of orientation. The development of our higher education must follow our socialist principles in a planned and proportionate manner. 2. We are pursuing the construction of our socialist modernization right now, but at present the level of our economic development remains rather low. We have the most modern industries, but there are still backward handicrafts and our agriculture has also not yet been mechanized. The development of our higher education must adapt to our present level of economic development and not depart from this level; only thus can we relevantly promote the construction our socialist modernization. 3. Our population is very large and its educational level very low. There are still 230 million illiterates today; the development of our higher education must be combined with the elevation of the level of the cultural and scientific knowledge of our whole nation and the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. 4. Qualitatively speaking, our higher education today should be placed on the level of the 1980's, but quantitatively it is equivalent merely to that of the second stage in the development of modern higher education in the world's industrial countries. This has to do with the backwardness of our economy. In reforming our higher education, we must consider this current state.

According to the above analysis, the reform of our higher education must first of all clearly specify a guiding ideology. We must learn from the experiences in higher education of foreign countries; in particular, we must achieve the understanding of laws from the historical process of the development of

modern higher education. At the same time, we must not just plagiarize and transfer intact the experiences of foreign countries, but conscientiously sum up our own positive and negative experiences and lessons and follow a path of our own and build a system of higher education suited to our own national conditions. The involvements of higher educational reform are very broad; they involve the reform of structure, the readjustment of the professions, the reform and readjustment of the leadership system of the schools, etc. Whatever the reform, it must follow the following principles:

1. It must be beneficial to the construction of our four modernizations with economic construction as its core. Education is one of the strategic key points of economic construction; higher education occupies an especially important position. The scientific and technological talents and management talents trained by higher education directly affect the efficiency of our production and the development of our economy. The reform of our higher education must result in the establishment of a system suited to the level of our economic structure and economic development.

2. It must be beneficial to the building of our spiritual civilization with the communist ideology as its core. Apart from requiring an advanced material civilization, the realization of our socialist modernization also requires an advanced socialist spiritual civilization. The report of our 12th Party Congress pointed out: "The building of our material civilization is an indispensable foundation for the building of our socialist spiritual civilization. Our socialist spiritual civilization not only plays a great promotive role in the building of our material civilization but also guarantees the correct orientation of its development. The efforts to build the two civilizations are prerequisites for each other and also goals for each other." Therefore, the reform of our higher education must focus on the training of our talents and the raising of the quality of our talents.

3. It must be beneficial to improving the economic results in our investment in higher education. Today there exist in our higher institutions serious situations of overstaffing and laxity. Without eliminating such situations, it would be impossible for our higher education to improve its work efficiency; this would not only affect the economic results of our educational investment but also affect the enthusiasm of the vast ranks of our teaching staff and workers, affect the quality of our overall education. In order to improve the economic results of our educational investment, there is still the question of the relationship between training and using our talents. Our higher institutions must keep our state needs in mind in training talents, and the graduates trained must all be able to use what they have learned so that the wastefulness of irrelevance can be reduced.

4. It must be beneficial to full mobilization of the enthusiasm of the teaching staff and workers of our higher institutions, and to the achievement of results and the production of talents. Higher institutions are educational institutions where people are trained. Their reform cannot be the same as that of departments of material production. That is to say, we must not see only things and neglect people. Only by fully mobilizing the enthusiasm of the intellectuals and giving scope to their role can we have their wisdom and talents better serve our socialist construction. Naturally, once their

results of research are applied to production and the talents they train embark upon the stations of construction, they would create material wealth for the state. But reforms must follow the laws of education; they must first of all benefit the running of our schools well, improve our teaching, and train our talents.

The ingredients of our higher education which require reform are quite extensive; from the system to its component parts and its approaches, reform is needed everywhere. Here I wish to suggest several not yet very well developed views on the structure and system of our higher education.

#### I. Change the Uniform Structure of Our Higher Education, Establish a System of Higher Education Which Adapts to Our Social and Economic Structure

The developmental history of higher education in all countries of the world had followed a path leading from uniformity to diversification. The development of modern science and technology has led to the modernization of the production process as well as the modernization of our social life. The diversification of our modern economic structure and technological structure and the diversification of the service technologies in our life require not only professional talents in all aspects but also talents of different levels. Only schools of various forms can satisfy such needs in our modern society. Meanwhile, the popularization of middle school education brings forth the pressure exerted by youths who wish to enter higher institutions; this, too, propels our higher education toward diversification.

Our present economic structure and economic level especially require a diversified higher education structure. We now have both a contingent of advanced modern industries and backward handicrafts that persist, and our economy has both state-run enterprises as its dominant sector and also collectively owned enterprises and individual laborers, hence our higher education must not only train experts of a high level with the mastery of advanced science and technology, but also medium technical cadres and enterprise management personnel who can solve practical problems.

We may conceive having our higher education built into a structure with the following strata of various types: 1) universities and colleges, with a 4-5 year study system, for the training of high-class professional people; 2) special training schools, with a 2-3 year study system, for the training of medium technical personnel and management personnel; 3) short-term universities or junior colleges, with a 2-year study system, for carrying out the basic education in higher education and vocational, technical education, i.e., for the training of semiprofessional people. Specialties should not be differentiated too minutely; they should either serve as the preliminary stage toward the university or enable the students to learn one trade so as to facilitate their pursuit of employment; 4) broadcasting and television universities, correspondence universities, and evening universities.

In reforming the structure of our higher education, we should also pay attention to the following points:

First, there should be a rational proportionate relationship between the strata of schools of various types listed above. This requires us to have a forecast on the quantity of personnel we need. From current conditions, we can see that the proportion of our special training schools and short-term universities is too small. I wonder if we can conceive the possibility of mainly developing our special training schools and short-term universities within the next few years while efforts are centered on the improvement of quality in the case of the universities and colleges. We may start a large number of correspondence universities and evening universities, because running these universities do not require the construction of new school buildings; this should serve to tap the potentialities of existing universities and at the same encourage our in-service young staff and workers to study. Broadcasting and television universities should also be of a spare-time type. One important path the Soviet Union followed in developing its higher education was the development of spare-time universities; by the 1970's, the number of their spare-time university students had already exceeded that of daytime universities, while it has decreased somewhat in recent years. This experience is worthy of our attention.

Second, universities and colleges are still the mainstay of our higher education, but in each category we must run a batch of key institutions well. We must change our old concept, as if only by running a 4 or 5-year study system in our institutions can we turn our universities into high-quality institutions. In reality, each category and each grade of institutions has its own standards for high quality. If an institution is run with characteristic programs, with good results, and hence is welcomed by society, that institution then becomes a high-quality one, and it is also thus turned into a big-name institution. For example, the Shanghai Lixin Accounting School is a special training school; during the past few decades, it has trained many financial and accounting personnel, and has also been a well-known school of ours.

Third, our higher education should also pay attention both to uplift and popularization. We should energetically run a batch of high-level schools well, and train high-class professional talents with the mastery of modern advanced science and technology. On the other hand, we should also run well a batch of "popular" high institutions to provide youths aspiring to study with the opportunity to continue to do so. In a word, the structure of our higher education should be a model; we should think of the proportionate relationship between its various aspects in terms of length, breadth and depth.

## II. Readjust the Proportionate Relationship Between Various Divisions, Relevantly Increase the Proportionate Weight of the Arts Division

In the early years after the founding of our state, developing the engineering division as a key undertaking was very necessary for the sake of quickly laying a foundation for our industries. But today, when we need to launch our overall socialist construction, to make the ranks of our cadres revolutionary, more knowledgeable, and more professional, if we still maintain the past relationship of playing up the natural science and engineering divisions at the expense of the arts division in terms of their relative ratios, that would

be obviously unsuitable. As to what kind of proportionate relationship between them should be deemed appropriate, this must be something over which the planning departments and personnel departments should carry out some careful investigation and study as well as make some prognostication as to the cadres needed by our sixth and seventh 5-year plans; only thus can we make a determination. For those of us who are engaged in educational research, it is very difficult to propose an accurate proportionate relationship without such concrete figures. But, on the basis of the existing state of our cadres today, the following views may be suggested:

First, we should relevantly develop the arts division in order to raise the level of cultural knowledge of our cadres. During the past few years, the figures of recruited students in the political, legal, financial and economic fields have increased somewhat, but they still fall far behind what is needed by our state. In order to solve this contradiction, apart from expanding student recruits in the arts divisions of our undergraduate institutions we should also run some cadre-training classes and energetically develop education by correspondence. This development of the arts division should be carried out in conjunction with the reform of our personnel system and our cadres system. Otherwise, graduates from the arts division would have no place to apply their trade. Student recruitment for the arts division should also be differentiated according to the different specialties; some arts specialties should concentrate on recruiting staff members and workers with some seniority in their work. These are people with experience in social practice; it would be easier for them to comprehend arts theories and, after their graduation, they are also in a position to quickly shoulder the responsibility of administrative management.

Second, our engineering division should increase the proportionate weight of specialties in light industry. Our light industry is vigorously moving forward right now, but its technical forces are flabby. According to 1979 statistics, the technical personnel of our industrial departments made up only 2.8 percent of their total staff and workers whereas in the whole light industry system technical personnel made up only 0.8 percent of its total staff and workers. In some light industrial departments, in particular, the technical forces are very thin and their occupations constitute a gap among the specialties offered in our higher education. For example, our tobacco, printing and food industries are all rather backward; this has to do precisely with their lack of technical forces. In the past, our higher education lacked these specialties; from now on, we should increase the specialties in this regard. Especially, our food manufacturing specialty should be given considerable development; the food industry will have a great future of development in solving the food problems of our 1 billion population.

Third, we should develop our teacher education. In order to popularize our education and improve the cultural and scientific level of our whole nation, we must have qualified teachers as a guarantee. At present, not only the quality of our teachers remains low, gaps are numerous too. In the middle schools, teachers of politics, physical education, music and fine arts, and biology teachers are generally lacking. In the next few years, we must pay attention to expanding these specialties. In order to quickly solve the question of quality of our in-service teachers, we should ask our teachers colleges and teachers training schools with relevant conditions to set up correspondence



departments to train unqualified in-service teachers with the hope that during the period of the next two 5-year plans a fundamental turn for the better can be achieved in the quality of the ranks of our teachers. This development of our teachers education should be combined with the improvement of the social status and material reward of our teachers so as to attract more fine youths to enroll in teachers specialties.

### III. Readjust the Leadership System in Our Higher Education, Expand Local Authority in Running Schools

The central authorities, apart from running a certain number of key universities well, should leave most institutions to be run by local authorities; efforts should be made to encourage the provinces, the [centrally administered] municipalities and first-class provincially administered municipalities to run special training schools and short-term universities with local characteristics in order to enable our higher education to develop an even closer relationship with local enterprises and, therefore, serve the local areas more extensively and better. Local institutions would offer specialties in conjunction with local characteristics and develop scientific research. They should give scope to their strong points and bypass their weak points, develop what they are good at, and run their institutions with flair.

Our student recruitment system should be subject to corresponding reforms. Except in the case of nationwide key institutions and institutions that need to recruit their students nationally, which may therefore do so through uniform examination, local institutions may recruit local students under local authorities and eventually also assign them locally. This way, the enthusiasm of the local authorities in running their own schools may become mobilized; on the one hand, student recruitment and job assignment can be more relevant, and, on the other hand, the contradiction between supply and demand can be better solved.

The development of local institutions has been an important way for many countries to develop their higher education. For example, the community colleges in the United States, the polytechnic institutes in Britain and the higher special training schools in West Germany are all run by local authorities. In running these schools, the investment required is minimal; tuitions are cheap; students commute; and, in particular, these institutions are of a strong professional and technical character and closely related to local enterprises, with employment of their students thus greatly facilitated; they are, therefore, very welcome to parents. This development of local institutions by countries of the West has been a successful experience which can well be borrowed for our own reference.

### IV. Combine Development and Training Plans, and Distribution and Employment in Our Higher Education

At present, the training and employment our personnel are seriously dislocated. On the other hand, we feel the shortage of talents; on the other, serious waste of manpower also exists. The causes giving rise to such a phenomenon are numerous; for instance, the "unit ownership system" in our personnel system, under which there is the question of talents being unable to circulate; there is also the question of certain professional personnel craving to stay

in big cities; there is likewise the question of how families can be taken care of: all of these contribute to the outcome of professional personnel not practicing what they have learned. But, looking at education internally, we cannot say that the dislocation between the training and employment of our talents is not an important cause. In order to solve this contradiction, I think it is necessary to adopt the following measures:

1. Strengthen our work on prognosticating and planning about our personnel needs so as to make it the basis for the development of our higher education. At present, the student recruitment and development plans of our higher institutions lack any scientific basis for prognosticating our personnel needs. The yearly number of students to be recruited consists merely of the total capacity of the various institutions in this regard. As for which specialties require how many people or the students to be recruited for which specialties are to be increased or decreased, the various institutions themselves have nothing particular in mind, nor does the Education Ministry have anything particular in mind. The practice is often to do some overall adding and subtracting to the figures reported in advance by various institutions in accordance with the tasks handed down by the State Planning Commission; if the figures reported in advance happen to exceed allocated tasks, the institutions would be allowed to subtract, whereas if the figures reported in advance fall short they would be simply allowed to add. Such a way of training students necessarily carried with it some blindness. According to available statistics by concerned departments, the specialties studied by graduates of the whole country's higher institutions in 1981 numbered as many as 840 and more, but, of these, those wherein supply and demand are balanced number only slightly more than 450, making up about 50 percent and more of the total of specialties. In all the rest of these specialties, supply and demand are imbalanced; and among these, the contradiction of supply falling far short of demand is especially pronounced in the engineering category of specialties, whereas in more than 50 specialties, supply far exceeds demand. Also, according to the analyses and statistics of 1,346 specialties in 140 engineering higher institutions, those specialties of the research and design category make up 72.13 percent, those of the production craftsmanship and technology category make up 25.62 percent, and management specialties make up 2.15 percent: such a ratio obviously ill accords with the requirement of our engineering construction (all the above data are from the 6 December 1981 and 22 August 1982 issues of RENMIN RIBAO). In order to overcome such blindness, we must conscientiously do a good job in carrying out our prognosticating and planning work about the personnel we need.

2. We must define clearly the limits of responsibilities of the various levels of professional people required by our different trades and professions. Only clearly defined responsibilities for the various levels of professional people can benefit our prognosticating work about our needed personnel and our efforts to train and employ them. Today, all departments and units are striving to demand graduates from higher institutions; but their use of these graduates is not necessarily entirely appropriate. Therefore, in using people, various departments should clearly define the responsibilities of the personnel at various offices and thereby determine what kind of cadres are needed. Otherwise, the result would be people not using what they have learned, great talents being put to limited use; then, the graduates themselves would be ill at ease in their work, and the economic results of the higher institutions are reduced, too.

3. During the period when talents are being trained, efforts must be made to strengthen the liaison between the institutions and the employing units and to adjust such training plans in accordance with the needs of the private and public agencies. The higher institutions in the Soviet Union are adopting the approach of advance assignment by assigning students to various units 1 year or several years ahead; thus, with the students knowing definitely their future work posts, they can study with a definite purpose. This approach may be borrowed for our reference. If advance assignment cannot be done, it should be possible to have assignment schedules announced in advance so that certain elective courses may be added in their senior year, thus better adapting them upon graduation to the requirements of their work.

The reform in our higher education also involves a reform in the offering of specialties, courses, and teaching methods, a reform in our student recruitment system, a reform in our school management, and such questions; all of these need to be researched as special topics. Comrades on the foremost front in our higher institutions should have a greater right to express themselves; they are all welcome to participate in this discussion.

#### Future Development

Beijing BANYUETAN [SEMI-MONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 11, Jun 83 pp 10-13

[Article by Yang Jianye [2799 1696 2814]: "The Future of the Development of Our Higher Education"]

[Text] What are the prospects of the development of our higher education in the 1980's? This is a question which concerns the vast ranks of the masses. This reporter has recently done some special news-gathering at the Ministry of Education, the State Planning Commission, and the National Conference on Higher Education.

In the next few years or the 1980's as a whole, undertakings in our higher education will move forward with greater speed. Beginning this year and in the next several years, the number of students to be recruited will increase year after year, the scale of our schools will gradually become bigger and bigger, and the forms of running our schools will be more diversified; young students, in-service cadres, workers, as well as youths awaiting employment and intellectual youths returning to their native villages will have far greater opportunities to receive various kinds of higher education; the thirst of youths wanting to go to school, cadres wanting to undergo training, and the state wanting to have talents will become gradually satisfied to various degrees.

The number of students to be recruited by daytime higher institutions this year with the approval of the State Council, has been fixed at 360,000 an increase of 45,000 compared to that of last year, or 43 percent. The Education Ministry and the State Planning Commission also have asked the various localities and higher institutions to make efforts to recruit some more when implementing this measure.

Upon preliminary prognostication and with the approval of the State Council, the concerned departments have also made some plans on the development of our

higher educational undertakings for the next 5 years (from 1983 to 1987). In one aspect, the number of students to be recruited by daytime higher institutions will be increased. Within the next 5 years, the number of students to be recruited progressively each year by the daytime higher institutions will be increased from 315,000 in 1982 to 550,000 in 1987, with an average yearly increase of nearly 50,000. Thus, by 1987, the in-school students will reach 176,000, an increase of 53 percent over that of 1982. On the other hand, other forms of higher education will be energetically developed. For example, broadcasting and television universities, correspondence universities, evening universities, factory-run staff and workers universities, county-run peasant universities, management cadres colleges, teachers' continued education colleges, etc., will, under the principle of putting emphasis on quality, also have the number of students to be recruited by them increased from 290,000 of 1982 to 1.1 million in 1987, an increase of 2.8 times over that of 1982.

In May, the Education Ministry also proposed at the National Work Conference on Higher Education it convened in Wuhan the following exciting target: by 1990, the overall scale of our higher education will increase by 15 times, with students in the undergraduate divisions and special training schools of the institutions reaching about 5 million; in the 1980's, they will train more than 8 million students for the state in the undergraduate divisions and special training schools and 140,000 graduate students. During the discussion, delegates unanimously held that this is a target for our struggle which is suited to our national conditions and which can be realized.

First of all, we have the Party Central Committee's care and attention. In February this year, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was on an inspection tour in Shanghai and Jiangsu, he proposed a view to accelerate the development of our higher education within a short period; in early March, Comrade Xiaoping again convened in Beijing Comrades Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and Yal Yiling to discuss the matter. Subsequently, Comrade Zhao Ziyang convened the responsible comrades of the Education Ministry, Finance Ministry and State Planning Commission to hold a meeting at which he conveyed Comrade Xiaoping's directive about accelerating the development of our higher education and discussed measure for its implementation and concrete realization. The central secretariat also discussed and studied this question of accelerating the development of our higher education. In mid-April, Comrade Wan Li presided over a meeting at the State Council intended specifically to discuss the "Report on Accelerating the Development of Our Higher Education" submitted by the Education Ministry and the State Planning Commission. At the end of April, the State Council not only approved this report but also issued a circular to the various localities and departments, asking them to handle our education just as well as they would handle the key projects in our economic construction.

The guarantee of financial resources is another beneficial condition for our capability to realize this goal of struggle. In order to provide talents for the economic vitalization and social development of the 1990's, the state also added retroactively altogether 300 million yuan of funds for higher educational undertakings and 600 million yuan for capital construction in higher education for the 3 years pursuant to the Sixth 5-Year Plan (namely from 1983 to 1985) over and above the original plan. The State Council also asked to have a guarantee given these 900 million yuan of operational expenses and

capital construction investment as key projects of construction of the state; it likewise expressed the wish that all departments and all localities do their best to allocate more money for running our education. The Coal Ministry has already allocated 8.8 million yuan this year to develop our educational enterprises. For the sake of establishing three higher institutions and expanding the scale of its higher institutions, Fujian Province has decided to invest more than 21 million yuan, with 5 million yuan invested this year.

In order to realize this goal of accelerating the development of our higher education, the Education Ministry has decided to adopt the following eight measures:

1. Make full efforts to tap the potentialities of existing higher institutions, especially old institutions. On the one hand, build necessary additional classrooms and student dormitories; on the other hand, a contingent of teachers and cadres may be transferred elsewhere in an "egg-laying" approach to open up branch institutions or new institutions.
2. Actively make efforts to encourage big cities, medium cities whose economies are developing relatively fast, and big enterprises and big companies (business bureaus) to run higher special training schools or short-term vocational universities in order to train personnel for their own respective localities; such efforts should also be made to stimulate the democratic parties and groups, social organizations and patriotic personages to run schools.
3. Expand the scale of student recruitment at the broadcasting and television universities, correspondence universities, evening universities and such types of higher institutions and increase such specialities urgently needed by the state as finance and economics, politics and law, and applied arts courses. Cities with a population of 1 million and above should also gradually establish adult education television stations.
4. On the basis of needs and possibility, efforts should be made to relevantly build some rationally deployed and appropriately scaled new higher institutions in a planned manner.
5. Beginning with new students recruited this year, all students who reside in the city where their institutions are located and are at not such a distance from their respective institutions should go to school by commuting. Students whose homes are situated in the countryside and external areas should have the local government take the responsibility and concerned units raise funds collectively so as to build student dormitories for them.
6. Establish a normal cadre education system to actively launch continued education. Higher institutions must take the training of in-service cadres as a long-range task from now on; apart from broadcasting and television universities, staff and workers universities, correspondence universities and evening universities, ordinary higher institutions should also run cadres special training courses and short-term training classes, etc.
7. Generally promote the self-study examination system, and do a good job in the guidance work for entrance examination for adults to enter the higher institutions.

8. The old institutions among the ordinary higher institutions of the three big cities of Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin should, in a planned manner, support the border regions and nationality areas to develop their undertakings in higher education. They adopt the approach of selecting teachers to transfer them to these areas for regular teaching service or lecturing or running teachers continued education classes in their own institutions so as to train teachers for the border regions and nationality areas.

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CSO: 4005/1024

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HONGQI COMMENTS ON INTELLECTUALS, LITERATURE

HK040514 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 4 Sep 83 p 4

[Report on HONGQI article by Yan Gang]

[Text] The Chinese revolution would not have been won without the intellectuals. They are all the more indispensable when the revolution has entered into the stage of socialist construction.

But for a long time they have been treated as people to be criticized and changed. In the "Cultural Revolution," intellectuals were considered "targets" of the revolution or counter-revolutionaries. Writers were crushed and fetters were imposed on literature.

In those days, the charge was that literature was either "anti-party, anti-socialism and anti-Mao Zedong Thought," or was "alien, ancient, feudalistic, bourgeois and revisionist." It would be blamed either for "glorifying the intellectuals," or "vilifying the workers, peasants and soldiers." Literary works describing intellectuals, such as novels like "Between Husband and Wife" and "The Song of the Youth," were all branded as "poisonous weeds."

That intellectuals, who are actually part of the working class, should be considered bourgeois elements was a grotesque distortion. But the "Tian anmen Poems," the poems recited in the Tian anmen Incident of 1976, broke through the dark cloud. These poems were written by intellectuals as well as workers and soldiers. Two stories, "Wish You Had Heard This Song" and "A Dream on the String" published in 1978, gave a true and touching presentation of the awakening of Chinese intellectuals to their position in political life and in literary creation.

#### Intellectuals

The short story, "The Class Teacher" and "Goldbach Conjecture," a reportage, published around 1978 after the overthrow of the Gang of Four, marked another "emancipation of literature." They constitute a bold attempt of Chinese intellectuals to develop realistic literature.

The appeal to "rescue the children" in the short story "The Class Teacher" was but a variation on the themes of "rescuing knowledge," "rescuing culture,"

or "rescuing China." It expressed the sense that Chinese intellectuals had for their historical mission. They were much worried about the national crisis of that time. "Goldbach Conjecture" pays tribute to the scientist Chen Jingrun who was accused of being a "white expert," i.e., a scholar who devoted himself solely to learning while neglecting politics. These two stories herald the beginning of a new stage when intellectuals are to be respected.

#### Literature

The All-China Science Congress in the spring of 1978 gave a push to presenting intellectuals in literature, particularly in reportage literature. Scientists, who are excellent elements among the intellectuals, now are regarded as component parts of the working class, masters of the nation. The morale and psychology of Chinese intellectuals who have lived and worked assiduously despite privations and misfortunes are touchingly described in "In Pursuit of Beauty, in Praise of an Artist" published in 1979, and "Infatuation, in Praise of a Botanist" published in 1980.

"Motherland Above All" and "China-Brand Intellectuals," published in 1981, were widely applauded for the high resolve of their intellectual heroes. Intellectuals are pillars of the nation, just like the workers and peasants are. "Mother may wrongly judge her children for some time; still we cannot help loving our mother," victims of the "Cultural Revolution" would say.

After the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the political status of intellectuals has improved and the number of works based on intellectuals have increased greatly.

In 1980, the novelette "When One Enters Middle Age" ushered in a turn in literature. The name of its heroine has become a byword. Different from other novels exposing the "Cultural Revolution," it does not stress the emancipation of intellectuals after the overthrow of the Gang of Four, but depicts the present-day reality when the middle-age intellectuals are carrying a heavy social burden but are being repaid with meager salaries and poor living conditions. The heroine, however, does not give up but faces the "morning sun" and challenges the "chilling wind." The importance of intellectuals in the four modernizations compared with their lack of political status as shown by this novelette has aroused strong sympathies.

Discussion of criticism of "Unrequited Love" in 1981 have produced widespread repercussions. The criticism of the film is correct. With an intellectual as its hero, this film scenario is directly concerned with the representation of intellectuals in literary creation. The discussion has led to the convocation of an important conference--Symposium on Problems of the Ideological Front--which clarified certain ideological confusion about literary creation. Serving the people and serving socialism have been further defined as the proper orientation of art and literature.



The subject of the middle-length novel "Fate Symphony" published in 1982 is peculiar. Its hero is a man who suffered grossly under the "leftist" line but has not been able to reconcile himself with society since its overthrow.

#### Novelettes

Novelettes, "On the Same Horizon" and "Human Life," probe deeply into the soul of contemporary youth. The former is thought by some as "mystical and indifferent to life."

The party's Central Committee has long ago been determined to implement thoroughly its policy toward intellectuals and the situation has greatly improved. But the problem remains: How are intellectuals to adapt themselves to the "new stage?" "Human Life" reflects just this adaptability as well as inadaptability, this clear but at the same time contradictory sentiment and psychology of intellectuals.

CSO: 4000/262

EAST REGION

CHEN GUODONG CALLS FOR CHINA'S REUNIFICATION

OW111119 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Sep 83

[Excerpts] Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, highly praised Yang Xingfo, a great patriot and democratic revolutionary, for his contributions to China's revolutionary cause at a discussion meeting this afternoon sponsored by people from various circles in Shanghai Municipality to commemorate the 50th anniversary of his death. Chen Guodong expressed the Chinese Communists' and the Chinese people's deep respect for and everlasting memory of this close nonparty comrade-in-arms.

Comrade Chen Guodong said: Today, to commemorate Yang Xingfo, we must try to learn from his great patriotic spirit and his noble qualities of devoting himself to the people's revolutionary cause, rally closely under the party Central Committee's leadership, speed up socialist modernization, strive to carry out the reunification of the motherland, including Taiwan, oppose hegemonism, and safeguard world peace.

In conclusion, Comrade Chen Guodong said: Facing China's historical development today, all patriots are calling for terminating as soon as possible the unfortunate disunited situation of the Chinese nation and carrying out the motherland's reunification at an early date. We earnestly hope that the Taiwan authorities and those residing in Taiwan who maintained friendly relations with Yang Xingfo in the past will eliminate all apprehensions, attach importance to the righteous cause of the nation and contribute together with us to the early completion of the great mission of reunifying the motherland.

CSO: 4005/1149

## EAST REGION

### PARTY COMMITTEE HOLDS WORK MEETING 8-15 AUGUST

OW172034 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Aug 83

[Excerpts] The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee held a work meeting from 8 to 15 August. It stressed the need to organize cadres and party members to earnestly study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and use it as a weapon to conscientiously implement the policy decisions of the central authorities. It pointed out: Efforts must be made to concentrate all financial and material resources to ensure the successful development of key construction projects. It is essential to strengthen our determination to improve economic results, develop various activities to increase production and organize relief work in flood-stricken areas, and strive to reap a better harvest this year.

It stressed: It is necessary to mobilize people in all fields to fully support the state's key construction projects in our province and completely fulfill the task to collect funds for centralized use by the state. Efforts must be made to strictly control the scale of local construction projects and resolutely combat the unhealthy trend of arbitrarily raising the prices of construction materials and extracting excessive compensation from construction units. It is imperative to do a good job in supplying the key construction projects with needed construction materials and manpower and provide them with the necessary logistic support. It is necessary to strengthen leadership over the key construction projects.

The meeting held: To improve economic results is an important measure in expanding financial resources, ensuring the successful collection of funds for centralized use, and supporting key construction projects. It is now also the most significant issue in our economic work.

On the issue of increasing production and doing relief work, the meeting held: Our province was hit hard by floods this year. However, there are many favorable conditions to score victories in the struggle to combat the natural disaster with the support of the party Central Committee and the state council. We must work hard with a revolutionary drive and strengthen our confidence. Districts stricken by the natural disaster must resume production as soon as possible, while those districts not affected should exert their efforts to increase production so that the province will be able to reap a good harvest in agriculture, this year's natural disaster notwithstanding. It is necessary to strengthen ideological and political work among the masses and help the broad masses of cadres and people in flood-stricken districts to strengthen their confidence to overcome difficulties caused by natural disaster by relying on their own efforts.

On the issue of restructuring the administration, the meeting held that the reorganization of all administrations is important in implementing the strategic policy decision of the central authorities. Efforts must be made to strengthen the leading bodies of various departments, committees and bureaus at the provincial level as well as those at the prefectural and municipal levels.

The meeting pointed out: the publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is a major event in the party's political life. It is a glorious book of Marxism and a powerful weapon for us to strengthen party building and promote the four modernizations program. The meeting called for efforts to organize party members, particularly the party's leading cadres at and above the county level, to extensively develop various activities to study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

CSO: 4005/1149

EAST REGION

## MARX' VIEWPOINT ON KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTUALS REVIEWED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 May 83 p 4

[Article by Ding Xueliang 0002 1331 5328]: "The Roles Knowledge And Intellectuals Play in a Modern Society"

[Text] Talking about Marx, one of his contemporaries described him as one of those people who: have a broad vision that can reach as far as decades or even a century beyond their contemporaries; as a result, inferences drawn by them are always difficult for their contemporaries to fully understand but they will be admired by people of later generations. In reviewing the brilliant exposition of Marx more than a century ago on the roles that knowledge and intellectuals play in a modern society, I again and again call to mind the above-mentioned precise and appropriate remarks.

In Modern Civilization, the Creation of Wealth More and More Relies on Mental Labor.

The period in which Marx lived was a time when modern science and technology were just beginning to be applied to production on a large scale. The steam engine is a symbol of the conquest of natural forces by human beings; it transformed the basic power resources of the production system. Machinery--the crystallization of human knowledge, has, with its precision, standardization and speed in processing, replaced the craftsmanship which was originally attained by slow manual operations. The appearance of automatic machinery has made it possible for human beings to disassociate themselves from direct labor processes. The first application of chemistry to agriculture has doubled and redoubled the output of land....All of this, like magic, has created tremendous wealth for modern society. Marx, always a man with amazing sensitivity for and insight into the trends of social development, immediately foresaw from these phenomena the arrival of an entirely new era of human civilization. In the "Programme," 1857-1958, he joyfully wrote: in the transition from the traditional way of work of manual operation which has been handed down thousands of years towards modern large-scale production by machinery, "labor appears to be no longer included in the production process as before, but, on the contrary, it appears to be that man, in the capacity of supervisors and adjusters in the production process, has a relationship with the production process itself. (.....) Here it is no longer that workers take the reshaped substance as the intermediate link and put it between

themselves and their objects, but that workers take the natural process which has been altered into industrial process by themselves as an intermediary and put it between themselves and the inorganic natural world which they govern." ("The Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 46, Part II, p 218) Profound Qualitative changes have taken place in labor. Men as the master of scientific knowledge are no longer a living part of the production process, but instead they are the director and administrator of the entire production process. Modern labor has more and more become a mental expenditure rather than a physical expenditure. "In this transition, it is not the direct labor accomplished by men themselves nor the time in which they are engaged in labor that appears to be the great cornerstone of production and wealth, but it is to put to use the general productive forces of men themselves, it is men's understanding of the natural world, and it is men, existing as a part of society, to govern the natural world." In other words, the creation of wealth "is decided by the general scientific level and the progress of technology, or it may be said that it is decided by the application of science to production." (Ditto, pp 218 & 217) The creation of wealth by men has come more and more to rely on mental labor.

All this makes it clear, Marx continued, that: "the general social knowledge has, to how great an extent, become the direct productive force, and thereby the condition of the process of social life itself has, to how great an extent, been confined by intelligence in general and been transformed in accordance with this kind of intelligence." (Ibid, pp 219 & 220) ---- The decisive role of knowledge (including social sciences and human studies) in modern society is hereby explicitly elaborated: It no longer, as mentioned by somebody, is merely "potential" or "possible" productive forces; it has increasingly become direct productive forces. Following the continuous progress and development of society and civilization, the condition of the process of social life becomes more and more under the control of human intelligence and it is transformed in accordance with this kind of intelligence. Marx came to a conclusion from this: Socialism--communist socialism, which is higher than all other social forms in the past in the sequence of historical development--must be established on the basis of highly developed scientific and cultural knowledge. At that time, members of society must, on a more and more extensive scale, be able to master intellectual work in order to accomplish the job of transforming laborers of the traditional type into intellectuals who will develop in an all-round way.

How did the world after Marx prove his exquisite inferences as such? Here are some examples picked at random.

The Powerfulness of A Country Increasingly Relies on Higher Scientific and Cultural Education.

Regarding Qualitative Change of Labor. Since World War II, the number of people participating in the third industry has shown a sharp increase which surpassed the number of people who participated in the development of natural resources and in processing products. This is the most notable proof of the fact that more and more people can disassociate themselves from direct production process and take part in a higher form of labor. It profoundly reflects

the fact that mental labor is the dominant trend in the evolution of modern labor. Even for labor in material production, the proportion of the mental factor has gradually become greater than that of physical strength. The statistical data of the USSR indicates that in primary mechanized production, the proportion of physical and mental energy consumption is 80:20, while in more developed mechanized production, it has turned to be 40:60, and in general mechanized production, it is 20:80. World economic researchers have discovered that in the operational department of the newly developed chemical industry in Japan in early 1960's, mechanization and automation reached 68 percent and automatic control reached 38 percent. And the portion of workers who had moved from physical labor to become supervisors in production reached 76 percent. Is this not precisely what Marx had said that "men, in the capacity of supervisors and adjusters in the production process, build relationship with the production process itself?"

Regarding The Source of Modern Wealth. Economists of our time call capital invested in education "manpower capital," and make it relative to "material capital" which is the capital invested in the means of labor in order to compare the benefits between these two in reproducing social wealth. In its "World Development Report, 1980," the World Bank, after summing up situations in a number of countries, pointed out: "The economic benefit of investment made in education is very high and very often much greater than that of material investment." In more than 10 developing countries with an average per capita income less than US\$1,000, the rate of benefit of the former is 20 percent, while that of the later is 15 percent. In the developed countries, the disparity is even greater. As calculated by Nobel Prize winner Theodore W. Schultz, in the first 60 years of this century, the profit of manpower capital in the United States increased 7.5 times, while that of material capital increased only 3.5 times. This was because that the extent of people's participation in invention, creation and putting forward rational suggestions was in direct ratio to their knowledge and cultural level. A plant of 610 staff members and workers in Chengdu spent a capital of 410 yuan to run a study class on management by adopting "optimum seeking method" and "unified planning method." According to statistics made within one year's time, there were a total of 243 achievements in the whole plant in implementing the promotion of the "dual methods." They created a total value of 25,300 yuan creating an average per capita income of 41.4 yuan. If every staff member and worker of the whole country can have such an income, then a value equivalent to 4 billion yuan will be created annually. That is a frightening figure! Is this not convincing proof that knowledge and science are the most gigantic source of wealth in our time?

Every significant progress of the contemporary world, no matter whether it is an important breakthrough in basic theory, a new technology, in production or a new management method, or the utilization of a new source of energy or the emergence of sophisticated products or new weapons, indicates that: the powerfulness of a country and the prosperity of a nation do not simply depend on the area of its territory, the richness of its mineral sources or on the size of its population, but increasingly rely upon whether the people of the country generally attain a higher cultural level, whether it has outstanding intellectuals in various fields, or whether its scientific planning and

organization are farsighted. The objective laws of the immense role played by knowledge and intellectuals in society of our time which was brought to light by Marx more than a century ago have repeatedly been proven by successes and failures of all nations on the road of development. Even thinkers of different ideological backgrounds cannot but completely accept the farsightedness and sagacity of the judgment of Marx. At present, there are theories of "post-industrialization society" and "information society" and so forth which have immense international repercussions. After getting rid of certain factors in them, we can see that Marx has greatly inspired all of them. A common viewpoint in these theories is that they affirm the fact that "the basis" of modern society "lies in the inexorable influence of science on the mode of production." (Words of D. Bell who put forward the theory of "post-industrialization society") They proved that most industrialized countries had already entered into a "post-industrialization society" (or "information society" and so forth). Comparing with pre-industrialization and industrialized societies in certain areas at present, its basic features are that: raw materials and capital are no longer the prime question of society, but the organization of science and the scientific capability of the state become the decisive factors of its potential and strength. The backbone occupation in society is no longer the small farmers, nor the non-skilled or semi-skilled workers, but knowledgeable and technical scientists in different fields. For this reason, society has attached unprecedentedly great importance to education and most of the leisure time will be used to enlighten and renew the knowledge of members of society. The prime method of thinking in society is no longer common sense, tradition or empiricism, but it will depend on abstract theory and systematic analysis. The creative power of human knowledge replaces simple labor in the creation of value. Society revolves around science--theoretical knowledge is organized to attain the goal of dominating society and directing change. Just as the path most countries have trodden before on their way from the pre-industrialization stage to industrialized stage, the present industrialized countries are entering into the post-industrialization stage one after another. (D. Bell: "The Arrival of the Post-industrialization Society")

Regarding Knowledge As The Key to Vitalize China; Letting Intellectuals Bring Their Talents Into Full Play.

What inspiration should we derive from the above review?

--We must pay utmost attention to the leverage of knowledge in the construction of a socialist civilization. Now that knowledge has already become the most gigantic source of modern wealth and since socialism--communist civilization (both material and spiritual)--is the highest level in the development of human civilization which includes the cream of our past civilization, we, then, cannot but regard knowledge as the key to making socialist China vigorous and flourishing. The report of the 12th CPC Congress stressed that "the key of the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology" which affirmed that education and science are the "strategic focal point" in our social and economic development. This can really be called a "brilliant" policy decision. The objective results of ideas which look down on or even go against this policy decision, no matter what their subjective consideration nor what



specious arguments can be found to defend them, can only act to impede the modernization construction.

Now we must also particularly mention the role that social sciences play. As mentioned above, it must undoubtedly be included in "social knowledge" which Marx has put forward. Can we envisage that in our effort to carry out an overall and systematic reform, to break new paths of our own, and to build a socialism with distinctive Chinese features, we can depart from the guidance of the genuine social sciences? Lenin said correctly that scientific socialism is built on the basis of science, with the development of science as a prerequisite, and requires people to treat it in a scientific way. In the past, owing to the fact that this point was neglected, many distressing things were done. Historical lessons like this not only led to the bankruptcy of the false "social sciences," but they must also become the accelerating force to make the practical and realistic social sciences flourishing and prosperous.

--We must let intellectuals play their role to the greatest extent in the course of the construction of socialism. Since in modern civilization, labor has more and more become mainly mental expenditure rather than the former mainly physical expenditure, and the condition of the process of social life itself, to a greater and greater extent, is confined by intelligence and transformed by this kind of intelligence, then, there is no reason not to let intellectuals give full play to their talent in various fields of social activities. Our party is now devoting major efforts to promoting the creation of favorable social conditions for intellectuals to smoothly carry out their work and to putting more intellectuals in leading positions. This is the major measure which conforms to the common aspiration of the people and adapts to the objective trend of historical development. Although we today advocate attaching importance to the role of intellectuals, it does not mean that we despise or discriminate against the important role of other laborers, but it is favorable to the creation of a social condition--a communist social condition at a higher stage--to enable all members of society to be developed in an all-round way and to enable them to become "intellectuals." Under the situation that we are temporarily not able to provide conditions for all members of society to fully develop themselves in various fields such as science, arts and culture, how can we promote the rapid development of socialist material and spiritual civilizations to create a full social and material culture to bring about an overall development of future members of society and a society full of intellectuals if we do not provide necessary working conditions for the present intellectuals? This measure is carried out under the realistic social historical conditions which conform to actual scientific socialism. Should the departed spirit of Marx hear about this, could he help praising it with a smile?

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CSO: 4005/888

EAST REGION

BRIEFS

SHANDONG SELF-STUDY LEGAL UNIVERSITY--Beginning in the second half of this year, the legal speciality will be covered in the Shandong Provincial examination on higher educational courses for the self-taught students. To strengthen the guidance for self-taught students, approved by the provincial educational department, the Provincial Political and Legal Cadres' School will sponsor a self-study course on laws. The term of study is tentatively fixed at 3 years. All the in-service workers and staff members of organizations, groups, schools, enterprises, and establishments as well as servicemen, without limits of age, sex, and record of formal schooling, are allowed to enter their names for the study. [Excerpts] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 83 p 1 SK]

CSO: 4005/1149

## NORTH REGION

### IMPROVEMENT OF PAPERWORK EFFICIENCY URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by Wang Yu [3769 3768], Deputy Director, Provincial People's Congress: "Paperwork Efficiency Must Be Improved"]

[Text] At present, paper work efficiency in some of the party and government organizations is rather low. Problems such as delay, piling up, carelessness or lack of security exist. Work is often adversely affected and losses inflicted on the party's cause. The broad masses of cadres and the people have many complaints about it. Therefore, we should improve paperwork efficiency so that receiving and dispatching, registering, submitting, circulating, implementing, keeping and filing of documents may become safe, secret, accurate and timely. This should be an important part of the reform work which is being carried out in our party and government organizations.

Whether a leading group of an organization is united and capable, strong and powerful may frequently be reflected in its paperwork efficiency. A good leading group has an intimate knowledge of the party's principles and policies and gets to know the actual situation of the lower levels well. It also has a very high degree of dedication and sense of responsibility. As a result, in handling paperwork, the whole group, of course, works as one, does all it can to fulfill its duty, work in a precise, appropriate, fast and accurate manner. On the contrary, if an organization is dilatory and careless in handling paperwork by kicking things back and forth, muddling through and shifting responsibility onto others, it must be full of holes. It goes without saying that such leading groups are either frail or disunited, or seriously bureaucratic or rampantly liberal. Obviously, paperwork efficiency directly reflects a leading group's problem in ideology, study and work system.

In order to improve paperwork efficiency, there must first be a good work style in an organization. Leading cadres must take the lead to restore and carry forward the fine style of being united, alert, earnest and lively as during the Yan'an period and the early days of the Republic. In a group, it is necessary to practice combining collective leadership with division of labor and personal responsibility in order to make clear the system of personal responsibility. Each member in the leadership must bravely shoulder the work responsibilities assigned to him and do the work conscientiously. Between the upper and the lower levels and among comrades, people must support each other, work in coordination, be of one heart and one mind, and keep in step. Only in

so doing can we thoroughly and conscientiously learn and implement instructions given by upper levels, study and handle reports submitted by lower levels in a timely manner, fairly and reasonably answer the requests and letters of inquiry of the masses, and appropriately keep and utilize reports and records. At present, such "yamen" styles as slackness in discipline, bureaucracy, idle talk and wrangling to exist in some organizations. All these are the basic causes for low paperwork efficiency and they must resolutely be eliminated.

In order to improve paperwork efficiency, it is necessary to have a high degree of dedication and sense of responsibility. Especially leading comrades who are in charge of the work of an organization and the confidential staff, clerical workers, secretaries, section chiefs, directors, secretaries-general, and so forth who directly participate in paperwork must ardently love one's work, actively and conscientiously accomplish tasks of one kind or another. While handling a document, one must conscientiously and meticulously shoulder responsibility through to the end without evading, delaying or piling up so that everything can be handled properly so that there is a clear registration and a completed formality. In so doing, we know the whereabouts of every single document and one cannot be too careful in guarding secrets. Those people who are muddleheaded, dilatory in their style of work, careless in handling matters, negligent and lacking a sense of responsibility are not fit for paperwork.

In order to improve paperwork efficiency, it is also necessary to have rigorous rules and regulations. Clear stipulations must be provided to strengthen paperwork procedure, to reduce links in examination and approval, to determine the length of time required to handle a particular kind of document and the extent to which a document should be handled, to regulate how to record and guard secrets. A followup system must be upheld in order to carry out checking up at regular intervals to put an end to the phenomenon of piling up. We must encourage comrades who are conscientious and responsible, fast and good in handling paperwork, to educate in time those who handle paperwork erroneously and with omissions, and criticize, educate and even punish those malfeasant ones who neglect their duties and pile up documents at will and thereby cause tremendous losses. In this history of our country, authorities of a number of dynasties regulated that piling up of official documents must be condemned. For instance, it was stipulated in the "Laws of the Tang Dynasty" that "one who has procrastinated in handling imperial documents for 1 day should be punished by 50 lashes, and for 3 days the number of lashes should be doubled. One who piles up imperial documents for 10 days should be sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment." "Procrastination" means delay and piling up. "Imperial document" means an official document with the royal seal affixed on it. Piling up of other documents must also be punished to the extent that "for 1 day one should be punished by 10 lashes, and for 3 days it should be doubled." Down to the Yuan Dynasty, punishment became even more severe. It was then even regulated that one who has procrastinated in handling official documents "for 3 days should be sentenced to death." Of course, we at present cannot punish those who have delayed official documents with "floggings" of "canings" and "death" is out of the question. However, it is still necessary to criticize and punish those who have delayed official documents and affected work

adversely in order to educate them and warn the masses.

It is absolutely not true that if we advocate exerting efforts and putting in labor to improve paperwork efficiency, we are encouraging so-called documentism. On the contrary, only after paperwork efficiency has been greatly improved, can that style of documentism which is divorced from reality, which does not go down to grassroots levels, which tends to rely on handling documents and statistical tables and reports to resolve problems in one's office, really be rectified. And also paperwork in party and government organizations can then stimulate, not obstruct the progress of the construction of the four modernizations. In so doing, we can then be fit to do the work required after reform.

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CSO: 4005/958

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### SATELLITE RECONNAISSANCE, PHOTO INTERPRETATION DESCRIBED

Beijing HANGKONG ZHISHI [AVIATION KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese Jul 83 pp 22-23

[Article by Xiz Fu'an [1115 4395 1344]: "Satellite Reconnaissance and Photographic Interpretation"]

[Text] Reconnaissance satellites that circle the globe to carry out military reconnaissance cover an area of several tens of thousands of square kilometers, occupy a commanding position, and take in everything at a glance. The film taken is either retrieved by means of a capsule shot from the satellite or sent directly by electric wave to the earth's surface, and then undergoes photographic interpretation.

The United States has a 23-year history of launching reconnaissance satellites. The Soviet Union has been putting up reconnaissance satellites for close to 20 years. Through satellite reconnaissance photography, America and the Soviet Union have obtained a large amount of extremely valuable strategic and tactical intelligence. Reconnaissance satellites have already become their principal measure for carrying out reconnaissance and monitoring of other countries.

The Soviet satellites' reconnaissance capabilities, information transmitting speed, as well as their satellites' working lifespan, are all much inferior to those of the American satellites. In the past several years, the Soviet Union has launched an average of over 30 reconnaissance satellites per year; America maintains year-around activities in the sky by several kinds of reconnaissance satellites. Because reconnaissance satellites move in near-earth orbits several hundreds of kilometers from earth, in peacetime they do not run the risk of violating the territorial airspace of other countries, and the area covered by their reconnaissance reaches several tens of thousands of square kilometers. Far superior to manned reconnaissance aircraft, America's reconnaissance satellites have now basically taken over most of the tasks formerly undertaken by the U-2 spy aircraft.

America currently uses two types of photographic reconnaissance satellites. One is the film retrieval type and the other is the radio transmission type. In the film retrieval type, a long focal distance optical camera is

installed in the satellite. After the film is exposed it goes into a sealed retrieval capsule that can be shot from the satellite. At a predetermined time, it is flung from the satellite and at a certain altitude parachutes on it open and it descends slowly in the sky above the retrieval area. Then it is either hooked in the sky by a C-130 transport aircraft or helicopter, or retrieved at sea by a naval vessel. The "Big Bird" reconnaissance satellite, still used by the United States, belongs to this type. The "Big Bird" satellites are divided into the general reconnaissance type and the precision reconnaissance type, and the reconnaissance photography of the precision type has a very high resolution power. At an altitude of 110 kilometers, the resolution power for targets on the earth's surface is 15.2 centimeters. All sorts of military targets--big ones like air and naval bases, guided missile launching silos, and nuclear test grounds, and small ones like the detailed parts on aircraft and naval vessels--can be resolved.

With ordinary optical photography, it is difficult to distinguish camouflage and to understand the internal structure of a target. In recent years, America has made widespread use of infrared scanning photography and multispectra photographic technology. Infrared scanning photography makes use of the images formed by the target's heat radiation to sense and reflect the temperature differences in the target and its surrounding environment. Based on this it can deduce information about the target's internal structure, heat transmission, as function, as well as the vehicular traffic situation and the degree of all sorts of human activity. It can also distinguish camouflage.

Multispectra photography can provide even more information. The target's particular response on the spectrum can be used to determine the target's characteristics of external form, granular structure (grain), color, hue, balance, brightness, and strength. Militarily, it can be used to determine with precision camouflaged positions and indications of partial changes caused by human activity. If multispectra photographs are fed into a computer for digital handling, they can be synthesized into a single picture in which certain features are given prominence or weakened. The computer can also be operated so that only certain specific parts of the picture are shown, and artificial color techniques can be used to reveal differences in brightness. This method is often used in astronomical research.

The radio transmission-type photographic reconnaissance satellites, codenamed KH-11, is able to take a picture obtained by reconnaissance and almost immediately convert it into digital information that is sent to a ground station. The optical system of this kind of satellite uses a silicon photo-diode arranger to convert the photographic information detected and measured on the target into electric signals. After the electric signals are enhanced, they are converted into digital signals in a modulus converter and sent to the ground station. After receiving the digital signals, the ground station, restores them to their original condition by converting them into picture photographs or films, or feeds the numbers into a computer, which displays the picture on its terminal. The drawback in this method of radio transmission is that the resolution power is lowered, so that the pictures are not as clear as those that are directly retrieved, but it is now possible to gradually overcome this drawback.

The main drawback of the film roll retrieval-type satellite is that it is unable to transmit the reconnaissance pictures in a fast and timely fashion, so that in wartime the chance for winning a battle might be bungled; also it suffers from limitations on its capacity to carry film rolls, as each satellite usually is able to carry only two to four film roll retrieval capsules. By contrast the main advantage of the KH-11 radio transmission-type photographic reconnaissance satellite is not only that its information is transmitted fast and its pictures are sent in almost the twinkling of an eye, but also there exists no limitation on the film roll capacity. The working lifespan of the precision reconnaissance version of the "Big Bird" film roll retrieval-type satellites is only 50 to 80 days and that of its general reconnaissance version is 5 to 6 months, while the KH-11 radio transmission-type satellite has a working lifespan of over 28 months.

In view of the existence of the above-mentioned drawbacks, the film roll retrieval-type reconnaissance satellite will become obsolete and no longer used, and the "Big Bird" reconnaissance satellites on hand are sufficient in number to be used in 1983. America has put in reserve four fairly new precision reconnaissance "Big Bird" satellites and Titan III B/Agena carrier rockets for the country's use in a state of emergency. An improved KH-11 radio transmission-type reconnaissance satellite has a picture resolution power that almost rivals that of film roll retrieval-type satellites, and it is planned to be put into use in 1984. This KH-11 satellite can be launched by a "Titan III D" rocket or can be put into orbit by a space shuttle. It is planned in the future to be able to use the space shuttle to retrieve the satellite while in orbit and, after replacing easily damaged parts, to send it back to work.

The United States is considering the future installation of cameras inside the space shuttle's loading cabin, the photographic film rolls of which reenter the atmosphere via a special sealed capsule and are retrieved. This form of reconnaissance is only suitable for important targets of top priority.

Being developed is an image-forming radar reconnaissance satellite, which is able to send back to earth optical pictures similar to optical film, and it is not affected by cloud layers or dark nights. Its method of transmitting information is the same as that of the KH-11 satellite, viz, the method of digital transmission. This satellite is to be put into use in the late 1980's, and one type of it is designed for reconnaissance of the armored units of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the other type is to be an ocean-monitoring satellite.

#### Photographic Interpretation

The work of photographic interpretation is to analyze and pool the original materials of the reconnaissance and convert it into valuable intelligence that provides commanders with a basis for making decisions.

From the beginning of aerial reconnaissance straight down to today--the era of widespread utilization of computers--the key element in the work of photographic interpretation and analysis has always been the well-trained eye



and the cerebral analytic thinking of the photographic interpreters. Because photographic interpretation touches on a wide range of specialized fields, it usually requires a division into fairly detailed specialities. During World War II, the British photographic interpretation detachment set up special teams for specialized analysis of airfield, industrial, decoy, aircraft, radar and radio targets.

A simple photographic interpretation tool is the stereoscopic interpretation instrument. With the aid of the stereoscopic instrument, the photographic interpreters observed by superimposition 60 percent of the reconnaissance photographs. Because the same target can be observed from two different angles, two superimposed photographs can coincide to form a three-dimensional picture. The three-dimensional effect is extremely clear, and factory smokestacks, trees, housetops, or electric wire poles look as if they are standing tall before one's eyes. Although the vertical direction is exaggerated by 2 or 3 times, the images are very lifelike. Based on the length of the target in the photograph multiplied by the altitude of the satellite and divided by the focal distance of the camera, the real length of the target can be found. Based on the length of shadows as well as the sunshine time and topographical degree of transit, the height of the target can be found.

Photographic interpreters must have extensive knowledge, good training, and abundant experience before they can distinguish new targets and new images. If a photographic interpreter knows a certain place like the palm of his hand, he is able to immediately detect any small change or a change that is not completely understood once it appears. Often the nature and importance of some things on a photograph are not discovered for a period of time, and they must wait until more circumstances are known before they can become clear about these things. Some interpreters must use old photographs taken over many months or years to make comparative analyses before they can grasp even more important circumstances, and then when new changes appear determine what things have occurred. Photographic interpreters can also determine the increase or decrease of human activity based on the tracks or ruts left behind by people on bare ground or grassland. If the other side builds a position for deploying a weapons system, the interpreters can accurately determine what kind of weapons system the other side is preparing to deploy and estimate the amount of time needed for deployment based on what time the other side began to prepare the site, what time certain specific kinds of crates arrived at the site, or what time the earth excavation project began. If an aerial photograph of the other side's construction of a guided missile silo is studied by the science of civil engineering, the amount of cement, steel products, construction equipment, personnel, water and other materials needed by the other side to construct the silo can be calculated.

In order to help the interpreters more accurately interpret their targets, computers can now be used to handle the information so as to enhance the contrast between light and shade in the pictures, and the method of electronic information handling can be used to compare new reconnaissance photographs with other ones of the same area. Afterward, the computer can delete the common features in these photographs, leaving only the new changes that have appeared and displaying them on its terminal for the interpreters to study and analyze.

POWER STRUGGLE IN CPC AS SEEN IN 'SELECTED WORKS' OF DENG XIAOPING'

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 8, Aug 83 pp 60-63

[Article by Liang Hsueh-ch'u [2733 1331 0443]: "CPC Power Struggles As Seen From the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] Editor's Note: Struggles within the CPC may be divided into power struggles and line struggles. Deng Xiaoping repudiated nine past line struggles, acknowledging only those of Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming. However, without doubt Mao Zedong's struggles with Peng Dehuai and Liu Shaoqi were struggles about the line.

Valuable Firsthand Material

Publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" (or "Deng's Selected Works" for short) have revealed behind the scenes CPC line struggles and power struggles during the past 30 years since founding of the People's Republic, including the Gao-Rao affair of 1953, how Gao Gang won over Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping to "knock over" Liu Shaoqi together, and how Gao Gang sought out Chen Yun for talks about "having several deputy-chairmen, you being one and I being one." (page 257) They have revealed how in 1958, following the Great Leap Forward, Peng Dehuai conducted a tactful criticism of Mao Zedong's erroneous line, while at the Lushan Conference, Mao Zedong launched ruthless struggle against Peng Dehuai, and attacked him mercilessly. They revealed the political attitude adopted during this process by Central Committee leaders Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, and Chen Yun. They also revealed how, following the Peng Dehuai affair, Mao Zedong persisted in his error saying, "Whoever does not do as I say will suffer." (page 265) They reported the gradual formation of two headquarters, with the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing bunch being pulled into the ranks of the so-called "proletarian headquarters," while Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were split away to become the bourgeois headquarters, leading to the full scale outbreak of the Great Cultural Revolution.

They tell how, following smashing of the gang of four, Hua Guofeng, who had relied on "With you in charge, I need not worry" to come to power, was elbowed aside. On the subject of why Hua Guofeng was named in "Resolutions on Various Historical Problems in the Party Since Founding of the People's Republic," Deng Xiaoping said straightforwardly, "Had he not been named, there would have been no reason for changing Comrade Hua Guofeng's job. This was the primary issue."

They tell how each level had different views on each major historical problem since founding of the People's Republic, including the anti-rightist struggle, the Great Leap Forward, the Great Cultural Revolution, Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, and Mao Zedong Thought. For example, "whether to write about and how to write about the assessment of Mao Zedong's merits and demerits and about Mao Zedong Thought was truly an extraordinarily difficult problem. ...failure to mention Mao Zedong Thought would not be fitting if an evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and demerits were to be done. Old workers would not approve; impoverished low and middle peasants of the time of land reform would not approve, and a large group of cadres connected to them would not approve." (p 262) Actually, more importantly, it should be added that "the People's Liberation Army would not approve." Not only was there a divergence of views among the masses and cadres on numerous major historical problems, but a struggle also existed at a high level among the Chinese Communists. Through "Deng's Selected Works" one can see how, during this crucial time of historical twists and turns, Deng Xiaoping heard different views and balanced disparate orientations, and proposed, "Raise High the Great Banner of Mao Zedong Thought," and "Revive, Sustain, and Develop Mao Zedong Thought" while actually promoting a Deng Xiaoping line in keeping with current Chinese realities, and seeking stability in the overall situation in the midst of struggles for political power among various factions. As a result, in referring to historical problems, Deng Xiaoping reiterated that "it is preferable to be somewhat crude and somewhat general about historical problems rather than too meticulous." (page 258) "Comments on major historical problems should be substantially concluded on this basis. ...no further occurrence of major divergencies." (page 256)

"Deng's Selected Works" provide extraordinarily valuable first-hand materials on this series of problems.

This article emphasizes discussion on the basis of "Deng's Selected Works" of the repeated struggles within the Chinese Communist Party in the 30 years since founding of the People's Republic.

#### Previous Formulations on Struggles Over the Line

The Chinese Communists have always much emphasized struggles about the line. During the past 60 years of Chinese Communist history, power struggles as large as those of Lin Biao and the gang of four, or as small as some ideological divergencies have been termed struggles over the line. The conventional view holds that that history of the Communist Party of China has been a history of the struggle between two lines, and that interparty struggles about the line have been reflections of social class struggle.

In April 1945, The Seventh Plenary Session of the Sixth CPC Central Committee passed "Resolutions on Some Historical Questions," which said that during the historical period from the founding of the Communist Party of China to establishment of the base in northern Shaanxi, the Chinese Communists had committed three errors in the struggle over the line as represented by Chen Duxiu, Li Lisan, and Wang Ming.

At the Lushan Conference of 1959, Peng Dehuai was considered to have committed the error of taking a right opportunist line.

In his political report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in April 1969, Lin Biao stated that a total of eight struggles over the line had taken place within the party, represented by Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Li Lisan, Wang Ming, Zhang Guotao, Gao [Gang] and Rao [Shushi], Peng Dehuai, and Liu Shaoqi.

Zhou Enlai's report to the 10th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in August 1973 added two struggles over the line, namely one involving Lo Zhanglong in 1931, and the other being the toppling of Lin Biao that just occurred in 1971. Lin Biao thus became the representative of the tenth struggle over the line.

With the overthrow of the gang of four and the re-emergence of Deng Xiaoping, the eleventh struggle over the line was transferred from Deng Xiaoping's person to the persons of the gang of four. The communique of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee of July 1977 noted that "our party's struggle against the anti-party clique of Wang [Hongwen], Zhang [Chunquiao], Jiang [Qing], and Yao [Wenyuan] was the eleventh major struggle over the line in the history of our party."

In his political report to the 11th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, Hua Guofeng said, "Our party's struggle against the anti-party clique of the Wang, Zhang, Jiang, and Yao gang of four was the eleventh major struggle over line in the history of our party."

#### Deng Xiaoping's Serious Criticism of Struggles Over the Line

"Deng's Selected Works" breaks the traditional view of the struggle over line issue. It does not speak of errors in the line or struggles over the line, but rather proposes that "whatever the nature of interparty struggles should be described as being of a certain nature, and when errors have been committed the substance of the errors should be stated. In principle, there should be no further references to struggles over the line. This resolution sets a precedent, and this is the way things should be done henceforth." (page 272)

Sure enough, in the June 1981 "Resolution on Various Historical Problems in the Party Since Founding of the People's Republic," contrary to the usual practice, no reference was made to the number of times interparty struggles over the line occurred.

Deng Xiaoping had the following view of the 11 struggles over the line on which past conclusions had been made:

In a talk on 19 March 1980 to comrades in responsible positions in the Central Committee, he said:

"How should one regard today the 10 struggles over the line frequently talked about in the past?

"The one involving Peng Dehuai cannot be counted, nor can the one involving Comrade Liu Shaoqi. This subtracts two times. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were a counterrevolutionary clique. Chen Duxiu, plus Comrade Qu Qiubai and Comrade Li Lisan did not perpetrate plots and schemes. Gao Gang perpetrated plots and schemes. There is no need to speak further of what Lin Biao and Jiang Qing did." (page 257)

On 22 June 1981, in a talk during the period of preparation for the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Deng Xiaoping said:

"Formerly we spoke of how many times struggles over the line had occurred in history. Looked at today, clearly that is untenable, and two of the times should be completely repudiated, the time that included Liu Shaoqi, Peng, Lo, Lu, and Yang, and the time that included Peng, Huang, Zhang, and Zhou. The basic conclusion reached on the Gao-Rao affair is to be maintained, but it should not be described as a struggle over the line. To say that Lo Zhanglong made errors in the line is, frankly, beside the point. Lo Zhanglong engaged in factional struggles; he split the party and set up a separate central committee. The Gao-Rao affair was similar in nature, though, of course, no separate central committee was established. Qu Qiubai's error lasted only 3 months, and Li Lisan's less than half a year. Past evaluations of historical struggles over lines has not been accurate, and this is the reason why we do not advocate references to struggles over lines. There is also another reason and that is because of a situation that existed for a long time within the party in the past whereby as soon as a differing view was expressed, it was raised to the plane of the line and criticized as a mistake in the line. Therefore, we must handle this problem very earnestly; this is an issue involving change in our party style." (page 272)

To summarize Deng Xiaoping's view, the following revisions should be made to the past 11 struggles over the line cited by the Chinese Communists:

Li Lisan and Qu Qiubai--The time was short and their cases cannot be considered a struggle over the line.

Peng Dehuai and Liu Shaoqi--A mistake was made, and they have been rehabilitated.

Lo Zhanglong, Zhang Guotao, Gao [Gang] and Rao [Shushi]--They set up separate central committees, perpetrated splits, and engaged in plots and schemes; however, this did not involve errors about the line, but may be said to have been only factional struggles.

Lin Biao and the gang of four--A struggle for power that went beyond the concept of a struggle over the line.

Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming--These are the only two cases that Deng Xiaoping did not deny were struggles over the line. This means that these were the only

ones that Deng Xiaoping considers as fitting the formulation of struggles over the line.

### Struggles Over the Line and Power Struggles

Looked at from the outside, the numerous struggles within the Communist Party of China, whether large or small, may be lumped together as struggles for power. One faction wanted to seize power from another faction, expand its power sphere, or promote its own programs and policies. Looked at from the inside, distinctions were made between struggles over the line and power struggles.

By struggles over the line is meant the guiding principles that the party or state must obey and use as a basis for fulfillment of certain political tasks at a certain historical period. If the line that any given administrator promotes is in error, is not in keeping with objective realities, and causes serious losses for the cause of the political party or state, and an opposition faction opposes this line, then struggle over the line occurs at this time.

Generally speaking where there are struggles over the line, frequently power struggles occur as an accompaniment.

Looked at in terms of the entire period of history since founding of the People's Republic, the Gao-Rao affair was one instance of a power struggle that did not bear on the line. The Peng Dehuai Lushan affair was a struggle over the line accompanied by a power struggle. The Lin Biao, gang of four affair was a power struggle on a grand scale containing elements of struggle over the line. Moreover, Mao Zedong's long promotion of an erroneous line was a long struggle over the line with Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, and Deng Xiaoping.

### The Gao-Rao Affair Power Struggle

In 1953, Mao Zedong proposed to the Central Committee the dividing of leadership into two parts, with Mao Zedong being responsible for the second part. He would withdraw behind the scenes to engage in theoretical work. Liu Shaoqi would remain on the front line. Gao Gang felt this provided an opportunity. He went about everywhere forming factions, engaging in sectarianism, and worked together with Rao Shushi to win the support of Lin Biao, Deng Xiaoping, and Chen Yun. They made deals and hatched plots and schemes to topple Liu Shaoqi and seize greater power. The inside story of this power struggle within the Communist Party of China is revealed to the outside world for the first time in "Deng's Selected Works."

"At the end of 1953, after Comrade Mao Zedong had proposed the division of leadership into two parts, Gao Gang became exceptionally active. He first gained the support of Lin Biao before daring to take a free hand in this way. At that time, northeast China was his own, and south central China was Lin Biao's. East China belonged to Rao Shushi. He used winning over tactics toward the southwest, formally negotiating with me. He said that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was not mature and that he wanted to enlist me to work with him in the toppling of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. I expressed my attitude in no uncertain terms,

saying that the position of Liu Shaoqi in the party had come about over the years, and that Comrade Liu Shaoqi was a good man overall. Change in a position that had grown up in this way over a period of time was not right. Gao Gang also sought out Comrade Chen Yun for discussions. He spoke about having several deputy chairmen, you being one and I being one. In this way, Comrade Chen Yun and I began to feel the problem was serious, and immediately reported it to Comrade Mao Zedong to alert him." (page 257)

Such a struggle was obviously a power struggle. As to whether it was a struggle over the line, Deng Xiaoping said, "That can be studied."

#### Central Committee Collectively Commits Error at Lushan Conference

At the Lushan Conference in 1959, plans of the CPC Central Committee called for efforts to turn around "leftist" errors. Ever since the 1958 Great Leap Forward and the formation of people's communes, the whole country had entered a state of turmoil, blind direction, and a proneness to exaggerate and report good news but not bad. The Great Leap Forward, on the contrary, destroyed production and the situation was serious. At the Lushan Conference, Peng Dehuai and his supporters expressed views that were critical of the policies and situation at that time. But Mao Zedong would not listen and flew into a rage. What had originally been intended as a conference against "leftism," suddenly changed course to become anti-rightist, and forces were organized to criticize the so-called right opportunist line of Peng Dehuai. In the course of this struggle, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping supported Mao, and Liu Shaoqi took a hand in organizing forces to criticize Peng Dehuai. Only Chen Yun expressed tacit opposition. Therefore, in discussion of Mao Zedong's merits and demerits, Deng Xiaoping has always emphasized whether "the fault was that of Comrade Mao Zedong alone or whether others had a part in it."

"Our party's Central Committee must bear responsibility, and other comrades must bear a little responsibility. This would be more in keeping with the facts, I feel." (page 271)

"Deng's Selected Works" show clearly that the Party Central Committee collectively committed a mistake in the struggle against Peng Dehuai at the Lushan Conference.

Was Comrade Mao Zedong hotheaded and we not hotheaded about the "Great Leap Forward?" Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enlai, and I did not oppose it, and Comrade Chen Yun said nothing. This issue requires fairmindedness, and not the creation of impressions showing others to have been right, and only one person to have made a mistake. This does not accord with the facts. The Central Committee made a mistake. This was not one person's responsibility, but collective responsibility." (page 260)

#### The Struggle Between Liu Shaoqi and Mao Zedong

Following the Lushan Conference of 1959, Peng Dehuai and others were termed an anti-party clique and right opportunists. Mao Zedong continued to push the "leftist" line, and the Party Central Committee was split within, giving rise

to controversies. In January 1962, at a Central Committee work conference, Liu Shaoqi expressed opinions several times on some error questions in an effort to reverse the situation. The following several paragraphs excerpted from a small booklet of "black material" supplied for use in criticizing Liu Shaoqi during the Great Cultural Revolution shows the situation pertaining to struggles over the line within the Central Committee at the time:

On Peng Dehuai: "...in that letter from Comrade Peng Dehuai...quite a few of the specific matters talked about are in keeping with the facts...and cannot be considered as committing errors. ...during the past several years, ...the mistakes of excessive struggle of three previous 'leftist' line periods have been committed again. ...people having views identical with those of Peng Dehuai can have verdicts reversed so long as the information does not become known in foreign countries. ...if a person just makes an appeal, leaders and other comrades can reverse the verdict when they feel it is required." (Liu Shaoqi: "Speech Before the Enlarged Central Committee Work Conference," 27 January 1962)

On people's communes: "Are people's communes superior? The issue is that they have lost some of the attributes of advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives and have gone in for different attributes, ...right now no superiority is apparent, so it is hard to convince people, and the peasants cannot be convinced." (Liu Shaoqi: "Remark Made While Listening to Reports From the Northeast Bureau," 17 January 1961)

Nowadays people are lean, the land is lean, and livestock are lean partly from natural disasters and partly from calamities caused by people. I believe it is 30 percent natural disasters and 70 percent calamities caused by people, and losses are worse than fighting a war. In some places the ground is red for 1,000 li!" (Liu Shaoqi: "Speech Before the Enlarged Central Committee Work Conference, 27 January 1962)

On mass movements: During the past several years, there has been no conservation of mass zeal but a waste of a great amount of mass zeal, which is a very great mistake. (Liu Shaoqi: idem)

"There have been many movements during the past several years, and many of these movements have been headlong flights into mass action. For some there has been no formal issuance of documents; instead, they have exploded upon hearing a little news here or hearing some ambiguous information there. Such a way of doing things is bad." (Liu Shaoqi: idem)

This series of problems raised by Liu Shaoqi were all raised after Mao Zedong had committed "leftist" errors. The CPC Central Committee also tried to change the situation. At the end of 1960, in order to reverse "leftist" errors, it decided to carry out a program of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising standards" of the national economy, and to formulate and carry out a series of correct policies and decisive measures with the support of Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Chen Yun, and Deng Xiaoping. As "Resolutions on Various Historical Problems in the Party Since Founding of the People's Republic" said, "This is an important transformation in an historical stage."



Had Mao Zedong genuinely been able to change his "leftist" errors at this time, or had he been able to keep out of matters and allow Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and the others to act, China's entire situation would have developed entirely differently. Lin Biao and Jiang Qing's gang of four would not have had opportunity to take power, nor would a situation such as the Great Cultural Revolution have taken place. But subsequent to 1961, Mao Zedong remained steadfast in his former errors. Not only did he not redress the Peng Dehuai affair, but carried out a tit for tat struggle against Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and a large number of cadres who maintained a correct line. At the 1962 Beidahe Conference, Mao revived class struggle and again carried out a more "leftist" erroneous line than previously, and this led to the outbreak of the Great Cultural Revolution.

It may be seen from the critical narration of this historical period in "Deng's Selected Works" how Mao Zedong persisted in the erroneous line, how he allowed Jiang Qing to rise to power, and how Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping, and Peng Zhen were termed capitalist roader power holders and a bourgeois headquarters.

"...even though Comrade Peng Dehuai has shortcomings, the handling of Comrade Peng Dehuai was completely wrong. A period of hardships followed. ...it seems that at this time, Comrade Mao Zedong might have earnestly corrected "leftist" errors. His speech to a large meeting of 7,000 people was also a good one. But by July and August 1962, he again turned back at the Beidahe Conference, again raising class struggle, and raising it higher.

class struggle and instituted the "four clean-ups" [cleaning politics, economy, organization and ideology], followed by two memoranda on literature and art and a steady stream of stuff from Jiang Qing. By late 1964 and early 1965, discussion of the "four clean-ups" brought up not only capitalist roader power holders, but also two independent kingdoms in Beijing." (pp 259 - 260)

#### Mao's Erroneous Nature

From the time of the Peng Dehuai affair at the Lushan Conference, Mao Zedong began to commit grave errors, which Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and others tried to reverse. But Mao Zedong continued to adhere to a "leftist" line, and promotion of this line encountered opposition from a group of veteran cadres including Liu and Deng. When that happened, Mao was isolated particularly from events in Beijing. It was a case in which not even the leader could look into affairs. Under these circumstances, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing met Mao Zedong's needs in the power struggle and began to form confederates. They promoted Mao Zedong's erroneous leftist line for a full scale outbreak of the Great Cultural Revolution. This was the culmination of Mao Zedong's erroneous "leftist" line and the political power struggle among all factions.

It was for this reason that even though Deng Xiaoping bases his thinking on realities, he did not term the errors Mao made errors in line, thereby negating previous formulations on errors in line. However, analysis in terms of concrete historical facts shows that Mao's errors were out-and-out errors in line, and the struggle of Peng, Liu, and Deng with Mao was also an out-and-out sustained struggle about the line.

INNER PARTY WORKINGS REVEALED IN DENG XIAOPING'S SELECTED WORKS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 70 Aug 83 p 68-70

[Article by Lu Su [7120 3936]: "'Inside Story' Revealed in 'Selected Works of Deng Xizoping'"]

[Text] Numerous matters on the Chinese political stage that could have been made known to the people have been kept from view, and the common people have known nothing about them. Some chapters of the recently overtly published "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" reveal matters that have either not been revealed heretofore or that had not been revealed in detail. This is what people ordinarily call inside information, but this is genuine information and not just gossip.

Great Leap Forward Period "Fevered Friends"

For more than 20 years people have tried to solve the riddle of whether during the period of the "Great Leap Forward," apart from Mao Zedong's demonstration of "petit bourgeois fanaticism," any other high ranking Chinese Communist personage cast a vote in favor of the "Great Leap Forward." The answer to this riddle has now been revealed in "Deng's Selected Works."

The situation at the time was as follows: Not only was Mao Zedong's brain fevered, but numerous other "Central Committee responsible comrades" also had a fever. Deng Xiaoping said, "Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enli, and I did not oppose, and Comrade Chen Yun said nothing." (Deng's Selected Works," page 260).

Of course, there were also some who cast opposition votes. Peng Dehuai was one of them, and Huang Kecheng, Zhang Wentian, and Zhou Xiaozhou also opposed the "Great Leap Forward."

During the period of the Lushan Conference in July 1957, Peng Dehuai wrote a letter to Mao Zedong that scored the "Great Leap Forward and the people's communes as leftist errors, and set forth his own views. This letter rocked Mao Zedong and he flew into a rage. He immediately organized criticism of Peng Dehuai. Next, Mao Zedong convened the Eighth Plenary Session of the Eighth Party Central Committee at Lushan that declared Peng Dehuai "anti-party." Peng, Huang, Zhang, and Zhou were labeled an "anti-party clique."

Did anyone disagree with Mao's criticism of Peng Dehuai at that time? "Deng's Selected Works" do not say. But according to information available to the writer, Liu Shaoqi and the others expressed disapproval.

#### Criticism of Zhou Enlai

"Deng's Selected Works" criticize Mao in many places, and they also criticize Zhou in one chapter. Deng Xiaoping said that "During the 'Great Cultural Revolution,' he (quoter's note: meaning Zhou Enlai) was in an extremely difficult position, and said and did much that ran contrary to his own convictions, but the people excused him." ("Deng's Selected Works," page 307). Though Deng Xiaoping said that had Zhou Enlai not said and done these things, he might very well have been unable to have played a moderating role or a role in diminishing damage; nevertheless, he had his own views about Zhou Enlai words and actions that ran contrary to his own convictions.

In another chapter, "Deng's Selected Works" talks about the cult of personality and criticizes certain people for using inappropriate methods for commemorating Zhou Enlai. Deng Xiaoping said, "Following the smashing of the 'gang of four,' the cult of personality continued for a time. Sometimes the commemoration of other leaders contained an element of the cult of personality. Instructions on several problems in adhering to "Less Propagandizing of Individuals," which the central authorities recently published, pointed out that such unsuitable commemorative methods not only create extravagance, waste, and a separation from the masses, but, in themselves, smack of individuals creating history. This is unfavorable for Marxist education inside and outside the party, and unfavorable for eliminating the influence of feudal ideology and bourgeois ideology." ("Deng's Selected Works," page 290). It is extremely likely that the statement in this paragraph about "commemoration of other leaders" applies to the commemoration of Zhou Enlai.

Though Deng Xiaoping disapproved of such commemorative practices; nevertheless, when Italian correspondent Anna Fallaci asked whether or not Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall would soon be demolished, he said he did not favor giving it up: "It would not necessarily be appropriate to change what already exists. It was not right to have built it, but if it is changed, people will argue about it interminably. Today the world is trying to learn whether we will demolish the Memorial Hall. I have no such intention." ("Deng's Selected Works," page 309).

#### No "Struggles Over the Line?"

It has frequently been said that the Chinese Communist have had 10 struggles over the line. According to Deng Xiaoping's analysis, possibly several times cannot be considered to have been "struggle over the line." Deng Xiaoping believes that Peng Dehuai cannot be counted; that Liu Shaoqi cannot be counted; that Lin Biao and Jiang Qing were a counterrevolutionary clique that cannot be counted; that Chen Duxiu cannot be counted; that Qu Qiubai committed leftist errors for only 3 months and cannot be counted;

that Li Lisan committed errors for less than half a year and cannot be counted; and that Chen, Qu, and Li did not engage in schemes and plots. Lo Zhanglong set up a separate central committee and engaged in factional struggle, which is different from struggle over the line. Zhang Guotao engaged in schemes and plots, which were also difficult to term a struggle over the line. As for Gao Gang, he obviously engaged in schemes and plots, but whether his was a struggle over the line deserves study.

Gao Gang set up an independent kingdom in northeast China, defied Mao Zedong, and gained the support of Lin Biao. At that time, northeast China belonged to Gao Gang; south central China belonged to Lin Biao; east China belonged to Rao Shushi; and southwest China belonged to Deng Xiaoping. At that time, Mao Zedong had made Liu Shaoqi his successor. Gao Gang was extremely dissatisfied about this and resorted to winning over tactics. He held formal talks with Deng Xiaoping and said that Liu Shaoqi was not mature. He wanted Deng Xiaoping to join with him in toppling Liu, but Deng Xiaoping did not agree. Gao Gang also sought out Chen Yun for discussions. He said there could be several vice-chairman, you being one and I being one. Chen Yun and Deng Xiaoping thus came to feel that the problem was serious and immediately reported to Mao Zedong. Mao Zedong took decisive measures. He arrested Gao and Rao and threw them into prison, simultaneously arousing criticism of Gao Gang. However, Gao Gang had not taken any line; therefore, to say that it was a struggle over the line is not necessarily appropriate. ("Deng's Selected Works," pp 257-258, 272).

#### Criticism of Ye Wenfu

There is a chapter in "Deng's Selected Works" titled, "A Talk About Problems on the Ideological Front." The date of the statements was 17 July 1981, and this chapter criticizes a young poet. The chapter says the following:

"A young poet at Beijing Teacher's College made a lot of unbridled remarks. Some students reported that the party organization did a very great amount of ideological and political work among the students, made one speech and then forgot the matter. The college CPC committee watched this situation, but took no action. It was a female student who wrote a letter to the college CPC committee criticizing them for pusillanimity on our ideological front." ("Deng's Selected Works," page 344)

Did Deng Xiaoping say who this young poet was?

In the original talk, he gave his full name, but in "Deng's Selected Works," he did not give his name. This young poet was Ye Wenfu.

An article titled "Rambling Talk While Traveling in the North" in the October 1981 issue of ZHENGMING [CONTENT] carried a detailed account of Deng Xiaoping's talk and his criticism of Ye Wenfu by name. A couple paragraphs have been excerpted here for the reference of readers when reading "Deng's Selected Works."

An item under the heading, "Inside Story of How Deng Xiaoping launched 'Great Criticism'," said as follows:

"On 17 July, Deng Xiaoping spoke in Beijing with Wang Renzhong [3769 0117 6850], Zhou Yang [0719 2254], Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], Ceng Tao [2592 3447], and Zhu Mu [2612 4476]." ("Deng's Selected Works" did not explain with whom Deng Xiaoping spoke.)

"The Ye Wenfu problem seemingly lay not in his poem opposing privileges (meaning "Generals Should Not Do Such Things," which 25 generals censured). Deng Xiaoping pointed out that Ye Wenfu had gone too far in a speech he gave at Beijing Teachers College. How had Ye Wenfu "gone too far?" "Rambling Talk While Traveling in the North" said: "Following the Chinese Communist Sixth Plenary Session, the author of "Generals Should Not Do Such Things" went to Beijing Teachers College to give a speech. He said that historically numerous emperors had become corrupt and incompetent after having achieved power, and that this had led to a change of dynasty. Ye Wenfu said that China today is in a "Wen Yiduo age," and has many dark places. Like Wen Yiduo, we must break through the darkness, smite the table and rise to our feet." [An outspoken poet and professor at Qinghua University who opposed the Chinese civil war, Wen Yiduo was assassinated, reportedly by the Kuomintang, in Kunming in mid-1946]. What was the reaction of Ye Wenfu's speech at Beijing Teachers' College?

The author of Rambling Talk While Traveling in the North, Lo Bing [5012 0393] wrote: "Thousands of listeners replied with applause to Ye Wenfu's speech.

"But one student sent a small report to "above," saying that Ye Wenfu's remarks about the emperors alluded to the present day regime and to the Communist Party. His encouragement to "smite the table and rise to our feet," was an encouragement to go against the party and against socialism, etc."

The so-called "above" was the Beijing Teachers College CPC Committee. After the CPC Committee received the report, it immediately informed Deng Xiaoping.

"When Deng Xiaoping heard about events, he was extremely angry... and as a result Deng felt that a large criticism had to be made.

This was the Ye Wenfu incident.

After being criticized, Ye Wenfu did not openly acknowledge error.

ZHENGMING magazine provided a more detailed account of this affair in February 1982. The account here is limited for lack of space, and no further excerpts can be given.

## "Farther Right Than the Rightists of 1957"

In addition to its criticism of Ye Wenfu, "Talk About Problems on the Ideological Front" also criticized a literary alliance preparatory group convener in Wulumuqi, Xinjiang Province. Deng Xiaoping said the following:

"There was also the convener of the literary alliance preparatory group in Wulumuqi, Xinjiang, who aired his views freely a few days ago; much of what he said went much farther than some anti-socialist statements made in 1957. Quite a few incidents of this kind have taken place." ("Deng's Selected Works," page 45).

Just what did that convener of the literary alliance preparatory group say?

Deng Xiaoping did not say.

This matter was also reported in the article titled, "Rambling Talk While Traveling in the North" in ZHENGMING that was mentioned above. The report said that the remarks of the convener for the literary alliance had been regarded as reactionary and that one sentence had been particularly jarring, as follows:

"The event in the novel FEITIAN [FLY THE SKY] about how a high ranking military cadre raped a female nurse actually happened. Twenty or 30 such cases have come to notice, and even in Zhongnan Hai [an area in Beijing where many central authorities live], no one is clean, with the exception of Premier Zhou."

The Lo Bin articles also said that Hu Yaobang had brought this matter to the attention of the chairman of the Forum on Problems on the Ideological Front to whom he said, "Today, an overwhelming majority of the 1957 'rightists' have been rehabilitated. At that time there really were genuine rightists. Today too, there are rightists like those in 1957, and some of them are even farther right than the rightists of 1957."

These words are not at variance with Deng Xiaoping's remarks. However, Deng Xiaoping made some weightier statements as follows: "Everyone still remembers the murderous zeal of some rightists at that time (quoter's note: 1957), and today there are some people who are equally murderous."

Deng Xiaoping acknowledged that he "felt very alarmed" at reading information about Ye Wenfu's speech and about the literary alliance convener in Wulumuqi. "Opposition to bourgeois liberalization" was thus launched under these circumstances.

## Instigators and Organizers of Criticism of "Unrequited Love"

In early 1981, The General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army raised the issue of criticism of "Unrequited Love." On 27 March of that year in a discussion with Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237] and Liu

Baiyu [0491 4101 5038], Deng Xiaoping said, "The movie script for "Unrequited Love" must be criticized. This is a problem relating to maintenance of the four principles." Later on when Deng Xiaoping saw the movie, "The Sun and the Man", which had been made from a revision of "Unrequited Love," he made some remarks about the article in JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY NEWSPAPER] on criticism of "Unrequited Love," and severely criticized Bai Hua [0948 2901], the author of "Unrequited Love" and "The Sun and The Man." In his remarks at that time, Deng said that "'The Sun and the Man' was a film that had been based on 'Unrequited Love' that I saw. No matter the writer's motivation, after seeing, the only impression a person could get was that the Communist Party is not good and that the socialist system is no good. Where was the writer's party spirit when he besmirched the socialist system in this way? Some people have said that this movie's artistic level is rather high, but it is precisely for this reason that its perniciousness will be even greater. Works of this kind and the statements of the so-called "democratic faction" actually serve a similar purpose."

Continuing, Deng Xiaoping talked about patriotism in terms of "The Sun and The Man." He said that "Were 'The Sun and the Man' to be publicly screened, what impression would it give? Some people say that failure to love socialism is equivalent to being unpatriotic. Can it be that the motherland is abstract? If one does not love the socialist New China led by the Communist Party, what can one love? We cannot require that patriotic compatriots in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and overseas love socialism; however, at least they should not oppose socialist New China. Otherwise, how can they be termed Chinese patriots?"

Deng Xiaoping continued by speaking about the need to launch criticism and self-criticism about "Unrequited Love." Deng Xiaoping also spoke about the specific methods to be used in this criticism as follows:

"There is no need for further criticism of "Unrequited Love" by JIEFANGJUN BAO; WENYI BAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] is to write some high quality articles criticizing "Unrequited Love." Your good article will be published in WENYI BAO, and can be replayed in RENMIN RIBAO.

Deng Xiaoping's orders to WENYI BAO were a tough assignment because organization of a article critical of Bai Hua would be difficult. First of all, preparing a draft would be difficult and, later on, finalizing the draft would be difficult. As a result, in order to complete the task, WENYI BAO would have to prepare numerous intermediate drafts and revise them. This might be termed a difficult labor. It was 4 months after Deng Xiaoping made his remarks that WENYI BAO finally published an article criticizing "Unrequited Love." This article, titled "On 'Unrequited Loves' Erroneous Tendencies" had been concocted by WENYI BAO's assistant editors, Tang En [0781 1869] and Tang Da [0781 8871]. Reportedly, following publication of the article, reaction was not very good because the article was not sufficiently convincing nor strongly logical.

When Deng Xiaoping spoke with persons in the Central Propaganda Ministry, Bai Hua's name merited mention. But in "Deng's Selected Works," his name is not given.

MAO'S POLITICAL LIFE AS RULER, HIS EFFECT ON CHINA EVALUATED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 69, Jul 1983, pp 70-76

[Article by Kong Zhongwen [1313 0112 2429]: "Mao Zedong Ruled 27 Years-- (Part I)--What Dominated His Life?"]

[Text] Editor's note: Beginning now, Mr Kong Zhongwen's article entitled "Mao Zedong Rules 27 Years" will continue to appear in this publication in a series of installments.

So far, no other unofficial articles have ever "criticized Mao" more deeply and comprehensively than this one. The writer of this article is a student of China's current issues. In order to write this article, he has devoted a lot of energy and time to compiling and analyzing both published and unpublished materials on Mao Zedong. The result is a profound and comprehensive revelation of the other side of the life of Mao Zedong once worshiped as "God." But because some of the materials have never been published before, this publication still has trouble verifying them one by one. However, the writer has relieved us of this worry by saying: He will hold himself responsible for what is to be published.

"Mao Zedong Ruled 27 Years" is a work mainly devoted to the evaluation of the 27 years of his political life that began with the founding of the PRC and ended in his death. It also covers his important activities in the history of the CPC before he became the ruler of China, with attention focusing on his political quality and statecraft. The result is an article unique in style.

In its January 1983 issue (issue No 63), this publication published a notice to the reader, stating: "Article entitled 'The CPC Ruled 30 Years' by a famous Chinese college professor will soon be published by this magazine



in a series of installments." The article referred to in this notice is precisely Mr Kong Zhongwen's article which was given a temporary title before its original manuscript arrived on our desk. We think that this is an explanation we owe the reader.

## Preface

On 9 September 1976, 10 minutes past midnight, Mao Zedong, a great man of our time, died or in his own words, went to "meet Marx."

At that point "the age of Mao Zedong" came to an end.

In the history of modern dramas staged in mainland China, there were only two men whose ability to direct the grand dramas of real life have commanded our attention: Messrs Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong. Chiang Kai-shek ruled the mainland for 22 years while Mao Zedong held the mainland under his control for 27 years. It can be said that "each provided leadership in his own right and style."

The time lived by Chiang and Mao is history that spans almost half century. During these 50 years, China never had peace and tranquility not even for a single day. Instead, it was turmoil that descended on the land almost everyday. Using this as a basis, everyone can draw a conclusion with regard to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong, and their merits and demerits. They died, but the controversy over their merits and demerits will live on.

But it is indisputable to say that Mao Zedong deserves the first place, and Chiang Kai-shek the second place in terms of their ability to influence the destiny of China. Chiang Kai-shek was a "questionable person." But Mao Zedong was a "person more questionable" and needless to say, more complicated than Chiang Kai-shek. This is something also indisputable.

The controversy over Chiang Kai-shek has been lingering on for several decades. But the controversy about Mao Zedong has just begun. This is also a fact that no one can deny.

Clearly, time is not yet ripe for anyone to evaluate Mao Zedong from the objective historical point of view. Perhaps, another half century may be required for us to draw a more realistic conclusion on Mao Zedong from the historical point of view.

Does this mean that it is still too early to try to evaluate Mao Zedong? This is a question that must first be answered and fully explained by this writer before he proceeds with the writing of this long article.

Undoubtedly, an all-inclusive evaluation of Mao Zedong requires necessary preparations and time. But this article is in no way an all-inclusive evaluation of Mao Zedong.

What this writer is trying to do represents an effort to bring to light the "questionable person" Mao Zedong's "political quality" through a review of a great series of historical events. For this reason, I must declare that this work differs from other historical accounts in the following ways:

1. It is not an autobiography;
2. Nor is it what historians call "a chronicle"
3. Nor is it what historians call "a historical commentary"

In preparing this article, this writer should be able to come to grips with many major historical events, and to bring to light, through an analysis of these events, Mao's political mentality, statecraft, and find an answer to the question of how Mao exercised and maintained his rule over the country. In doing so, I may have to touch on his political quality.

Finally, I must emphasize once more that while preparing this article, I have focused only on those materials that once evoked the strongest response from the Chinese people and commanded their greatest attention. After reading it, some people may contend that a restatement of many of the historical facts familiar to or even personally experienced by the Chinese people of modern time seems unnecessary. But a review of that part of history is absolutely necessary in the course of analyzing how Mao Zedong exercised his rule over the country. This writer also wants to take this opportunity to deeply thank those friends who provided me with invaluable information.

#### Special Features of Mao Zedong's Personality

Mao Zedong, alias Runzhi, was born of a peasant family in Shaoshanchong, Xiangtan, Hunan Province, on 26 December 1893. As a young boy, Mao began to receive an old-fashioned education in a private school, where he was exposed to the books on Confucius and Mencius. During his youth, he entered the Changsha normal school which offered a new type of education. Later, he became a primary school teacher.

During his stay in Changsha as a student, Mao learned that although the Manchu government was overthrown, warlords each capable of controlling certain parts of the country had spent year after year fighting one another, bringing untold sufferings to the people, no hope to the intellectuals, and disappointment to youths. By then, Mao often joined classmates in discussing the current political situation in search of ways to save the nation and people. Bearing this in mind, he then took the initiative to form a "new citizenship society," circulating publications aimed at discussing and conveying to the public his views on the affairs of state. These activities constituted the basis for the formation of the first Marxist research group in Changsha in the days that followed.

Mao went to Beijing twice for taking entrance examinations given by Beijing University, and flunked. He was later recommended by a friend to the Beijing University library to fill a low-income position as an assistant librarian which provided a humble shelter and minimum standard of living. By then, Li Dazhao, a famous Marxist, was director of the library stocked with books on Marxism and anarchism. It was the books he read and the teachings and inspirations he received from Li that eventually led Mao to become a Marxist.

Mao began to show discontent with the status quo when he was a small boy. His discontent with the status quo was a consistent tendency which began with his formative years and ended in his death, despite the fact that it differed in content from time to time. During his formative years, he displayed discontentment with his low social standing because he was rejected by the college; during the early days of the founding of the CPC, he showed the same attitude because he was not awarded a higher position by the party, and because his opinions were not respected; after assuming the supreme party leadership position, he became disenchanted because his shortcomings and mistakes were criticized, and then disciplined by the party; after capturing political power, he became dissatisfied, because China's economy developed at a snail's pace, and the unsatisfactory economic performances brought disgrace to him. He became disenchanted because his decadent lifestyle was criticized by other founding members of the PRC, because he was not nominated to the position in the international communist movement which would put him on a par with Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, because his close associates and followers failed to live up to his expectations, and bring honors to him, and because those successors personally appointed by him collapsed one after another.

A man with avaricious desires is always ready to generate a power to change the status quo. It was such a power-thirst desire that dominated Mao throughout his life. Some people may denounce this approach to the interpretation of his thoughts and behavior as an erroneous idealistic approach to the judgment of any person, because it is based on his personal attributes rather than an objective survey of Chinese society. Please wait. It is still too early to jump to this conclusion.

It is undeniable that all achievements and contributions that were attributed to Mao came at a time when he was thinking, speaking and acting in the interests of the people's desires for social progress; all mistakes and failures that were also attributed to him occurred at a time when he was thinking, speaking, and acting not in the interests of the people's desires for social progress. This is a view shared by the majority of the Chinese people, who lamented that it was his misdeeds that deprived him of his cherished position that would have put him on a par with Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

## Able To Destroy the Old World, Unable To Build the New One

In order to deepen our understanding of how Mao Zedong was carried away by an avaricious desire throughout his life, the following aspects of his life deserves our further discussion:

To a man with avaricious desires, the maintenance of a certain relative stability is intolerable. In other words, in search for "new things," he must make constant efforts to "change" the status quo. Unfortunately, in doing so, he would have to give up things that are worthy of preservation for some time to come.

The dialectics consistently emphasized by Mao Zedong stipulates: contradiction is something absolute while unity is something temporary; unevenness is absolute while evenness is relative; dividing one into two is revolutionary while merging two into one is counterrevolutionary. These theories constitute a guiding thought of Mao Zedong in dealing with the world and public and private affairs. After placing the political power under his control, Mao confidently declared in an address to the nation: "We are not only good at destroying the old world but also good at building a new world." By then, the Chinese people deeply believed in what he said. But history proves that Mao Zedong was good only at destroying the old world. With "three magic weapons"--the well-organized leadership of the communist party, an army composed mainly of peasants, and the broadly based united front--Mao Zedong eventually defeated the militarily and economically far superior Chiang Kai-shek dynasty. But history is still unable to confirm his prediction that he was good at building a new world.

In the 20 years that began with the great leap forward, China's economy was either stagnated or suffered setbacks. In the end, it could neither offer anything it felt proud of, nor any figure on development in which it could take pride. Then an absurd phenomenon prevailed over this big socialist country: year after year, no state budget, no final account balancing expenditures with revenues, and no figure on gross national product were made public.

Marxist theory points out that the planned socialist economy is an economic system uncomparably superior to capitalist anarchism, because it is capable of closing all loopholes that exist in the capitalist system, thus pushing the wheel of human history forward to a higher stage of development. But unfortunately, under the socialist system dictated by Mao Zedong, China, like any other socialist country, failed to make its economy grow and surpass that of capitalist countries. Nor could it offer an acceptable standard of living, thus prompting communist leaders and people to ask: why?

Finally, intellectuals in communist China came up with this conclusion: the root cause of that sick economy lies in the system. As far back as 1977, Deng Xiaoping said: "It appears that something is wrong with our system."

But why did that uncomparably superior socialist system designed by Marx go wrong, once it was placed in hands of Mao Zedong?

True, the system adopted by communist China at the beginning of its founding was in better shape. It was in force during the 3 years from 1950 to 1952, or so-called the period of "national economic recovery." The national economic development during this period was really a surprise, despite the fact that China was completely isolated from the outside by blockade, and was under heavy pressure imposed by "resisting the United States and aiding Korea." In a matter of merely 3 years, it was able to turn an extremely difficult situation left by the Kuomintang around. In the years that followed, China began to put into effect the first 5-year plan for the development of the national economy, thus bringing life in the country to normal. This means that no one could rule out the possibility that communist China was capable of building a new world. On the contrary, during the glorious "eighth Party Congress," it adopted a more correct political line aimed at building a new China. If that line were followed, no one would have any reason to doubt its ability to lead China to success. However, Mao Zedong was not satisfied while looking forward to destroying existing stability. From 1957 onward, he began to take a series of destructive actions to disrupt the relative stability or a situation intolerable to him. Then, everything supporting this system fell apart.

Embark on Adventure for Capturing Leadership of the Communist Movement

To fulfill his desire to a certain degree, a man of constant discontentment will have to resort to adventurism.

Mao Zedong has been praised by his admirers as a man "with a daring proletarian revolutionary spirit." Was that true? He was merely an adventurist using the revolution as a pretext. It can be said that Mao's life was characterized by adventurism.

The launching of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was an adventure of the highest order displayed by Mao Zedong. Because the "Cultural Revolution" is a topic that deserves a more detailed discussion in the next chapter, it must begin with the discussion of the "great leap forward."

In 1958, the following three big events took place in China: first, the Mao-initiated general line calling on people to "go all out, aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism"; second, the great leap forward; third, the people's commune movement. Although the people responded favorably to the general line for the development of the socialist economy, at issue was whether everyone could truly act according to this general line. But their reaction to the great leap forward and the people's commune movement was an informal debate that continued for the next 20 years.

## What Does "Great Leap Forward" Mean?

Stalin's death in 1953 created a vacancy for the supreme leadership position of the international communist movement. Who should succeed Stalin to lead the international communist movement? Mao considered himself the only candidate qualified for that position. Mao could not realize his wishes in the face of strong opposition from the CPSU. He was unhappy and upset because of this, and was determined to fight for that honor he cherished.

Mao Zedong deeply believed that the reason that he was not allowed to take the place of Stalin did not stem from his inability to lead the international communist movement but from the fact that his country was too backward and too poor, and conversely, was handicapped by a lack of strength on which power is based and built up.

For this reason, he decided to build up the strength of his country as quickly as possible, and to back up this with a series of activities including the following two major moves:

First, he wanted to build socialism at a new tempo outspeeding that of the Soviet Union in developing the economy. As soon as this speed was achieved, he would be able to beat his chest and say: I was smarter than the Soviet Union.

Second, he wanted to create a new theory of socialist construction based on the Marxist political economy, and pass it on to the future generations as a spiritual legacy of Maoism. The creation of this new theory would result in lending lustre to the theoretical treasure-house of the proletariat, and in putting his name on a par with Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

He thought that as soon as he realized these two far-reaching dreams, he could reasonably expect to become the leader of the international communist movement. It was this ambition that later led Mao Zedong to launch the "great leap forward movement" across the Chinese mainland in 1958.

Great leap forward meant developing socialist construction at the highest possible speed through the launching of large-scale mass movements. From the prolonged war, Mao drew this experience: If we want to win the battle at a time when the enemy is strong, and we ourselves are in a weak and unfavorable position, the broad masses must be mobilized and relied upon to defeat the enemy. It was this experience that led him to capture the political power. Could the mass movement also be used as a means to speed up the development of the economy? His answer: why not?

The great leap forward movement was launched at a time when the "anti-rightist" political movement was just concluded; for this reason, its going was very smooth. Mao called this smoothness "an excellent situation." As a matter of fact, under the threat of cruel political persecution of which many became victims, no one would dare to show any slightest disagreement with or say anything about those absurd moves made by Mao or

crazy things done by him. Mao led his subjects on a march toward the bottomless swamps amid voices of support, praise and eulogy which drowned out voices of disagreement, doubt and opposition.

During the great leap forward movement, all adjectives of "comparative class" gave way to adjectives of "superlative class" in the nationwide propaganda campaign which might take the form of speeches or written slogans.

During the great leap forward movement, people of all trades and professions vied to hold mass meetings, to set various unrealistic objectives, and to exaggerate achievements as a means to promote this movement.

During the great leap forward movement, behind an aura of awesome power he gained from wielding that political baton during the anti-rightist movement, Mao became a genuine god of the Chinese people. Whatever he did or said would soon be translated into imperial edicts for transmission by those sycophants surrounding him, who would be glad to pass on them to the lower authorities without any slightest delay so that they could win his favor.

During the great leap forward movement, those at the top and bottom throughout China were encouraged to talk big until no one wanted to listen to what they wanted to say. Even by then, they still wanted to go on talking big without acknowledging defeat. It was said that acting in this way was based on a "classic book" which says: in revolution, there is no retreat but advance. Advance means victory while retreat means defeat.

It was this blind adventurist hysteria that gave birth to the "large-scale steelmaking movement," and "the people's commune movement" whose absurd and tragic outcome was seen by everyone, and therefore, needs not to be repeated here.

Now let us take a look at the mentality of Mao Zedong.

Adventures of any kind will result in unnecessary sacrifices. But Mao looked at such sacrifices with equanimity. At a meeting of secretaries of various provincial and municipal party committees, he said: "We are now living in a great historical era. Since the people have demonstrated such a great enthusiasm and zeal for the great leap forward, it is quite possible for us to accomplish socialist construction and realize ideal communist society earlier than any other nation. Everyone is working hard. In order to realize this dream, I believe that it is worth doing, even if it may cost some people's lives." Mao said this with ease and equanimity. After saying this, he sent chill and shiver through the backbone of his listeners. Recalling this speech transmitted by somebody else, an old engineer said: "I really could not believe my own ears. Was it really said by a proletarian leader claiming to represent the interests of the working people? When I discussed it with my wife and children at night, we looked at one another in blank dismay and speechless despair. I lay awake in bed all the night, thinking of the story of Mengjiang Nu crying over the death of her husband recruited by authorities to build the Great Wall. Although feudal tyrannical rulers in the ancient times tended to exploit and suppress the people, they never said anything like that."

While fanaticism hit the nation, Mao himself was also hot-headed. When Khrushchev arrived in Beijing at the end of 1958 for a meeting with Mao, Mao asked the Soviet Prime Minister a question never before raised by anyone anywhere in the world: "Do you have any experience in dealing with this problem: What would you do with surplus food grains?" After hearing this, Khrushchev was stunned and shook his head, saying: "We have never experienced this problem." The question raised by Mao was actually a challenge to Khrushchev, indicating: Wasn't it true that you did not agree with our great leap forward? Please look at miracles we had created. Unwilling to be outperformed by Mao, Khrushchev suggested that China and the Soviet Union should synchronize their clocks, implying that weren't you aware that something went wrong with your speed? Dazzled by those false and exaggerated figures on agricultural production, Mao continued to issue a series of "imperial directives." His most prominent directives are as follows:

As soon as the per-mu yield increases by big margins, and we have trouble storing surplus grains, we may cut down acreage for growing grains, and plant trees and flowers in areas not planted by crops, thus turning our farmland into garden-like fields.

We may brew wine with surplus grains, or use them to develop the food processing industry.

With regard to the food problem, as soon as we have more food than we can consume, people may be allowed to take whatever they need instead of distributing it by rationing.

However, Mao Zedong's dream was soon smashed by harsh reality. In less than 3 months, granaries in most of the people's communes became empty, while some communes consumed all grains they had in a little over a month. In the face of widespread famine, peasants were forced to plant corn and vegetables around their homes, and to collect wild plants as supplementary food to tide them over till the spring. Peasants fooled by Mao Zedong's "big empty talk" were worried that the price they had to pay for a few months of excessive eating was several years of famine. That beautiful communist dream of eating out of one big pot of rice disappeared like a hallucination, and was as shortlived as the night blooming cereus.

In order to make himself the leader of the international communist movement, Mao Zedong did not hesitate to risk the lives of 600 million Chinese people.

#### Discontent Yields Left Deviationist Tendency

Mao Zedong was a rarely seen left opportunist in the history of the international communist movement. As we can see now, this viewpoint can no longer surprise anyone. A man of constant discontentment would find himself having on alternative but to take the extremist line, and to seek to fulfill his insatiable desires by means of ultraleftist measure. Needless to say, Mao Zedong was an embodiment of constant discontentment and left deviationist tendency, which are interrelated and interconnected.



After becoming the ruler of the mainland, Mao put into effect a left opportunist political line. In the ranks of the CPC, there has been a robust debate over how long this political line was in effect. A group of opinions represented by former vice chairman of the CPC Central Committee Wang Dongxing [3076 2639 5281] holds that Mao's political line was consistently correct, but this correct political line was later distorted by his wife Jiang Qing during her heyday of power. This assertion could exert very little influence on society because it has been rejected by the masses both inside and outside the party despite the fact that we can still see some newspapers and publications in control of the CPC propagate this viewpoint occasionally. But just as an editor of a CPC-controlled newspaper said frankly, this viewpoint is not shared by editors, who, sometimes, have no alternative but to obey party discipline by publishing some articles disagreeable to them.

An article written by former director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee Lu Dingyi [7120 1353 0001] after he was rehabilitated reveals that the erroneous leftist line was promoted for 18 years beginning with the 1958 great leap forward and ending in Jiang Qing's loss of power in 1976 (see GUANGMING RIBAO, 8 March 1979). At a forum on world literature held in the fall of 1979, former deputy director of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee Zhou Yang [0719 2254] contended that the enforcement of the erroneous leftist line by the CPC began with the "anti-rightist" struggle launched in 1957. Both Lu and Zhou are high-ranking ideologues in the ranks of the CPC whose disagreement with the beginning year in which the leftist line was put into effect reflects their different attitude toward the "anti-rightist" struggle of 1957. While acknowledging that he made mistakes by attacking and purging a large number of good people in 1957, Zhou Yang has conveyed his deep apology to victims of that purge while Lu Dingyi has adopted an evasive attitude toward the mistake of 1957, indicating his unwillingness to criticize himself or assume any responsibility for that mistake.

Despite the fact that views on Mao's leftist political line may vary from person to person, and the length of time of its implementation may be calculated in many different ways, history will provide the best witness for this purpose. For this reason, we must let history answer this question. It was not true that Mao began to put his leftist political line into effect after placing the mainland power under his control. Actually, he began to put it into effect in 1942 when the Yanan rectification campaign was launched or even earlier. Of course, the Chinese communist leaders were mostly interested in pursuing the leftist line. The root of this interest could be traced to their original approach to the ideological problem and international background. Their original approach to the ideological problem: when someone in the party ranks committed mistakes in work or suffered defeat, the party had to hold meetings to sum up experiences, and to identify their causes through discussions. When mistakes were subjected to criticism, leftist and rightist mistakes were not evaluated in much the same way. In this case, leftist mistakes were often viewed as ones committed by those capable of displaying a heroic spirit in struggle but incapable of achieving a full understanding of the situation by an honest man was usually categorized as merely an ideological

and epistemological problem. But rightist mistakes were often prejudged as ones committed by those whose political stand was questionable, and therefore, should be subjected to more severe criticism. These were mistakes which might cost those found guilty of such mistakes their trustworthiness in the party ranks in the future. For this reason, people would rather go left than right. This erroneous tendency normally grew under the influence of the selfish petty-bourgeois idea cherished by those who cared about only their own future, and under pressure of the party's bad work style.

Their international background: During the early days of its activity, as one of the branches of the Communist International, the CPC had to make decisions under the guidance of its political lines, principles and policies. The Communist International was actually a tool used by the CPSU to control the international communist movement, and to introduce its bad work style and tradition of struggle to communist parties in other countries. One of its features was that as soon as a minority group involved in a dispute was defeated, its members would soon be given such political labels as opportunists, anti-party elements, and counter-revolutionaries before they were purged. The same was used by the CPC to struggle against those recalcitrant members of its minority group. When a debate was over, the leftist line often prevailed over the party.

In 1942, Mao Zedong initiated a rectification movement or known as the "Yan'an rectification campaign" in the history of the CPC. This campaign was reportedly aimed at completely liquidating the influence of Wang Ming who first pursued a left opportunist line and then a right opportunist line, both of which caused damage to the party, particularly his ideological influence on the party. It can be said that this aim was achieved to a degree as specified. But in the course of settling accounts with Wang Ming's leftist line, Mao put into effect another leftist line. Although he criticized Wang Ming for carrying out "ruthless struggle, and mounting merciless attacks" against comrades in the party ranks, he did the same to those leaders at all levels who came to Yanan from various liberated areas to participate in the rectification campaign. While there, they were unreasonably mistreated as suspects whose political reliability was questionable. As a result, a large number of long-tested communist party members were groundlessly segregated and interrogated in violation of the party's organizational principle. Through the adoption of the tactic of obtaining confessions by means of coercion and then giving them credence, some of them were persecuted to death, some committed suicide in a fit of indignation, and some were murdered and buried in mass graves. In the end, no one dared to speak out until dreadful stillness prevailed over the meeting site and the conference could not go on, thus prompting some participants to lodge strong protests against the way honest and decent communist party members were persecuted. Mao also felt that he had gone too far. For fear of breaking up the conference without conclusions, he then made personal appearances at every group discussion meeting, and apologized to everyone present. Recalling the Yanan rectification campaign, an old writer said: "Although Chairman Mao apologized, criticizing himself for hurting good people and good comrades, acknowledging this as a serious

political mistake, we were still angry, and wanted to say nothing to him. Finally, he raised his right hand, standing at attention, saluting us in a military manner with this plea: 'Comrades, please forgive me. Otherwise, I will have to salute in this manner forever.' By then, some of us wavered, convinced that since he had apologized to us in his capacity as chairman of the Party Central Committee, we had no reason to reject. Also convinced that the interests of the revolutionary cause could not be served by continued deadlock, we finally acknowledged his apology with a pledge to unite ourselves during the struggle against the enemies. Chairman Mao shook hands with us one by one at the time of our departure." The above statement shows that the Yanan rectification campaign did not proceed flawlessly, and its result was not so successful as recorded in documents on the Yanan rectification campaign. Mao Zedong concluded the rectification campaign with a sum-up report setting forth some principles guiding the future struggles in the party. This report did not come until he criticized himself for carrying out excessive struggles against comrades and comrades-in-arms. During the 20 years of struggle which began with the founding of the party and ended in the Yanan rectification campaign, the CPC overcame countless difficulties in fulfilling the 25,000-li long march at a price of countless lives, which ended in the Shaanx-Gansu-Ningsia border area where it established a red regime and later turned that regime into a politically influential revolutionary force. During this period, it also made successful efforts to prevent the erroneous leftist tendency from repeatedly asserting itself in the party. But when the rectification campaign was launched in Yanan in 1942 or 7 years after Mao firmly established his influential position with the party during the Zunyi meeting held in 1935, another leftist mistake was committed by allowing a struggle within the party to escalate, thus hurting a number of good people. This was a mistake for which Mao Zedong undoubtedly should bear the brunt of responsibility. I want people to review this part of history for the reason that historical tragedies of this kind occurred before, and were repeated again and again during the 27 years of Mao's rule over the mainland. These were no accident. Their root can be traced to history and communist ideology.

Since the topic of how Mao Zedong attempted to push the leftist ideology and political line to extremes following the founding of the PRC deserves a more detailed discussion from another angle in the next chapter, it should not be discussed here.

In short, in the history of the CPC which spans over 60 years, more than 80 percent of this time was devoted to promoting this erroneous leftist opportunist line. This had something to do with the advocacy of the early stage of the building of the CPC that left was better than right, and bad philosophy of struggle within the party that left was more popular, more tenable, and easier to attract and persuade the masses than right. As the biggest left opportunist, Mao himself should also be held responsible for making its influence felt among the people during the 14 years of his rule over the nation.

## Unable To Match His Words with His Deeds

It is certain that a man never satisfied with the status quo would never be able to extricate himself from self-contradictory predicament. He was inclined to destroy the status quo. For this purpose, he could say one thing and mean another, issue an order in the morning and revoke it in the afternoon, renege on his promises, and bully everybody around him.

These were characteristics representative of Mao Zedong.

We may examine his personality in the following ways:

Throughout his life, Mao Zedong produced a lot of famous dictums, along with theories consistent with Marxism, and correct principles. It was also Mao Zedong who betrayed and abandoned these theories and principles in action. For example, he substituted one-man dictatorship for inner-party democracy, thus completely disrupting the normal life in the party; as a man inclined to exaggerate his achievements, he encouraged people to tell a lie, to talk big and nonsense, and to use the so-called "achievements" contained in falsified reports as a basis for formulating policies and plans in gross violation of the principle of seeking truth from facts. In this way, he reduced himself to merely a subjective idealist. Styling himself as the God of foresight, he rejected any criticism from anyone, turning himself into a lonely man alienated from the masses. Consequently, he gradually converted himself from the leader representing the interests of the people into a tyrant bent on bringing untold disasters to them. Finally, his prestige dropped to the lowest point despite efforts by the party-controlled mass media headed by his wife Jiang Qing to laud him to the skies. The dialectics of history is inexorable. Anyone, no matter how great his contributions, and how high his prestige, is bound to go down in disgrace, once he acts in ways of violating the laws of history and the people's interests.

"Fame portends trouble for men just as fattening does for pigs." So said Mao Zedong in a speech quoting a Chinese proverb in the 1950's. He said this as a reminder to the Chinese communist officials that they should never be carried away by arrogance and self-complacency. Throughout his life, Mao said things like that frequently. For example, "guard against arrogance and impetuosity" and "modesty helps one to go forward whereas conceit makes one lag behind" are among the famous dictums originating from him. Unfortunately, when he used them to educate his subjects, he failed to apply them to himself. Shortly after coming to power, he gradually converted himself into the most overbearing man in Chinese history.

As far as his great contributions to the Chinese revolution are concerned, Mao really should take pride in his achievements. But he was never prepared to make himself appear humble and prudent.

After placing the political power in the mainland under his control, Mao Zedong was showered with eulogies, praises and salutations so lavish that pale into insignificance what he received when he was in Yanan, and that made him feel dizzy, and forget his modest past. These might constitute the objective reason for him to gradually become arrogant and self-complacent.

Strictly speaking, the mood of his arrogance could be detected in a poem he wrote in February 1936. After counting such outstanding heroes Qinhuang, Hanwu, Tangzong, Songzu, and Genghis Khan in Chinese history, Mao wrote: "They are all gone. Now worthy of attention are distinguished figures of our time." The term "distinguished figures" here has been unexceptionally interpreted by the Chinese annotators as the masses of people on the basis of an untenable logic that as a proletarian revolutionary, Mao would not be so arrogant as to call himself the greatest hero in history. But if we are not ignorant and deliberately evasive, a mere review of this poem will easily bring to light its true meaning that is so visibly clear as to render any further debate over this issue unnecessary.

Mao Zedong was arrogant and overbearing. Because of this, he accepted all extreme forms of eulogy with relish. To him, "long live!" was far from enough. Therefore, in its stead should be "long, long live!" Then, a religious superstition unprecedented in history or a modern form of personality cult made its debut in China--a big communist power in the Orient.

Aware that this modern form of personality cult was instrumental in preserving his ruling power, he not only quietly accepted flattery and eulogy from all walks of life with relish but also openly advanced the theory that "men desire to be worshiped," and included it as an integral part of "Mao Zedong Thought" to be studied by people everywhere. When Mao was interviewed by American writer Snow in the early 1970's, he even went so far as to say that men always hoped that they would be worshiped or adored by others, adding: If the books you wrote were read by no one, would you be happy? If others read your books, it meant that they adored you. As I said, everyone desired to be adored (paraphrased). Please note that Mao Zedong could risk the danger of trampling under foot dialectics by means of sophistry for the purpose of legalizing the modern form of personality cult. Although, in appearance, this statement by Mao was a reference to the fact that "everyone loved to be adored," its essence was an endorsement of his modern form of personality cult from the theoretical point of view.

It is not hard to imagine the incalculable harmful effect this modern form of personality cult--an anti-Marxist trend of thought--has had on society after its domination over this big socialist country for 30 years.

## Let Us Compare Him With Peasant Leaders

By analyzing Mao Zedong as a man of forever discontentment, we can easily expose him as an anti-Marxist. Instead of "a great Marxist," it seems more proper to call him a peasant leader capable of leading peasants to stage uprisings and to capture the political power.

Of course, as a son of a peasant, his distinction with other peasant leaders in Chinese history is clear, although he also had something in common with them. He distinguished himself from them in the following ways: he no longer lived in the same era as that of feudal society of the Middle Ages; the international and domestic environment in which he lived underwent changes under the influence of various new trends of thought, and new theories which began to spread to China along with Marxism in the wake of renaissance, which gave rise to the people's revolutionary movement which continued for nearly a century and which was unprecedented in history. These were objective factors which led Mao who had sympathy for suffering people and strong desires for reform to become one of the founders of the CPC, and to hold its leadership position for 41 years. In that sense, he was successful in breaking through certain restrictions imposed by the peasant revolution to become the revolutionary leader of workers and peasants of modern China capable of outperforming his counterparts in Chinese history in terms of revolutionary theory and practice.

Similarities between Mao and other peasant leaders are as follows: Feudal ideas were deep-rooted in the mind of Mao. Before coming to power, he was a heroic fighter wise and full of stratagems, and able to continue to go forward. After coming to power, he quickly succumbed to a rotten ideological and political lifestyle, which turned himself into a strong feudal emperor, not smarter than the most outstanding peasant revolutionary leader Li Zicheng in history. In short, no heroic figure in history has ever made a greater contribution and brought more disasters to the Chinese nation and people than Mao Zedong.

Added to his bad personal quality were objective factors such as prolonged economic and political backwardness facing Chinese society that finally led Mao Zedong to become degenerated ideologically and to bring untold disasters to the Chinese people. No great man can act and think in ways of enabling him to transcend barriers imposed by social mores and time in which he lives. In this connection, Mao Zedong was no exception. This view was expressed by some thoughtful intellectuals during an emotional review of catastrophe inflicted on the Chinese people over the past 30 years. Among them are members of the CPC Central Committee and its ideologues. On many different occasions, they pointed out: Although the CPC has captured the political power and established the socialist system in the country, the Chinese society was so backward, its tradition so feudal-oriented, and its force of habit so strong that it had socialism only in name but not in essence. On the contrary, the society was still filled with many feudal things, the most prominent and concentrated forms of which were totalitarianism, one-man dictatorship, and rigid social estate systems.

When President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka were impeached and fell out of power, because of the Watergate and bribery scandal involving the Lockheed Corporation, the Chinese people reacted to this with strong feelings. By comparing the political life in the United States and Japan with that in China, they found that when the American and Japanese people could force their President and Prime Minister out of power, the same was absolutely impossible or even unthinkable to occur in China. They said that it was not only impossible to force their supreme leader out of power, but also not even easy to force a section chief or basic level party committee secretary out of office, who is always ready to knock you out first before you could do anything about them. The Chinese political life dictates that the people must absolutely obey officials, the lower levels must absolutely obey the higher levels, and the nation must absolutely obey Mao's will. This is a "situation" unique to China, a situation resulting from the reincarnation of ancient Chinese feudalism with which, persons like Mao Zedong could be cultivated. This historical experience merits conscientious summarization by the Chinese people. Later, we will further study Mao Zedong's art of domination (statecraft) in concrete terms so that we can gain a deeper insight into him.

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CSO: 4005/1033

MAO ZEDONG'S METHOD OF RULE EXAMINED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 70, Aug 83 pp 75-79

[Article by K'ung Chung-wen [1313 0112 2429]: "High Degree of Serious Attention to Thought Control Over Ministers and People--Mao Zedong's 27 Year Rule (Part II)"]

[Text] A check of Chinese history readily shows the following interesting phenomenon: Each time a dynasty changed, virtually every founding emperor lacked ability to bring about a flourishing era during his time on the throne. In several dynasties, it was actually not until the rule of the second or third sovereign that the historically celebrated flourishing age of peace occurred. For example, the famous "reigns of Wendi and Jingdi" came after the rule of the founding emperor Liu Bang (Han Gaozu) during the rule of the second emperor, Liu Heng (Han Wendi, B.C. 180-157) and the third emperor, Liu Qi (Han Jingdi, B.C. 157-141) (a 15 year despotism under Luhou having taken place following the rule of the first emperor). In the Tang Dynasty, the "reign of Zhenguan" took place only after the founder of the Tang Dynasty, Li Yuan (Tang Gaozu), became "emperor father," abdicating in favor of his son Li Shimin (Tang Taizong, A.D. 626-649). In the Song Dynasty, the time of peace and prosperity occurred during the reign of Xianping (998-1003) and of Jingde (1004-1007). This occurred during the reign of the third Song emperor, Zhao Heng (Song Zhenzong). The "heyday of Kang Xi and Qian Long" during the Qing Dynasty occurred during the rule of China by the second Manchu emperor (Qing Shengzu Kangxi) until the rule of the fourth emperor (Qing Gaozong Qianlong).

Regrettably, as a modern "emperor" of China, Mao Zedong was unable to escape from this historical limitation, and he lacked the skill of the founding emperors of China's ancient dynasties.

The foregoing interesting phenomenon in Chinese history seems to be controlled by some historical law. Every time a founding emperor "quickly became master of the land," no sooner did he rule the country than the greatest threat he faced was a challenge to his power. This came from "old diehard adherents to the former dynasty and young Turks in the new regime," i.e., challenges from remnant forces, abetted by challenges from within by those who had helped him attain power. Consequently, his priority concern was how to consolidate and strengthen the power he had already achieved. He had no choice but to devote



all his mental faculties to power, with "no time for concern" about how to make the country flourish.

A look at Mao Zedong's 27 year rule shows his every action to have been related to consolidation of his personal power. His famous dictum was: "To have political power is to have everything; to lose political power is to lose everything." Stated a little more magnificently, this was "consolidation and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Consequently his concern day and night was with how to monopolize power.

So how did Mao Zedong maintain and strengthen his personal power?

Mao Zedong Had a Mastery of Chinese History

Rulers of any system and any state may face challenges to their power. However, the ways in which they maintain power and the strategems they use are of diverse kinds. The most obvious different one at the moment is the method whereby presidents and premiers of European and American democracies maintain power, which is fundamentally different from that of rulers of communist countries. The former relies on a consummate system of law and "democratic" methods, while the latter uses the tactics of "despotism." Of course, "despotism" per se also varies in form; there was obviously a great difference between Stalin and Mao Zedong.

In order to understand genuinely how Mao Zedong "ruled," let us take another look at an interesting phenomenon.

Among Communist China's founding fathers, all those who had traveled abroad in their youth, i.e., those who had experienced life in European or American democracies such as Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi, Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Dong Biwu, Li Fuchun, etc. were relatively much more open-minded and enlightened in their thinking, and they had a more fullsome conception of democracy, while those people who had never taken a single step outside China were clearly less enlightened and inferior.

Unfortunately, Mao Zedong had never "drunk foreign water," and he had never personally been even slightly exposed to the sunshine, rain and dew of European and American democracy. He could rely only on all that a country with an unenlightened and despotic tradition that was extremely strong could provide to "arm his mind."

It cannot be denied that Mao Zedong's mastery of Chinese history far surpassed his Marxist learning. For Mao Zedong, China's history was as familiar as the back of his hand, and he could recite every particular of it at any time. The work he kept at hand on his desk was "The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government," and it was "The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" that he truly "studied in a practical way for practical use." ("The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" had been published under the auspices of Sima Guang during the Northern Song Dynasty. The complete work covered 1,362 years of history, mostly on political and military matters, but with a little about economics and culture. This was a history book that assembled the art of rule

by dynastic emperors until the Song era, and hence it was termed [Aid in Government], meaning that it provided rulers with object lessons from past dynasties in controlling chaos and in bringing about prosperity).

Today when we look back at the techniques Mao Zedong used to rule, in one matter and one affair after another, there is not a case in which the influence of methods of rule used by dynastic emperors cannot be found. Of course, Mao was also innovative; however, after all was said and done, this innovation was also the result of "practical study and practical application."

#### The Challenges to Power That Mao Faced

From the very moment on 1 October 1949 when Mao Zedong stood atop the rostrum of Tiananmen and declared, "The Chinese People's Republic is founded," Mao Zedong faced challenges to his power. In a large sense, these challenges came from both without and within the country. As regards the former, Mao Zedong had successful experiences in leading the Eight Route Army and the New Fourth Army in the defeat of Japanese imperialism, and he had the power that defeated 8 million fully American-armed Kuomintang soldiers. This was a point for self-confidence. The major "Anti-America, Aid Korea" military decision of 1950 was an expression of Mao Zedong's full confidence in the power of the country's military forces. At that time, the greatest possibility for interference from the outside world came from America, and Mao Zedong also knew that a confrontation with America would be long-term. For this reason, he promptly and decisively adopted a major policy, namely, the "Lean to One Side Policy," whereby he completely and fully leaned to the side of the USSR. In so doing, he could rely on the power of the USSR to restrain the United States.

Thus, for Mao Zedong, the real power challenge came from within China, and within China this challenge came mostly from four quarters as follows: 1. the dregs of the old Kuomintang society; 2. the common people who could "either keep the boat afloat or sink the boat"; 3. the intellectuals among the masses who were relatively special, cultured, adept at thinking, and who dared to speak out to create a climate; and 4. colleagues within the party who had conquered China together with Mao.

The threat that the dregs of the old Kuomintang society posed would only be a short term one. As had been expected, once Mao Zedong had founded the People's republic, he set to work at once to "purge bandits and oppose local despots," and "to eliminate counterrevolutionaries" after which campaigns the threat from this quarter was virtually eliminated. A more serious and long-term threat came from the other three quarters. All the violent storms that Mao Zedong let loose during the 27 years of his rule stemmed fundamentally from how to handle the cunning schemes that came from these three quarters.

#### Practical Use of "Sole Obedience" to the Confucian Way"

As regards how to deal with the common people, Mao's method of rule had both historical points of similarity and dissimilarity with the methods of rule of dynastic emperors. The points of similarity lay in serious attention to armed suppression of rebels; and the points of dissimilarity lay in Mao's even

greater serious attention to thought suppression, or thought control. Control of what people think is much more difficult than cutting off people's heads and requires, first of all, establishment of an ideological system in which people can believe and that is capable of controlling every individual. This was "Mao Zedong Thought." The thinking, words, and conduct of people had to be measured against the guiding principles of Maoism. Everything not in keeping with Maoist ideology and statements was termed bourgeois ideology.

As is commonly known, "Mao Zedong Thought" was supreme in China and, like the figure of Mao himself, could not be belittled in the slightest. This method whereby a country can follow only one ideology was something that Mao Zedong had learned from the "sole obedience to the Confucian way" of the Han Dynasty.

Mao Zedong was in the habit of using "class struggle" and "struggles about the line" to express power challenges. In February 1957 at the Supreme State Conference, Mao gave a report titled, "On the Question of Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," in which he pointed out that "Although the socialist transformation of the system of ownership in China has been substantially finished, and the large scale violent mass class struggle of the revolutionary period has been substantially finished; nevertheless, ... class struggle is not finished by any means. Class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and class struggle between the forces of all political factions will endure for a long time, will be tortuous, and will sometimes even be violent." He also said, "Two kinds of social contradictions confront us, namely the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves, and contradictions among the people." These words fully reveal that Mao saw clearly from which quarters power challenges came and had formulated a set of countermeasures for them.

#### "Remolding of Ideology" Is a Deception

Mao Zedong proposed an extremely pleasant sounding formula for countering the people, namely "unite--criticize--unite." This meant "to proceed from a desire for unity and to go through criticism and self-criticism to achieve a new unity." However, it was, in essence, a method of "remolding ideology," also termed "brain washing."

Mao said that everybody needed ideological remolding, and that even people like himself who had undergone several decades of revolutionary steeling needed ideological remodeling. Without it, they could not fit in with life and work under this new socialist system. The logic of these words caused the Chinese people to accept gladly Mao's call for the remolding of ideology.

However, very quickly the masses of people discovered that the "remolding of ideology" that Mao had proposed was a deception as far as they were concerned. Looked at either in terms of its goals for its concrete process, it was a deception. "Ideological remolding" was by no means an agreeable affair between one person and another, but was instead a kind of ideological shackling and grinding down that concealed a kind of killing machine. Mao Zedong's former secretary and ideological expert who was for a long time the sole interpreter of Maoism, Chen Boda, said without any ambiguity whatsoever that, "Remolding of

ideology, which foreigners call brain washing, is more painful than death. When a bullet enters the head of a person on the battlefield, he dies painlessly. But brain washing is a continuously painful process, and thus it is more painful than death." Certainly, in the People's Republic, quite a few people committed suicide or became mentally deranged because they could not stand brain washing.

Brain washing was a method that Mao worked out during the rectification period in Yanan for raising the level of ideological consciousness of the revolutionary ranks. It is one of the most important ingredients of Chinese Communist political life. Following founding of the People's Republic, this method was spread from within the party to the people at large, and particular emphasis was given its spread to government officials and intellectuals in all trades and professions. During the early period following founding of the People's Republic and up until 1957, this method was readily accepted by the masses of people. But after the 1957 counterattack against the "rightist faction," this method gradually changed in nature, and people felt cheated and deceived. When they made a suggestion to the party with extreme warmth and sincerity, or when they made a criticism or expressed their own views, the party would take hold of one sentence or several sentences and accuse them of "attacking the party." It would strike them down or label them "rightists." After this political storm, which lasted more than a year, had blown itself out, people drew a lesson from bitter experience and gradually woke up. They changed from blind faith in the necessity for brain washing and the desire to show loyalty and sincerity toward the party to a feeling that they had been humiliated and persecuted. They felt that the god that they had worshiped and in which they believed had turned out to be petty and perfidious. They had been badly shaken, had lost hope, and had become disheartened, and a large number of them became or acted like extremely cautious people. They did not want to continue to believe readily any of Mao's assurances about giving the people democratic rights and permitting the people to speak freely. From this time onward, people began to doubt the sincerity of their leaders, and the leaders also began to doubt the loyalty of their ministers and people. There was increased vigilance among the top and the bottom, the left and the right.

#### Tricks of All Kinds For Thought Control

Mao Zedong proposed the principle of brain washing because it was a magical effect in clamping down on thinking, and thus, in actual practice, he permitted it "a free hand." Despite "getting out of hand," "the overall direction is correct," and there was no need for corrections. Thereupon, in the People's Republic from the central authorities to local officials, large and small, following "a free hand," "like the Eight Immortals crossing the sea, each one showing his or her own special powers," a repertoire of ways of brain washing peculiar to China came to the fore. Below several forms commonly used are provided by way of illustration.

#### "Democratic Life Society"

The "Democratic Life Society" had a fine sounding name. (Party and League members termed it "living organization life.") In this "society" leaders

designated several classical writings of Marxism for everybody to sit down together and read. This was called "mastering ideological weapons" in order to be able to identify distinctions between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology among members, for use in criticizing ones own and others' bourgeois thoughts. After the reading was finished, each person began to examine what "non-proletarian erroneous ideology" existed in his own thinking, and then outlined a speech, which he or she delivered in a cell meeting. This was termed "revealing thoughts," and was also called "rooting out bad thoughts." Mao had said that all bad and reactionary thoughts were poisonous weeds that corroded people's souls and must be pulled up. However, simply pulling them up was not enough. They could grow back. Therefore, it was necessary to find the root causes giving rise to bad thoughts and to criticize these root causes in order to guard against their regrowth. This was also a very popular expression within the Party. After thoughts had been revealed, "self-criticism" was conducted, and other people's criticisms were also listened to. Criticizing other people and receiving other people's criticism was called "comradely mutual assistance." Every member of a cell had to undergo this process in order to complete one cycle of brain washing. This brain washing work was done as infrequently as once every half month to 20 days, or as frequently as once each week (usually on the week-end). The length of the cycle was determined by a unit or department person in charge on the basis of the masses' "trend of thinking."

#### "Organizational Help"

Yet another form was termed "organizational help." The aforementioned "democratic life society" was suited solely for use with the majority of the masses who had committed no errors. If anyone among them had done something wrong or had made a gross error, then the party or Youth League organization would plan and convene a cell meeting or a mass meeting to "help" him or her.

This kind of "organizational help" was a criticism meeting, in fact. Criticism meetings were generally planned by Party grassroots organizations, and three to five "activists" were organized in advance to prepare fully to make statements. Usually they wrote draft statements which, following checking and revision by the party branch, they read at the criticism meetings. Other participants in the meeting were also supposed to be active in making statements.

The atmosphere was grim during "organizational help." First those who had "committed errors" "explained" matters in great detail to the crowd. Then, they examined the "roots of thinking," and finally they received "help" from "comrades" who had undergone "war preparedness." Statements were cutting and merciless. On this occasion, those who were not being criticized had to "listen with respectful attention," every attendee at the meeting paying rapt attention and not daring to be at all relaxed or inattentive. Since the firepower of the speakers was mostly concentrated against the person being criticized, and since the person being criticized had not lived in isolation from the outside world, having had some colleagues at work and some friends in life, the firepower of criticism frequently raked or was fired in a few bursts against his colleagues and friends. At such times, those who had been singled out either remained calm or became agitated depending on the severity of

circumstances. The person being criticized had no right to speak out and no right to defend himself. Aside from listening with respectful attention, he had to record other people's remarks for use in examining his own mistakes and as a basis for writing a criticism. If persons who had committed errors were willing to accept all the frightening accusations of the "helpers" at the meeting, this showed a change in their "standpoint" and that their attitude was better, and everyone would express acceptance of them. If their attitude was not good, or if they tried to defend themselves against untrue accusations, the criticism period would be very long, and the criticism meeting might be raised to a higher level with the number of people in attendance increased. The Party branch would brief other cells or the entire membership of an official organization on their bad ideology, and permit everyone to join in criticism against them. The purpose of so doing was both to educate the specific individual and to "educate the broad masses."

### "Struggle Meetings"

Yet another form was termed the "struggle meeting." This was a "criticism meeting" that had been raised to a higher level. Whenever the "struggle meeting" form was used against a person, that was as good as saying that "contradictions between oneself and the enemy" existed. However, of the tens of millions of people in the People's Republic who had been struggled against, in how many cases were there "contradictions between oneself and the enemy!" Most of these people who were struggled against had committed what leaders considered to be extremely serious "errors." (Very often those having power used struggle as a pretext for punishing those at odds with them or as retribution against those who rebelled.) In other cases, some who had committed errors but refused criticism at criticism meetings or even did their utmost to defend themselves after the meeting were cited as "refusing organizational help" at this time, and were subjected to more ferocious firepower and criticism on a larger scale, i.e., "struggle" or "criticism and denunciation."

The distinction between a struggle meeting and a criticism meeting lay not only in the changed "nature" but also in form. The person being struggled against had to stand beside the rostrum, his hands at his sides and his head bowed to demonstrate acceptance of the masses' "dictatorship" over him. In the process of making criticisms of him, certain selected people led those at the meeting in repeatedly shouting down with him, and the ground trembled in a demonstration of power against him. By contrast, criticism meetings were generally criticisms of errors committed among the people, and the person being criticized might sit in the audience; no slogans were shouted at him; and the atmosphere was more moderate than that of a struggle meeting.

### "Individual Chats"

Yet another form of brain washing went by the pretty name of "doing ideological work." It was also termed "individual chats," or "individual heart to heart talks." When a leader discovered subordinates had "ideological problems," they said there was need "for ideological work on a certain person." This "work" might consist of the leader personally going to "chat" with him, or activists might be dispatched to "chat." Please note that these actions were directly

largely against people with wavering ideology or sentiments, and differed fundamentally from helping straighten out interpersonal relations. Certainly, not every person wanted his every thought to be made public at a meeting; however, he might express his inner feelings in a chat with two or three people. For example, issues involving making a complete political break with one's reactionary parents, problems in entering the Party or the Youth League, dissatisfaction with one's superiors, discontent about work, problems concerning being in love or marrying, and all matters of a "political" nature might result in a person coming to do "ideological work."

This method was friendly on the surface and inspired confidence; however, it was precisely because it made disclosure of one's inner feelings easy that it was frequently a tactic used by leaders to "sound out" and "fully understand trends in mass thinking." In fact, with the passage of time, the scope of Mao's political attacks became ever greater, and the number of people attacked ever larger. Concomitantly, this "chat" form also became distorted in nature: It became no longer a method for helping comrades, but rather a way of probing other people's innermost secrets in order to criticize them, struggle against them, or purge them. The purpose of these chats was not easy for people to detect at the outset. On the one hand some people unwittingly were used against them in criticism and struggle. They were in extremely isolated position and, to use a Chinese expression, they had been "made stinking" so no one wanted to get near them. Even if they told others they had been duped, people would not readily believe them. There was no place to which they could turn to pour out their innermost feelings in their frigid lives and spiritual torment. On the other hand, since the content of these chats was frequently recorded in a little notebook and not used as material for criticism, it was forgotten at once. As a result, people could not immediately sense anything wrong with these individual chats. Possibly even the person who recorded the information was himself unaware of the use for this record of thinking. Possibly, several years later when higher authority decided to launch a new political movement for which data of this kind had to be collected, this file on a person's thinking might suddenly be selected as a representative one for criticism, and the person on whom the information had been recorded could come to grief.

Therefore, only after the passage of many years did a large number of people go through the consequences of these individual chats, and only then was people's vigilance aroused, and use of such methods of targeting people gradually lost effectiveness.

Following the change in the nature of individual chats to control people's thoughts, relations between people also underwent changes similar to those in churches during the Middle Ages. Like a bad pastor, leaders posing as persons of high morals and flying the banner of almighty God required that penitents not be permitted to conceal anything at all. But once they had the secrets of some weak penitent girl in their hands, they raped her in front of the religious statues. This was a metaphor that a writer from Shanghai used.

## "Political Study"

Do not forget that in Mao's promotion of brain washing, even more universal and more common fare was "political indoctrination." This "political indoctrination" was not only systematized (at least once each week), but was also carried out "at will." All that was needed was issuance of a document from above, a major article from the Central Committee, or Mao's "supreme instructions," and this "political study" could be carried out at any time in large and small meetings. Mao admitted "The Kuomintang had many taxes, and the Communist Party has many meetings." This was the reason that the meetings became a pestilence.

The brain washing that Mao promoted took forms too numerous to mention individually as a result of the "practical study for practical use" by a large number of major and minor cadres. The names given them were also arresting, such as "taking a bath," taking a warm water bath," "taking a hot water bath," "seizing live thoughts," and "fighting selfishness."

In neither ancient nor modern times in China or abroad had any of this ever happened before. It took place only under the rule of Mao Zedong, and was unduplicated and unprecedented in all history!

## "Informing" Not Considered Unethical

Mao Zedong's methods of controlling people differed from those of Stalin and the USSR Communist Party. He did not use the organizational system of the KGB to watch the people, because Mao did not like any espionage organization to become overly huge, thereby inflating its power to create a threat and a challenge to his authority. Facts have shown Mao's methods to have been more effective and more thorough than those of the KGB. He turned over to all party organizations the task of watching the people, thereby creating the following situation: All party members had to watch all the masses outside the party; all upper level party members had to watch all lower level party members; all party members on the same level had to watch each other; and all non-party members in the masses had to watch each other. In short, in principle, the whole people had to watch each other. Thus, every citizen, and every individual was encouraged to become a virtual informant.

As a result, a unique moral concept came into being in People's China in which people did not consider informing to be unethical. On the contrary, it was termed patriotic behavior that showed loyalty to Mao and to the Communist Party. Since Mao and the Communist Party represented the interests of the people, informing to the party was for the purpose of protecting the people's interests. People who regarded informing as a betrayal of friends existed, but in very small numbers. One point should be noted and that is the exposure of enemies under any system is only natural and beyond reproach. Regrettably, in People's China, an overwhelming majority of those informed against were good, innocent people; thus the number of people who were wrongly jailed was astounding.



The deception of the masses of people by the tactics Mao Zedong used to rule showed up in informing against large numbers of fine people intending no harm to anyone. This was done under the pressure of circumstances. If one did not expose others, when subjected to persecution oneself, in order to protect oneself and avoid disaster, one had no choice but to act contrary to his or her own convictions and expose others. As a result, friends and colleagues were implicated and fought with each other at close quarters. After both sides had lost, people frequently discovered that exposure of others could not protect themselves. Unfortunately, during the next political battle, all that was necessary was for leaders to issue a command and people had no choice but to continue to expose each other and inform on each other. It was like slaves in the old Roman Colisseum who had no choice but to plunge a dagger into a companion's chest in spite of themselves. Collectivism and the collective system decided people's fates and behavior, and no person could resist them, no matter whether one desired to or not.

Relatively speaking, Stalin's methods of rule were comparatively simple. He declared that his political stand was absolutely correct, and if anyone opposed it, he would be treated as an opportunist, an anti-party element, or a counterrevolutionary and be purged and suppressed. Though these methods were cruel; still, it was fairly easy to cleanse oneself of stigma. Following his death, as expected, his plain and readily seen errors were corrected fairly easily. But Mao's method of rule was different. First he established a contemporary religion, or what might be termed a contemporary mythology, that made people's thoughts rigid. Then he used people's blindness to direct them to carry out a series of stupid acts and mistaken acts unconsciously and without awareness. Thus, following Mao's death, correction of his mistakes was much more difficult than correction of Stalin's mistakes. This was not only because he had a contemporary religion that Stalin did not have or an ideological yoke that Stalin did not have, but also because China was more economically and culturally backward than Russia; thus Mao had the capability of using more backward methods than Stalin to rule his ministers and people.

#### Advanced File System and Personnel Cadre System

In order to meet the needs of carrying out his people's mutual suppression system, Mao Zedong instituted an unprecedented "file system." An individual file was set up for each citizen and each party and government organization. This file followed one closely throughout life. If you went to some corner to live and work, the file would follow you there. The file recorded every individuals' background, strengths and weaknesses, and particularly political actions at individual periods. However, you positively had no right to know what was written in it about you.

Not only did the Chinese Communists include in the file all matters that individuals sincerely and trustingly told the party about themselves, but they also had special file personnel to compile files on you. In this way the Chinese Communists did not have to waste any efforts, yet were able to have mastery over basic and important file data on ministers and people. Naturally these materials contained both true and false information, facts and lies. But once they got into the file folder, they could never be removed, and they would

accompany a person till he died. Even after death, a person's file was not scrapped but kept for its reference value for brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters. Politically and economically backward China had the most advanced personnel file system in the world!

Precisely because of such an advanced personnel file system, a new occupation came into being in China, namely millions of people employed as personnel cadres. They made their personal responsibility the searching out and investigation of people's histories, their social relationships, and actual activities, and provided intelligence to the party organization as political struggles required.

Of course, in order to head off any threat to his rule from the masses of people, Mao's methods positively did not stop with the foregoing. However, as compared with other communist countries, the foregoing are rich in creativity. But, too bad; all of them bore a deep Chinese style traditional imprint--in the end Mao Zedong was still a descendent of the Yellow Emperor!

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CS0: 4005/1078

WEN WEI PO DESCRIBES U.S., USSR NUCLEAR CRUISERS

HK300239 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 29 Aug 83 p 2

["Special Feature" article by Chen Shuhai: "Competition Between U.S. and Soviet Nuclear Cruisers"--reprinted from "SHIJIE ZHISHI"; issue no. not given]

[Text] Since the appearance of nuclear energy as a new energy resource, in more than 20 years it has been used by some countries as power for warships. At present, there are more than 320 nuclear-powered submarines in the world. Of them more than 170 belong to the Soviet Union, and more than 120 belong to the United States. There are 14 nuclear-powered surface warships. Of them, 4 are U.S. aircraft carriers and the remaining 10 are cruisers (9 U.S. cruisers and 1 Soviet cruiser).

The major task for nuclear-powered cruisers is to fight oceanic battles in cooperation with nuclear-powered aircraft carriers. Nuclear-powered aircraft carriers can cruise for a long time without being refueled, but if the carriers are convoyed by non-nuclear-powered warships, their combat capacity will be greatly limited. The building of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers and cruisers reflects the strategic purpose of both the Soviet Union and the United States in contending for maritime hegemony and in conducting external expansion.

Three Generations of U.S. Cruisers

The first nuclear-powered surface warship in the world is the "Long Beach" cruiser of the United States, built in 1961. Its displacement is 17,100 tons. It is the largest of the nine U.S. nuclear-power cruisers. It has 2 nuclear reactors and 2 steam turbines with a total of 80,000 shaft horsepower. Its highest speed is 30 knots. It can sail continuously for 360,000 miles at a speed of 20 knots, which is a distance 60 times as long as that which can be covered by a warship of the same class with conventional power.

In order to reduce unnecessary weaponry and lower the building cost, through some experiments, the Americans finally found a more reasonable structure for nuclear-powered warships, and built the "Bainbridge" and the "Truxton" cruisers in, respectively, October 1962 and May 1967. The displacement of neither ship exceeds 9,200 tons.

In February 1974, the second generation of U.S. nuclear-powered cruisers--"California"--was commissioned. In June 1975, another, similar cruiser--"South Carolina"--was commissioned also. Both ships have displacement of 11,000 tons. Their size and speed are not far different from those of "Bainbridge." The major difference is that the launch system of "Terrier" surface-to-air missiles is replaced with the more advanced launching system of MK-13 surface-to-air missiles. Moreover, the new ships were equipped with more advanced electronic equipment.

In May 1975, the largest U.S. aircraft carrier, "Nimitz," (which is also the largest aircraft carrier in the world at present) was commissioned. In order to meet strategic needs, the Americans built the cruiser "Virginia" which represents the newest generation of U.S. cruisers. After that, they continued to build three cruisers of the same class--"Texas," "Mississippi," and "Arkansas"--in, respectively, 1977, 1978, and 1980. The displacement of these cruisers is about 10,000 tons, the power of their nuclear reactors is 100,000 horsepower for each ship, and their maximum speed is 33 knots. According to the defense budget of the Reagan administration, the United States will continue to build cruisers of this class.

Since 1978, the U.S. Navy has begun to modernize its weapon systems and electronic equipment on the nine nuclear-powered cruisers in active service so as to strengthen their offensive and defensive capacity in the anti-aircraft, surface battle, and anti-submarine areas. For example, the old anti-aircraft missile launching systems have been replaced by the new "Standard" missile systems, and the more advanced "Harpoon" surface-to-surface missile launching systems have also been installed on these cruisers. In order to cope with Soviet cruise missiles, "Long Beach" and the cruisers of the "Virginia" class have been equipped with 20mm MK-15 guns, which are a new type of short-range anti-missile weapon. These guns can fire 3,000 shots a minute and thus form an intense defensive network against attacking missiles. According to reports, the cruisers of the "Virginia" class will also be equipped with the MK-36 anti-rocket system and the newest "Tomahawk" cruise missiles.

#### The First Generation of Soviet Nuclear Cruisers

Although the number of Soviet nuclear-powered submarines is greater than the United States, and the Soviets have about the same technical capability, the Soviets have far fewer nuclear-powered surface warships than the United States. So far, the Soviet Union has no nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, and it is expected that the first Soviet nuclear-powered aircraft carrier will not be built until the end of the 1980's. However, its first nuclear-powered missile-carrying cruiser "Kinov" has been commissioned. The ship was launched on 23 May 1980 by the Leningrad Shipyard and sailed into the Finland Bay. It sailed on a shakedown cruise on the East Baltic Sea in early August 1980.

The appearance of "Kinov" has attracted the attention of navies of all countries, because this is the second largest warship, next to the aircraft

carriers of the "Kiev" class, built by the Soviet Union since 1945. Its large size, sophisticated equipment, and heavy cost are all extraordinary and noticeable. Western experts rank it 18th among all surface warships, including aircraft carriers in the world, and the first among all cruisers.

The displacement of "Kinov" is 27,000 tons (it is also said to be 23,000 tons). Its length is 248 meters and its width is 28 meters. It is equipped with 2 nuclear reactors and 2 turbines with a total 150,000 horsepower. Its highest speed exceeds 32 knots.

Compared with U.S. nuclear cruisers, the weaponry installed on the "Kinov" is rather superior. It is equipped with SS-N-19 surface-to-surface missiles which have an effective range of 500 kilometers. The ship has 20 launchers for these missiles and has adopted the advanced vertical launching method. It is also equipped with long-range SA-N-6 and short-range SA-N-4 anti-air missiles. The SA-N-6 missiles are newly developed by the Soviet Union. Their speed can reach six times the speed of sound. They are designed to interrupt the enemy's aircraft and cruise missiles. The "Kinov" has 12 launchers for launching these missiles and has also adopted the method of vertical launching. The SA-N-4 missile system and the eight 30mm "Gatling" rapid-firing guns are mainly used to intercept targets at low altitudes. Besides, the ship is also equipped with a twin launcher of anti-submarine missiles, an anti-submarine rocket, and two torpedo tubes. The warship can also carry four or five helicopters.

The "Kinov's" electronic equipment is nearly perfect. Some of these facilities are new products in recent years. These include radar for searching long-distance air targets, radar for anti-air surveillance, missile-controlling radar, radar for controlling the anti-submarine missile, and some electronic resistance equipment.

Nuclear cruisers of the "Kinov" class are mainly designed to strengthen the anti-air capability of the fleet and to counter the aircraft carriers and cruise missiles of the United States and other Western countries. However, the "Kinov" cruiser has an actual structure and is equipped with the weaponry which makes it a multiple-purpose warship which can fight anti-air, anti-submarine, and surface battles. In particular, the modern surface-to-surface missiles it carries will greatly enhance its surface combat capacity. The building of the "Kinov" cruiser marked the technical progress of the Soviet Navy and, at the same time, also reflected the Soviet leadership's ambition to contend maritime hegemony with the United States and to gear the Soviet navy to oceanic battles so as to conduct overseas expansion. The Soviets plan to build four cruisers of this class, and the second is near completion. With the building of these four cruisers and the new-style nuclear submarines nicknamed "Taiphon," Soviet warships will press their way by shoving and bumping in all oceans and seas throughout the globe in a more arrogant manner.